

# Democratic Platform

The following is the text of the Democratic platform as adopted by the convention:

We, the representatives of the Democratic party, in national convention assembled, pay our profound homage to the memory of Woodrow Wilson. Our hearts are filled with gratitude that American democracy should have produced this man, whose spirit and influence will live on through the ages; and that it was on his principles that we operated with him to secure the movement of ideals of government which will serve as an example and inspiration for this and future generations. We affirm our abiding faith in those ideals and pledge ourselves to take up the standard which he bore and to strive for the full triumph of the principles of democracy for which he dedicated his life.

## DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES

The Democratic party believes in equal rights to all and special privilege to none. The Republican party holds that special privileges are essential to national prosperity. It believes that national property must originate with the special interests and seep down through the channels of trade to the less favored industries, to the wage earners and small salaried employees. It has accordingly entrenched privilege and nurtured selfishness. The Republican party is concerned chiefly with material things; the Democratic party is concerned chiefly with human rights. The massive burden of the tariff, the arbitrary laws and unjust administration demanding relief. The favored special interests, represented by the Republican party, contented with their unjust privileges, are demanding that no change be made. The Democratic party stands for remedial legislation and progress. The Republican party stands still.

## COMPARISON OF PARTIES

We urge the American people to compare the record of eight unallied years of Democratic administration with that of the Republican administration under the former there was no corruption. The party pledges were faithfully fulfilled, and a Democratic congress enacted an extraordinary number of constructive and remedial laws. The economic life of the nation quickly revived. Tariff taxes were reduced. A federal trade commission was created. A federal farm loan system was established. Child labor legislation was enacted. A good roads bill was passed. Eight-hour laws were adopted. A secretary of labor was given a seat in the cabinet of the President. The Clayton amendment to the Sherman anti-trust act was passed, freeing American labor. By the Smith-Lever bill improvement of agricultural conditions was effected. A corrupt practice act was adopted. A well considered warehouse act was passed. Federal employment bureaus were created, farm loan banks were organized, all reserves system was established. Privilege was uprooted. A corrupt lobby was driven from the national capital. A higher sense of individual and national duty was aroused. A period of quietude and unprecedented period of social and material progress. During the time which intervened between the inauguration of a Democratic administration on March 4, 1913, and our entrance into the World War, we placed upon the statute books of our country more effective, constructive and remedial legislation than the Republican party had placed there in a generation. During the great struggle which followed we had a leadership that carried America to greater heights of honor and power and glory than she had ever known before in her entire history. Translated from his cabinet, the Democratic leadership of the world record of the last three and a half years make the nation ashamed. It marks the contrast between a high conception of public service and a avid purpose to distribute spoils.

## G. O. P. "CORRUPTION"

Never before in our history has the government been tainted by corruption and never has an administration so utterly failed. The nation has been appalled by the revelations of political depravity which have characterized the conduct of public affairs. We arraign the Republican party for attempting to limit inquiry into official delinquencies and to impede, if not to frustrate, the investigations to which in the beginning the Republican party leaders assented, but which later they regarded with dismay. These investigations sent the former secretary of the Interior to Three Rivers in disgrace and dishonor. These investigations revealed the incapacity and indifference to public obligation of the secretary of the navy, compelling him, by force of public opinion, to quit the cabinet. These investigations confirmed the general impression as to the unwisdom of the attorney general by exposing an official situation and personal conduct which shocked the conscience of the nation and compelled his dismissal from the cabinet. These investigations disclosed the appalling conditions of the veterans bureau with its fraud upon the government and its cruel neglect of the sick and disabled soldiers of the World War. These investigations revealed the criminal and fraudulent nature of the oil leases, which caused the congress, despite the indifference of the Executive, to direct recovery of the public domain and the prosecution of the criminal. Such are the exigencies of partisan politics that Republican leaders are teaching the strange doctrine that public censure should be directed against those who expose crime rather than against criminals who have committed the offenses. If only three cabinet officers out of ten are disgraced the country is asked to marvel at how many are free from taint. Long boastful that it was the only party "fit to govern," the Republican party has proven its inability to govern itself. As an agency of government it has ceased to function. The nation cannot afford to intrust its welfare to a political organization that cannot master itself, or to an Executive whose policies have been re-

jected by his own party. To refrain to power an administration of this character would inevitably result in four years more of continued disorder, internal dissension and governmental inefficiency. A vote for Coolidge is a vote for chaos.

## ISSUES ARE SET FORTH

The dominant issues of the campaign are created by existing conditions: "Dishonesty, discrimination, extravagance and inefficiency exist in government. The burdens of taxation have become unbearable. Distress and bankruptcy in agriculture, the basic industry of our country, is affecting the happiness and prosperity of the whole people. The cost of living is causing hardship and unrest. The slowing down of industry is adding to the general distress.

The tariff, the destruction of our foreign markets and the high cost of transportation are taking the profit out of agriculture, mining and other raw material industries. Large standing armies and the cost of preparing for war still cast their burdens upon humanity. These conditions the existing Republican administration has proven itself unwilling or unable to redress. The Democratic party pledges itself to the following program: We pledge the Democratic party to drive from public places all which make barter of our national power, its resources or the administration of its laws; to punish those guilty of these offenses. To put home but the honest in public office; to practice economy in the expenditure of public money; to reverence and respect the rights of all under the Constitution.

To condemn and destroy government by the spy and the blackmailer, as by this Republican administration was both encouraged and practiced.

## TARIFF AND TAXATION

The Forney-McCumber tariff act is the most unjust, unscientific and dishonest tariff tax measure ever enacted in our history. It is class legislation, which defrauds all the people for the benefit of a few; it heavily increases the cost of living, penalizes agriculture, corrupts the government, fosters paternalism, and, in the long run, does not benefit the very interests for which it was intended. We denounce the Republican tariff laws which are written in great part in aid of monopolies and thus prevent that reasonable exchange of commodities which would enable foreign countries to buy our surplus agricultural and manufactured products with resultant benefit to the toilers and producers of America. Trade interchange on the basis of reciprocal advantages

is essential to the well-being of the nation. To the countries participating in a time-honored doctrine of democracy. We declare our party's position to be in favor of a tax on commodities entering the customs house that will promote effective competition, protect against monopoly and at the same time produce a fair revenue to support the government. The greatest contributing factor in the increase and unbalancing of prices is unscientific taxation. After having increased taxation and the cost of living by \$2,000,000,000 under the Forney-McCumber tariff, all that the Republican party could suggest in the way of relief was a cut of \$300,000,000 in direct taxes; and that was to be given principally to those with the largest incomes.

Although there was no evidence of lack of capital for investment to meet the present requirements, of all legitimate industrial enterprises, and although the farmers and general consumers were bearing the brunt of tariff favors already granted to special interests, the administration was unable to devise any plan except one to grant further aid to the few. Fortunately this plan of the administration failed and under Democratic leadership, aided by progressive Republicans, a more equitable one was adopted, which reduces direct taxes by about \$450,000,000.

During the four years of Republican government the economic condition of the American farmer has changed from comfort to bankruptcy, with all its attendant miseries. The chief causes of this are:

- (a) The Republican party policy of isolation in international affairs has prevented Europe from getting back to its normal balance, and, by leaving unsolved the economic problems abroad, has driven the European city population from industrial activities to the soil in large numbers in order to earn the mere necessities of life. This has deprived the American farmer of his normal export trade.
- (b) The Republican policy of a prohibitive tariff, exemplified in the Forney-McCumber law, which has forced the American farmer, with his export market debilitated, to buy manufactured goods at sustained high domestic levels, thereby making him the victim of the profiteer.
- (c) The Republican policy of high transportation rates, both rail and water, which has made it impossible for the farmer to ship his produce to market at even a living profit.

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## AGRICULTURE

We favor a graduated tax upon incomes, so adjusted as to lay the burdens of government on the taxpayers in proportion to the benefits they enjoy and their ability to pay. We oppose the so-called nuisance taxes, sales taxes and all other forms of taxation that normally shift to the consumer the burdens of taxation. We refer to the Democratic revenue measure passed by the last congress as distinguished from the Mellon tax plan as an illustration of the policy of the Democratic party. We first made a flat reduction of 25 per cent upon the tax of all incomes payable this year and then we so changed the proposed Mellon plan as to eliminate taxes upon the poor, reducing them upon moderate incomes and, in a lesser degree, upon the incomes of multimillionaires. We hold that all taxes are unnecessarily high, and pledge ourselves to further reductions. We denounce the Mellon plan as a device to relieve multimillionaires at the expense of other taxpayers, and we accept the issue of taxation tendered by President Coolidge.

## RAILROADS

The sponsors for the Elch-Cummins transportation act of 1910, at the time of its presentation to congress, stated that it had for its purposes the reduction of the cost of transportation, the improvement of service, the bettering of labor conditions, the promotion of peace in co-operation between employer and employee, and the securing at the same time the assurance of a fair and just return to the railroads upon their investment.

We are in accord with these announced purposes, but contend that the act has failed to accomplish them. It has failed to reduce the cost of transportation. The promised improvement in service has not been realized. The labor provisions of the act have proven unsatisfactory in settling differences between employer and employee.

The so-called recapture clause has worked out to the advantage of the strong and has been of no benefit to the weak. The pronouncement in the act for the development of both rail and water transportation has proven futile. Water transportation on inland waterways has not been encouraged, and limitation of our coastwise trade is threatened by the administration of the act.

It has unnecessarily interfered with the power of the states to regulate purely intrastate transportation. It must, therefore, be so rewritten that the high purposes which the public welfare demands may be accomplished. Railroad freight rates should be so readjusted as to give the bulky basic, low-priced raw commodities, such as agricultural products, coal and ores, the lowest rates, placing the higher rates upon more valuable and less bulky manufactured products.

suitable for his needs. (2) By the establishment of these policies and others naturally supplementary thereto, to reduce the margin between what the producer receives for his products and the consumer has to pay for his supplies, to the end that we secure an equality for agriculture.

## RAILROADS

We denounce the action of the Republican administration in its violation of the principles of civil service by its partisan removals and manipulation of the eligible lists in the Post Office department and other governmental departments; by its packing the civil service commission so that that commission became the servile instrument of the administration in its wish to deny to the ex-service men their preferential rights under the law and the evasion of the requirements of the law, with reference to appointments in the department. We pledge the Democratic party faithfully to comply with the spirit as well as the regulation of civil service; to extend provisions to internal revenue officers and to other employees of the government not in executive positions, and to secure to ex-service men preference in such appointments.

## CREDIT AND CURRENCY

We denounce the recent cruel and unjust contraction of legitimate and necessary credit and currency, which was directly due to the so-called deflation policy of the Republican party as declared in its national platform of June, 1920, and in the speech of acceptance of its candidacy for the Presidency. Within eighteen months after the election of 1920 this policy resulted in withdrawing bank loans and discounts by over five billions of dollars and in contracting our currency by over fifteen hundred millions of dollars. This contraction bankrupted hundreds of thousands of farmers and stock growers in America and resulted in widespread industrial depression and unemployment. We demand that the federal reserve system be so administered as to give stability to industry, commerce and finance, as was intended by the Democratic party, which gave the federal reserve system to the nation.

## MUSCLE SHOALS

We reaffirm and pledge the fulfillment of the policy with reference to Muscle Shoals, as declared and passed by the Democratic majority of the Sixty-fourth congress in the national defense act of 1914, "for the production of nitric acid and other products needed for munitions of war and useful in the manufacture of fertilizers." We hold that the production of cheaper and high-grade fertilizers is essential to agricultural prosperity. We demand that the government, in its operation of the Muscle Shoals plants to maximum capacity in the production, distribution and sale of commercial fertilizers to the farmers of the country, and we oppose any legislation that limits the production of fertilizers at Muscle Shoals by limiting the amount of power to be used in their manufacture.

## CONSERVATION

We pledge recovery of the navy's oil reserves, and all other parts of the public domain which have been fraudulently or illegally leased or otherwise wrongfully transferred to the control of private interests; vigorous prosecution of all public officials, private citizens and corporations that participated in these transactions; revision of the water-power act, the general leasing act, and all other legislation relating to public lands and waters; and a certificate of title to all public lands and waters essential to its conservation and honest and efficient use on behalf of the people of the country. We believe that the nation should retain title to its water power and its oil reserves, and should not sell them to the expeditious creation and development of our water power. We favor strict public control and conservation of all the nation's natural resources, such as coal, iron, oil and timber, and their use in such manner as may be to the best interest of our citizens.

## IMPROVED HIGHWAYS

Improved roads are of vital importance not only to commerce and industry but also to agriculture and national life. We call attention to the record of the Democratic party in this matter and favor continuance of federal aid under existing federal and state agencies. Mining is one of the basic industries of this country. We produce more coal, iron, copper and silver than any other country. The value of our mineral productions is second only to agriculture and from the same causes. It is the duty of our government to foster this industry and to remove the restrictions that destroy its prosperity.

## MERCHANT MARINE

The Democratic party condemns the vacillating policy of the Republican administration in its failure to develop an American shipping policy. There has been a marked decrease in the volume of American commerce carried in American vessels as compared to the record under

## WAR AND DEFENSE

War is a relic of barbarism and it is justifiable only as a measure of defense. In the event of war in which the main power of the nation is drafted, all other resources should likewise be drafted. This will tend to discourage war by depriving it of its profits. We demand a strict and sweeping reduction of armaments by land and sea, so that there shall be no competitive military program or naval building. Until international agreements to this end have been made, we advocate an army and navy adequate for our national safety. Our government should secure a joint agreement with all nations for world disarmament and also for a referendum of war, except in case of actual or threatened attack. Those who must furnish the blood and bear the burdens imposed by war should, whenever possible, be consulted before this supreme sacrifice is required of them.

## LAUSANNE TREATY

We condemn the Lausanne treaty. It barter legitimate American rights and betrays Armenia for the Chester oil concession. We favor the protection of American rights in Turkey and the fulfillment of President Wilson's arbitral award respecting Armenia. Republic of Greece—we welcome to the sisterhood of republics the ancient land of Greece, which gave to our party its priceless name. We extend to her government and people our cordial good wishes.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Democratic party pledges all its energies to the outlawing of the whole war system. We refuse to believe that the wholesale slaughter of human beings on the battlefield is any more necessary to man's highest development than is killing by individuals. The only hope for world peace and for economic recovery lies in the organized efforts of sovereign nations co-operating to remove the causes of war and to substitute law and order for violence. Under Democratic leadership a practical plan was devised under which 54 nations are now operating and which has for its fundamental purpose the free co-operation of all nations in the work of peace. The government of the United States for the last four years has had no foreign policy, and consequently it has delayed the restoration of the political and economic agencies of the world. It has impaired our self-respect at home and injured our prestige abroad. It has curtailed our foreign markets and ruined our agricultural prices. It is of supreme importance to civilization and to mankind that America be placed and kept on the right side of the greatest moral question of all time, and therefore the Democratic party renews

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### STATE RIGHTS

We demand that the states of the union shall be preserved in all their vigor and power. They constitute a bulwark against the centralizing and destructive tendencies of the Republican party.

### CIVIL SERVICE

We denounce the action of the Republican administration in its violation of the principles of civil service by its partisan removals and manipulation of the eligible lists in the Post Office department and other governmental departments;

### INSULAR POSSESSIONS

The Filipino people have succeeded in maintaining a stable government and have thus fulfilled the only condition laid down by congress as a prerequisite to the granting of independence. We declare that it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to these people by granting them immediately the independence which they so honorably covet.

### POPULAR ELECTIONS

We pledge the Democratic party to a policy which will prevent members of either house who fall of re-election from participating in the subsequent sessions of congress. This can be accomplished by fixing the date for convening the congress immediately after the biennial national election; and to this end we favor granting the right to the people of the several states to vote on proposed constitutional amendments on this subject.

### ACTIVITY OF WOMEN

We welcome the women of the nation to their rightful place by the side of men in the control of the government whose burdens they have always shared. The Democratic party congratulates them upon the essential part which they have taken in the progress of our country and the zeal with which they are using their political power to the enactment of beneficent laws and the exaction of fidelity in the public service.

### CAMPAIGN FUNDS

The nation now knows that the predatory interest has by supplying Republican campaign funds, systematically purchased legislative favors and administrative immunity. The practice must stop; our nation must return to honesty and decency in politics.

### NARCOTICS, DRY LAW

Recognizing in narcotic addiction, especially the spreading of heroin, a danger to the youth, and to the human race, we pledge ourselves vigorously to take against it all legitimate and proper measures for education, for control, and for the suppression at home and abroad.

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To offset these policies and their disastrous results, and to restore the farmer again to economic equality with other industrialists, we pledge ourselves:

- (a) To adopt an international policy of such co-operation by direct official, instead of indirect and evasive unofficial, means we will re-establish the farmers' export market by restoring the industrial balance in Europe and the normal flow of international trade with the settlement of Europe's economic problems.
- (b) To readjust and lower rail and water rates, which will make our markets, both for the buyer and the seller, national and international, instead of regional and local.
- (c) To bring about the early completion of internal waterway systems for transportation and to develop our water powers for cheaper fertilizer and use on our farms.
- (d) To stimulate by every proper governmental activity the progress of the co-operative marketing movement and the establishment of an export marketing corporation on commission, in order that the exportable surplus may not establish the price of the whole crop.
- (e) To secure for the farmer credits

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