

DEMOCRATIC WAR POLICY DEBATED BY J. BRUCE KREMER

National Committee Vice Chairman Tells Portland People of Tasks Faced During Years. MEETS CHARGE OF WASTE

Speed in Assembling and Training Military Forces Shown to Call for Money to Spare Men.

Portland Democrats came out in full force Monday night to attend the mass meeting held in the Healey theatre to inaugurate the tour of the Democratic national committee, which is to be made throughout the state. The house was thronged before the rally opened.

Addresses were made by Homer S. Cummings, chairman of the national committee; J. Bruce Kremer of Montana, vice chairman; W. J. Cochrane, publicity director; W. R. Hollister, executive secretary; Mrs. George Bant, chairman of the women's bureau, and Mrs. Alexander Thompson and M. L. T. Hadden.

The meeting was presided over by Harvey G. Starkweather, chairman of the state central committee. In addition to the speakers, prominent Democrats occupying the platform were Samuel L. Garland, Walter M. Pierce of La Grande, Oswald West, F. S. Myers, Colonel Robert Miller, Dr. J. W. Morrow, Milton A. Miller, George A. Lovjoy, Judge Thomas Crawford, Judge James Ralley, George W. Johnson, William Gates, Bert H. Hays, C. Bryant Oils, L. Longley, G. E. Vetter, George Smith and Newton McCoy.

PROGRESSIVE WAVE FEELT

The principal address of the evening was delivered by Chairman Cummings. He said:

"In Oregon, perhaps as acutely as in any other part of the country, there developed in 1912 a progressive movement. This progressive movement grew out of a belief that the Republican party, which had been long dominant in national affairs had failed to meet the needs of the people. That belief became impressed in an increasingly acute way upon the minds of the people. There was a sentiment sufficiently strong to justify an open attack upon old methods.

"It was not going to review the history that is familiar to you all, but you do recall that in 1912 the Progressive party was formed, and it was formed largely because those forward looking people in the Republican party who founded it were unable longer to endure the dominance of the reactionary element in their own party. What astonishes me now, is the fact that a great many men who were keen and eager back in the days of 1912 for progressive doctrine, are finding their way, more or less, back into the ranks of the Republican party. Many of them took their progressive views seriously and adhered to it, and when the Progressive party broke up they found their place naturally in the Democratic party. Now that alignment is complete. There are many people still in serious doubt as to their political home.

OLD GUARD ABRAIGNED

"I was reading a few days since, the platform of the Progressive party that was adopted in 1912. It was adopted at Chicago on the seventh of August, 1912, and as I look through the document, I find very many interesting things in it. For instance, the fracture of this document arraigned the old parties, using this language: 'Political parties exist to secure responsible government and to execute the will of the people. The deliberate betrayal of its trust by the Republican party, the fatal incapacity of the Democratic party to deal with the new issues, and the progressive movement compelled the people to form a new instrument of government through which to give effect to their will in laws and institutions.'

"These very earnest men and women who assembled at Chicago in 1912 and promulgated this platform, that I solemnly believe, that the Republican party betrayed its trust and that the Democratic party had a fatal incapacity to manage the affairs of the country. I assent to the truth of the assertion that the Republican party had betrayed its trust. I see no reason to doubt the accuracy of that statement, and I see no reason why anyone who entertained that view should revise it. I see no reason growing out of any act of the Republican party which would lead any fair minded or logical person to erase this terrific indictment. I challenge any former Progressive, who is today associated in thinking of associating with the Republican party, to point out what difference there is between the Republican leadership of 1912 and the Republican leadership of 1919, and no Progressive has a right to go back into the Republican party without either apologizing to the leaders of the Republican party in 1912 for mischaracterizing that leadership or admitting that he has ceased to be a progressive and has now become a conservative.

REPUBLICANS UNCHANGED

"When we come to a consideration of the arraignment of the Democratic party platforms of 1912 adopted by the Progressive party, I beg leave to submit that the assertion that the Democratic party showed a fatal incapacity has been disproved abundantly and proved by events. Of course it was an unfair characterization in the first place, because the Democratic party had not had any opportunity to do anything in the management of public affairs, and you cannot very properly characterize a person for incapacity of management unless he has had an opportunity, at least, to attempt to manage.

"These very earnest gentlemen who drafted this document went on and told what they wanted. They called it a 'Covenant with the People,' and set forth their principles and pointed out their proposed reforms. They used this solemn language: 'This declaration is our covenant with the people, and hereby bind the party and its candidates in state and nation to the pledges made herein.' All through that campaign you heard of the covenant which the party had made with the people, and this document itself is headed 'Covenant with the People.' What was it that these earnest gentlemen desired?

PROGRESSIVE PROGRAM

"Glancing hastily through this very interesting document, and touching, for lack of time, only the high spots, we find that they asked for the direct election of United States senators by the people; they desired national legislation looking to the prevention of industrial accidents, occupational disease, overwork, involuntary unemployment, and so forth. There is also a specific plank in favor of prohibition of child labor, and a declaration in regard to the eight-hour day. There is a provision in regard to the business of America, that a commission be appointed to study the complete publicity of those corporate transactions which are of public interest; that a commission be appointed to study competition, false capitalization and special privilege and by continuous trained watchfulness guard and keep open to all the doors of free American commerce. Further, in this document, they said:

"We demand tariff revision because the present tariff is unjust to the people of this country. We demand the Payne-Aldrich bill as unjust to the people. The Republican organization is in the hands of those who have broken, and cannot again be trusted, the promises of necessary downward revision. We pledge ourselves to the establishment of a commission to study the tariff commission. They also said:

"We believe there exists imperative need for prompt legislation for the improvement of our national currency system. We propose the present method of issuing notes through private agencies is harmful and unscientific. The same principle should be applied to the government function and the system should have as basic principles soundness and economy. The national currency should be protected from domination or manipulation by Wall Street or any special interest. We are in favor of the so-called Aldrich currency bill, because the provisions would place our currency and credit system in private hands, not under public control. There, again, was a plank dealing in general terms with a very interesting question. For years the Republican party had endeavored to revise the currency system of this country. Planks in America were constantly recurring phenomena. They seemed to appear at such regularly stated intervals that Republican orators implored the people to believe it was an act of Divine Providence, rather than any incapacity upon their own part.

ACTION LEFT TO WILSON

"The great thing about President Wilson, and the great thing about the Republican party, is that they have gone up and down the country pointing out the inequities of our currency system, while other Democrats in the United States, declaring with fervid eloquence against existing wrongs, it has remained for the Democratic party to remedy the wrong. The Democratic party, under the leadership, again, of President Wilson, and with the support of splendid Democrats in the United States senate, against tremendous opposition, passed the federal reserve act. We had against us Senator Lodge. We had against us Senator Penrose. We had against us Senator Smoot and all the great banking interests of the country. Now, the great thing about this achievement was that it came in the very nick of time. Upon that basis we have erected the foundation of our present industrial structure that ever existed in America. When any man talks about the need for a central bank, or a central bank, understand business or to understand currency, point out to him the federal reserve system, how it was passed, and against what opposition it was enacted, and what beneficial results have followed the enactment of that act.

"It is time to stop this plank. We pledge our party to legislation that will compel strict limitation of all campaign contributions and expenditures, and detailed disclosure of all contributions, as well as after primaries and elections.

"Another plank: 'We pledge our party to establish a department of labor, with seat in the cabinet. They asked for good roads and the extension of the rural free delivery service. All of these measures the Progressives asked for today part of the state law of America. Their hopes have actually been realized through the agency of the Democratic party.

"There was another Progressive plank that I cannot refrain from reading to you. Now, remember this is 1919: 'The Progressive party deplores the survival in our civilization of the barbaric system of warfare among nations with its enormous waste of resources, even in time of peace, and its consequent impoverishment of the life of the toiling masses. We pledge the party to use its best endeavors to substitute judicial and other peaceful means of settling international differences.' This plank in the platform of the Progressive party asks us to do what the states have done in behalf of an agreement among the nations of the earth for the purpose of securing the peace of the world, and even the poor old Republican party, on the platform of 1916, upon which Mr. Hughes ran for president, has a plank asking for a treaty to secure the peace of the world. All the best thoughts of the earth for years and years have been looking for the time when peace should be secured, when wars would no longer be necessary. Men have dreamed about it, poets have written about it. Think now, here for the first time in the history of the world, it is possible to secure it. For the first time in all our centuries, we have got the nations of the earth together, and nations are united upon a document which, while not perfect, is the greatest thing that has ever been given to humanity. Our president has devoted all his talent to that thing, all of his great knowledge of history, all of his splendid statesmanship, all of his common sense and all of his common sense, to bring home with the fruits of his labor. There are men in this country—God pity them—who are still in the habit of going out to criticize the president of the United States while he was engaged in that great work.

"I think that the round robin senators, for instance, have taken infinite pains to make their own infamy immortal. And I don't believe that the people of America will tolerate that kind of leadership. I don't believe that the people of America will support these men, who, for the sake of partisan purposes, are trying to wreck the greatest project of international peace that was ever promoted by the statement of the Progressive party.

"I feel very deeply about these things. I feel so strongly about these things that I can scarcely employ parliamentary language in the expression of the attitude of these dissenting elements. I sometimes think their attitude is due to an unaccountable jealousy of the president. They seem not to be jealous of the president. No one has a right to

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same class. The League of Nations is well understood by the common people. Only learned senators are confused about it.

"I am glad that at this critical period of the history of the world, the Democratic party has instinctively turned its face to the light. And as I think back upon the time of Thomas Jefferson, when that great Democrat was writing the famous declaration that made America free, I am glad to think that God, in his infinite wisdom, in a time of great trouble, has given to the people another great Democrat, who has been engaged in writing a document of liberty that is destined to make the whole world free.

"The address of Vice Chairman Kremer was as follows:

"We are charged with having been extravagant in our expenditures in the conduct of the war. So meet this charge we stand at the bar of public opinion, submitting the determination of our cause to a jury whose verdict the Democratic party has ever been willing to accept.

"In April, 1917, when the United States entered the world war, the flames of hell had burst forth and in a mighty conflagration were consuming the very heart of civilization. The eyes of the old world were turned to America. The allies retreated, rightly offered a prayer that America might soon reach European shores to prevent brutal despotism from taking fully into its grasp the whole of Europe. The stupendous task of sending an army to engage in the conflict was before the American people. At that hour the nation shook with a terror of patriotism. Partisan politics were forgotten and the greater spirit of unified America was abroad in the land. It was urged that without delay an army be raised to fight under the standard of our country in foreign field. It was declared by many that it would be impossible in this free country to induce the people to consent to conscription, but knowing the heart of America, the administration advocated the speedy enactment of a conscription act, and ten million youths were registered in less than two months after the declaration of war.

"The colossal task of caring for and training a great army confronted those upon whom rested the responsibility of administering the affairs of our nation. As if by magic, within 90 days, 32 camps were built, each capable of housing and caring for 40,000 men. Within two months the commanding general of the army of America and his staff were on the soil of France. Training camps for officers were started, and in August—less than four months after the declaration of war, more than 7,000 commissioned officers fully instructed and equipped, were furnished by the war department for the leadership of men enrolled in our glorious army.

"At this time, it must be borne in mind that France and England were tasked to the utmost with their own military undertakings. Port facilities were totally inadequate for the handling of the supplies of the armies then in Europe, and America was called upon to make its own preparations upon foreign soil. Thirteen thousand foresters, sons of descendants of those men who through-out the primal forests of America built the first habitations upon our soil, were, with determination and vigor, hewing at the forests of France to supply timber for barracks, docks and railroad facilities to be used by America's army.

"The task of transporting our men was studied and it shall ever be written to the glory of America that an army of nearly three million men was transported across the Atlantic and landed at docks built by America, thus seemingly by miracle accomplishing a feat which seemed impossible.

SHIPPING IS PROVIDED

"Four hundred and thirty-one ships, product of American labor, totalling over 8,000,000 deadweight tons, were quickly placed upon the sea and engaged in the transport service of our army. With dispatch therefore unknown, our troops were sent to France, and America became a fighting factor upon the soil of the old world.

"All this was accomplished amid the cheering approbation of our entire nation, and at that time no carping critics dared raise their voices to declare that the expenditure was too lavish.

"Within a year after our declaration of war, the sons of America were fighting side by side with the forces of our allies.

"It is not my purpose to attempt to follow America's accomplishments, upon the field of battle, but only to show the marvelous achievement in an incredibly short space of time, and now is it not well to ask who directed these almost inconceivable operations, and upon whom would the responsibility of failure have fallen? Truly upon that same administration must fall the responsibility of defeat or the glory of victory.

"The mere recital of these facts is but to indicate that billions of dollars were necessarily expended to achieve a glorious end.

CARE OF ARMY IMPORTANT

"Not only was it necessary to train, arm, equip and transport our men, but realizing the sacrifices made by them to the end that their country be served, it became incumbent upon those charged with the responsibility to see that every care and attention was received by them. Health condition was a factor to be reckoned with as much as the deadly shell of the enemy, and it is interesting to compare the accomplishment of the present administration with the administration of 1893. The disease death rate per thousand during the war with Spain was 28. In the war just ended, the disease death rate was 4.4 in the United States and 4.7 in the American Expeditionary Force, and in this connection we must recall that the ravages of the influenza epidemic were sweeping not only our country but the countries abroad. For the first time in history, the deaths from disease in an army were less than the deaths in battle. In the Japanese-Russian war, the Japanese army established a record in cutting down the deaths from disease, but it remained for America to completely reverse, for the first time, the disease and bullet fatalities. Every care and every attention was afforded the soldiers of America, and 30,000 officers

of the medical corps, the best men in their profession, were assembled for the purpose.

"To the charge of expending money, the Democratic party pleads guilty, but it asks the people of the land to determine, in the light of accomplishment, whether or not the expenditures were wisely made. The opposition said we could not conduct a war. We ask them to meet up upon the plain of comparison. They were charged with the responsibility of conducting the Spanish-American war and the Filipino insurrection. What are there in the way just closed that can compare with the typhoid infested camps of that war? What is there in this war that can be compared to the embalmed beef horror of that war? What is there to compare with the paper-sole shoes scandal of that war, that not only shall the soldier receive his tuition free, but that allowance shall be made for his support and maintenance during the period of his education. And not only that, but during his education his dependents shall receive support from the governmental treasury.

"Woodrow Wilson, upon our entry into the war, declared that we were fighting for humanity. We fought for humanity, but our soldiers, who shed their blood in America's cause, find that America is casting the mantle of protection about them and pointing to the future showing the fields of promise.

"The government of the United States, through the wisdom of a Democratic congress, has provided that those who have so suffered might be educated for trade, avocation or profession at the expense of the government, and more— that not only shall the soldier receive his tuition free, but that allowance shall be made for his support and maintenance during the period of his education. And not only that, but during his education his dependents shall receive support from the governmental treasury.

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of the medical corps, the best men in their profession, were assembled for the purpose.

"To the charge of expending money, the Democratic party pleads guilty, but it asks the people of the land to determine, in the light of accomplishment, whether or not the expenditures were wisely made. The opposition said we could not conduct a war. We ask them to meet up upon the plain of comparison. They were charged with the responsibility of conducting the Spanish-American war and the Filipino insurrection. What are there in the way just closed that can compare with the typhoid infested camps of that war? What is there in this war that can be compared to the embalmed beef horror of that war? What is there to compare with the paper-sole shoes scandal of that war, that not only shall the soldier receive his tuition free, but that allowance shall be made for his support and maintenance during the period of his education. And not only that, but during his education his dependents shall receive support from the governmental treasury.

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