Republican Party's Platform as Adopted

Chicago, June 11.—(U. P.)—Following is the Republican platform: The Republican party, assembled in representative national convention, reaffirms its unyielding devotion to the constitution of the United States and to the guarantees of civil, political and religious liberty therein contained. It will resist all attempts to overthrow the foundations of the government or weaken the force of its controlling principles and ideals, whether these attempts be made in the form of an international policy or domestic agitation.

For seven years the national government has been controlled by the Democratic party. During that period a war of unparalleled magnitude has shaken the foundations of civilization, decimated the population of Europe and left in its trail economic misery and suffering second only to war itself.

The outstanding features of the Democratic administration have been complete unpreparedness for peace.

Inexcusable failure to make timely preparation is the chief indictment against the Democratic administration in the conduct of the war. Had not our associates protected us, both on land and sea, during the final 12 months of our participation and furnished to the very day of the armistice with munitions, planes and artillery, this failure would have been punished with disaster. It directly resulted in unnecessary losses to our gallant troops, in the imperilment of victory itself and in an enormous waste of public funds literally poured into the breach created by gross neglect. Today it is reflected in our huge tax burden and in the high cost of living.

Peace found the administration as unprepared for peace as war found it unprepared for war. The vital needs of the country demanded for early and systematic return to a peace-time basis. This called for vision, leadership and intelligent planning. All three have been lacking. While the country has had to shift for itself, the government has continued on a war-time basis.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

(a) League of Nations:

The foreign policy of the administration has been founded upon no principle and directed by no definite conception of our nation's rights and obligations. It has been humiliating to America and irritating to other nations, with the result that after a period of unexampled sacrifice, our motives are suspected, our moral influence impaired and our government stands discredited and friendless among the nations of the world.

We favor a liberal and generous foreign policy founded upon definite moral and political principles, characterized by a clear understanding of and a firm adherence to our own life and unfailing respect of the rights of others. We should afford adequate protection to the life, liberty and property and all international rights of every American citizen, and require a proper respect for the American flag, but we should be equally careful to manifest a just regard for the rights of other nations. A scrupulous observance of our international engagements when lawfully assumed is essential to our own honor and self-respect and the respect of other nations, subject to a due regard for our international obligations; we should leave our country free to develop its civilization along lines most conducive to the happiness and welfare of the people and to test its influence on the side of justice and right should occasion require.

MEXICAN POLICY

(b) The ineffective policy of the present administration in Mexican matters has been largely responsible for the continued loss of American lives in that country and upon our border; for the enormous loss of American and foreign relations with Mexicans, and for the bringing of American ideals of justice and national honor and political integrity into contempt and ridicule in Mexico and throughout the world.

The policy of wordy, futile, written protests against the acts of Mexican officials, explained the following day by the president himself as being meaningless, and not intended to be considered seriously or in force, has but added to degree to that contempt, and had earned for us the sneers and jeers of Mexican bandits, and added insult upon insult against our national honor and dignity.

We should not recognize any Mexican government unless it be a responsible government, willing and able to give sufficient guarantee that the lives of American citizens are respected and protected; that wrongs will be promptly corrected, and just compensation will be made for injuries sustained. The Republican party pledges itself to a consistent, firm and effective policy toward Mexico that shall enforce respect for the American flag, and that shall protect the rights of American citizens lawfully in Mexico to security of life and enjoyment of prosperity in accordance with establishment of international law or treaty rights.

The Republican party is the sincere friend of the Mexican people. In its insistence upon the maintenance of order for the protection of American citizens within its borders, a great service will be rendered the Mexican people themselves, for a continuation of present conditions means disaster to their interests and patriotic aspirations.

ARMENIAN SITUATION

(c) Mandate for Armenia:

We condemn President Wilson for asking congress to empower him to accept a mandate for Armenia. We commend the Republican senate for refusing the president's request to empower him to accept the mandate for Armenia. The acceptance of such mandate would throw the United States into the very maelstrom of European quarrels.

According to the estimate of the Harboard commission, organized by authority of President Wilson, we would be called upon to send 59,000 American boys to police Armenia and to expend $276,000,000 in the first year and $756,000,000 in five years. This estimate is made upon the basis that we would have only roving bands to fight, but in cases of serious trouble with the Turks or with Russia, a force exceeding 200,000 would be necessary.

No more striking illustration can be found of President Wilson's disregard of the lives of American boys or of American interests.

We deeply sympathize with the people of Armenia, and stand ready to help them in all proper ways, but the Republican party will oppose now and hereafter the acceptance of a mandate for any country in Europe or in Asia.

The Republican party stands for agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world.

We believe that such an international institution must be based upon international justice and must provide methods which shall maintain the rule of public right by the development of law and the decision of impartial courts, and which shall secure instant and general international conferences whenever peace shall be threatened by political action, so that the nations pledged to do and insist upon what is just and fair may exercise their influence and power for the prevention of war.

We believe that all this can be done without the compromise of national independence, without depriving the people of the United States in advance of the right to determine for themselves what is just and fair, when the occasion arises, and without involving them as participants and not as peacemakers in a multitude of quarrels, the merits of which they are unable to judge.

The covenant signed by the president at Paris failed signally to accomplish this great purpose and contains stipulations not only intolerable for an independent people, but certain to produce the injustice, hostility and controversy among nations which it proposed to prevent.

That covenant repudiated to a degree wholly unnecessary and injustifiable the time-honored policies in favor of peace declared by Washington and Jefferson and Monroe and pursued by all American administration for more than a century, and it ignored the universal sentiment of Americans for generations past in favor of international law and arbitration, and it rested the hope of the future upon near-expediency and devotion.

The unfortunate insistence of the president upon having his own way without any change and without regard to the opinions of a majority of the senate, which shares with him in the treaty making power, and the president's demand that the treaty should be ratified without any modification created a situation in which senators were required to vote upon their consciences and their oaths according to their judgment against the treaty as it was presented, submit to the command of a dictator in a matter where the authority and the responsibility under the constitution were there and not here.

The senators performed their duty faithfully. We approve their conduct and honor their courage and fidelity. And we pledge the coming Republican administration to such agreement with the other nations of the world as shall meet the full duty of America to civilization and humanity, in accordance with American ideals and without surrendering the right of the American people to exercise this judgment and its power in favor of justice and peace.

Pointing to its history and relying on its fundamental principles, we declare that the Republican party has the genius, courage and constructive ability to end an executive usurpation and restore constitutional government to fulfill our world obligation without sacrificing our national independence to raise the national standard of education, health and general welfare; to reestablish an efficient administration and to substitute economy and efficiency for extravagance and chaos; to restore and maintain the national credit; to reform unequal and burdensome taxes; to free business from arbitrary and unnecessary official control; to suppress disloyalty without the denial of justice; to repeal the arrogant challenge of any class and to maintain a government of all the people as contrasted with government for some of the people; and finally to allay unrest, suspicion and strikes and to secure the cooperation and unity of all citizens in the solution of the complex problems of the day, to the end that our country, happy and prosperous, proud of its past, sure of itself and of its institutions, may look forward with confidence to the future.

The administration has not demobilized the army of place holders. It continued a method of financing which was indefensible during the period of reconstruction. It has used legislation passed to meet the emergency of war to continue its arbitrary and inquisitorial control over the life of the people in time of peace and to carry confusion into industrial life.

Under the despot's plea of necessity or superior wisdom, executive usurpation of legislation and judicial functions still undermines our institutions. Eighteen months after the armistice, with its war-time powers unabridged, its war-time departments undischarged its war-time army of place holders still mobilized, the administration continues to flounder helplessly.

The demonstrated incapacity of the Democratic party has destroyed confidence, weakened the authority of government and produced a feeling of distrust and hesitation so universal as to increase enormously the difficulties of readjustment and to delay the return to normal conditions. Never has our nation been confronted with graver problems. The people are entitled to know in definite terms how the parties purpose solving these problems. To that end, the Republican party declares its policies and program to be as follows:

We undertake to end the executive autocracy and to restore to the people the constitutional government.

The policies herein declared will be carried out by the federal and state governments, each acting within its constitutional powers.

AGRICULTURE

A large and contented body of farm proprietors is the backbone of the nation. National greatness and economic importance demand a population distributed between industry and the farm, and sharing on equal terms the prosperity which is wholly dependent on the efforts of both. Neither can prosper at the expense of the other without inviting joint disaster.

The crux of the present agricultural condition lies in prices, labor and credit.

The Republican party believes that this condition can be improved and agricultural production encouraged by the right to form cooperative associations for marketing their products subject to regulation by federal authority; the scientific study of agricultural prices, with a view to relieving the frequency of abnormal fluctuations; the authorization of associations for the extension of personal credit; a national inquiry on the coordination of rail, water and motor transportation, with adequate facilities for receiving, handling and marketing food; the encouragement of our export trade, and the encouragement of the production and importation of fertilizing material and of its extensive use.

The federal farm loan act should be so administered as to facilitate the acquisition of farm lands by those desiring to become owners and proprietors, and thus minimize the evils of farm tenantry.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

There are two different conceptions of the relations of capital and labor. The one is contractual and emphasizes the diversity of interests of employer and employe. The other is that copartnership in a common task.

We recognize the justice of collective bargaining as a means of promoting good will, establishing closer and more harmonious relations between employers and employes, and realizing the true ends of industrial justice.

The strike or the lockout, as a means of settling industrial disputes, inflicts such loss and suffering on the community as to justify government initiative to reduce its frequency and limit its consequences.

We deny the right to strike against the government; but the rights and interests of all government employes must be safeguarded by impartial laws and tribunals.

PUBLIC UTILITIES

In public utilities we favor the establishment of an impartial tribunal to make an investigation of the facts and to renderd a decision to the end that there may be no organized interruption of service necessary to the lives and health and welfare of the people. The decisions of the tribunals should be morally but not legally binding, and an informed public sentiment be relied on to secure their acceptance. The tribunals, however, should refuse to accept jurisdiction except for the purpose of investigation, as long as the public service be interrupted. For public utilities, we favor the type of tribunal provided for in the transportation act of 1920.

In private industries we do not advocate the principle of compulsory arbitration, but we favor impartial commissions and better facilities for voluntary mediation, conciliation and arbitration, supplemented by that full publicity which will enlist the influence of an aroused public opinion. The government should take the initiative in inviting the establishment of tribunals or commissions for the purpose of voluntary arbitration and of investigation of disputed issues.

We demand the exclusion from interstate commerce of the products of convict labor.

NATIONAL ECONOMY

A Republican congress reduced the estimate submitted by the administration for the fiscal year 1920 almost $3,000,000,000 and for the fiscal year 1921 over $1,225,000,000.

Greater economies could have been effected had it not been for the stubborn refusal of the administration to cooperate with congress in an economy program. The universal demands for an executive budget is a recognition of the inconvertible fact that leadership and sincere assistance on the part of the executive departments are essential to effective economy and constructive retrenchment. The Overman act invested the president of the United States with all the authority and power necessary to restore the federal government to a normal peace basis and to reorganize, retrench and mobilize. The dominant fact is that 18 months after the armistice the United States government is still on a war-time basis and the expenditure program of the executive reflects war-time extravagance rather than rigid peace-time economy.

As an example of the failure to retrench which has characterized the post-war policy of the administration, we cite the fact that, not including the war and navy departments, the executive departments and other establishments at Washington actually record an increase subsequent to the armistice of 2184 employes. The net decrease in payroll costs contained in the 1921 demands submitted by the administration is only one per cent under that of 1920. The annual expenses of federal operation can be reduced hundreds of millions of dollars without impairing the efficiency of the public service. We pledge ourselves to a carefully planned readjustment to a peace-time basis and to policy of rigid economy, to the better coordination of departmental activities, to the elimination of unnecessary officials and employes, and to the raising of standard individual efficiency.

We congratulate the Republican congress on the enactment of a law providing for the establishment of an executive budget as a necessary instrument for a sound and business-like administration of the national finances, and we condemn the veto of the president which defeated this great financial reform.

REORGANIZATION

Reorganization of federal departments and bureaus: We advocate a thorough investigation of the present organization of the federal departments and bureaus, with a view to securing consolidation, a more business-like distribution of functions, the elimination of duplication, delays and other lapping of work, and the establishing of an up-to-date and efficient administrative organization.

WAR POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

The president clings tenaciously to his autocratic war-time powers. His veto of the resolutions declaring peace and his refusal to sign the bill repealing war-time legislation, no longer necessary, evidences his determination not to restore to the nation and to the states the form of government provided for by the constitution. This usurpation is intolerable and deserves the severest condemnation.

TAXATION

The burden of taxation imposed upon the American people is staggering; but in presenting a true statement of the situation we must face the fact that, while the character of the taxes can and should be changed, an early reduction of the amount of revenue to be raised is not to be expected. The next Republican administration will inherit from its Democratic predecessor a floating indebtedness of over $3,000,000,000, the prompt liquidation of which is demanded by sound financial considerations.

Moreover, the whole fiscal policy of the government must be deeply influenced by the necessity of meeting obligations in excess of $5,000,000,000, which mature in 1923. But sound policy equally demands the early accomplishment of that real reduction of the tax burden which may be achieved by substituting simple for complex tax laws and procedure, prompt and certain determination of the tax liability for delay and uncertainty, tax laws which do not form tax laws which do excessively mulct the consumer or needlessly repress enterprise and thrift.

We advocate the issuance of a simplified form of income return, authorizing the treasury department to make changes in regulations effective only from the date of their approval, empowering the commissioner of internal revenue, with the consent of the taxpayer, to make final and conclusive settlements of tax claims and assessments, barring fraud and the creation of a tax board consisting of at least three representatives of the taxpaying public and the heads of the principal divisions of the bureau of internal revenue to act as a standing committee on the simplification of forms, procedure and law, and to make recommendations to the congress.

BANKING AND CURRENCY

The fact is the war, to a great extent, was financed by a policy of inflation through certificate borrowing from the banks and bonds issued at artificial rates sustained by the low discount rates established by the federal reserve board. The continuance of this policy since the armistice lays the administration open to severe criticism. Almost up to the present time the practices of the federal reserve board as to credit control have been frankly dominated by the conveniences of the treasury.

The results have been a greatly increased war cost, a serious loss to the millions of people who in good faith bought Liberty bonds and Victory notes at par, and extensive post-war speculation, followed today by a restricted credit for legitimate industrial expansion. As a matter of public policy we urge all banks to give credit preference to essential industries.

The federal reserve system should be free from political influence, which is quite as important as its independence of domination by financial combinations.

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

The prime cause of the high cost of living" has been: First and foremost, a 50 per cent depreciation in the purchasing power of the dollar, due to a gross expansion of our currency and credit. Reduced production, burdensome taxation, swollen profits and the increased demand for goods arising from a fictitious but enlarged buying power, have been contributing causes to a greater or lesser degree.

We condemn the unsound fiscal policies of the Democratic administration which have brought these things to pass and their attempts to impute the consequences to minor and secondary causes. Much of the injury wrought is irreparable. There is no short way out and we decline to deceive the people with vain promises. But as the political party that throughout its history has stood for honest money and sound finance, we pledge ourselves to earnest and consistent attack upon the high cost of living by rigorous avoidance of further inflation in our government borrowing, by courageous but intelligent deflation of overexpanded credit and currency by encouragement of heightened production of goods and services, by prevention of unreasonable profits, by exercise of public economy and stimulation of private thrift, and by revision of war-imposed taxes unsuited to peace-time economy.

We condemn the Democratic administration for failure impartially to enforce anti-profiteering laws enacted by the Republican congress.

RAILROADS

We are opposed to government ownership and operation or employe operation of the railroads. In view of the conditions prevailing in this country, the experience of the last two years and the conclusion which may be fairly drawn from an observation of the transportation systems of other countries, it is clear that adequate transportation service both for the present and future can be furnished more certainly, economically and efficiently through private ownership and operation under proper regulation and control.

There should be no speculative profit in rendering the service of transportation, but in order to do justice to the capital already invested in railway enterprises, to restore railway credit, to induce facilities to meet the requirements of the constantly increasing development and distribution, a fair return upon actual value of the railway property used in transportation should be made reasonably sure and at the same time to provide constant employment to those engaged in transportation service, with fair hours and favorable working conditions at wages or compensation at least equal to those prevailing in similar lines of industry. We indorse the transportation act of 1920 enacted by the Republican congress as a most constructive legislative achievement.

WATERWAYS

We declare it to be our policy to encourage and develop water transportation service and facilities in connection with the commerce of the United States.

REGULATIONS OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

We approve in general the existing federal legislation against monopoly and combinations in restraint of trade, but since the known certainty of a law is the safety of all, we advocate such amendment as will provide American business men with better means of determining in advance whether or not a proposed combination is or is not unlawful. The federal trade commission, under a Democratic administration, has not accomplished the purpose for which it was created. This commission, properly officered and its duties efficiently administered, should afford protection to the public and legitimate business interests.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND TARIFF

The uncertain and unsettled condition of international balances, the abnormal economy and trade situation of the world, and the impossibility of forecasting accurately even the near future, preclude the formulation of a definite program to meet conditions a year hence. But the Republican party reaffirms its belief in the protective principle and pledges itself to a revision of the tariff as soon as conditions shall make it necessary for the preservation of the home market for American labor, agriculture and industry.

MERCHANT MARINE

The national defense and our foreign commerce require a merchant marine of the best type of modern ships flying the American flag and manned by American seamen, owned by private capital and operated by private energy.

We indorse the sound legislation recently enacted by the Republican congress and will insure the promotion and maintenance of the American merchant marine.

We favor the application of the workmen's compensation acts to the merchant marine.

We recommend that all ships engaged in coastwise trade and all vessels of the American merchant marine shall pass through the Panama canal without payment of tolls.

IMMIGRATION

The standard of living and the standard of citizenship of a nation are its most precious possessions and the preservation and elevation of those standards is the first duty of our government.

The immigration policy of the United States should be such as to insure that the number of foreigners in the country at any one time shall not exceed that which can be assimilated with reasonable rapidity and to favor immigrants whose standards are similar to ours.

The selective tests that are at present applied should be improved by requiring a higher physical standard, a more complete exclusion of mental defectives and criminals, and a more effective inspection applied as near the source of immigration as possible, as well as the port of entry. Justice to the foreigner and to ourselves demands provisions for the guidance, protection and better economic distribution of our alien population. To facilitate government supervision all aliens should be required to register annually until they become naturalized.

The existing policy of the United States for the practical exclusion of Asiatic immigrants is sound and should be maintained.

NATURALIZATION

There is urgent need of improvement in our naturalization laws. No alien should become a citizen until he has become genuinely American and adequate tests for determining the alien's fitness for American citizenship provided for by law.

We advocate, in addition, the independent naturalization of married women. An American woman should not lose her citizenship by marriage to an alien resident in the United States.

FREE SPEECH AND ALIEN AGITATION

We demand that every American citizen should enjoy the ancient and constitutional right of free speech, free press and free assembly, and the no less sacred right of the qualified voter to be represented by his duly chosen representatives, but no man may advocate resistance to the law and no man may advocate overthrow of the government.

Aliens within the jurisdiction of the United States are not entitled to right of liberty of agitation directed against the government or American institutions.

Every government has the power to schedule and deport those aliens who constitute a real menace to its peaceful existence. But in view of the large number of people affected by the immigration acts, and in view of the vigorous malpractice of the departments of justice and labor, an adequate public hearing before a competent administrative tribunal should be assured to all.

LYNCHING

We urge congress to consider the most effective means of ending lynching in this country, which continues to be a tribal blot on our American civilization.

OPPRESSED PEOPLES

The Republican party desires to place on record its sympathy with all oppressed peoples and its recognition of the principle that the people of Ireland have the right to determine freely their own governmental institutions and their international relations.

LAW AND ORDER

Without obedience to law and maintenance of order, our American institutions must perish. Our laws must be impartially enforced and speedy justice should be secured.

PUBLIC ROADS AND HIGHWAYS

We favor liberal appropriations in cooperation with the states for the construction of highways, which will bring about a reduction of transportation costs, better marketing of farm products, improvement in rural postal delivery, as well as meet the needs of military defense.

CONSERVATION

The recent passage of the coal oil and phosphate leasing bill by a Republican congress and the enactment of the water power bill are consistent landmarks in the development of the conservation of our natural resources. We deplore the refusal of the president to sign the water power bill passed after 10 years of controversy. Our most pressing conservation question relates to our forests. We are using our forest reserves faster than they are being renewed. The result is to raise unduly the cost of forest products to consumers and in the end to create a timber famine. The federal government, the states and private interests must unite in devising means to meet the menace.

RECLAMATION

We favor a mixed and comprehensive policy of reclamation to increase national wealth and production.

We commend to congress a policy to reclaim lands and the establishment of a fixed national policy of natural resources in relation to reclamation through the now designated government agencies.

THE SERVICE MAN

We hold in imperishable remembrance the valor and the patriotism of the soldiers and sailors of America who fought in the great war for human liberty, and we pledge ourselves to discharge to the fullest the obligations which a grateful nation justly should fulfill, in appreciation of the services rendered by its defenders on sea and on land.

Liberal legislation for the disabled and infirm and their dependents has ever marked Republican policy toward the soldier and sailor of all the wars in which our country has participated. The present congress has appropriated generously for the disabled of the World war. The amounts already applied and authorized for the fiscal year 1920-21 for this purpose reached the stupendous sum of $1,180,571,893. This legislation is significant of the party's purpose in generously caring for the maimed and disabled men of the recent war.

CIVIL SERVICE

We renew our repeated declaration that the civil service law shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable.

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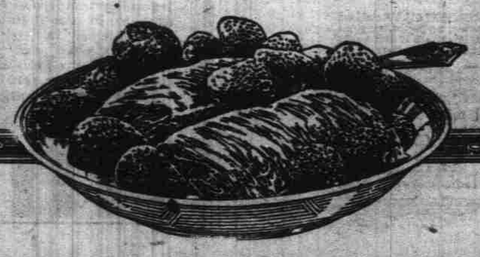

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Five-quart Aluminum Tea kettles.	$2.75	2-qt. Aluminum Rice Boilers	$1.35
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Children's Fine Ribbed Vests and Pants 19c

A fraction of value. Every age from 8 to 15 years. Buy at this price—it's the lowest.

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In white, cordovan, steel gray, champagne, etc. Double heels and toes. Elastic lisle tops. An extraordinary bargain.

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