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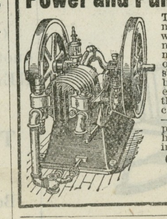
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What Ails Democratic Party?

An Able Paper by Samuel E. Moffett in Collier's Weekly of Nov. 12th.

For eleven years the Democratic party has been sick—sicker than at any other time in its long and varied career. It has had periods of depression before, but never one like this. In the darkest days of the war and reconstruction epochs the Democracy remained a vigorous fighting force. In 1862 it carried New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. In 1868 it would have elected Seymour President if the South had not been under military rule. In 1870 it carried New York, Connecticut, Indiana, and Oregon, held complete control of California, made an even run in Pennsylvania, and looked forward with confidence to the Presidential election of 1872. In 1874 it swept the country, and for nineteen years thereafter the Republican party remained in a continuous popular minority. But from 1893 to the present time the Democracy has been not merely beaten, but demoralized. It has been stricken with a deadly paralysis. It has been helpless in the face of such opportunities as an insolent and reckless dominant party, drunk with power, never offered to an opposition before. How are we to diagnose its disease?

Perhaps all the trouble may be described as a fatty degeneration of harmony. Harmony is a good thing in moderation, but the Democracy has had too much of it. It has sacrificed too much of principle, of unity, of heart, and of fighting energy in holding together men who do not belong together. It has lived in abject terror of a split. A split is what it needs. The party will never be larger until it is smaller. When it sloughs off some of its diseased tissue it may hope for a healthy growth.

American Politics and American Issues

Until the campaign of 1880—the time when a Republican politican said that there was "one more President in the bloody shirt"—American politics turned on purely American issues. The parties were coherent and energetic because each held a definite position on those issues acceptable to the bulk of its own members. The questions in dispute being purely political, not social, farmer, laboring men, and corporation magnates could and did belong to either party without any sense of incongruity. But from 1880 onward American politics underwent a revolution. It gradually assimilated itself to the politics of the world.

Now, in the civilized world of the twentieth century, there are two fundamental parties, more or less consciously organized in the various States—the Conservatives or Reactionaries on one side; the Liberals, or Progressives, on the other. The Republican party in the United States has found its place in the world movement. It has definitely ranged itself as the American Conservative party—the party of reaction, of class privilege, of government for the profit of special interests. It has converted, frozen out or silenced all its liberal elements. It has made former free-traders like President Roosevelt talk protection. It is a definite, coherent entity, under complete command. As Secretary Hay happily said: "The Republican party is the ship"—a piratership, it is true—"all else is the sea."

But while the place of the Conservative party is thus filed, the opposite the Liberal place, is still vacant. It belongs naturally to the Democracy but the Democracy has not yet ventured to take it. The close of the war and reconstruction epoch found the Democratic organization loaded up with many men who would have no place in a Liberal party—who would never have joined such a party if modern issues had been at the front when their political affiliations were formed. Many of these men were and are powerful in the Democratic organization. In the long years of opposition their lack of sympathy with the logical tendencies of the party had caused no great disturbance. It was easy enough for all kinds of Democrats to fight a Force bill, or even to denounce the war tariff in general terms, without saying what they would put in its place. But as soon as the party came into complete control of the Government, as it did for the first time in 1893 it was necessary to carry out a policy, and then the trouble began. No sooner had Cleveland swept the country on a platform of radical tariff reduction than Senator Gorman tiptoed to Washington and said that the party must be "conservative." Ex-Senator Davis insisted that he must have protection for his coal mines. Senator Murphy looked out for collars and cuffs. Even Mr. Cleveland, through Secretary Carlisle, warned Congress that it would be well to be just a little cautious about sugar.

The Democratc party was badly discredited by the Wilson-Gorman tariff episode, but it could have been gradually worked into a healthy condition but for a frightful blunder on the part of its progressive elements. Instead of pressing for a truly Liberal policy, as opposed to the reactionary policy of the Republican Junkerbund, they allowed themselves to be led off upon a free-silver sidetrack. Now free silver is no part of a Liberal creed. It has no connection with progressive reforms. In Europe, bimetallism is, or was when it was alive, the fad of Tories, Agrarians, and Reactionaries. The Liberal and Radical parties have opposed it. Its adoption by the American Democracy at once split the party in precisely the wrong way—not by cleaving off those inharmonious elements that properly belonged on the Republican side, but by driving away a great part of the brains and conscience of the Liberal movement. The party has been trying for eight years to live down that mistake, and it has not yet succeeded. In the attempt it has submitted again to the leadership of the undemocratic elements that betrayed it in 1894 and naturally the results have not been inspiring.

What next?

First, the fact must be recognized that America has entered a world-movement and that here as elsewhere the politics of the twentieth century will turn on social questions.

Next, Democrats must clearly realize that there is room for only one conservative or Reactionary party in this country, and that the Republican party has definitely secured that place. There never could be a more conclusive test of that fact than we have seen in the campaign that has just ended. Theodore Roosevelt was detested by the privileged financial interests In nominating a ticket recommended by a member of the Belmont-Morgan bond-syndicate, with a multimillionaire protectionist for vice-president and a member of the sugar Trust at the head of the New York State Committee, the Democrats made the strongest possible bid for Wall street support. But after a moment's hesitation, Wall Street realized that the Republican party was its own party, and it accepted it, Roosevelt and all, rather than risk an unexceptionable Democratic ticket with what it described as "the Huns in the background." After that there can be no crazier rainbow-chasing than to try to undermine the Republican party in the affections of "high finance." The Republican party is part of "the system," and there is no more use in grumbling at that fact than at the precession of the equinox.

Since it can not be the Conservative party, what is the logical thing for the Democracy to do? Obviously, to be the Liberal party To do this it must reconcile itself to the loss of certain members who have no sympathy with Liberal principles. It must stop trying to please them in its platforms and its nominations. It must adopt a definite policy by which it is prepared to stand in victory or in defeat. It must make its platforms to catch votes, but it must make the platforms it believes in and then try to convince a majority of the voters that they are right.

Loyalty and Party Relations

Mr. Bryan absurdly resented the "disloyalty" of certain Democrats who refused to vote for him and free silver in 1896 and 1900. The question of "loyalty" has no proper place in party relations. A party is a voluntray association of citizens who think that certain policies are best for the country. A citizen who does not believe those policies best naturally ceases to act with the party. A party that depends on discipline instead of on conviction to keep its members in line is in a bad way. What the Democracy needs is a body of genuine principles, in which it honestly believes and upon which it can make an intelligent appeal to the judgement of the country.

In boldly taking the Liberal plunge, the Democrats would have this fact to reassure them: The Liberal party in a modern country is normally the majority party; the Conservative party is normally in the minority. This is so from the very nature of things, because the people who profit by the abuses which it is the mission of a Conservative party to maintain are necessarily few in comparison with those who suffer from these abuses. The Conservative party may often win elections by good organization, skilful leadership, money, and opposition blunders, but it never rests on the broad base of popular sympathy and confidence. The Republicans have been a minority party in this country ever since the close of the Civil War period. They were a minority party in 1896 when a million Gold Democrats let them into power on a single tempoary issue. They are a minority party today, and Theodore Roosevelt, notwithstanding the fact that he has received the votes of hundreds of thousands of citizens who have no symathy with his political associations, is a minority president. The Democrats, Populists and Socialists, all anti-Republican elements, could have beaten them easily if their forces had not been divided.

This would determine its course toward each concrete proposition that came before it.

Suppose, for instance, the question related to a parcels post. The Socialist would say: "Is this a step toward the Co-operative Commonwealth? If so, I am for it." The Democrat would say: "will this promote the general convenience? If so, I favor it." The Republican would say: "How will this affect the express companies? If it would cut down their profits I am against it."

Such questions as those of the tariffs the income tax, and postal saving banks and telegraphs, would be met in the same spirit. The Republican party would always inquire first what effect any proposition would have upon the corporations, trusts, and other financial interests whose agent it is. The Democracy would ask whether the plan promised a public benefit or not. Under these conditions it could count upon receiving the votes of most thoughtful Populists and Socialists until it reached the point where their roads diverged. Still, it must not be imagined for a moment that the late election was a test of the comparative strength of Reactionary, Progressive and Liberal sentiment in the United States.

It will not be necessary to "reorganize" the party. Let it equip itself with principles, and live up to them, and reorganization will take care of itself. People who do not like the principles will drop out. Those who do like them will be attracted from other parties The Democracy will not have to go into its next campaign with its fingers on its lips. It will not be tempted to fish for seven electoral votes and a contribution to the campaign fund by nominating a Vice-Presidential candidate who believes that the Dingley duty on the coal he sells is low enough.

When the Democracy is established on a solid basis of principle, it will not have to worry about the chances of victory or defeat. It can stand reverses Mr. Bryan was right in protesting against the argument that free silver ought to be dropped in order to win. The only trouble was that free silver was wrong in itself. If it had been right, lost ground could have been retrieved by a campaign of education, but when you are wrong the more you educate the people the more you lose.

A liberized Democracy will know exactly what it wants and say exactly what it means. It will not be a sectional party. The fact that free silver has no standing in the East ought to have been enough in itself to warn the leaders of their blunder in 1896. True Democracy appeals to the average and just as much in the East as in the West. New York is not inhabited solely by plutocrats. If it has Wall Street, it also has Avenue A. A doctrine which, properly presented, can not be made attractive in every State in the Union has some flaw in it. There ought to be no such thing as a rock-ribbed, impregnable Republican State, for all the States are pervaded to a considerable extent by common people. Since the masses in Vermont, as elsewhere, would be benefited by the application of Democratic principles, even Vermont ought not to be hopeless missionary ground for the Democratic party. It is held to Republicans now by the memory of dead issues, and prejudices half a century old. A liberal Democracy should be able to clear away such obstructions and make a fair start everywhere.

To rescue Mr. Hay's metaphor: "The Republican party is the ship; all else is the sea." What the people need, and intend to have, is another ship on that sea—a trim cruiser, prepared to lay alongside the Republican ship and bring down the black flag that has flaunted so long over the spoils of plundered merchantmen.

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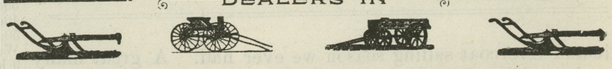
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