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no man can say that both were wise and creditable.

I have said that this government lost the moral forces of the world by not truly interpreting the spirit of the American democracy.

The American democracy stands for something more than beef and cotton and grain and manufactures; stands for something that cannot be measured by rates of exchange and does not rise or fall with the balance of trade. The American people, informed by their own experience that is confirmed by their observation of international life, have come to see that the independence of nations, the liberty of their peoples, justice and humanity cannot be maintained upon the complaisance, the good nature, the kindly feeling of the strong toward the weak; that real independence, real liberty, cannot rest upon deference; that peace and liberty can be preserved only by the authority and observance of rules of national conduct founded upon the principles of justice and humanity; only by the establishment of law among nations, responsive to the enlightened public opinion of mankind. To them liberty means not liberty for themselves alone, but for all who are oppressed. Justice means not justice for themselves alone, but a shield for all who are weak against the aggression of the strong.

To this people the invasion of Belgium brought a shock of amazement and horror. If the public opinion of the world was to remain silent upon that, neutral upon that, then all talk about peace and justice and international law and the rights of man, the progress of humanity and the spread of liberty is idle chatter, mere weak sentimentality; then opinion is powerless and brute force rules and will rule the world. If so difference is recognized between right and wrong then there are no moral standards. There come times in the lives of nations as of men when to treat wrong as if it were right is treason to the right.

The Wrong Done to Belgium.

The American people were entitled not merely to feel, but to speak concerning the wrong done to Belgium. It was not like interference in the internal affairs of Mexico or any other nation, for this was an international wrong. The law protecting Belgium which was violated was our law and the law of every other civilized country. That law was the protection of our peace and security. It was our safeguard against the necessity of maintaining great armaments and wasting our substance in continual readiness for war. Moreover, that law was written into a solemn and formal convention, signed and ratified by Germany and Belgium and France and the United States in which those other countries agreed with us that the law should be observed.

There was no question here of interfering in the quarrels of Europe. We had a right to be neutral, and we were neutral as to the quarrel between Germany and France, but when as an incident to the prosecution of that quarrel Germany broke the law which we were entitled to have preserved and which she had agreed with us to preserve we were entitled to be heard in the assertion of our own national right.

Neutral Between Right and Wrong!

Yet the American government acquiesced in the treatment of Belgium and the destruction of the law of nations. Without one word of objection or dissent to the repudiation of law or the breach of our treaty or the violation of justice and humanity in the treatment of Belgium our government enjoined upon the people of the United States an indiscriminating and all embracing neutrality, and the president admonished the people that they must be neutral in all respects in act and word and thought and sentiment. We were to be not merely neutral as to the quarrels of Europe, but neutral as to the treatment of Belgium, neutral between right and wrong, neutral between justice and injustice, neutral between humanity and cruelty, neutral between liberty and oppression. Our government did more than acquiesce, for in the first Lusitania note, with the unspeakable horrors of the conquest of Belgium still fresh in our minds, on the very day after the report of the Bryce commission on Belgian atrocities, it wrote these words to the government of Germany:

Recalling the humane and enlightened attitude hitherto assumed by the Imperial German government in matters of international right; and particularly with regard to the freedom of the seas, having learned to recognize the German views and the German influence in the field of international obligation as always engaged upon the side of justice and humanity, etc.

And so the government of the United States appeared as approving the treatment of Belgium. It misrepresented the people of the United States in that acquiescence and apparent approval. It was not necessary that the United States should go to war in defense of the violated law. A single official expression by the government of the United States, a single sentence denying assent and recording disapproval of what Germany did in Belgium, would have given to the people of America that leadership to which they were entitled in their earnest groping for the light. It would have ranged behind American leadership the confidence and morality of the neutral world.

It was not to be. The American government failed to rise to the demands of the great occasion. Gone were the old love of justice, the old passion for liberty, the old sympathy with the oppressed, the old ideals of an America helping the world toward a better future, and there remained in the eyes of mankind only solicitude for trade and profit and prosperity.

Shrank From the Truth.

The American government could not readily have approved the treatment of Belgium, but under a mistaken policy

it shrank from speaking the truth.

Such policies as I have described are doubly dangerous in their effect upon foreign nations and in their effect at home. It is a matter of universal experience that a weak and apprehensive treatment of foreign affairs invites encroachments upon rights and leads to situations in which it is difficult to prevent war, while a firm and frank policy at the outset prevents difficult situations from arising and tends most strongly to preserve peace. On the other hand, if a government is to be strong in its diplomacy its own people must be ranged in its support by leadership of opinion in a national cause worthy to awaken their patriotism and devotion.

We have not been following the path of peace. We have been blindly stumbling along the road that continued will lead to inevitable war.

When our government failed to tell the truth about Belgium it lost the opportunity for leadership of the moral sense of the American people and it lost the power which a knowledge of that leadership and a sympathetic response from the moral sense of the world would have given to our diplomacy. When our government failed to make any provision whatever for defending its rights in case they should be trampled upon it lost the power which a belief in its readiness and will to maintain its rights would have given to its diplomatic representations. When our government gave notice to Germany that it would destroy American lives and American ships at its peril our words, which would have been potent if sustained by adequate preparation to make them good and by the prestige and authority of the moral leadership of a great people in a great cause, were treated with a contempt which should have been foreseen, and when our government failed to make those words good its diplomacy was bankrupt.

Upon the record of performance which I have tried to describe will the American people say that the Democratic party is entitled to be continued in power?

The defects of the present administration arise from two distinct causes. The first is the temperament and training of the president. The second is the incapacity of the Democratic party as it is represented in Washington both in the legislative and in the executive departments either to originate wise policies or to follow them when proposed by others or to administer them effectively if they are established. The Democrats in congress are never controlled except with a club, and government with a club is always spasmodic and defective.

We must not deceive ourselves by assuming that the critical period arising from the great war has passed. The real dangers and the real tests of the strength of our institutions lie before us. The most exacting demands upon the wisdom, the spirit and the courage of our country are still to be made. In this great conflict all forms of government are on trial, democracy with the rest. The principles of national morality are on trial. We must play our part in the universal trial whether we will or no, for upon the result depends directly the question whether our republic can endure.

What Are People to Expect?

But what are the people to expect if the Republican party is restored to power?

This much we can say now: They may expect, with confidence, that their government will meet the

economic situation with which we must deal immediately upon the close of the war, with a policy of moderate but adequate protection to American industry.

They may expect that the government will be administered with the honesty and efficiency which have marked Republican administrations in the past.

They may expect that the best possible course for the preservation of peace will be followed by a foreign policy which, with courtesy and friendliness to all nations, is frank and fearless and honest in its assertion of American rights.

They may expect that their government will stand for full and adequate preparation by the American people for their own defense. The Republican party loves peace and hates war; it abhors and will never submit to military domination; but it is composed of men who love our country and who deem that the independence, the liberty, the honor and the opportunity of the American democracy are not merely to be talked about with weak and flabby sentiment, but are to be maintained and safeguarded by the practical power of a virile and patriotic people. It is clear-sighted enough to see that preparation for defense must have due relation to the possibilities of attack; that under the conditions of modern warfare much preparation must be made before a possible attack or all preparation will be impossible after the attack. The Republican party stands for a citizenship made competent by training to perform the freeman's duty of defense for his country. It stands for a regular army no larger than is necessary, but as large as is necessary to serve as a first line, a nucleus, a source of instruction and of administration for the army of American citizens who may be called upon to defend their country. And the Republican party stands for the gospel of patriotic service to our country by every citizen, according to his ability in peace and in war. It stands for a reawakening of American patriotism. It is not content that while the people of other lands are rendering the last full measure of devotion in sacrifice and suffering and dying for their countries America shall remain alone dull to the call of country and satisfied in the comforts and pleasures of prosperity.

Our Power For Peace.

They may expect that assured readiness for defense will give power to our diplomacy in the maintenance of peace.

They may expect that the power and will of a united people to defend their country will prevent the application to our peaceful and prosperous land of the hateful doctrine that among nations might makes right regardless of the rules of justice and humanity.

They may expect that the manifest potential strength and competency of the nation will maintain the effectiveness and reality of that great policy of national safety which in the declaration of President Monroe forbade the destruction of our security by the establishment of hostile military powers in our neighborhood.

They may expect that their government will not forget, but will ever maintain, the principles of American freedom, the duties of America to the peace and progress of the world and those ideals of liberty and justice for all mankind which above all else make the true greatness of the American democracy.

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