WHY NOT SCRAP BOTH PARTIES? BLYTHE QUERIES

Both Already Are as Dead as Doornails, Says Well-Known Writer.

(Continued from Page 3.)

Y., recently, with reference to the effect that multitude of lawmaking due to the lack of resistance on the part of our political lawmakers has on the work of the national Department of Justice, said:

"An enormous percentage of the work being done by the Department of Justice is work that could be done more efficiently and at much less expense by the local government. The burden of this character of work is so great on the department that it is fairly staggering under its load. Unless relieved bureaucracy is inevitable, with its attendant evils. The extent of work which it is doing that could be better done by responsible local self-government is so great that it impairs the efficiency of the administration of those laws which deal with things essentially national in their scope."

There you have it. People in one section or another, knowing how easy it is to get laws passed by our Congress, take every little local matter to the Congress, and that Congress obediently makes a law covering the case, or the little local Congressman, thinking to get kudos for himself, passes the law to fit the little local case. In either event the result is the same; but with strong, reliant, effective party organizations such as the terms Republican party and Democratic party connote but do not comprehend, there would be an attention to national needs that is now lacking in the policies of expediency and opportunism and the seeking for bolstering political favor that is now the mainspring of all our party political action.

These various and alarming conditions are not due to the weakness of our system of party government, but are due to the weaknesses of the parties that comprise that government. Once the instruments of government for all people, they are now the mediums for the attainment of the ends, the application of the theories, the enforcement of the fanaticisms, the legalizing of the fads, the shifting of the responsibilities, the restriction of the liberties that every association of Toms, Dicks and Harrys and of Marys, Janes and Susans, with the threat of political reprisal in case their demands are not complied with to back them, presents to those who pretend to party leadership and management; or with self-interests that may be useful in the various ways self-interests can be of use to politicians.

Neither the Republican party nor the Democratic party has any but a historical or sentimental right to the suffrages of the American people. There is no outstanding issue between them. There is no great leadership in them. There is nothing to them save the labels. The great bulk of the American people vote with one or the other of them, because there is no other way of voting that gives them an outlet for their political action. They divide between these dead ones because there is nothing live to attract them.

It is probable that a considerable benefit will accrue to the people by the scrapping of the battleships, but a much greater benefit would accrue by the scrapping of the present Republican and Democratic parties and the formation and building up of new parties that would have blood and bones in them instead of only bones—by a new political deal. Without it we shall continue on our rapid progress toward a limitless bureaucracy, towards a further domination by special organized interests of all phases of our lives, towards a completely changed and highly restrictive form of government, neither conceived or ordained by the charter of our liberties nor allowed by a party system that was really governmental for all the people instead of especially governmental for groups of the people.

OUTWORN VEHICLES.

The present obsolescent political parties in this country, the Republican party and the Democratic party, are the outcome of party evolutions that began with the Federalists and what was originally termed the Democratic-Republican party to signify that it was anti-Federalist. From these, with various mutations, inheritances, absorptions, combinations down through the period after the war of 1812, when there was but one party, there were the original Democrats, the Whigs, the Liberty party, the Know-Nothings, the Free-Soilers, the Constitutional-Unionists, and so on.

All these parties had their spans of activity and vanished when they became outworn as vehicles for the expression of the political policies of their later times. The present Republican party was formed, a few years previous to the civil war, because a great issue needed a political party instrument; and the present Democratic party was a remodeling of those who were in opposition to Republican doctrine.

The Republican party was dominant after the civil war for many years, and was a vital political instrument. There were numerous new-party schemes—Liberal Republicans, the Grange, Greenbackers, the Farmers' Alliance, the Populists, the Progressives, and so on, with side-line excursions into socialism and prohibition by ardent supporters of those beliefs, but save for the Mugwump demonstration, which was a schism and not a party, and defeated Blaine in 1884 with Cleveland, and helped once thereafter, and the Progressive demonstration in 1912, the Republicans held to their power.

The Democrats claimed the election of Cleveland in 1884 and in 1892, but neither of those elections would have been possible without Republican defections. The Free Silver idea dominated the Democrats in 1896 and for come time thereafter, and the Progressive split in 1912 gave them Wilson for President.

Notwithstanding these demonstrations during the course of years since the civil war, Republicanism meant something concrete as opposed to Democracy until a few years ago, and Democracy meant something concrete as opposed to Republicanism. Then the two parties began to decay, and for the reasons set forth; and now they are nothing so far as great public and national policies are concerned.

We need new political parties in this country. We need new political parties to protect us from the bureaucracy that is throttling us; the paternalism that is suffocating us; the flood of useless laws that are engulfing us; the taxation that is political and not economic that is pauperizing us; the special interests that are constricting individual progress; the fanaticisms that are depriving us of personal liberty; the theories that are switching the legalized conduct of our lives from one cra?ticism to another; the raids on the treasury that are organized by expert raiders who politically terrorize those in charge of these present parties and for which the citizenry must pay in taxes; the spies, special agents, inspectors and sleuths that harass us.

We need new parties to get this Government down to a sane and constitutional basis; to set up political principles that shall be in conformity to our institutions; to fight and defeat all this vast domination by special privilege, and all this mushy, theoretical, Pollyanna utopianism that has led and is leading to a Government that is autocratic in its contacts with the people because each succeeding demonstration of it is based on an increasing bureaucracy that is erected to put the theories into effect and make the fanaticisms effective.

We need parties that will mean something, stand for something, do something. The present Congress is an example of the utter incompetencies of our present parties. Congress is the direct expositor of our party politics. No more need be said.

The great, natural political division of a country like ours is a division along conservative and radical lines, using the term "radical" in its definitive sense and not in the offensive sense in which the old-time politicians employ it. In each of these poor hulks of parties now representing the organized political thought of the country there are two parties, really—two widely apart sections, rather. There are definitely radical Republicans, and definitely conservative Republicans. It is so in the Democratic party.

NEW LINES OF CLEAVAGE.

There can be no denial of the fact that the present situation in this country not only in a national sense, but internationally as well, could best be served politically, and hence nationally, by the alignment of our people under one or the other of these policies: A conservative that would mean an adherence to the tried and constitutional order of affairs, to precedent and practice and policy of our original form of government; or to a radicalism that would mean a sane experimentation with such improvements and amendments as the radical-minded deem vital to our future progress. A conservative party need not necessarily be a reactionary party any more than a radical party need be either red, socialist or anarchist in its principles.

Fundamentally there are two schools of political thought in this country, and one of these is conservative and the other is radical. Eliminating the hidebound old-timers and the loose-witted new-timers, the greatest possible governmental results and the greatest possible political reform and advantage would come from the scrapping of these present-day parties, which are neither one thing nor the other, but weak and useless combinations of both, and the erection of two new parties, a Conservative party and a Radical party, through which mediums and on which broad principles the future could be arranged in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the people.

New parties must have leaders and issues to survive. A new party can live for a time with a leader and can live for a time with an issue, but no new party can come to full power without both. It is true that with an issue a new party may develop a leader, or with a leader it may develop an issue. The Progressive party, in 1912, had a leader, but it had no outstanding issue, and as soon as its leader quit it, which he did in 1916, that party faded and died the death. There is an issue now. It is the issue of the incompetency, the senility, the obsolescence of the present parties—the Republican party and the Democratic party—all things to all men—standing for nothing that is in step with the times, and doing nothing that is not based on the sole idea of those who pose as leaders to remain in power, on the one side, or get back to power on the other.

FORECAST OF NEW PARTIES.

Congress, as I have said, is the real exemplar, expression and demonstrator of party politics. Congress, by its lawmaking function, expresses the majority-party policy of the nation, and shows unfailing party weakness and party strength. The present Congress is sufficient, overwhelming proof of the decay of present parties. One need go no further than the so-called Agricultural Bloc to show that. Here are men, partisans, regular party members and elected as such, who, in order to get action they maintain is essential, walk outside their own parties and form what is in effect a new party, what is in reality the foundation for an Agrarian Party. It would not take much leadership nor much manipulation to expand that Agricultural Bloc into a new party. It would not require much leadership to form, with that bloc as a base an Agrarian Party or an Agrarian-Labor Party, for example. And that would be a start, because without commending or condemning the policies of such a party, the formation of it would lead to the formation of an opposition party, and that would give the much needed new-party movement a start.

There are various new party movements underway now and probably will be others. The trouble with these is that mostly they are too radical to attract any great proportion of the people. However, unless there are steps taken to supersede the present-day Republican and Democratic parties by parties more truly representative of the thought and desire of the people something, more radical than anything in sight now may come out of it all. It is not to be expected that the American people will continue indefinitely under the present burden of taxation, of paternalism, of bureaucracy, of espionage, of futility in Congress, of special interest domination. They may make one more change under the present party system.

NOTHING IN CHANGE.

That change will avail nothing, because the Democratic politicians will do as they have done in the past, repeat the processes and ineptitudes of the Republican politicians.

There will be two or more new parties in this country before the presidential election of 1928. There should be two or more before the presidential election of 1924, and there will be if the American people are awake to their actual political and governmental situation in the year 1922 A.D. It is of no use to suggest that the old parties can be reformed and rejuvenated. That has been tried. We can't reform them. Therefore, the thing to do is to bury them decently and with appropriate ceremonies, write epitaphs for them telling of their useless pasts, and proceed to the duties and necessities of the insistent present and the hopeful future.

KAISER'S SON FARMS

PHOTO BY INTERNATIONAL

This exclusive photograph just received here shows Prince Eitel Friedrick in his villa Jungenheim at Potsdam. He is tilling the soil in his garden. He harnesses and attends to his own horses not only for exercise but for the sake of economy.

Huntington to Expend $321,000 on New Paving

HUNTINGTON, W. Va., April 1.—Huntington paving work will establish a new record this year, according to Commissioner Miser.

"Paving work alone done last year had a valuation of $321,000 which was a record," he said. "From present indications that total will be exceeded this year."

OFFICER ARRESTED AND HELD 12 HOURS

U. S. Major Seized in Car By High Command's Order.

(Continued from First Page.)

cumstance based upon the treatment accorded an American citizen at the order of the Japanese high command, is an incident which may only be adjusted by the two governments immediately concerned.

It may not become an integral part of an international conference; there is conflicting evidence which must be weighed and measured, there is testimony which must be taken from each and every personality actually involved.

It must not be forgotten that the search and arrest of an American officer, no matter what his post or the nature of his duty, may only be precipitated by a chain of events in which each link may provide the necessity for drastic action, not inevitably diplomatic in character. If a decision is to be rendered on such a subject it must be just, experienced and impartial, grounded on an intimate and comprehensive knowledge of truth.

Concern of America.

The search of Major Clarke, against a hinterland of intrigue, military urgency and public indifference, may not be judged by the American people. **But the Japanese method, which either countenances or instigates the search and the arrest of an American, is the particular concern of America and may be neither veiled nor obscured by benevolent pronouncements on the part of statesmen or pacific negotiators.**

There is little occasion to discuss the "moral Trusteeship" which the Powers convened in Washington proclaimed as the official guarantee to an unrepresented Russia. This ambiguous, charitable and comforting indication of policy drifted lightly from view during the intrepid dissertations inspired by more practical and more immediate issues. There is also no reason whatsoever for reviving the Inter-Allied intervention in Sibera. The cause for that philanthropic adventure has long since been dissipated. The American troops were withdrawn and to all intents and purposes American responsibility was at an end.

Therefore the more generous and human considerations may be set aside. But the fact remains that an American cruiser stands off Vladivostok, American citizens serve in the Inter-Allied Railway Commission, and several hundred Americans pursue their individual destinies in this troubled region of the earth where Japanese troops guard the railway terminals and Japanese finances maintain an artificial, nominal, but powerful government in direct opposition to the actual democratic, authorized government of the Far Eastern Republic.

Needs of Japan.

It is admited that, in this particular moment of her history, Japan must discover an outlet for her people, must provide for herself new and hospital territories for expansion. It cannot be denied that the pressure of her national necessities is very great and unrelenting. But there are instances in Japanese history where economic exploitation and imperialism appear to have become confused in the Japanese calculations, where lawful rights and privileges have become confounded with military domination and merciless extortion.

The memory of the world, in which there is treasured so much of good and evil, may no longer dwell on the benevolent absorption of Korea, but the small episode of Shantung was not so swiftly set aside. It may be argued that Shantung was a minor stroke of imperialism, delivered opportunely and according to the rules of the game. Certainly it cannot be declared that Japan instigated the process of appropriating choice morsels of territory in China. Indeed, it may be said that Japan acquired this art from a veritable galaxy of past masters.

All of which does not alter the circumstance that a civilized society of nations, under the inspiration of a terrible and blinding necessity, is earnestly endeavoring to escape the black practices which are part and parcel of lawless aggression. If Japan, the new disciple of Occidental method and proceedure, has not yet become aware that the antiquated diplomatic and military dogmas are gradually yielding to a more human and healthy creed of action, then Japan must be taught this valuable lesson by the somewhat indirect and prolonged process of public condemnation.

Power of Public Opinion.

For, when all is said and done, the power of public opinion forced Japan to capitulate in the question of Shantung. It is true that this gigantic weapon of public opinion has been somewhat recently forged and that thefull measure of its power is yet to be estimated. As I have mentioned, however, neither the suavity nor the adroitness of the diplomats was equal to the emergency of Shantung; in this instance the diplomats became but the medium for the expression of the righteous anger of the peoples of the world.

Now, in Siberia today, Japan is enforcing her policy with the traditional accessories of the past. Through a system of intrigue, through the instigation of civil warfare, Japan is acquiring the artificial control of territory which does not fall within the lawful scope of her natural inheritances. While the representatives of the Japanese Government were negotiating at the Washington conference, the Japanese War Ministry at Tokyo dictated a secret military policy in Siberia which was the complete denial of the inspired eloquence of her statesmen.

Secret Dispatches Sent.

On November 28, during the week of the deliberations at Washington, the Japanese War Minister cabled to General Tachibana at Vladivostock that he must immediately report the time when the Provisional Government expected to finish the work of liberating the Maritime Region. That is to say, the Provisional Government financed by the Japanese and under the presidency of a Russian gentleman by the name of Merkuloff, was occuping itself with the problem of subjugating the civilian population and of acquiring special rights. It must not be forgotten that it is the Tokyo tradition to liberate a region through the direct method of seizing the territory in dispute and placing it under Japanese domination.

In this particular cable dispatched to the high command at Vladivostok stress is laid upon the minor circumstance that the state of affairs in the Far Eastern Republic was unsatisfactory. It is entirely probable that with murder, revolution and civil warfare broadcast in the land the Tokyo War Office was touched by a moment of trepidation or of indecision. In any event, detailed information was requested from the general in charge. He was especially commanded to forward reports from the two authorized Japanese missions functioning openly at two strafic railway junctions.

The Tokio war office, it appears, was in need of reassurance. **It may even have been that, at that moment, the cables from Washington were none too conciliatory. For it was at a somewhat later date that the Siberian question was perfunctorily canceled from the official agenda.**

A second cable dispatched by the war office on the same day enters into the fine details of the situation. One may judge that a nameless decision of the American consular corps was not acceptable. Since this is a description which might refer to an entire gamut of verdicts rendered by the American consul it would be profitless to discover the identical proclamation which proved unacceptable to Tokyo. Suffice it to say that Tokyo reaffirmed a willingness to continue the financial aid imperative to the Siberian expedition. Suffice it to say that General Tachibana was warned that it was imperative to guard all possible opportunity for freedom of action.

This particularly discursive communication from Tokyo initiates the general in certain pre-eminently diplomatic strata. It is made manifest to him in no uncertain terms that he is to prevent the proposal of the American representatitve to establish a common point of view with the French representative. From which one may judge that both the Americans and the French in Vladivostok were not in entire accord with the Japanese program in Siberia. It may even have been feared that a local combination of American and French opinion would have precipitated an unhappy opposition in Washington.

The succeeding sentence in the Tokyo cable may be interpreted in but one manner. The situation does not allow any foreign interference and especially American. It may be inferred, however, that the search and arrest of Major Clarke, the request on the part of Major Clarke that he be alloted a guard of United States marines, contributed directly to the plain statement from the Japanese war minister. The letter written by Major Clarke bears the date November 21. The Tokyo cable is marked November 28. However, when every attendant implication of the cable has been considered and set aside the unalterable fact remains that at this partciular moment. American interference was especially undesirable.

Major Clarke Tells of His Arrest by Order of Jap High Command

FOLLOWING is the letter from Major F. M. Clarke, U. S. A., giving the details of his arrest and detention in October of 1921 by order of the Japanese High Command:

VLADIVOSTOK, November 21, 1921.

Confidential.
Captain L. C. Richardson,
U. S. S. Albany, etc.
My Dear Sir:

At the secret order of the Japanese High Command, Major General Tachibana, General Staff and Ministry of War, Tokio, acting on an elaborate program to discredit John F. Stevens and the Inter-Allied Technical Board, American Railway Mission, and their influence at the Washington Conference and elsewhere throughout, * * * I was arrested October 23 in my private car, kept there under twenty armed men with armed officers under guard from 7 a. m. to 7 p. m., and in the presence of the American Consul my person, car and all belongings of my Lett, Chinese and other employes searched and an elaborate protocol of the proceedings made, with apologies and also resulting defamation by all Japanese and pro-Japanese agencies.

Owing to the humiliating, demoralizing and dangerous effect resulting from this secretly devised, suddenly executed and ostentatiously carried out exploit apparently under the auspices of our Government by the Department of State in its entity, the American Consulate here, I brought my car and those with me and placed them under your protection and a guard of Marines supplied by you to patrol constantly the premises.

The situation is graver than at first believed possible, and in this single instance, in my judgment, before it is prudent for my establishment to move from here in the performance of our duties, it is paramount to be assured that the Secretary and Department of State do not intend that while in the service of the Inter-Allied Technical Board and the Government's concerns, including our own, any of the Department's agents or those of any other branch of our Government shall devise directly or indirectly with the Government of Japan to any other foreign Power or its tools a secret and sudden arrest and search of me, my domicile and my belongings of my helpers in my domicile.

To this end and owing to the demoralization of our communications and my isolation by recent events, I respectfully request your aid and the aid of the Asiatic fleet in transmitting this communication to Mr. John F. Stevens, Chairman Inter-Allied Technical Board, care the Secretary of State, Washington.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,
MAJOR F. M. CLARKE,
Representative Technical Board.

HEN IS FOE OF RODENTS.

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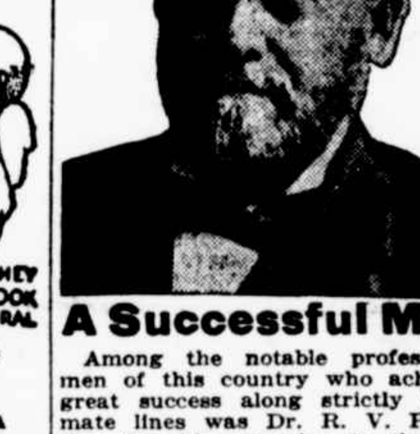

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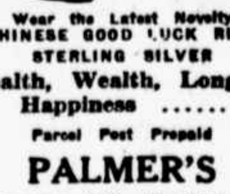

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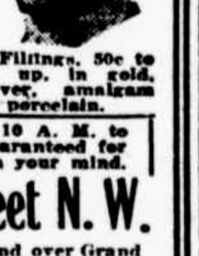

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