

## WHY GERMANY MUST BE BEATEN

FROM A SPEECH DELIVERED BEFORE THE NEW YORK  
REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION AT SARATOGA  
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THE two prime purposes of the American people at this time, having precedence of all others, are: first to insist upon the absolute and thoroughgoing Americanization of our entire citizenship; and second, to win the war, to win it as speedily as possible, and to end it by the peace of overwhelming victory, a peace which shall guarantee to us, and to our Allies and to all well-behaved nations of the civilized world, lasting relief from the threat and horror of German world dominion.

As regards Americanism, we must insist that there be in this country but one Nationality, the American nationality. There must be no perpetuation in this country of separate national groups, with their separate languages and special loyalties to alien oversea flags. There can be no fifty-fifty Americanism in this country. There is room here only for 100 per cent. Americanism, only for those who are Americans and nothing else. We must have loyalty to only one flag, the American flag; and it is disloyal to the American flag to try to be loyal to any other, whether that other is a foreign flag or the black and red flags which symbolize either anarchy or else treacherous hostility to all for which this nation stands. There is room in this country for but one language, the language of the Declaration of Independence, of Washington's Farewell Address and of Lincoln's

Gettysburg Speech and Second inaugural; the English language. Americanism transcends every party consideration. No man who is not 100 per cent. American is entitled to the support of any party which is itself entitled to be considered an American party. We should treat as disloyal any attempt to carry water on both shoulders, to try to conciliate any half American vote here at home, or to antagonize any of our allies, or to serve Germany by seeking a peace without victory, or a peace as favorable to her as to the nations she has so brutally and unscrupulously wronged. We must set our faces like flint against all foreign racial solidarity in this country; we must treat the Hun within our gates as the worst traitor to this Republic; and we must treat agitation for a premature or inconclusive peace as treason to the Republic. The German spy, the alien enemy here at home, and the even fouler and more despicable native American who serves the alien, should be interned at hard labor — or if his office be rank he should be buried. The surest way to stop the activities of spies and plotters is to shoot every one of them who is caught in a flagrant offense.

This is one side of Americanism. The other and equally important side is to insist that every man who shows himself to be a 100 per cent. American, wholehearted and singleminded in his loyalty to this country, no matter what his birthplace, national origin or creed, be treated as on a full and exact equality with every other good American. The bulk of American citizens in whole or in part of German blood (and I am myself in part of German blood) are absolutely loyal. They have furnished as large and as gal-

lant a proportion of the fighting men of our army and navy as any other element; and of course it is the fighting men who meet and furnish the highest test of sound American citizenship at this time. Moreover, in civil life they furnish their full proportion of the leaders in the movement to insist upon a unified, an unqualified and an undivided American loyalty to our country. These men are fit to fill every civil and military position in this country, from the very highest down. It is not only an outrage, but it is deeply unpatriotic and un-American to discriminate against them in any shape or way. We are all Americans together; and we must neither permit any divided allegiance in our citizenship, nor any attempt to divide our citizenship along lines of old-world nationality, nor any attempt to discriminate between or against good Americans because of their national origin.

Americanism means that we are a nation. But it is no use to be a nation if the nation cannot defend itself, if its sons cannot and will not fight for its existence. The one task to which at this time we must all of us devote all our energies is to win this war and to win it now. We must speed up the war. We must insist upon absolute efficiency in our war activities. We must insist upon a peace conditioned upon the complete overthrow of Germany and the removal of all threat of German world dominion. We have across the seas a most gallant American army. The man is a poor American whose veins do not thrill with pride as he reads of the feats of our fighting men in France. Moreover, at least we have begun to send over enough soldiers to count for something real in the struggle. We have begun to give them

some airplanes. As yet they only have what cannon we can get from the French, and we could get the army across at all only by the lavish use of British ships. But we have seemingly made a real start in ship production and airplane production at home, and we actually have several hundred thousand soldiers at the fighting front. We owe much of this achievement to the work of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs; and we owe even more to the success of the German drive which began in March. At that time our fighting army at the front was smaller than that of Belgium and (in spite of its striking gallantry it could not play a great part) and this represented the sum of our military achievement after a year of war! A very small degree of efficiency in handling the War Department would have meant that our army in France on January 1st would have far surpassed in size and equipment the army we have over there now in July. In such event the German drive would probably have been beaten back at once; exactly as if we had done our duty since the sinking of the *Lusitania* (which was the "Firing on Fort Sumter" of this war), and had prepared in advance, we would have put a couple of million men in the field a year ago; in which event Russia would never have broken, and the war would unquestionably have been over before this. Nine-tenths of wisdom consists in being wise in time.

It is too late to remedy the past. It is a case of spilled milk. But let us avoid spilling the milk in the same fashion in the future. Let us begin to prepare now so that we shall not next year be again apologizing for a shortage of troops, guns, ships and airplanes. For four years the English

and French, and for over three years the Italians have fought our battles, and we have only just begun to fight for ourselves. This is not right. We have a larger population and greater resources than Germany or than France and Great Britain taken together. We have played a poor part in the early stages of the world war. Let us make the finishing of the war an American task. By this time next year we ought to have overseas an army as great as the combined armies of France and England, an army of between three and four million fighting soldiers on the various fighting fronts, and this, considering replacements and non-combatants, means at least six million men. Congress should refuse assent to the War Department's present policy of procrastination in deferring the necessary extension of the age limits for the draft, and in other ways. There should be no further delay. Besides enormously strengthening our army in France we should by this time have declared war on Turkey and to have sent a hundred thousand soldiers to aid our Allies in western Asia. We have had to use English ships to ferry our troops across the Atlantic, and we could use Japanese ships to ferry them across the Pacific.

There must be no peace until Germany is beaten to her knees. To leave her with a strangle-hold on Russia, and, through her vassal allies, Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey, dominant in Central Europe and Asia Minor, would mean that she had won the war and taken a giant stride towards world dominion. Belgium must be reinstated and reimbursed; France must receive back Alsace and Lorraine; Turkey must be driven from Europe, Armenia made free, the Syrian Christians

protected, and the Jews given Palestine. Italian-Austria must go to Italy and Roumanian-Hungary to Roumania. Moreover, we must raise against the German menace the sleeping sword of the Slavs of Central Europe; we must establish the great free commonwealths of the Poles, the Czecho-Slovaks and the Jugo-Slavs, and save the other submerged peoples who are their neighbors. Unless we do all this, unless we stand by all our Allies who have stood by us, we shall have failed in making the liberty of well-behaved civilized peoples secure, and we shall have shown that our announcement about making the world safe for democracy was an empty boast.

These are the tasks set us as regards winning the war and ending the war. Therefore, the men elected this fall should not only be absolutely loyal, but possessed of broad vision, sound common sense, high character and unyielding resolution; for they must grapple with tremendous international questions. A timid man, a half-hearted pacifist or a foolish visionary may do as incalculable harm as the demagogue or conscienceless political trickster. And of course no disloyal man, and no man of merely lukewarm loyalty, should be chosen, no matter what the ticket on which he runs.

Loyalty to the people of the United States is the prime need. This is the people's war. It is not the President's war. It is not the war of Congress. It is the war of the people of the United States. Our whole-hearted and undivided loyalty is due to the country as a whole, and to every public servant, whether President or Senator, executive official or Congressman, precisely to the degree in which that public serv-

ant disinterestedly and efficiently serves the country. We demand loyalty of this type, for it is the only loyalty for self-respecting American freemen.

The events of the last year and a half have shown the necessity of electing a Republican Congress, to support the Administration at every point where it acts vigorously in prosecuting the war, and to supply its deficiencies in the prosecution of the war and in the carrying out of a proper world policy. This country needs a Congress which will give the Administration this kind of vigorous support, and yet will fearlessly supervise, and when necessary investigate, what is being done. Since the war began the Republicans in Congress have acted in a spirit of the largest patriotism, and wholly without regard to questions of politics. For the Administration measures designed for efficiently carrying on the war they have furnished a larger percentage of support than have the Democrats; and where the Administration was wrong, the bulk of the Republicans have ventured to withstand it and have stood by the country, whereas the bulk of the Democrats have not done so; although there have been some conspicuous and honorable exceptions. It is only by such conduct that we can win the war and secure the right kind of peace. The need in Congress is for loyal Americans, far-sighted, strong-willed, resolute, who shall represent the people of this country and who shall stand steadfastly by the nation as a whole.

So much for the war. But when we have closed the giant war we must then prepare for the giant tasks of peace. First and foremost

we should act on Washington's advice, and in time of peace prepare against war, so that never again shall we be caught in such humiliating inability to defend ourselves and assert our rights as has been the case during the last four years. In a democracy such preparation should be the duty of the whole people and not merely a part of the people. There should be universal obligatory military training in the field for a period of, say, six months of all our young men between the ages of nineteen and twenty-one. I wish there could be industrial training also; but the six-months' period would have to be lengthened if any serious industrial training is to be added to the military training. Such training would instill into our people a fervent and intense Americanism which would forever free us from the menace of Bolshevism and all of its American variety, from the frank homicidal march of the I. W. W. to the sinister anti-Americanism of the Germanized socialistic party.

The preparation for the tasks of peace must be in the interest of all our people, of those who dwell in the open country and of those who dwell in the cities; of all men who live honestly and toil with head or hand, and of all women just as much as of all men. Often there can be identity of function between men and women, generally there cannot be, but always there must be full equality of right. Women have the vote in this state. They should be given it at once in the nation at large. And in the councils of this state, and in the councils of our party, women should be admitted to their share of the direction on an exact equality with the men, and whenever it is

wisely possible their judgment and directive power should be utilized in association with men rather than separately.

In our industrial activities, alike of farmer, wage worker and business man, our aim should be coöperation among ourselves, and control by the state to the degree necessary, but not beyond the degree necessary, in order to prevent tyranny and yet to encourage and reward individual excellence. Business men should be permitted to coöperate and combine, subject to such regulation and control by the Government as will prevent injustice and sharp dealing among themselves or towards their employees, or as regards outsiders and the general public. There should be no penalizing of business merely because of its size, although, of course, there is peculiar need of supervision of big business. Government ownership should be avoided wherever possible; our purpose should be to steer between the anarchy of unregulated individualism and the deadening formalism and inefficiency of widespread state ownership. From time to time it has been found and will be found necessary for the Government to own and run certain businesses, the uninterrupted prosecution of which is necessary to the public welfare and which cannot be adequately controlled in any other way, but normally this is as inadvisable as to permit such business concerns to be free from all Government supervision and direction. Normally, and save where the necessity is clearly shown, our aim should be to encourage and stimulate private action and coöperation subject to Government control. Profiteering out of the war should be stopped, but it is mere common sense to say that proper profit making

should be encouraged, for unless there is a profit the business cannot run, labor cannot be paid, and neither the public nor the Government can be served. And the misery in which this country was plunged before our business was artificially stimulated by the outbreak of the world war shows the need of a protective tariff.

Labor likewise should have full right to coöperate and combine, full right to collective bargaining and collective action; subject always, as in the case of capital, to the paramount general interest of the public, of the commonwealth; and the prime feature of this paramount general interest is that each man shall do justice and shall receive justice. Hereafter in a very real sense labor should be treated, both as regards conditions of work and conditions of reward, as a partner in the enterprises in which it is associated; housing and living conditions must be favorable; effort must be made to see that the work is interesting, there must be insurance against old age, sickness and involuntary unemployment; and a share in the money reward for increased business success, whether it comes from efficiency shown in speeding up or from labor-saving machinery or from any other cause. And on the other side there must be no restriction of output, no levelling down, no failure by the man to exert his full powers, and to receive the full reward to which his individual excellence entitles him; and no failure to recognize that unless there is a proper reward for the capital invested and for the management provided, absolute industrial disaster will result to every human being in this country.

The welfare of the farmer stands as the bed-rock welfare of the entire commonwealth. Hith-

erto he has not received the full share of industrial reward and benefit to which he is entitled. He can receive it only as the result of organization and coöperation. Along certain lines the Government must itself coöperate with him; but normally most can be accomplished by coöperation among the farmers themselves, in marketing their products, in buying certain things which they particularly need, and in joint action along many lines. The state can wisely supplement such work of coöperation, but most of such work it cannot with wisdom itself undertake.

These, in brief outline, are the tasks of rebuilding and upbuilding which are before us when peace comes. But the prime needs now are the needs of war. We must insist that this whole country be unified, nationalized, Americanized, and that no division of our American loyalty and American citizenship along the lines of national origin or of adherence to an alien flag be for one instant tolerated. We must insist upon speeding up the war, so that our giant strength may be fully utilized, and next year our armies overseas at least equal in the aggregate to the German armies. We must refuse any peace except the peace of overwhelming victory, a peace which will guarantee us against the threat of the German world dominion by securing to every well-behaved civilized power its real and complete freedom.