

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

Cleveland.—The following is the text of the Republican platform as adopted by the convention:

"We, the delegates of the Republican party in national convention assembled, bow our head in reverent memory of Warren G. Harding.

"A staunch Republican, he was first of all a true patriot, who gave unstintingly of himself during a trying and critical period of our national life.

"His conception and successful direction of the limitation of armaments conference in Washington was an achievement which advanced the world along the path toward peace.

"As delegates of the Republican party, we share in the national thanksgiving that in the great emergency created by the death of our great leader there stood forth fully equipped to be his successor one whom we had nominated as vice president—Calvin Coolidge—who as vice president and President, by his every act has justified the faith and confidence which he has won from the nation.

Financial Chaos Inherited.

"When the Republican administration took control of the government in 1921, there were 4,500,000 unemployed; industry and commerce were stagnant; agriculture was prostrate; business was depressed; government bonds were selling below their par values.

"Peace was delayed; misunderstanding and friction characterized our relations abroad. There was a lack of faith in the administration of government resulting in a growing feeling of distrust in the very principles on which our institutions are founded.

"Today industry and commerce are active; public and private credits are sound; we have made peace; we have taken the first step toward disarmament and strengthened our friendship with the world powers; our relations with the rest of the world are on a firmer basis, our position was never better understood, our foreign policy never more definite and consistent. The tasks to which we have put our hands are completed.

"Time has been too short for the correction of all the ills we received as a heritage from the last Democratic administration, and the notable accomplishments under Republican rule warrant us in appealing to the country with entire confidence.

"We demand and the people of the United States have a right to demand rigid economy in government.

FINANCE AND TAXATION

"We believe that the achievement of the Republican administration in reducing taxation by \$1,250,000,000 per annum; reducing the public debt by \$2,432,000,000; installing a budget system; reducing the public expenditures from \$5,500,000,000 per annum to approximately \$3,400,000,000 per annum, thus reducing the ordinary expenditures of the government to substantially a prewar basis; and the complete restoration of public credit; the payment or refunding of \$7,500,000,000 of public obligations without disturbance of credit or industry—all during the short period of three years—presents a record unsurpassed in the history of public finance.

"The assessment of taxes wisely and scientifically collected and the efficient and economical expenditure of the money received by the government are essential to the prosperity of our nation. Carelessness in levying taxes inevitably breeds extravagance in expenditures.

Demand Sound Policy.

"The wisest of taxation rests most lightly on the individual and economic life of the country. The public demand for a sound tax policy is insistent.

"Progressive tax reduction should be accomplished through tax reform. It should not be confined to less than 4,000,000 of our citizens who pay direct taxes, but is the right of the more than 100,000,000 who are daily paying their taxes through their living expenses. Congress has in the main confined its work to tax reduction. The matter of tax reform is still unsettled and is equally essential.

"We pledge ourselves to the progressive reduction of taxes of all the people as rapidly as may be done with due regard for the essential expenditures of the government administered with rigid economy, and to place our tax system on a sound peace time basis.

"We endorse the plan of President Coolidge to call in November a national conference of federal and state officials for the development of the effective methods of lightening the tax burden of our citizens and adjusting questions of taxation as between national and state governments.

Reorganizing U. S. Bureaus.

"We favor a comprehensive reorganization of the executive departments and bureaus along the line of the plan recently submitted by a joint committee of the congress, which has the unqualified support of President Coolidge.

"The improvement in the enforcement of the merit system both by legislative enactment and Executive action since March 4, 1921, has been marked and effective. By Executive or-

der the appointment of Presidential postmasters has been placed on the merit basis similar to that applying to the classified service.

"We favor the classification of postmasters in first, second and third class postoffices, and the placing of the prohibition field forces within the classified civil service without necessarily incorporating the present personnel.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

"The Republican party reaffirms its stand for agreement among the nations to prevent war and preserve peace. As an important step in this direction we endorse the Permanent Court of International Justice and favor the adherence of the United States to this tribunal, as recommended by President Coolidge. This government has definitely refused membership in the League of Nations and to assume any obligations under the covenant of the league. On this we

stand.

"While we are unwilling to enter into political commitments which would involve us in the conflict of European policies it should be the purpose and high privilege of the United States to continue to co-operate with other nations in humanitarian efforts in accordance with our cherished traditions. The basic principles of our foreign policy must be independence without indifference to the rights and necessities of others and co-operation without entangling alliances.

"Judgment is vindicated. This policy, overwhelmingly approved by the people, has been vindicated since the end of the great war. America's participation in world affairs under the administration of President Harding and President Coolidge has demonstrated the wisdom and prudence of the national judgment. A most impressive example of the capacity of the United States to serve the cause of world peace without political affiliations was shown in the effective and beneficent work of the Dawes commission towards the solution of the perplexing question of German reparations.

"The first conference of great powers in Washington called by President Harding accomplished the limitation of armaments and the readjustment of the relations of the powers interested in the Far East.

"We firmly advocate the calling of a conference on the limitation of land forces, the use of submarines and poison gas, as proposed by President Coolidge, when, through the adoption of a permanent reparations plan, the conditions in Europe will make negotiations and co-operation opportune and possible.

"By treaties of peace, safeguarding our rights and without derogating those of our former associates in arms, the Republican administration ended the war between this country and Germany and Austria. We have concluded and signed with other nations during the last three years more than 50 treaties and international agreements in the furtherance of peace and good will.

"Latin-American Affairs. "New sanctions and new proofs of permanent accord have marked our relations with all Latin-America. The long standing controversy between Chile and Peru has been advanced toward settlement by its submission to the President of the United States as arbitrator, and with the helpful cooperation of this country a treaty has been signed by the representatives of 16 American republics which will stabilize conditions on the American continent and minimize the opportunities for war.

"Our difficulties with Mexico have happily yielded to a most friendly adjustment.

"Succor to Russia and Japan "Our policy, now well defined, of giving practical aid to other peoples without assuming political obligations has been conspicuously demonstrated.

"FOREIGN DEBTS "In fulfillment of our solemn pledge in the national platform of 1920, we have steadfastly refused to consider the cancellation of foreign debts. Our attitude has not been that of an oppressive creditor seeking immediate return and ignoring existing financial conditions, but has been based on the conviction that a moral obligation, such as was incurred should not be disregarded.

"We stand for settlements with all debtor countries similar in character to our debt agreement with Great Britain. That settlement, achieved under a Republican administration, was the greatest international financial transaction in history. Under the agreement the United States now receives an annual return on \$4,000,000,000 owing to us by Great Britain, with

a definite obligation of ultimate payment in full.

"The justness of the basis employed has been formally recognized by other debtor nations.

"Great nations cannot recognize or admit the principles of repudiation. To do so would undermine the integrity essential for international trade, commerce, and credit. Thirty-five per cent of the total foreign debt is now in process of liquidation.

"THE TARIFF "We reaffirm our belief in the protective tariff to extend needed protection to our productive industries. We believe in protection as a national policy, with due and equal regard to all sections and to agriculture, industries and occupations. It is only by adherence to such a policy that the well being of consumers can be safeguarded, that there can be assured to American agriculture, to American labor, to American manufacturers a

return to perpetuate American standards of life.

"A protective tariff is designed to support the high American economic level of life for the average family and to prevent a lowering to the levels of economic life prevailing in other lands.

"It is the history of the nation that the protective tariff system has ever justified itself by restoring confidence, promoting industrial activity and employment, enormously increasing our purchasing power, and bringing increased prosperity to all our people.

"Raising Standard of Living "The tariff protection to our industry works for increased consumption of domestic agricultural products by an employed population instead of one unable to purchase the necessities of life. Without the strict maintenance of the tariff principle our farmers will need always to compete with cheap lands and cheap labor abroad and with lower standards of living.

"The enormous value of the protective principle has once more been demonstrated by the emergency tariff act of 1921 and the tariff act of 1922.

"We assert our belief in the elastic provision adopted by congress in the tariff act of 1922, providing for a method of readjusting the tariff rates and the classifications in order to meet changing economic conditions when such changed conditions are brought to the attention of the President by complaint or application.

"AGRICULTURE "In dealing with agriculture the Republican party recognizes that we are faced with a fundamental national problem, and that the prosperity and welfare of the nation as a whole is dependent on the prosperity and welfare of our agricultural population.

"We recognize our agricultural activities are still struggling with adverse conditions, that have brought about distress. We pledge the party to take whatever steps are necessary to bring back a balanced condition between agriculture, industry and labor, which was destroyed by the Democratic party through an unfortunate administration of legislation passed as war time measures.

"We affirm that under the Republican administration the problems of the farmer have received more serious consideration than ever before both by definite Executive action and by congressional action not only in the field of general legislation but also in the enactment of laws to meet emergency situations.

"More Being Consumed Now. "The restoration of general prosperity and the purchasing power of our people through tariff protection has resulted in an increased domestic consumption of food products while the price of many agricultural commodities is above the war price level by reason of direct tariff protection.

"Under the leadership of the President at the most critical time, a corporation was organized by private capital making available \$100,000,000 to assist the farmers of the Northwest.

"In realization of the disturbance in the agricultural export market, the result of the financial depression in Europe, and appreciating that the export field would be enormously improved by economic rehabilitation and the resulting increased consuming power, a sympathetic support and direction was given to the work of the American representatives on the European reparations commission.

"The revival in 1921 of the War Finance corporation, with loans of over \$300,000,000 averted in 1921, a complete collapse in the agricultural industry.

"Financial Help Provided. "We have established new intermediate credit banks for agriculture, and increased the capital of the federal farm loan system. Emergency loans have been granted to drought-stricken areas. We have enacted into law the

co-operative marketing act, the grain futures and packer control acts; given to agriculture direct representation on the federal reserve board and on the federal aid commission.

"We have greatly strengthened our foreign marketing service for the disposal of our agricultural products. The crux of the problem from the standpoint of the farmer is the net profit he receives after his outlay. The process of bringing the average price of what he buys and what he sells closer together can be promptly expedited by reduction in taxes, steady employment in industry and stability in business.

"One Cure for Depression. "This process can be expedited directly by lower freight rates, by better marketing through co-operative efforts, and a more scientific organization of the physical human machinery of distribution and by a greater diversification of farm products.

"We promise every assistance in the reorganization of the market system on sounder and more economical lines, and, where diversification is needed, government assistance during the period of transition.

"Vigorous efforts of this administration toward broadening our export market will be continued. The Republican party pledges itself to the development and enactment of measures which will place the agricultural interests of America on a basis of economic equality with other industry to assure its prosperity and success. We favor adequate tariff protection to such of our agricultural products as are threatened by competition. We favor, without putting the government into business, the establishment of a federal system of organization for co-operative marketing of farm products.

"The mining industry has experienced a period of depression as the result of the abnormal economic conditions growing out of the war. This administration has accomplished much in improving the conditions affecting this great fundamental industry, and pledges itself to continue its efforts in this direction.

"Highways. "The federal aid road act, adopted by the Republican congress in 1921, has been of inestimable value to the development of the highway system of the several states and of the nation. We pledge a continuation of this policy of federal co-operation with the states in highway building.

"We favor the construction of roads and trails in our national forests necessary to the protection and utilization. In appropriations, therefore, the taxes which these lands would pay if taxable should be considered as a controlling factor.

"LABOR "The increasing stress of industrial life, the constant and necessary efforts, because of world competition, to increase production and decrease costs has made it specially incumbent on those in authority to protect labor from undue exactions.

"We commend congress for having recognized this possibility in its prompt adoption of the recommendation of President Coolidge for a constitutional amendment authorizing congress to legislate on the subject of child labor and we urge the prompt consideration of that amendment by the legislatures of the various states.

"There is no success great enough to justify the employment of women in labor under conditions which will impair their natural functions.

"High Standards for Women. "We favor high standards for wages, working and living conditions among the women employed in industry.

"We pledge a continuance of the successful efforts of the Republican administration to eliminate the seven-day, twelve-hour work week in industry. We regard with satisfaction the elimination of the twelve-hour day in the steel industry and the agreement eliminating the seven-day work week of alternate thirteen and eleven hours, accomplished through the efforts of Presidents Harding and Coolidge. We declare our faith in the principle of the eight-hour day.

"We pledge a continuance of the work of rehabilitating workers in industry as conducted by the federal board for vocational education and favor adequate appropriations for this purpose.

"We favor a broader and better system of vocational education, a more adequate system of federal free employment agencies with facilities for assisting the movements of seasonal and migratory labor, including farm labor, with ample organization for bringing the man and his job together.

"RAILROADS "The people demand and are entitled to have prompt and efficient transportation at the lowest rates, consistent with good service and a reasonable return on the value of the property devoted to public service.

"We believe that the American people demand, and we favor, a careful and scientific readjustment of railroad rate schedules with a view to the encouragement of agriculture and basic industries, without impairment of railroad service.

"The present law regulating railroads which were enacted to meet post-war conditions should be modified from time to time as experience shows the necessity therefor.

"The consolidation of railroads into fewer competitive systems, subject to the approval of the interstate commerce commission, should be provided for.



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Labor Board Flexibility.

"The labor board provisions of the present law should be amended whenever it appears from experience that such action is necessary. Collective bargaining, mediation and voluntary arbitration are the most important steps in maintaining peaceful labor relations and should be encouraged. We do not believe in compulsory action at any time in the settlement of labor disputes.

"Public opinion must be the final arbiter in any crisis which so vitally affects public welfare as the suspension of transportation.

"Therefore, the interests of the public require the maintenance of an impartial tribunal which can in an emergency make an investigation of the facts and publish its conclusions. This is essential as a basis for popular judgment.

"We favor a stable, consistent and constructive policy toward our railroads.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL

"The prosperity of the American nation rests on the vigor of private initiative which has bred a spirit of independence and self reliance. The Republican party stands now as always, against all attempts to put the government into business.

"American industry should not be compelled to struggle against government competition. The right of the government to regulate, supervise and control public utilities and public interests we believe should be strengthened, but we are firmly opposed to the nationalization or government ownership of public utilities.

"Plank on Coal Prices. "The price and a constant supply of this essential commodity are of vital interest to the public. The government has no constitutional power to regulate prices, but can bring its influence to bear by the powerful instrument afforded by full publicity. When through industrial conflict, its supply is threatened, the President should have authority to appoint a commission to act as mediators and as a medium for voluntary arbitration. In the event of a strike the control of distribution must be invoked to prevent profiteering.

"MERCHANT MARINE "The Republican party stands for a strong and permanent merchant marine built by Americans, owned by Americans and manned by Americans, to secure the necessary contact with world markets for our surplus agricultural products and manufactures; to protect our shippers and importers from exorbitant ocean freight rates and to become a powerful arm of our national defense.

"GREAT LAKES WATERWAY "Fully realizing the vital importance of transportation in both cost and service to all our people we favor the construction of the most feasible waterways from the great lakes to the Atlantic seaboard and the Gulf of Mexico, and the improvement and development of rivers, harbors, and waterways, inland and coastwise, to the fullest extent justified by the present and potential tonnage available.

"We favor a comprehensive survey of the conditions under which the flood waters of the Colorado river may be controlled and utilized for the benefit of the people of the states which border thereon.

"The federal water power act establishes a national water power policy and the way has thereby been opened for the greatest water power development in history under conditions which preserve initiative of our people, yet protect the public interest.

"WORLD WAR VETERANS "We reaffirm the admiration and gratitude we feel for soldiers and sailors.

"The Republican party pledges a continued and increasing solicitude for all those suffering any disability as a result of service to the United States in time of war. No country and no administration has ever shown a more generous disposition in the care of its disabled, or more thoughtful consideration in providing a sound administration for the solution of the many problems involved in making intended benefits fully, directly and promptly available to the veterans.

"The confusion, inefficiency and maladministration existing heretofore since the establishment of this government agency has been cured and plans are being actively made looking to a further improvement in the operation of the bureau by the passage of new legislation. The basic statute has been so liberalized as to bring within its terms 100,000 additional beneficiaries. The privilege of hospitalization in government hospitals, as recommended by President Coolidge, has been granted to all veterans irrespective of the origin of disability and over \$50,000,000 has been appropriated for hospital construction which will provide sufficient beds to care for all.

"Proof of Party's Intent. "Appropriations totalling over \$1,100,000,000 made by the Republican

congress for the care of the disabled evidences the unmistakable purpose of the government not to consider costs when the welfare of these men is at stake. No legislation for the benefit of the disabled soldiers proposed during the last four years by veterans' organizations has failed to receive consideration.

"We pledge ourselves to meet the problems of the future affecting the care of our wounded and disabled in a spirit of liberality, and with the thoughtful consideration which will enable the government to give to the individual veterans that full measure of care guaranteed by an effective administration machinery to which his patriotic service and sacrifices entitle him.

CONSERVATION

"We believe in the development, effective and efficient, whether of oil, timber, coal or water power resources of this government, only as needed and only after the public need has become a matter of public record, controlled with a scrupulous regard and ever vigilant safeguards against waste, speculation and monopoly.

"The natural resources of the country belong to all the people, and are a part of an estate belonging to generations yet unborn. The government policy should be to safeguard, develop and utilize these possessions. The conservation policy of the nation originated with the Republican party under the inspiration of Theodore Roosevelt. We hold it a privilege of the Republican party to build as a memorial to him on the foundation which he laid.

IMMIGRATION

"The unprecedented living conditions in Europe following the World War created a condition by which we were threatened with mass immigration that would have seriously disturbed our economic life. The law recently enacted is designed to protect the inhabitants of our country, not only the American citizen, but also

(Continued on page 4)

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