

PROGRESSIVE PROGRAM OUTLINED FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF OREGON BY LINCOLN-TAFT REPUBLICAN LEAGUE

STATE ORGANIZATION SHALL NOT BE USED FOR ANY CANDIDATE---IT DEMANDS PROGRESSIVE POLICIES

County Central Committeemen Are Only Persons Authorized by Law to Speak or Act for the Republican Party—A New and Clean Deal Along Progressive Business Lines Demanded in Every Department of State and National Government—Letters From Young and Old Republicans Who Uphold Popular Policies and Say "Let the People Rule Instead of the Bosses."

Bossism and Machine Methods Must Be Displaced by Strict Compliance With the Laws, as They Stand---If the Laws Are Defective Let Them Be Amended, But While They Stand They Must Be Respected and Enforced.

FUNDAMENTAL REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES.

The Lincoln-Taft Republican League has now a precinct organization of the Republican party and has enrolled hundreds of active working Republicans as charter members, who love the principles of the grand old party more than they do personal or factional success. The Lincoln-Taft League is founded on the following indisputable propositions:

- That the Republican party has a right to have an organization.
- That the Republican party has a right to have a state platform broad enough for all Republicans.
- That there should be a state conference of the county committeemen from all counties to make such a platform.
- That the party shall declare unequivocally for the progressive policies enacted by the people.
- That the party organization shall not be used in the interest of any candidate or faction, and that all nominations shall be made under the Direct Primary law and that all nominees be supported by the organization.

Lincoln-Taft League.

The name adopted for this Republican organization was for the purpose of including all members of the party and not to promote any individual candidacy. In Oregon the direct vote on president and vice president binds the delegation to execute the popular will in the national convention.

Hence we have no right to use the Republican organization in the interests of any local, district, state or national candidate for a Republican nomination, but the Lincoln-Taft league will support Republican candidates nominated under the direct primary law. This league will seek to educate the electorate as to its rights and duties under the law. It will help disseminate Republican principles and inculcate party harmony and maintain legitimate party organization. Citizens in their private capacity have a right to organize to advance the interests of individual aspirants, but official organization has no such privileges.

We Must Pull Together.

This appeal is made to the official committeemen elected by the Republican electorate whom they represent. The county committeemen have in the past been too much ignored by the higher councils of Republicanism.

Self-styled and self-constituted political bosses and managers have usurped the powers of party management and the control of patronage that according to law must be left entirely in the hands of the county committee. There is no other body of men who have any legal authority to act or speak for the Republican party.

Can the Republican party have any safer guides than the fifteen hundred members of the county central committee chosen by the Republican voters direct? A man who will seek that position and then refuse to perform his sworn duty or become a mere cipher is unfit for the high honor of being a Republican leader.

Support the Committeemen.

It is the duty of Republicans to support their precinct representatives on the county committee, as it is his duty to act for the best interests of the party. We must restore the rights and the political importance of these men who stand for the party.

They alone have the right to assemble and consider the party welfare and formulate a declaration of

expressed will of the people. The Republican party, as a political organization must heed the repeatedly expressed demand of the people for a more representative government.

On national issues the people of Oregon have given unwavering support to Republican principles and have rejected all the important Democratic policies. Oregon has never failed to give its electoral college to a Republican candidate for president. Through divisions on state issues Republicans have failed to elect governor and United States senators several times.

Popular Reforms Here to Stay.

While this has happened in other states—notably in New York, Ohio, Indiana, Minnesota and Idaho—there has been less excuse in Oregon than in any of the less progressive states. In Oregon the people have pointed out the way to political success by enacting progressive measures for abolishing the abuses of the convention systems and legislative corruption in election of United States senators. Political leaders who fly in the face of such admonitions of the expressed will of the people invite party defeat. This Republican organization recognizes that the direct primary law, direct election of senators, direct legislation, and the direct recall of all unworthy officials are here to stay and are firmly imbedded in our political structure.

Sustained by the Courts.

The progressive political policies enacted by the people of Oregon have been sustained by a Republican supreme court in Oregon, and the court has been sustained by the people. The appeals taken against the initiative and referendum to the supreme court of the United States are yet to be decided but like the decision of that highest court in the Dred Scott case upholding slavery, a decision declaring that the power of direct legislation does not reside in the people will bring about a political revolution and will result in reconstructing the court that renders such a reactionary opinion.

The Duty of Republicans.

The Republicans of Oregon have then but one duty before them—to march under the banner of progress along the trail blazed by the people in the exercise of their sovereign power as citizens. The Republican party has ever been the standard bearer of political progress. It has never camped as the rear guard of civilization.

It is the duty of all Republicans who love the Grand Old Party of Prosperity and Protection to American industries to see to it that progressive principles prevail and that progressive men are brought to the front and that the Republican party keep up to the music of the union and uphold the flag of the forward march movement.

Samples of Progress.

The Republican party commands the respect of the producers for giving them good prices for products; the support of laborers for giving them good wages, and of the manufacturing and financial interests for giving them stability and protection.

The mention of but one of many progressive achievements under the Taft administration—establishment of postal savings banks—making the masses of the people the bondholders of the national government—is enough to show that the Republican party now, as ever through its past history, has been the champion and for the executive of the people's demands for peaceful progress and prosperity.

Postmaster General Hitchcock has been able by the application of improved business methods to wipe out a deficit of about seven million dollars in the postal service. This proves what the Republican party can do by the injection of an economical system founded on common sense business procedure and what is possible in every department.

The same business economy is possible in every department of state government and a new deal is demanded by the people.

Organization Must Be Clean.

In 1912 we have a president, United States senator and three congressmen to elect. We demand a plan of state organization of the Republican party to which no Republican who stands for sound national principles and progressive policies for the people, can possibly object.

The best thinking Republicans see the need for a practical means of procedure that will not be open to attack as being in violation of any law enacted by the people, and is built upon sound political principles.

The New Party Program.

Give us a state organization standing for progressive Republican poli-



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cles and based upon the legally elected official representatives of the Republican party; to-wit: there are in each county three state committeemen, who are chosen under the direct primary law by the members of the county central committee. The members of the county central committee are the precinct committeemen elected at the direct primaries by the Republicans of each precinct. The 102 state committeemen and about 1200 precinct committeemen are the official representatives of the Republican party. Call these men together to make a state platform, endorsing progressive people's policies enacted by the Republican voters, but not to make nominations. Refer all aspirants for nomination to the rank and file of the party under the direct primary, asking only that every candidate stand on the platform of the party. Cut out all factions, machines and other manifestations of bossism. Such an organization, resting upon the rank and file of the Republican party and recognizing the expressed will of the people in all matters of vital public policy, would be invincible and ought to command the respect of each Republican from the humblest voter to the president of the United States.

Progressive Republicanism Demanded. The Lincoln-Taft Republican League of Oregon, organized immediately after the adjournment of the last legislature, and recognizing no other organization than that afforded under the direct primary law and adopting for its slogan "Progressive Policies for the People," is today the only Republican organization in the state. Standing upon the foundation furnished by the direct primary law, which is, in itself, a very progressive measure, the Lincoln-Taft Republican League naturally stands for progressive policies. It proposes that the Republican party through its official organization endorse all the progressive policies enacted by the people of Oregon. This would include in its platform the direct primary law, direct election of United States senators, direct legislation, and the direct recall of all public officials elected by the people who are found unworthy of the trust reposed in them.

Work Done by Republicans. These distinctively progressive policies have been enacted into laws by the Republican voters of Oregon, and have been indorsed and sustained by a Republican supreme court. When the initiative and referendum amendment to the constitution and the operation of direct legislation were attacked in the supreme court in the first university referendum, Justice Beasly withdrew from the case, being one of the university regents. This left the court composed of two Republican justices and two Democratic commissioners. The two Republican justices wrote the decision upholding the power of direct legislation in the hands of the people. Both of these justices were renominated and re-elected as Republicans. It was Republican voters who made the enactment of these laws possible, and it is a fundamental principle of the Republican party that the majority of the people shall rule and that laws enacted by the majority shall be obeyed, respected and enforced.

Give People Direct Vote. Under a new law enacted by the people of Oregon, the voters will for the first time at the next primary election in the spring of 1912 cast their votes direct in expressing a choice for president and vice-president. Each voter will indicate his preference for a candidate for each of the two high offices. At the same time he will cast one vote for one presidential elector for president and one for vice president. At the same time each voter will cast one vote for a delegate to the national Republican convention. Ten delegates will be chosen from Oregon under this law, but each voter will vote for only one. By this system of proportional or preferential voting, the ten candidates for delegate receiving the highest vote will be the delegates to the national Republican convention. This is a new law and a system of choosing delegates that has never before been tried in Oregon, or any other state in the union. It is liable to lead to confusion, but as a law enacted by the people of Oregon it will be respected, obeyed and enforced through the Lincoln-Taft Republican League.

Ten Delegates to Be Chosen. It proposes to see to it that ten delegates, fairly representing the Republican party of the entire state, are chosen according to the terms of this law. Under this law the Democratic party will choose delegates in the same manner. Under this law the expense of delegates to the national convention, not to exceed \$200 for each delegate, will be paid by the secretary of state auditing a voucher for actual expenses to and from the national convention. Under the existing statute governing elections, no person can be a candidate for election as delegate who at the same primary is a candidate for any other elective office.

State Conference to Be Held. It is the intention of the Lincoln-Taft Republican League, on some appropriate occasion, to hold a conference of all the county, state and congressional committeemen, and all the precinct committeemen from all over

the state for the purpose of formulating a Republican platform. The direct primary law contemplates a party organization and a party platform, but does not provide for any method of making party nominations except by the direct vote of the registered Republican voters. The time has come for the Republican party in Oregon to follow the expressed will of the people in the enactment of progressive policies and assume leadership along progressive lines. Being the first state to express itself in the election of national delegates, Republican voters in Oregon feel that they are shouldering an immense responsibility. To meet the demands of progress and yet maintain the tradition of safe, sane and reasonable principles through which the affairs of a great nation can be guided to permanent prosperity is not a slight undertaking. This is the problem which a Republican organization faces in Oregon.

From a Young Republican. Ajax, Oregon, Oct. 8, 1911. Lincoln-Taft League, Salem, Oregon. Yours received. Enclosed find the names of two good Republicans of my precinct. They are good citizens and workers. They nor myself have not the experience to be of much use to the club, but it is needless to say we're trying to be good citizens. Have found nothing better than the Republican party, so are hanging to it as the best party today, for I am an American citizen. We will ever endeavor to do all we can to further its cause. When my parents gave me the name of Lincoln, father said: "If he is half as good a man as he I will be satisfied." I am fearful I shall have a time of getting that halfway mark. My father and Lincoln were neighbor boys.

With best wishes to the club and yourself, and hoping to be of some service in pushing a reform for the only true thing worth living for, better mankind by better government, administered in an honest administration, yours very truly, LINCOLN L. TURNER.

From an Old Republican. Rock Creek, Oregon, Oct. 1, 1911. Lincoln-Taft League, Salem, Oregon. Your circular letter received and read and contents noted. But in answering I do not desire to be classed as one who shall direct the policies of the Republican party of Oregon, a party whose birth, and its triumphs and defeats have all occurred during my brief lifetime, yet it may not be intruding on your time or patience to express briefly as possible my ideas of a "Progressive Republican."

In doing this I do not hold that the party has made no mistakes in its history. Yet if I am not mistaken it has profited by those mistakes and made progress, and it must continue to do so or cease to exist. I do not look back to its founders as possessing all wisdom, for to do so is to become like the Chinamen, non-progressive. Yet there are certainly several principles that are truths eternal, and any government that discards them must end in anarchy.

A minority in a "democratic government" must never have the power to prevent a majority from executing the laws they may enact. This would lead to anarchy. This was illustrated in the legislative branch of the government in 1857. Because there was no plain provision in our constitution to prevent a minority from absenting themselves from the legislative halls, anarchy was the result, and probably in no other civilized land could anarchy in its legislative body exist so long as it did then without anarchy becoming general in the whole body politic.

We have had again in England, where a body of laborers through a strike practically placed for a brief time the business world almost in a state of anarchy worldwide. So others explain it, it matters not even if this minority have just grievances, they must not be permitted to "hold up" all legislation nor all business.

Do not put my reference in these illustrations as condemning any effort on the part of a minority to obtain a redress of grievances, but one that progressive Republicans must enact efficient laws to prevent all such disorders by having a proper tribunal where labor grievances can have their just claims allowed, yet the business world can continue to do business and legislators can protest against legislation, yet not prevent all legislation.

To conclude, I hold our progressive legislation in Oregon must be so amended as to prevent, as now can be done, a hold-up for two years by such an insignificant few as five per cent of the voters by petition. I would not wipe out initiative or referendum nor the primary law, but amend both as follows:

All laws under initiative should be sent to the voters at least eight months prior to election and by not less than thirty per cent of the voters. All referendums should have thirty per cent of the voters and we should have a precinct registrar before whom they should appear and to give their names to prevent fraud in either case.

In the legislative branch a member should be allowed to introduce but one bill until all these bills were disposed of, except by universal consent of both houses and that only in case of appropriations to suppress in-

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Ladies' Rolled edge rubbers...65c	Men's footholds...75c

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surrection or make up a deficiency to support the asylum, etc., or to prevent an invasion of an armed foe. Our legislation is done in too much of a hurry. Under the present form thousands of voters are so situated that they must vote on laws they never saw, and know only what the title on the ballot says. Deliberation and discussion are the only means to prevent vicious legislation. Socialism will prevail unless some party rectifies our laws and secures to all men equal and just rights. As I am a farmer and have not the practice of a legislator, I'll not add to this already long letter in answer to your letter, save to say that the primary law must be amended to include all parties, however small, in its provision. All parties must be subject to common law. This is but justice. Cost of election and registration must be as economical as possible, but never so economical as to prevent a party from enjoying its benefits. Yours truly, J. E. DAVID.

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