

HOMER CUMMINGS CHAMPIONS LEAGUE OF NATIONS COVENANT MONROE DOCTRINE OF WORLD

Says Oppressed Peoples of Earth Will Look in Vain to Republican Platform Which, He Declares, Conceals a Sword for Mexico and Is the Work of Men Concerned More With Material Things Than With Human Rights.

San Francisco, June 28.—The League of Nations covenant was championed as the "Monroe Doctrine of the world," by Homer Cummings, temporary chairman of the Democratic National Convention, in his keynote address here today.

Of the peace treaty's defeat in the Senate, he said: "No blacker crime against civilization has ever soiled the pages of our history."

He characterized the Republican platform as "reactionary and provincial." "Filled with premeditated slanders and vague promises, it will be searched in vain for one constructive suggestion for the reformation of the conditions which it criticizes and deplures," he continued.

"The oppressed peoples of the earth will look to it in vain. It contains no message of hope for Ireland; no word of mercy for Armenia; and it conceals a sword for Mexico. It is the work of men concerned with material things more than with human rights. It contains no thought, no purpose which can give impulse or thrill to those who love liberty and hope to make the world a safer and happier place for the average man."

The address in full was as follows: Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention:

At this high hour when the destinies not only of political parties but of peoples are at stake; when social unrest is everywhere apparent; when existing forms of government are being challenged, and their foundations disturbed or swept away, it is well for us, here in America, to pause for a period of solemn deliberation.

We, who assemble in this great convention, counsel together, not merely as members of a party, but as children of the Republic. Love of country and devotion to human service should purge our hearts of all unworthy or misleading motives. Let us fervently pray for a Divine Blessing upon all that we undertake. Let us pledge ourselves anew to equality of opportunity; the unity of our country above the interests of groups or classes; and the maintenance of the high honor of America in her dealings with other nations.

The people will shortly determine which political instrumentality is best suited to their purposes, most responsive to their needs. They will have before them many platforms and many promises. In what direction will they turn? There is no better way of judging the future than by the past. We ask, therefore, that the people turn from the passions and the prejudices of the day to the consideration of a record as clear as is enduring.

Republican Leadership.

The Republican party was unsuccessful in the elections of 1912 because it had persistently served special interests and had lost touch with the spirit of the time. Those who controlled its destiny derived their political inspiration from "the good old days of Mark Hanna" and neither desired a new day nor were willing to recognize a new day when it had dawned. To each pressing problem, they sought merely to supply the processes of antiquity.

There were elements in the Republican party which were intolerant of its mental sloth and moral irresponsibility. These influences sought to gain party control in 1912 and again, in 1916. They renewed the hopeless struggle at the convention recently held at Chicago.

Despite these efforts, the leaders who have manipulated the party mechanism for more than a generation, are still in undisputed control.

The Republican platform, reactionary and provincial, is the very apotheosis of political expediency. Filled with premeditated slanders and vague promises, it will be searched in vain for one constructive suggestion for the reformation of the conditions which it criticizes and deplures. The oppressed peoples of the earth will look to it in vain. It contains no message of hope for Ireland; no word of mercy for Armenia; and it conceals a sword for Mexico. It is the work of men concerned more with material things than with human rights. It contains no thought, no purpose which can give impulse or thrill to those who love liberty and hope to make the world a safer and happier place for the average man.

Democratic Achievements.

The Democratic party is an unending party—a free party—owing no allegiance to any class or group or special interest. We were able to take up and carry through to success the great progressive program outlined in our platform of 1912. During the months which intervened between March 4, 1912, and the outbreak of the World War, we placed upon the statute books of our country more effective, constructive and remedial legislation than the Republican party had placed there in a generation.

The income tax was made a permanent part of the revenue producing agencies of the country, thereby relieving our law of the reproach of being unjustly burdensome to the poor. The extravagances and inequities of the tariff system were removed; and a non-partisan tariff commission was established so that future revisions might be made in the light of accurate information, scientifically and impartially obtained. Pan-Americanism was encouraged; and the bread thus cast upon the international waters came back to us many fold. The great reaches of Alaska were opened up to commerce and development. Dollar diplomacy was destroyed. A corrupt lobby was driven from the national capitol. An effective Seaman's act was adopted. The Federal Trade Commission was created. Child labor legislation was enacted. The parcel post and the rural free delivery were developed. A good roads bill and a rural credits act were passed. A Secretary of Labor was given a seat in the cabinet of the President. Eight hour laws were adopted. The Clayton amendment to the Sherman anti-trust act was passed, freeing American labor and taking it from the category of commodities. The Smith-Lever bill for the improvement of agricultural conditions was enacted. A corrupt practices act was adopted. A well considered war-guarantee act was passed. Federal employment bureaus were created. Farm loan

banks, Postal Savings banks and the Federal reserve system were established. These enactments, and many other provisions of a remedial character, had a cleansing and quickening effect upon the economic life of our country. The farmer was freed from the deadening effects of usurious financial control. Labor was given its Magna Charta of liberty. Business and finance were released from the thrall of uncertainty and hazard. The economic life of America was refreshed by the vitalizing breath of economic freedom.

This extraordinary narration sounds like a platform of promises. The sober fact is that it is an inadequate recital of actual performance. It constitutes Democracy's response to the demands of social justice. It is our answer to the antiquated slander that the Democratic party is unable to understand the great affairs of the country.

The Federal Reserve System.

If the Democratic party had accomplished nothing more than the passage of the Federal Reserve act, it would be entitled to the enduring gratitude of the nation. This act supplied the country with an elastic currency controlled by the American people. Panic—the recurring phenomena of disaster which the Republican party could neither control nor explain—are now but a memory. Under the Republican system, there was an average of one bank failure every twenty-one days for a period of nearly forty years. After the passage of the Federal Reserve system, there were, in 1915, four bank failures; in 1916 and 1917, three bank failures; in 1918, one bank failure, and in 1919, no bank failures at all. The Federal Reserve system, passed over the opposition of the leaders of the Republican party, enabled America to withstand the strain of war without shock or panic; and ultimately made our country the greatest creditor nation of the world.

Achievements in War.

And then the great war came on. Ultimately, by the logical steps of necessity, our peace-loving nation was drawn into the conflict. The necessary war legislation was quickly supplied.

A war finance corporation was created. War risk insurance was provided. Shipbuilding laws re-established America's supremacy upon the seas. The office of alien property custodian was created. A war industries board was established. A war trade board was created. Food and fuel regulations were formulated. Vast loans were successfully floated. Vocational training was provided. A national council of defense was created. Industry was successfully mobilized.

Almost overnight, the factories of the nation were made a part of the war machine, and the miraculous revival of the shipping industry filled the ocean lanes with our transports.

Our fleet laid the North sea mine barrage. We sent fighting craft to every sea and brought new courage and inventive genius to the crucial fight against the U-boat.

In transporting our troops to France, we never lost a man in a ship conveyed by the American navy.

One of the first decisions was between the "volunteer system" and the selective draft. Many patriotic citizens strongly deprecated conscription and dreaded its possibilities. The administration, however, placed its influence behind the measure, secured its passage, and made possible the winning of the war.

It proved a democratic system assuring equal service, equal danger and equal opportunity. At one stroke of the pen, bounty jumping, and the hired substitutes that had disgraced the management of the Civil War were made impossible. The selection of men to go to the front was placed not merely in the hands of the civil authorities, but actually in the hands of the friends and neighbors of the men eligible for service. No fundamental law was ever administered with such scrupulous honor. Not one breath of scandal touched this legislation; and so cheerfully was it accepted that today, the term "draft dodger" is an epithet of reproach in any community.

Partisanship was put aside in the selection of General Pershing as leader of our forces and no military commander in history was ever given a freer hand or more unflinching support. The policy of selecting officers through training camps avoided the use of political favorites and guaranteed competent leadership for the youth of the land. Ten million men registered within three months from the declaration of war and thirty-two camp cities, complete in every municipal detail, were built in ninety days.

In France, we had to construct our own docks, railroad lines, storage depots, hospitals and ordnance bases. We had to cut down the forests for our barracks. In June, two months after the declaration of war, our fighting men were in France; in October, Americans were on the firing line; in scarcely more than a year, we had two million men in France, had whipped the enemy at Belleau Wood, beaten them back at Chateau Thierry, wiped out the St. Mihiel salient and delivered the terrific hammer blow at Sedan that virtually ended the war.

Less than two years ago, General Haig, with the bluntness of a soldier, said: "The British Army is fighting with its back to the wall"; Lloyd George was crying: "It's a race between Wilson and Hindenburg"; and France clung like a drowning man to the Rock of Verdun, turning agonized eyes toward America. And America came. We challenge the critics of the Administration to point out how, within the limits of human possibility, the war could have been won more promptly or with less loss of American life.

It was not by mere chance that these things were accomplished. To readjust the processes of peace so as to serve the activities of war require leadership of unexampled skill. Petty criticisms of minor defects and individual officials may for a time attract a superficial attention, but the significant things, the great outstanding facts, plead eloquently for the Democratic cause.

Let no one misunderstand us. These

great affairs were carried forward under the stimulus of American patriotism, supported by the courage and the spirit of our people. All this is freely and gladly acknowledged, but surely the time has come when, because of the calculated criticism and the premeditated calumnies of the opposition, we are entitled to call attention to the fact that all of these things were accomplished under the leadership of a great Democratic Administration. We have no apologies to make—not one. We are proud of our great Navy; we are proud of our splendid army; we are proud of the power of our country and the manner in which that power has been used; we are proud of the work that America has done in the world; we are proud of the heroism of American men and women; and we are proud of the inspired and incomparable leadership of Woodrow Wilson.

Has not the time come when all Americans, irrespective of party, should begin to praise the achievements of our country rather than to criticize them? Surely a just and righteous sense of national pride should protect us from the insensate assaults of mere partisans. We fought a great war, for a great cause, and we had a leadership that carried America to greater heights of honor and power and glory than she has ever known before in her entire history. If the American flag must be lowered, it will be hauled down in a Republican Convention and not in a Democratic convention.

Partisan Investigations

It is this shining record of tremendous achievement that Republican managers and the Chicago platform seek to shame and besmirch. Various Congressional committees, which for want of a more appropriate term, are called "smoking committees" were appointed for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not there was any graft in the conduct of the Great War. Over eighty investigations have been made, over two million dollars have been wasted, and the one result has been to prove that it was the cleanest war ever fought in the history of civilization.

Through the hands of a Democratic administration, there have passed more than forty billion of dollars, and the finger of scorn does not point to one single Democratic official in all America. It is a record never before made by any political party in any country that ever conducted a war.

If Republican leaders are not able to rejoice with us in this American triumph, they should have the grace to remain silent, for it does not lie in the mouths of those who conducted the Spanish-American war to indulge in the luxury of criticism. What was there in this war to compare with the typhoid infected camps and the paper sold shoe controversy of 1898? What was there in this war to compare to the embalmied beef scandal of the Spanish-American War? Despite all their investigations, not one single Democratic official has either been indicted or accused or even suspected; and the only dignitary in America, of any outstanding political significance who is moving in the direction of the penitentiary, is Frank Newberry, of Michigan.

The very power of the Republican Party to conduct a partisan investigation of the war, to criticize the president, to control the organization of the Senate and to wreck the prospect of

world peace, rests upon a bare majority of one, secured through the tainted senatorial vote from Michigan.

The Republican Party became so fixed in its incorrigible habit of conducting investigations that it finally turned to the fruitless task of investigating itself. For the first time since they entered upon this program they discovered fraud and graft and gross and inexorable expenditures. The revelations disclose the fact, long understood by the initiated, that the meeting at Chicago was not a convention but an auction. The highest bidder, however, did not get the prize. The publicity which overtook the proceedings frustrated the initial purpose. In more senses than one, the recent Chicago convention has left the Democratic party as the sole custodian of the honor of the country.

The Cost of the War.

There are men so small in spirit, so pitifully cramped in soul, that they suggest that the war cost too much. The Republican platform echoes this complaint. It was indeed, an expensive war. War is the most wasteful thing in the world. But is money to be measured against the blood of American soldiers? Would it not be better to spend a billion dollars for shells that were never exploded, than to have one American boy on the firing line minus an essential cartridge. Was it not better to prepare for a long war and make it short, than to prepare for a short war and make it long? When criticism is made of the expense of war, let us not forget that we bought with it the freedom and the safety of the civilization of the world.

Preparedness.

Again, they say that we were not prepared for war. In a strict military sense, a democracy is never prepared for war; but America made ready in a way that was far more effective than by maintaining, at enormous cost, great armaments, which neither party ever advocated and which our people would never approve.

Wars are not fought by armies alone. They are fought by nations. It is a measuring of the economic strength of nations. The front line trench is no stronger than the forces which lie behind the trench. The line of communication reaches back to every village, farm, counting house, factory and home. America prepared by making the economic life of the country sound.

What would have been our situation, if, prior to the outbreak of the war, we had not prepared so that our farmers were able to feed the armies of the world? What would have been our situation if labor had not been willing to

follow the leadership of the President? What would have been the situation if we had not established a currency system which made it possible for us to finance the war? What would have been the situation if the Republican party had been in control and had maintained its old attitude toward legislation? There would have been an inevitable breaking down of the economic structure of our country. We would have been caught in the throes of a panic more devastating than any we had ever known. Industrial life would have been disorganized and the tasks of war, difficult as they were, might then have become altogether impossible.

The Republican Record Since 1918.

The Republicans have now been in control of the Senate and the House for more than a year. They won the election of 1918 upon the faith of alluring promises. They said that they

would earnestly support the President, at least, until the tasks of war were finished. It was their contention that they would enter upon the work of reconstruction with superior intelligence and even with greater patriotism than would be possible under Democratic leadership. They gave publicly, when they entered upon the recent session, to detailed and ambitious statements as to their program. If we are to be judged, as I hope we may be, by the record, let them also be judged by the record. What have the Republicans accomplished since their political suc-

cess in 1918? What beneficial results have flowed to the American people? What promises have been redeemed? What progress has been made in the settlement of foreign or domestic questions? Twice the President went before Congress, since the termination of hostilities, calling attention to needed legislation. He urged the passage of laws relating to profiteering; measures to simplify and reduce taxation; appropriate action relative to the returning

(Continued on Page Four.)



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