STATE OF OREGON

STATEMENTS AND ARGUMENTS
OF
POLITICAL PARTIES
AND
INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES

General Election
November 2, 1920

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FOREGROUND

The publication and distribution of this pamphlet is authorized under Chapter 207, Laws 1913, and Section 3492, Lord's Oregon Laws.

It contains only such statements as have been submitted by the state executive committees or managing officers of the several political parties or by independent candidates.

These committees have submitted statements in behalf of only those party candidates who have paid for space therefor in the pamphlet.

Many candidates have not availed themselves of the use of the pamphlet.

As required by law, it is mailed only to registered voters whose names have been furnished to the Secretary of State by the various County Clerks.

A complete list of the names of all the candidates for the several offices will be contained on the official general election ballots.

Respectfully,

[Signature]

SECRETARY OF STATE
WARREN G. HARDING
of Ohio
Republican Candidate for President

CALVIN COOLIDGE
of Massachusetts
Republican Candidate for Vice-President

With confidence born of pride in the record of the historic Republican party, and with the belief that the present situation of the Republic demands a return of that party to power we present to the people of Oregon as the candidate of the Republican party for President of the United States, Warren G. Harding of Ohio, a man whose achievements in public life as state senator and lieutenant governor of Ohio, as United States Senator from Ohio, as member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and whose career as a forceful editor and successful business man, stamp him as a man of the highest intellectual attainment, of unswerving courage and fidelity to duty, of sturdy Americanism—in all attributes a man fitted by character, training and ability to grace the highest office in the gift of the American people.

(This information furnished by Oregon Republican State Central Committee; Thos. H. Tongue, Jr., Chairman; Clarence R. Hotchkiss, Secretary.)
For Vice-President we present the name of Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts, a man of presidential size, whose record and patriotism as the war governor of his state commends him as thoroughly capable and deserving of the high honor with which he was invested by the recent Republican National Convention at Chicago.

Stand for America First

The Republican candidates for President and Vice-President stand for all that is highest and best in the hopes and aspirations of the American people. Mr. Harding has spoken for "America First"; for a country united in loyalty to the flag and the constitution; for better conditions for the man who toils and for the women and children of the land; for the ballot for women; for protection to American industries, agriculture and labor; for the efficient and economical administration of the machinery of government; for the reduction of the high cost of living; for the reduction of armaments; for the lowering of the huge burdens of wasteful and extravagant government; for the restoration of our well-tried constitutional form of government; for an association of nations to preserve peace through justice rather than force; for economic and social justice; for improved transportation facilities—railroad, highways and water; for thrift and economy in national affairs; for a national budget system; for a national policy of stimulating better conditions in agriculture and for irrigation and reclamation development; for national preparedness with a small army but the best in the world, and an ample navy; for a genuine expression of our gratitude to our 4,000,000 defenders on land and sea; for law enforcement; for a protective tariff policy; for a great merchant marine.

Ability Wins His Nomination

Mr. Harding was nominated at the Chicago convention by the delegates there assembled from every state in the Union who believed that his integrity, his ability, his character, his statesmanship and his qualities of leadership made him the logical nominee for his party in this hour of the Nation's need. His strong stand for law and order, his defense of our national honor, his struggle as a member of the Senate Foreign Relations committee to safeguard national sovereignty and independence, his sound philosophy of economics and finance, his stand for the steady employment of American labor at a scale of wages sufficient to maintain the American standard of living, his belief in equal opportunity and a square deal for all under the law, his consistent advocacy of the extension of American trade through the establishment of a merchant marine flying the American flag, his varied experience which has given him the sympathetic touch with all classes of our population, his sturdy yet genial personality, all combined to give him the nomination at the Chicago convention and the support of a united party, and he therefore stands before you as your candidate for President upon a platform progressive in its tendencies, forward-looking in its policies and aims, breathing a spirit of devotion to America, and determination that it shall remain in the first rank of the nations of the world.

(This information furnished by Oregon Republican State Central Committee; Thos. H. Tongue, Jr., Chairman; Clarence R. Hotchkiss, Secretary.)
Limited space makes it impossible to go into great detail regarding the life careers of the two Republican standard-bearers but the following brief sketches of their lives are presented:

**Biography of Warren G. Harding**

Warren G. Harding, United States Senator from Ohio, was born on his grandfather's farm where his father, Dr. George T. Harding, then the young village doctor, resided, just outside the village of Blooming Grove, Morrow County, Ohio, November 2, 1865. He was the eldest of eight children, some of whom have achieved more than ordinary distinction; one in medicine, one as a public school instructor, and one as a missionary in a foreign field.

He attended the village school until fourteen years of age, when he entered the Ohio Central College of Iberia, from which he was graduated, standing high in scholarship; and it was there, as editor of the college paper, that he first displayed a talent for journalism.

At odd times he worked in the little printing office in the village. He became an expert typesetter by hand, and when the linotype was first introduced he learned to operate the machine. He is a practical pressman, job printer, and as a make-up man has few equals. The "luck piece" he carries as a Senator of the United States is the old printer's rule he used when he was yet "sticking type."

"The Star" was a struggling daily paper, diminutive in size, in a struggling county-seat town of four thousand inhabitants. Young Harding yearned to possess it and bought it.

**No Strikes on His Paper**

"The Star" today is a prosperous newspaper. It has the widest circulation of any newspaper in a city of 30,000 inhabitants in the Middle West. It is quoted more often than any other paper outside the great cities. There has never been a strike or threatened strike in "The Star" office. His employees found Mr. Harding always liberal and ever generous and they love him as a brother. After he had established his paper on a firm foundation he organized a stock company, distributing shares to permanent employees, and he and they still own it.

Mr. Harding has twice represented the Thirteenth Senatorial District of Ohio in the State Legislature, served one term as Lieutenant-Governor, refusing to stand for reelection; and he is now nearing the close of his first term as United States Senator from Ohio.

**Stood With Roosevelt for Preparedness**

Senator Harding has ever the courage of his convictions, even though his stand should engender serious opposition. He early advocated preparedness while others were clamoring for peace at any price. He sponsored the bill for preparedness which had the endorsement of Colonel Roosevelt and he was so closely associated with him during its pendency that it came to be widely rumored through the press that Colonel Roosevelt regarded him the coming man of 1920.

This close contact gave each a high regard for the sincerity and singleness of purpose of the other in arousing an unsuspecting people to a

(This information furnished by Oregon Republican State Central Committee; Thos. H. Tongue, Jr., Chairman; Clarence R. Hotchkiss, Secretary.)
sense of impending danger in those crucial hours, and this intimacy continued until the lamented death of this flaming and strenuous advocate of Americanism.

Mr. Harding has a nation-wide reputation as an orator and a thinker. He presided ably over the Republican National Convention of 1916.

Resembles William McKinley

In many respects he resembles William McKinley. Both were of Scottish descent. In presence, manner of speech, in ability to judge men, in careful, painstaking mastery of detail and tact in bringing together opposing factions on some common ground, there is a remarkable similarity.

Mr. Harding is first of all a patriot. He believes in America; its form of government, is proud of her past and hopeful of her future, and he believes that our highest obligation is to our own people, and that the problems which vitally concern us are domestic and not foreign.

The important work which he has done on the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and on other Senate committees of which he is a member has brought him in close touch with the great questions of the day, both foreign and domestic. Mr. Harding has been three times abroad to study government and economic problems, the tariff, foreign standards of labor, and he also visited the Hawaiian Islands to study the sugar problems and the Oriental labor question.

He has served on many boards of directors of business enterprises in his home city and is regarded as a man of good judgment and sound common sense.

In the year 1891, Mr. Harding was married to Florence Kling, daughter of Amos Kling, now deceased, who was one of the leading business men of the city of Marion. Mrs. Harding inherited the business acumen of her father, and has been a tower of strength to her husband in all of his business relations and political aspirations.

Biography of Calvin Coolidge

Calvin Coolidge was born in Plymouth, Vermont, in 1872. As a boy he plowed and dug in the fields and worked in a country store. He was educated in county schools and academies and was graduated from Amherst College. He studied and practiced law at Northampton. He was mayor of his home city in 1910 and 1911 and state senator of Massachusetts 1913-1915. In 1918 he was elected governor by 17,000 votes. Running under the now famous slogan "Law and Order," he was reelected as Governor for the year 1920 by more than 125,000 votes over his Democratic opponent and by the largest vote ever given a Massachusetts Governor. While the Governor is best known throughout the country for his prompt and effective action in the Boston police strike, he is well known in Massachusetts for his clearness of vision in all matters, his sterling honesty, his absolute fairness to all sides, and his ability to think and speak clearly, quietly, calmly and directly.

On October 4, 1905, he married Miss Grace A. Goodhue, of Burlington, Vermont. He lives in an unpretentious half of a two-family house in Northampton. They have two sons, John and Calvin, Jr.

(This information furnished by Oregon Republican State Central Committee; Thos. H. Tongue, Jr., Chairman; Clarence R. Hotchkiss, Secretary.)
Platform of the Candidates

Upon national and international questions the Republican candidates subscribe to the following statement of reasons why they ask for the suffrages of the citizens of Oregon:

Restoration of Constitutional Government

Our first committal is the restoration of representative popular government, under the constitution, through the agency of the Republican party. Our vision includes more than a chief executive, we believe in a cabinet of highest capacity, equal to the responsibilities which our system contemplates, in whose councils the Vice-President, second official of the republic, shall be asked to participate. The same vision includes a cordial understanding and coordinated activities with a house of Congress, fresh from the people, voicing the convictions which members bring from direct contact with the electorate, and cordial cooperation along with the restored functions of the Senate, fit to be the greatest deliberating body of the world.

The chief task that lies before us is to repossess the people of their government and their property. We want to return to a thorough peace basis because that is the fundamental American basis. Unless the government and property of the nation are in the hands of the people, and there to stay as their permanent abiding place, self-government ends and the hope of America goes down in ruins. This need is transcendent.

Foreign Relations

We do not mean to hold aloof. We do not mean to shun a single responsibility of this republic to world civilization. There is a genuine aspiration in every American breast for a tranquil friendship with all the world.

The country can not be securely restored to a peace basis in anything until a peace is first made with those with whom we have been at war.

World Super-Government

It will avail nothing to discuss in detail the league covenant, which was conceived for world super-government, negotiated in misunderstanding, and intolerantly urged and demanded by its administration sponsors, who resisted every effort to safeguard America, and who finally rejected it when such safeguards were inserted. If the supreme blunder has left European relationship inextricably interwoven in the league compact, our sympathy for Europe only magnifies our own good fortune in resisting involvement. It is better to be the free and disinterested agent of international justice and advancing civilization, with the covenant of conscience, than be shackled by a written compact which surrenders our freedom of action and gives to a military alliance the right to proclaim America's duty to the world. No surrender of rights to a world council or its military alliance, no assumed mandatory, however appealing, ever shall summon the sons of this republic to war. Their supreme sacrifice shall only be asked for America and its call of honor. There is a sanctity in that right we will not delegate.

(This information furnished by Oregon Republican State Central Committee; Thos. H. Tongue, Jr., Chairman; Clarence R. Hotchkiss, Secretary.)
Favor Agreement for World Peace

The proposed League of Nations without reservations as submitted by the President to the Senate met with deserved opposition from the Republican Senators. To a league in that form, subversive to the traditions and the independence of America, the Republican party is opposed. But our party by the record of its members in the Senate and by the solemn declaration of its platform, by performance and by promise, approves the principle of agreement among nations to preserve peace, and pledges itself to the making of such an agreement, preserving American independence, and rights, as will meet every duty America owes to humanity. This language is purposely broad, not exclusive and inclusive. The Republican party is not narrow enough to limit itself to one idea, but wise and broad enough to provide for the adoption of the best plan that can be devised at the time of action. The Senate received a concrete proposition, utterly unacceptable without modifications, which the Republican Senators effected by reservations, and so modified twice voted for ratification, which the Democratic administration twice defeated. The platform approves this action of the Senators. The Republicans insisted on reservations which limit. The Democratic platform and record permit only of reservations, unessential and explanatory.

An International Court and a League of Nations

We hold the international court to be a creation for one thing—namely, a decision on what we call justiciable questions. It is true, however, that causes which most frequently lead to war do not come under that title. For the consideration of such causes as are not justiciable we would suggest an association, or a society, or a League of Nations—it little matters what we call it—which shall constitute an international conference for the free and open discussion of international questions which may lead to conflict. Such an association could bring to the world a complete revelation of the questions which are menacing peace and readily bring to bear the opinion of mankind against an offending nation in case it refused to yield to the recommendations of the conference.

We can speak unreservedly of the American aspiration and the Republican committal for such an association of nations, cooperating in sublime accord, to attain and preserve peace through justice rather than force, determined to add to security through international law, so clarified that no misconstruction can be possible without affronting world honor.

Industrial Reconstruction

The chief trouble today is that the world war wrought the destruction of healthful competition, left our storehouses empty, and there is a minimum production when our need is maximum. Maximums, not minimums, is the call of America. War also establishes its higher standards for wages, and they abide. The higher wage should abide, on one explicit condition—that the wage earner will give full return for the wage received. It is the best assurance we can have for a reduced cost of living.

Patriotic Production

We appeal to the sons and daughters of the republic, to every producer, to join hand and brain in production, more production, honest production, patriotic production, because patriotic production is no less a defense of our best civilization than that of armed force. Profiteering is a crime of commission, underproduction is a crime of omission.

(This information furnished by Oregon Republican State Central Committee; Thos. H. Tongue, Jr., Chairman; Clarence R. Hotchkiss, Secretary.)
Rights of Labor

We believe in unionism, we believe in collective bargaining, we believe the two have combined to speed labor toward its just rewards. But we do not believe in labor's domination of business or government any more than we believe that capital shall dominate. We had our time at that, and we learned the danger and ended it. We do not want to substitute one class for another. We want to put an end to classes.

We live in an era of collective endeavor. Capital led the way and labor's organization was not only natural but necessary. It has done more than serve its membership, it has riveted the thoughtful attention of America to social justice and brought the fruits thereof.

Reduce High Cost of Living

Eight years ago, in times of peace, the Democratic party made an issue of the high cost of living, and when clothed with power that party came near to its accomplishment by destroying the people's capacity to buy. But that was a cure worse than the ailment. It is easy to understand the real causes.

Gross expansion of currency and credit have depreciated the dollar just as expansion and inflation have discredited the coins of the world. Deflation on the one hand and restoration of the 100-cent dollar on the other ought to have begun on the day after the armistice, but plans were lacking or courage failed. The unpreparedness for peace was little less costly than the unpreparedness for war.

We can promise no one remedy which will cure an ill of such wide proportions, but we do pledge that earnest and consistent attack which the party platform covenants. We will attempt intelligent and courageous deflation and strike at government borrowing which enlarges the evil, and we will attack high cost of government with every energy and facility which attend Republican capacity. We promise that relief which will attend the halting of waste and extravagance and the renewal of the practice of public economy, not alone because it will relieve tax burdens, but because it will be an example to stimulate thrift and economy in private life.

Foster and Aid Agriculture

The Republican party was founded by farmers. These founders sprang from the farms of the then Middle West. Our party has never failed in its realization that agriculture is essentially the foundation of our very existence.

New conditions, which attend amazing growth and extraordinary industrial development, call for a new and forward-looking program.

Our platform is an earnest pledge of renewed concern for this most essential and elemental industry, and in both appreciation and interest we pledge effective expression in law and practice. We will hail that cooperation which again will make profitable and desirable the ownership and operation of comparatively small farms intensively cultivated, and which will facilitate the caring for the products of farm and orchard without the lamentable waste under present conditions.

America would look with anxiety on the discouragement of farming activity either through the government's neglect or its paralysis by social-

(This information furnished by Oregon Republican State Central Committee; Thos. H. Tongue, Jr., Chairman; Clarence R. Hotchkiss, Secretary.)
istic practices. A Republican administration will be committed to renewed regard for agriculture, and seek the participation of farmers in curing the ills justly complained of, and aim to place the American farm where it ought to be—highly ranked in American activities and fully sharing the highest good fortunes of American life.

**Heavy Taxation on Consumer Opposed**

The Democratic program is to raise the millions now obtained from "excess profits" by a tax on every article bought and sold; a tax levied at each successive stage; a tax that will weigh upon every man, woman and child, not according to ability, but according to what he is obliged to spend, even upon the barest necessities of food and clothing; a tax that will "snowball" or "pyramid" at every turnover; a tax that will surely increase, in even more than corresponding amount, the High Cost of Living; a tax which is opposed by the great body of financial opinion and by all who believe in the sound principle of "taxation according to taxpaying ability."

Instead, we propose the following:

The Excess Profits Tax is a "war tax" that we should get rid of at the earliest day possible; "earliest day possible" means as soon as the Treasury can, by the strictest economy, get along safely without it; in the meantime, we will undertake to correct the worst features of the tax and its administration; but we will resolutely refuse to repeal the Excess Profits Tax at the expense of imposing a heavy burden upon the general consumption of the masses of people.

As a well-wisher of your country and as a believer in social and economic justice, which of these two ways of "getting rid of war taxes" do you prefer?

We believe in the protective tariff and know we will be calling for its saving Americanism again.

We pledge ourselves to raise the national standards of education, health and general welfare; to re-establish a peace-time 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 suppress disloyalty without the denial of justice; to maintain a government of all the people as contrasted with government of some of the people; and finally to allay unrest, suspicion and strife, and to secure the co-operation and unity of all citizens in 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.

OREGON REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,

Thos. H. Tongue, Jr., Chairman,
Clarence R. Hotchkiss, Secretary.

(Written permission from Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge to the Oregon Republican State Central Committee to file the foregoing statement, filed with the Secretary of State, September 23, 1920.)
STATEMENT BY OREGON REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

CAMPAIGN ISSUES

The Tariff

No extended argument should be required to convince the people of Oregon that this country—and especially the Pacific Coast—needs a protective tariff. Without it, we are compelled to compete with cheap European and Oriental labor in the production and sale of our fruit, our dairy products, eggs, poultry, lumber, hides, wool, livestock, our manufactures, in fact every thing we produce. Mr. Harding has stated:

"We have adequate national and international reasons for keeping alive our necessary agricultural industries when they are threatened by competition from foreign lands of cheap labor or new and unexploited soil, by a protective duty upon imports. I use the word agriculture in its broader sense, including horticulture. Our protection by the tariff of agriculture and industry must be based upon our concern for the American manufacturer, the American farmer and the American consumer. We are acting to safeguard and balance the interest of all—that, indeed, in applying protective duties and removing them, we are acting with full conscience of the rights of all at home and abroad—that we are acting for 'America First'."

The blighting effects of the Democratic repeal of the law providing for Panama canal tolls exemption and its free trade policy have been felt by our lumber industry, by the farmer, by the laborer, and every other industry and producer in the state.

A protective tariff is absolutely essential to the prosperity of our state and nation. It will be the part of wisdom of the Oregon voters to place in power candidates pledged to the protection of home labor and home industry, that our high standard of living may not be allowed to fall as the result of competition of Oriental and European labor.

The Republican Party Should Be Returned to Power

In urging the voters to elect Harding and Coolidge as President and Vice-President, Robert N. Stanfield as United States Senator, W. C. Hawley as Representative in Congress for the First District, N. J. Sinnott as Representative in Congress for the Second District, C. N. McArthur as Representative in Congress for the Third District, we urge that the Republican President will need the support of Republican Senators and Representatives in Congress.

As reasons why the voters should return the Republican party to power we beg to remind them of the following facts:

A Party of Achievement

The Republican party is a party of achievement and accomplishment. In every great crisis since 1861, the Republican party has been a constructive and a progressive force.

It saved the Union and abolished slavery in the dark days of 1861.

(This information furnished by Oregon Republican State Central Committee; Thos. H. Tongue, Jr., Chairman; Clarence R. Hotchkiss, Secretary.)
It believes in the strong, constructive nationalism of Washington, Hamilton, Marshall and Webster.

It believes in the principles of Lincoln and McKinley, who piloted the Republic in the Civil War and the Spanish-American War.

It is devoted to the moral idealism of Theodore Roosevelt and his teachings on modern industrial and social needs.

The Republican party contributed 30 states to the ratification of woman’s suffrage. It has taken the lead in this progressive reform as it has in all others.

The Republican party is leading in the battle to free child labor from oppressive and unhealthful employment. Republican states lead in this reform.

The Republican party has promoted legislation to protect women in industry and to lower their hours of labor.

The Republican party has contributed to preserving the sound finances of the nation. It saved the country from unsound money in 1896 and is needed today to guide the nation through the perils of unprecedented inflation. It laid the foundations of the national banking system and passed the Aldrich-Vreeland Bill in 1908, providing for a National Monetary Commission whose investigations were the basis of the present Federal Reserve Law, which was passed by the aid of Republican and Progressive votes.

The Republican party established and maintained almost uninterruptedly for more than a half century the American policy of protection, under which the American standard of wages and living was kept at the highest level known in history; under which the domestic and foreign trade of the United States attained proportions unprecedented in this or any other nation, and made this country the richest of this or any other period in history; under which the American masses enjoyed a diffused prosperity, a range of opportunity, and intelligence and an initiative prevalent among “the common people” of no other nation that ever existed; under which labor ceased to be the fixed function of a caste or class, under which there was no slave, no peon, no peasant, no coolie; a nation which became to such a degree the hope and admiration of the world that there rushed into it during the half century of Republican control the greatest current of immigration that ever swept upon a nation’s shores. Under Republican policies and Republican commercial prosperity and political stability this mighty army of aliens was absorbed into the great body of the American people without conflict or disturbance. The alien was being lifted up toward the American level rather than the American being leveled down to the alien standard.

It fulfilled the pledge of Lincoln to the volunteer soldier of the republic, his widow and orphan, with a generosity unparalleled in the history of governments.

It made the Monroe Doctrine, safeguarding the affairs of this hemisphere from European entanglements, an international rather than an American tenet; it drove France from the soil of Mexico; it drove Spain from Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines; it bought Alaska; it peacefully settled questions of differences in our relations with Canada; it made the dominance of the United States in the affairs of the new world unchallenged, and its influence in the affairs of the whole world unquestioned.

It has passed legislation improving the conditions of the employment of labor and raised the standard of living of its citizens.

(This information furnished by Oregon Republican State Central Committee; Thos. H. Tongue, Jr., Chairman; Clarence R. Hotchkiss, Secretary.)
It passed the homestead law, the Panama canal bill, the first pension bill, established free mail delivery, and rural free delivery, endowed public schools with grants of land, passed the anti-trust law, the pure food law, meat inspection law, the government compensation law for federal employees which was suggested by President Roosevelt and which was the forerunner of all state compensation and industrial accident laws, the railroad rate bill, the postal savings bill, the law compelling railroads to use safety appliances, created a tariff board to ascertain the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad, the white slave traffic law, and aided in passing the first federal child labor law.

**Saved the People Billions**

The 66th Congress which convened with a Republican majority May 19, 1919, has successfully resisted the war-inflated demands of the Democratic administration and effected a saving to the people of $2,710,290,495.

It resisted a continuance of the administration's policy of war-time extravagance and passed a national budget law which was vetoed by the president. It stood for a national policy of economy, retrenchment and reorganization of government on a peace basis.

The Republican party, while a minority party in the 65th Congress, vigorously resisted the Democratic administration's wasteful program. The total saving which the 65th and 66th Congress (in the latter there was a Republican majority) forced upon the Democratic administration for the fiscal year 1920 and 1921 exceeds $5,150,000,000. Never before has an administration of the Federal Government displayed such a reckless disregard of the public welfare and such stubborn hostility to retrenchment at a time when the public demand for economy was universal.

**A Program of Economy**

The Republican party pledges its representatives in the United States Senate and the House of Representatives to national economy, to reorganization of the Federal Departments, to an executive budget control of revenues and expenditures, and to termination of war work and war activities. Thousands of unnecessary employees on the government payroll show the opportunity for saving through the rapid termination of all unnecessary work which had its origin in war needs. Administrative disorder prevails at Washington. Departmental activities of the Federal Government should be reorganized upon an economical and efficient basis. It has been estimated that the present payroll of the Federal Government could be reduced by at least $300,000,000 through drastic economies on the part of the administration.

**War Waste Staggering**

The direct cost of the war was $30,000,000,000, including the loans to the Allies. The cost of war waste was staggering. Billions of dollars were wasted through mismanagement in the prosecution of the war.

We expended $1,051,511,988 for aviation and aeroplanes. Not a single fighting plane manufactured in the United States was put into action on the American front in France.

(This information furnished by Oregon Republican State Central Committee; Thos. H. Tongue, Jr., Chairman; Clarence R. Hotchkiss, Secretary.)
Our ordnance program cost $3,991,499,570.48. The result so far as contributing to arms and ammunition for our fighting forces was negligible.

For cantonments $1,200,000,000 was spent under the cost plus system. From 40 to 60 per cent of the money was wasted.

For nitrate plants $120,000,000 was spent in a visionary scheme and not a pound of nitrate was produced. Practically $100,000,000 of this sum was sunk at Muscle Shoals, Alabama.

Many millions were spent for tanks. Not a single tank of American manufacture reached the American front before the armistice.

We spent for poison gas $116,000,000. Not a pound of American gas was ever fired in an American shell, and only about 100 tons of American gas loaded in shells ever reached the field dumps.

Excessive orders were placed for shoes, harness, saddles, etc. Many other instances of waste can be cited.

This waste and inefficiency increased the cost of the war, disorganized the machinery of production, and contributed to the high cost of living.

Record of 66th Congress

The Republican party in the 66th Congress not only took the first steps toward economy and retrenchment but passed constructive legislation. The railroads, the telegraph and telephone lines were returned to private management. The woman’s suffrage amendment was passed. Liberal provisions were made for vocational training and rehabilitation of wounded soldiers and sailors. The Federal reserve act was extended and the Federal Farm Loan Board given financial aid. The national prohibition amendment was put into effect. A national budget law was passed but vetoed by the President. The waterpower act, the oil and coal land leasing law, the merchant marine shipping act, the act to exclude and expel anarchistic aliens, the repeal of war laws act, the civil service retirement act, the Army reorganization act, and many other important measures were passed.

Republican Party Constructive

The history of our country for over half a century has been almost identical with the history of the Republican party. Its leaders have been and are men of thought and action, its work has been the construction of a mighty nation and the elevation of a splendid people.

At the present time when the great need of the nation is the restoration of our form of constitutional government, for a return to national economy, for the reorganization of our federal government on a peace-time basis, we beg to submit that the Republican party should be returned to power in order to bring about economy and retrenchment in the affairs of government that the people may recover from the huge burdens of debt and taxation placed upon them by the unparalleled waste and extravagance of the Democratic administration.

OREGON REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,

Thos. H. Tongue, Jr., Chairman.
Clarence R. Hotchkiss, Secretary.

(This information furnished by Oregon Republican State Central Committee; Thos. H. Tongue, Jr., Chairman; Clarence R. Hotchkiss, Secretary.)
Governor James M. Cox of Ohio, democratic nominee for the presidency, is a progressive. He wants to end war. He wants to stop building armies and navies. He is a staunch supporter of the federal reserve and farm loan systems. He advocates greater reclamation of arid lands. He favors women in government. He promises to lower taxes. He advocates four laws to eliminate profiteers.

Born on a farm of poor parents, Governor Cox spent at work most of the hours that other boys devoted to play. He received instruction in a country school and entered high school at Middletown, a small Ohio town. As janitor of a church and by other employment he earned the money to pay his way until he finished high school.

He was in turn a printer's devil, newspaper reporter, secretary to a congressman and then, on borrowed money, bought a run down newspaper. Governor Cox rapidly converted it into a paying property. Later he bought a second bankrupt newspaper and made of it a highly successful institution. As a result of his success in these enterprises he is accounted one of the ablest business men of his state.

At 38, he was elected to Congress and was re-elected two years later by the largest plurality ever cast for a democrat in that republican district. Because of his record in Congress he was nominated for gov-

(This information furnished by Democratic State Central Committee; C. J. Smith, Chairman.)
ernor, was elected, and re-elected to a second and a third term. Governor Cox is one of two men thrice elected to the governorship of Ohio. The other was Rutherford B. Hayes who later became president of the United States. In his third campaign Cox did not make a single speech. There were only three words in his platform—"Win the War."

Between Governor Cox and Senator Harding the line is clearly drawn in their respective views of government. One is for progress. The other is admittedly reactionary, was reactionary in 1912, and was bitter in his denunciation of the progressive Roosevelt and his followers. For proof of Cox progress his record of accomplishment in Ohio is submitted.

Under his administration a budget system was adopted and the tax rate was reduced to the lowest in the history of the state despite the expenditure of $1,000,000 as a result of a flood, $3,000,000 for good roads, and the payment of a quarter million deficiency handed down by the previous administration. A blue sky law was passed encouraging proper investments and protecting the people of Ohio against fraudulent securities.

Among the laws pertaining to the public welfare and public health enacted during Cox's administration was one prohibiting combinations to fix prices and one establishing a child welfare department. Governor Cox established a state tuberculosis hospital and co-operated with all recognized social agencies.

One of the great accomplishments of the Cox administration was the aid afforded the farmers of the state. All agricultural activities were placed under the jurisdiction of an agricultural commission, provision was made for establishment of a farm credit plan, financial loss from destruction of diseased cattle was removed from the farmer and placed on the state, and a system of main market highways was established. When the state of Ohio experienced a seed corn shortage and the agriculturists were forced to pay as high as $20 a bushel for seed corn, Governor Cox went into other territories, secured seed-corn, and sold it to the farmers at $5 a bushel. A farm labor shortage he met by placing 6,000 tractors in the fields and establishing a tractor school.

In education Governor Cox was not less constructive. In place of the one room country schools he established consolidated schools with full high school courses. Twelve hundred consolidated schools have replaced five times that many old schools. He provided state aid for weak districts to afford children all over Ohio equal educational facilities with those of the cities.

Governor Cox was remarkably successful in dealing with capital and labor and in procuring forward looking legislation in behalf of the man who works. A compulsory workmen's compensation law was enacted which has become the model for similar laws throughout the nation. Personal injury litigation, under its provisions, was reduced from 50,000 lawsuits in 1912 to 50 in 1919. A state industrial commission with a mediator was established, sweatshop labor was eliminated, consecutive hours of employment for electrical railroad workers were reduced, an eight hour day on all public contracts was instituted, and extra provision for dependents of men killed in mines was provided.

Cox success in dealing with capital and labor is unsurpassed. In three terms as governor he did not call out a single unit of the militia to quell industrial disturbances. During the steel strike he instructed

(This information furnished by Democratic State Central Committee; C. J. Smith, Chairman.)
all local public officials to maintain peace and order, but not to interfere with the rights of men to organize and express their grievances, or with the right of other men to work. A democratic mayor in a large city failed to follow instructions. He was removed by Governor Cox and the republican vice-mayor succeeded him.

When the coal mines of the country were tied up under general strike, Governor Cox called the operators and miners together. He asked them to leave the matter of settlement in his hands. They agreed. Soon the warring factions and the federal government were in accord and the way was paved for identical relief in other states.

Governor Cox has been the friend of the child and the woman. He fought for woman suffrage. He secured passage of a law providing a minimum wage and maximum hours for women to work, aided in enactment of the mother's pension law, and secured legislation favorable to the teachers of Ohio.

The line is clear between Cox and Harding on the farm question. In a speech on the war food bill in the senate Harding said: "In this latter day farming has become an occupation for profit, and I happen to know that under normal conditions dollar wheat makes it a very profitable occupation."

Harding opposed the farm loan system. In a speech in the senate he said:

"I will not assume to say that conditions in Ohio are altogether like those in other states in the Union, but I believe I can state an absolute truth when I say that there is no more need for a measure of this kind for the agriculturists of Ohio than the government to step in and take charge of all our industrial and productive affairs in that state."

He introduced in the senate a message from an Ohio banker branding the farm loan system as an attempt to use government money in the interests of a special class.

On the other hand, Cox advocates extension of the farm loan system and declares in favor of representation of agriculture on the farm loan and federal reserve boards, and the interstate commerce and tariff commission, bodies in which farmers are peculiarly interested.

Cox favors the federal reserve system and advocates its extension. On the other hand, it is freely charged that capitalists behind the Harding campaign, men who contributed to the huge Harding fund, seek to gain control of the reserve system and turn the money power of the country back to Wall Street.

Cox favors reclamation. He wants the arid land of the country made fertile. Two hundred and fifty thousand acres of land, he points out, can be reclaimed with the money that is spent in building one battleship.

Cox opposes huge armies and navies. He wants to cut them down as the League of Nations is preparing to do. He points out that 92 per cent of the cost of government is due to wars past and wars to come. Cox wants the money that is spent for destruction of man to be spent for constructive purposes.

Cox is one of the few men who has offered any comprehensive plan to fight the profiteer. He purposes to eliminate him by law—four

(This information furnished by Democratic State Central Committee; C. J. Smith, Chairman.)
laws—one limiting the period during which goods may remain in cold storage. Another requiring that the price at which goods were placed in cold storage must be marked on them. Another requiring that all goods destined for interstate commerce shall be marked with the price at which they left the hands of the producer. Another licensing and regulating corporations engaged in interstate commerce so as to prevent unconscionable profits.

The Ohio progressive has taken a definite stand on the Irish and Japanese questions. He has pledged himself if elected to the presidency, to place the Irish question before the Council of the League of Nations. He told the people of California referring to the Japanese question, that he would not interfere with the settlement of their internal affairs.

Governor Cox insists that international quarrels can be settled by arbitration. He thinks that mothers and fathers do not raise sons to be shot to death, blown up by terrible shells or smothered to death by poisoned gas. If elected he will use the power of the presidential office to keep us out of future wars. To that end, he would ratify the peace treaty and at once bring the whole world into a state of peace.

He would join the League of Nations now organized with 29 nations in the membership, entering it only with reservations that would fully protect American rights, one of which would be as follows: “It is understood that in carrying out the purpose of the league the government of the United States must at all times act in strict harmony with the terms and intent of the United States constitution which cannot in any way be altered by the treaty making power.”

The League itself is an agreement among the nations to end war. In the late war, 10,000,000 men were killed, uncounted millions wounded and 10,000,000 people starved to death. In 100 years from now, the debts created by it will not be fully paid.

In the agreement to end war, each nation must bring its grievance against another nation before tribunals established by the league. There, differences will be threshed out, and if the nations are still unable to agree, their case may be taken before the Executive Council of the League which decides between them, but in which a decision can only be reached when agreed to by unanimous vote. Under the moral influence of such a decision, disputing nations would undoubtedly abide by the decision. But if either should refuse, then all league nations would decline to have trade relations or communication of any kind with, and refuse to ship products into or receive products from that nation. No nation would dare to thus become outlawed by all the other nations.

The League is the only plan yet offered to end war. The present election is the first chance the people of America have ever had to vote to end war. It may be the last chance they will ever have. It is the one chance that the fathers and mothers of Oregon have to vote to keep their sons from being conscripted to serve on battlefields. That is what a vote for Governor Cox will mean, for the candidate opposed to Mr. Cox is against the League, is against the only plan ever proposed to put an end to war.

Europe is ablaze with radicalism. Millions there are advocating the confiscation of property. There, hundreds of millions worth of property has been confiscated and divided up. Until order is restored there, Europe can earn nothing and will therefore have no money with which to buy surplus American farm products. The disorders and debts have

(This information furnished by Democratic State Central Committee; C. J. Smith, Chairman.)
so lowered the purchasing power of European money that a dollar of value there is worth but two-thirds of a dollar in America and that makes it more difficult for America to sell her farm products to European peoples. It is a matter of dollar and cents to every man, woman and child in America for Europe to be restored to order through the League of Nations.

If Europe is not restored, civilization over there will presently break down. Bolshevism will run riot, confiscation and division of property may spread. If all that comes to pass, what will happen in America? Can civilization break down in Europe without disaster to our country?

Franklin D. Roosevelt, democratic nominee for Vice-President, is 38, and a member of the well known Roosevelt family of New York. He is a fourth cousin of the late Theodore Roosevelt. He served throughout the war as assistant secretary of the Navy, and Secretary Daniels, at the time of Mr. Roosevelt's nomination, gave him large credit for the fact that of the nearly 2,000,000 American soldiers transported to France under convoy of the American navy not one life was lost. Many names were placed before the San Francisco convention for the vice-presidency, but they were withdrawn, one by one, after Roosevelt was mentioned, and, because of the generally recognized fitness of the brilliant young New Yorker, he became the unanimous choice. He is a pronounced progressive. Mr. Roosevelt is a graduate of Harvard and the Columbia University Law school in New York. He served a term in the New York senate before he became assistant secretary of the Navy.

DEMOCRATIC STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
C. J. Smith, Chairman.

(Written permission from James M. Cox and telegraphic permission from Franklin D. Roosevelt to the Democratic State Central Committee, to file the foregoing statement, filed with the Secretary of State September 7 and September 21, 1920, respectively.)
AARON S. WATKINS
Prohibition Candidate for President

D. LEIGH COLVIN
Prohibition Candidate for Vice-President

The Prohibition Candidates
for strength and preparation are unexcelled, if not unequalled, by any
in the field this year of 1920.

AARON S. WATKINS, candidate for President, as professor at Ohio
Northern University, as president of Asbury College, as lawyer, orator,
debater, lyceum lecturer, philosopher and teacher, with his whole-souled
love of humanity, his exceptional integrity, his Abraham Lincoln honesty
and sagacity, stands out unique among the men of his generation.

D. LEIGH COLVIN, candidate for Vice-President, though still a
young man, has served for sixteen years as National President of the

(This information furnished by the Prohibition State Committee,
Wm. F. Amos, Chairman.)
Intercollegiate Prohibition Association, and has taken five years post-graduate work among the Universities of California, Chicago, and Columbia, receiving his degree of Ph.D. in political science from Columbia University. He has spoken repeatedly among 350 American colleges and among the universities of Europe, and with his thorough comprehension of political science, social and economic problems, is fitted as few men are to preside over the American Senate.

Both men's ears are tuned to humanity's heartbeat. Both have championed the unpopular, and are living to see it made popular.

Platform of the Prohibition Party, 1920
(Adopted by the Prohibition National Convention, Lincoln, Nebraska, July 22, 1920)

The Prohibition Party assembled in National Convention in the city of Lincoln, Nebraska, on this twenty-second day of July, 1920, expresses its thanks to Almighty God for the victory over the beverage liquor traffic which crowns fifty years of consecrated effort. The principles which we have advocated throughout our history have been so far recognized that the manufacture and traffic in intoxicating drink have been forever prohibited in the fundamental law of the land; Congress has rightly interpreted the Eighteenth Amendment in laws enacted for its enforcement; and the Supreme Court has upheld both the Amendment and the law.

Asking that it be clothed with governmental power, the Prohibition Party challenges the attention of the Nation and requests the votes of the people on this Declaration of Principles.

Nullification Condemned

The organized liquor traffic is engaged in a treasonable attempt to nullify the Amendment by such modification of the enforcement act as will increase the alcoholic content in beer and wine and thus thwart the will of the people as constitutionally expressed.

In the face of this open threat the Republican and Democratic parties refused to make platform declarations in favor of law enforcement, though petitioned to do so by multitudes of people. Thus the Prohibition Party remains the sole political champion of National Prohibition.

The Prohibition Party in its platform in 1872 declared: "There can be no greater peril to the nation than the existing party competition for the liquor vote; any party not openly opposed to the traffic, experience shows, will engage in this competition, will court the favor of the criminal classes, will barter away the public morals, the purity of the ballot, and every object of good government for party success." Notwithstanding the liquor traffic is now outlawed by the Constitution this fitly describes the present political attitude of the old parties.

The issue is not only the ENFORCEMENT but also the MAINTENANCE of the law to make the Amendment effective.

The proposed increase in the alcoholic content of beverages would be fraught with grave danger in that it would mean the return of the open saloon with all its attendant evils.

(This information furnished by the Prohibition State Committee, Wm. F. Amos, Chairman.)
The League of Nations

The League of Nations is now in existence and is functioning in world affairs. We favor the entrance of the United States into the League by the immediate ratification of the treaty of peace, not objecting to reasonable reservations interpreting American understanding of the covenant. The time is past when the United States can hold aloof from the affairs of the world. Such course is short-sighted and only invites disaster.

Peace

We stand for a constitutional amendment providing that treaties of peace shall be ratified by a majority of both Houses of Congress.

We stand by our declaration of 1916 against militarism and universal military training. Without it our boys were in a short time trained to whip the greatest army ever assembled and with national prohibition to make sure the most virile manhood in the world we should encourage universal disarmament and devotion to the acts of peace.

Education

We stand for compulsory education with instruction in the English language, which, if given in private or parochial schools must be equivalent to that afforded by the public schools, and be under state supervision.

Suffrage

The Prohibition Party has long advocated the enfranchisement of women. Suffrage should not be conditioned upon sex. We congratulate the women upon the freedom which the Party has helped them to achieve.

Woman and the Home

We approve and adopt the program of the National League of Women Voters providing for:

The prohibition of child labor;
Adequate appropriation for the Children's Bureau;
Protection for infant life through a federal program for maternity and infancy care;
A Federal department of education, Federal aid for the removal of illiteracy and the increase of teachers' salaries;
Instruction of the youth and the newcomer to our shores in the duties and ideals of citizenship;
Vocational training in home economics;
Federal supervision of the marketing and distribution of food, the enactment and enforcement of such measures as will open the channels of trade, prevent excess profits, and eliminate unfair competition and control of the necessities of life;
The establishment of a Woman's Bureau in the Department of Labor to determine standards and policies which will improve working conditions for women and increase their efficiency;

(This information furnished by the Prohibition State Committee, Wm. F. Amos, Chairman.)
The appointment of women in the mediation and conciliation service and on any industrial commissions and tribunals which may be created;

The establishment of a joint Federal and State employment service with women's departments under the direction of qualified women;

The merit system in the Civil Service free from discrimination on account of sex with a wage scale determined by skill demanded for the work and in no wise below the cost of living as established by official investigation;

Appropriation to carry on a campaign against venereal diseases and for public education in sex hygiene;

Federal legislation permitting an American born woman to retain her citizenship while a resident in the United States, though married to an alien;

And further, that an alien woman who marries an American citizen must take the obligation of citizenship before she can become a citizen.

Economy in Administration

We believe in the Budget system and we stand for economy in governmental administration. There should be a reduction in boards, committees, commissions and offices which consume taxes and increase expenses.

Labor and Industry

We stand for Industrial Peace. We believe the time has come for the government to assume responsibility for the protection of the public against the waste and terror of industrial warfare, and to that end we demand legislation defining the rights of labor and the creation of industrial courts, which will guarantee to labor and employing capital equal and exact justice, and to the general public protection against the paralysis of industry due to this warfare.

Profiteering

The Prohibition Party pledges the nation to rid it of the profiteer and to close the door against his return. It will endeavor to eliminate all unnecessary middlemen by the encouragement of organizations among producers that will bring those who sell and those who use nearer together. It will enact and enforce laws needful to effectively prevent excessive charges by such middlemen. To this end it will demand legislation subjecting to the penalties of the criminal law all corporate officers and employees who give or carry out instructions that result in extortion; it will make it unlawful for anyone engaged in Interstate Commerce to make the sale of one article dependent upon the purchase of another article and it will require such corporation to disclose to customers the difference between cost price and selling price or limit the profit that can be legally charged as the rate of interest is now limited.

Agriculture

We pledge our aid to the farmer in working out a plan to equalize prices, to secure labor, and to organize a system of co-operative marketing, including public terminals, mills and storage for the purpose of

(This information furnished by the Prohibition State Committee, Wm. F. Amos, Chairman.)
encouraging agriculture and securing for the farmer such return as will tend to increased production.

We favor such extension of the parcel post as will further facilitate the direct traffic between the producer and consumer.

**Presidential Qualifications**

The qualifications for President stated in the Constitution have to do with age and citizenship. We call attention to the fact that of greater importance are those not so stated referring to moral, intellectual and spiritual endowments. The President of the United States in his daily life, his home and family relationships and in his official career is expected to typify the finest and best the country can produce. He is the leader of the nation. The moral force and power of his example are immeasurable. No man or woman should ever be elected to the high office who is out of harmony with the purposes of the people or who lacks sympathy with their highest and holiest ideals, and with the Christian principles upon which the nation was founded.

**Law and Order**

A crying evil of the day is the general lax enforcement of law. Without obedience to law and maintenance of order our American institutions must perish.

The Prohibition Party now, as ever, pledges impartial enforcement of all law.

**Conclusion**

In this national and world crisis the Prohibition Party reminds the people of its long time faithfulness and its wisdom, proved by the many reforms which it was the first to advocate; and on its record as the oldest minority party—one which has never sold its birthright for a mess of pottage but throughout the years has stood for the best interests of the country—it asks the favorable consideration of the voters, believing that by its support they can make it necessary for all political organizations to come up to a higher level and to render a finer quality of service.

It pledges itself resolutely to stand for the right and oppose the wrong and dauntlessly to lead in the advocacy of righteous and patriotic principles. On its record and on this Declaration of Principles it submits its case to the American people.

PROHIBITION STATE COMMITTEE,

Wm. F. Amos, Chairman.

(Permission from Aaron S. Watkins and D. Leigh Colvin telegraphed Mrs. Ada Wallace Unruh, Secretary Prohibition State Committee, to file the foregoing statement, filed with the Secretary of State, September 21, 1920.)
EUGENE V. DEBS
Socialist Candidate for President

SEYMOUR STEDMAN
Socialist Candidate for Vice-President

The Socialist Party is a class party. It is of and by and for the working class. Its purpose is to make the working class the ruling class, politically and industrially. It aims to substitute social ownership in place of the existing private ownership of industries, and to operate the socially-owned industries for the use and benefit of the people, instead of for the profit of private owners. This is the only solution for profiteering, unemployment, industrial strife, and international wars growing out of commercial rivalry.

Our candidates, Eugene V. Debs for President, and Seymour Stedman for Vice-President, have an unimpeachable record for loyalty and service to the working classes. Mr. Debs is now in prison for expressing his opinions regarding the world war, and by that fact is prevented from personally addressing the voters in this campaign.

The Socialist Party was opposed to the war and to the government war policies, and in the light of the tragic circumstances of the war for the whole world, the people of this country begin to feel increasingly that our opposition was legitimate and well-grounded, as it was honest and courageous.

In presenting the names of these candidates, we feel that there is no better argument for their election than the platform upon which they are running.

National Platform Socialist Party

In the national campaign of 1920 the Socialist Party calls upon all American workers of hand and brain, and upon all citizens who believe in political liberty and social justice, to free the country from the oppressive misrule of the old political parties, and to take the government into

(This information furnished by the National Office of the Socialist Party, Otto Branstetter, Executive Secretary.)
their own hands under the banner and upon the program of the Socialist Party.

The outgoing administration, like Democratic and Republican administrations of the past, leaves behind it a disgraceful record of solemn pledges unscrupulously broken and public confidence ruthlessly betrayed.

It obtained the suffrage of the people upon a platform of peace, liberalism and social betterment, but drew the country into a devastating war, and inaugurated a regime of despotism, reaction and oppression unsurpassed in the annals of the republic.

It promised to the American people a treaty which would assure to the world a reign of international right and true democracy. It gave its sanction and support to an infamous pact formulated behind closed doors by predatory elder statesmen of European and Asiatic Imperialism. Under this pact territories have been annexed against the will of their populations and cut off from their source of sustenance; nations seeking their freedom in the exercise of the much heralded right of self-determination, have been brutally fought with armed force, intrigue and starvation blockades.

To the millions of young men, who staked their lives on the field of battle, to the people of the country who gave unstintingly of their toil and property to support the war, the Democratic administration held out the sublime ideal of a union of the peoples of the world organized to maintain perpetual peace among nations on the basis of justice and freedom. It helped create a reactionary alliance of imperialistic governments, banded together to bully weak nations, crush working-class governments and perpetuate strife and warfare.

While thus furthering the ends of reaction, violence and oppression abroad, our administration suppressed the cherished and fundamental rights and civil liberties at home.

Upon the pretext of war-time necessity, the chief executive of the republic, and the appointed heads of his administration were clothed with dictatorial powers (which were often exercised arbitrarily), and Congress enacted laws in open and direct violation of the constitutional safeguards of freedom of expression.

Hundreds of citizens who raised their voices for the maintenance of political and industrial rights during the war, were indicted under the espionage law, tried in an atmosphere of prejudice and hysteria, and many of them are now serving inhumanly long jail sentences for daring to uphold the traditions of liberty which once were sacred in this country.

Agents of the federal government unlawfully raided homes and meeting places and prevented or broke up peaceable gatherings of citizens.

The postmaster-general established a censorship of the press more autocratic than ever tolerated in a regime of absolutism, and has harassed and destroyed publications on account of their advanced political and economic views, by excluding them from the mails.

And after the war was in fact long over, the administration has not scrupled to continue a policy of repression and terrorism under the shadow and hypocritical guise of war-time measures.

It has practically imposed involuntary servitude and peonage on a large class of American workers by denying them the right to quit work and coercion them into acceptance of inadequate wages and onerous conditions of labor. It has dealt a foul blow to the traditional American

(This information furnished by the National Office of the Socialist Party, Otto Branstetter, Executive Secretary.)
right of asylum by deporting hundreds of foreign born workers by
administrative order, on the mere suspicion of harboring radical views,
and often for the sinister purpose of breaking labor strikes.

In the short span of three years our self-styled liberal administration
has succeeded in undermining the very foundation of political liberty
and economic rights, which this republic has built up in more than a
century of struggle and progress.

Under the cloak of a false and hypocritical patriotism and under the
protection of governmental terror the Democratic administration has
given the ruling classes unrestrained license to plunder the people by
intensive exploitation of labor, by the extortion of enormous profits,
and by increasing the cost of all necessities of life. Profiteering has be­
come reckless and rampant, billions have been coined by the capitalists
out of the suffering and misery of their fellow men. The American
financial oligarchy has become a dominant factor in the world, while
the condition of the American workers has grown more precarious.

The responsibility does not rest upon the Democratic party alone.
The Republican party through its representatives in Congress and other­
wise, has not openly condoned the political misdeeds of the last three
years, but has sought to outdo its Democratic rival in the orgy of politi­
cal reaction and repression. Its criticism of the Democratic administra­tive
policy is that it is not reactionary and drastic enough.

America is now at the parting of the roads. If the outraging of politi­
cal liberty, and concentration of economic power into the hands of the
few is permitted to go on, it can have only one consequence, the reduction
of the country to a state of absolute capitalist despotism.

We particularly denounce the militaristic policy of both old parties
of investing countless hundreds of millions of dollars in armaments after
the victorious completion of what was to have been the "last war." We
call attention to the fatal results of such a program in Europe, carried
on prior to 1914, and culminating in the great war; we declare that such
a policy, adding unbearable burdens to the working class and to all the
people, can lead only to the complete Prussianization of the nation, and
ultimately to war; and we demand immediate and complete abandonment
of this fatal program.

The Socialist Party sounds the warning. It calls upon the people to
defeat both parties at the polls, and to elect the candidates of the Socialist
Party to the end of restoring political democracy and bringing about
complete industrial freedom.

The Socialist Party of the United States therefore summons all who
believe in this fundamental doctrine to prepare for a complete reorganiza­
tion of our social system, based upon public ownership of public necessi­
ties; upon government by representatives chosen from the occupational
as well as from geographical groups, in harmony with our industrial
development; and with citizenship based on service; that we may end
forever the exploitation of class by class.

To achieve this end the Socialist Party pledges itself to the following
program:

1. Social

1. All business vitally essential for the existence and welfare of the
people, such as railroads, express service, steamship lines, telegraphs,
mines, oil wells, power plants, elevators, packing houses, cold storage

(This information furnished by the National Office of the Socialist Party,
Otto Branstetter, Executive Secretary.)
plants and all industries operating on a national scale, should be taken over by the nation.

2. All publicly owned industries should be administered jointly by the government and representatives of the workers, not for revenue of profit, but with the sole object of securing just compensation and humane conditions of employment to the workers and efficient and reasonable service to the public.

3. All banks should be acquired by the government, and incorporated in a unified public banking system.

4. The business of insurance should be taken over by the government, and should be extended to include insurance against accident, sickness, invalidity, old age and unemployment, without contribution on the part of the worker.

5. Congress should enforce the provisions of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments with reference to the negroes, and effective federal legislation should be enacted to secure to the negroes full civil, political, industrial and educational rights.

2. Industrial

1. Congress should enact effective laws to abolish child labor, to fix minimum wages, based on an ascertained cost of a decent standard of life, to protect migratory and unemployed workers from oppression, to abolish detective and strike-breaking agencies and to establish a shorter workday in keeping with increased industrial productivity.

3. Political

1. The constitutional freedom of speech, press and assembly should be restored by repealing the espionage law and all other repressive legislation, and by prohibiting the executive usurpation of authority.

2. All prosecutions under the espionage law should be discontinued, and all persons serving prison sentences for alleged offenses growing out of religious beliefs, political views or industrial activities should be fully pardoned and immediately released.

3. No alien should be deported from the United States on account of his political views or participation in labor struggles, nor in any event without proper trial on specific charges. The arbitrary power to deport aliens by administrative order should be repealed.

4. The power of the courts to restrain workers in their struggles against employers by writ of injunction or otherwise, and their power to nullify congressional legislation, should be abrogated.

5. Federal judges should be elected by the people and be subject to recall.

6. The President and the Vice-President of the United States should be elected by direct popular election, and be subject to recall. All members of the cabinet should be elected by Congress and be responsible at all times to the vote thereof.

7. Suffrage should be equal and unrestricted in fact as well as in law for all men and women throughout the nation.

8. Because of the strict residential qualification of suffrage in this country, millions of citizens are disfranchised in every election; adequate

(This information furnished by the National Office of the Socialist Party, Otto Branstetter, Executive Secretary.)
provision should be made for the registration and voting of migratory voters.

9. The Constitution of the United States should be amended to strengthen the safeguards of civil and political liberty, and to remove all obstacles to industrial and social reform, and reconstruction, including the changes enumerated in this program, in keeping with the will and interest of the people. It should be made amendable by a majority of the voters of the nation upon their own initiative, or upon the initiative of Congress.

4. Foreign Relations

1. All claims of the United States against allied countries for loans made during the war should be canceled upon the understanding that all war debts among such countries shall likewise be canceled. The largest possible credit in food, raw material and machinery should be extended to the stricken nations of Europe in order to help them rebuild the ruined world.

2. The Government of the United States should initiate a movement to dissolve the mischievous organization called the “League of Nations” and to create an international parliament, composed of democratically elected representatives of all nations of the world, based upon the recognition of their equal rights, the principles of self-determination, the right to national existence of colonies and other dependencies, freedom of international trade and trade routes by land and sea, and universal disarmament, and be charged with revising the treaty of peace on the principles of justice and conciliation.

3. The United States should immediately make peace with the central powers and open commercial and diplomatic relations with Russia under the soviet government. It should promptly recognize the independence of the Irish Republic.

4. The United States should make and proclaim it a fixed principle in its foreign policy that American capitalists, who acquire concessions or make investments in foreign countries, do so at their own risk, and under no circumstances should our government enter into diplomatic negotiations or controversies or resort to armed conflicts on account of foreign property-claims of American capitalists.

5. Fiscal

1. All war debts and other debts of the Federal Government should immediately be paid in full, the funds for such payment to be raised by means of a progressive property tax, whose burdens should fall upon the rich and particularly upon great fortunes made during the war.

2. A standing progressive income tax and a graduated inheritance tax should be levied to provide for all needs of the government, including the cost of its increasing social and industrial functions.

3. The unearned increment of land should be taxed, all land held out of use should be taxed at full rental value.

SOCIALIST PARTY,
Otto Branstetter, Executive Secretary,
National Office, Socialist Party.

(Permission from Eugene V. Debs and Seymour Stedman, authorizing the filing of the foregoing statement telegraphed to and filed in the office of the Secretary of State, September 22, 1920.)
In presenting to the citizens of the state of Oregon the presidential candidates of the Industrial Labor Party, and submitting to them a few of the reasons why that portion of the citizens that comprise the wealth producing class, the workers, should support these candidates, we do so, recognizing that their election to office cannot depend upon whether or not they are the “best men.” The Industrial Labor Party maintains that the agency that constitutes the propelling force in any social or political situation is not to be found in the individual, but in the economic conditions that present themselves in the period under consideration. Men do not make great movements; but great movements make great men.

We do not, therefore, present William W. Cox, a miner, our candidate for president, and August Gillhaus, a stationary engineer, our candidate for vice-president, because they are great men, and have accomplished great things for the workers in the past; but because they stand squarely upon great principles, principles that, while they have not as yet gathered

(This information furnished by the Industrial Labor Party of Oregon, F. T. Johns, Chairman, State Central Committee.)
great numbers of adherents, in America, nevertheless offer the only solution for the present chaotic condition in which society finds itself entangled.

Principle playing a greater part than the individual, it behooves the workers who vote in Oregon to inquire closely whether or not Mr. Cox and Mr. Gillhaus stand upon a platform that conforms to their interests. Our appeal is made to those performing useful work by hand or brain, because they constitute a majority in society.

Our candidates have pledged their allegiance to the platform of the Industrial Labor Party, an organization that enforces discipline within its ranks, and which has been recognized as the only revolutionary political party in America for the past quarter of a century. It is revolutionary in that it stands for a complete reorganization of society upon a higher and better plane in a manner that constitutes the only civilized method of procedure—the political method.

The Industrial Labor Party adopted at its national convention May, 1920, the following

Platform

"The world stands upon the threshold of a new social order. The capitalist system of production and distribution is doomed; capitalist appropriation of labor's product forces the bulk of mankind into wage slavery, throws society into the convulsions of the class struggle, and momentarily threatens to engulf humanity in chaos and disaster. At this crucial period in history, the Industrial Labor Party of America, in 15th National Convention assembled, reaffirming its former platform declarations, calls upon the workers to rally around the banner of the Industrial Labor Party, the only party in this country that blazes the trail to the Workers' Industrial Republic.

"Since the advent of civilization, human society has been divided into classes. Each new form of society has come into being with a definite purpose to fulfill in the progress of the human race. Each has been born, has grown, developed, prospered, become old, outworn, and has finally been overthrown. Each society has developed within itself the germs of its own destruction as well as the germs which went to make up the society of the future.

"The capitalist system rose during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries by the overthrow of feudalism. Its great and all-important mission in the development of man was to improve, develop, and concentrate the means of production and distribution, thus creating a system of cooperative production. This work was completed in advanced capitalist countries about the beginning of the 20th century. That moment capitalism had fulfilled its historic mission, and from that moment the capitalist class became a class of parasites.

"In the course of human progress mankind has passed, through class rule, private property, and individualism in production and exchange, from the enforced and inevitable want, misery, poverty, and ignorance of savagery and barbarism to the affluence and high productive capacity of civilization. For all practical purposes, cooperative production has now superseded individual production.

"Capitalism no longer promotes the greatest good of the greatest number. It no longer spells progress, but reaction. Private production carries with it private ownership of the products. Production is carried on, not to supply the needs of humanity, but for the profit of the indi-

(This information furnished by the Industrial Labor Party of Oregon, F. T. Johns, Chairman, State Central Committee.)
vidual owner, the company, or the trust. The worker, not receiving the full product of his labor, can not buy back all he produces. The capitalist wastes part in riotous living; the rest must find a foreign market. By the opening of the twentieth century the capitalist world—England, America, Germany, France, Japan, China, etc.—was producing at a mad rate for the world market. A capitalist deadlock of markets brought on in 1914 the capitalist collapse popularly known as the World War. The capitalist world can not extricate itself out of the debris. America today is choking under the weight of her own gold and products.

“This situation has brought on the present stage of human misery—starvation, want, cold, disease, pestilence, and war. This state is brought about in the midst of plenty, when the earth can be made to yield hundred-fold, when the machinery of production is made to multiply human energy and ingenuity by the hundred. The present state of misery exists solely because the mode of production rebels against the mode of exchange. Private property in the means of life has become a social crime. The land was made by no man; the modern machines are the result of the combined ingenuity of the human race from time immemorial; the land can be made to yield and the machines can be set in motion only by the collective effort of the workers. Progress demands the collective ownership of the land on and the tools with which to produce the necessities of life. The owner of the means of life today partakes of the nature of a highwayman; he stands with his gun before society's temple; it depends upon him whether the million mass may work, earn, eat, and live. The capitalist system of production and exchange must be supplanted if progress is to continue.

“In place of the capitalist system the Industrial Labor Party aims to substitute a system of social ownership of the means of production, industrially administered by the workers, who assume control and direction as well as operation of their industrial affairs.

“We therefore call upon the wage workers to organize themselves into a revolutionary political organization under the banner of the Industrial Labor Party; and to organize themselves likewise upon the industrial field into a Socialist Industrial Union, as now exemplified by the Workers' International Industrial Union, in keeping with their political aims.

“And we also call upon all other intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of working class interests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation, and distribution into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting Industrial Self-Government for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder—a government in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.”

Notice that the platform upon which our candidates are running is characterized by a single plank. There is but one issue before the voters of Oregon. THAT ISSUE DEMANDS THE COMPLETE SURRENDER OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS AND THE ABOLITION OF THE WAGES SYSTEM.

It is self-evident that the capitalist system of production has become detrimental to the best interest of society. In the words of Mr. Cox:

“The basis of the old society is crumbling to dust. * * * Evolution has completed its round of capitalist development, and the next cog on the wheel of progress is marked REVOLUTION—that is, it must

(This information furnished by the Industrial Labor Party of Oregon, F. T. Johns, Chairman, State Central Committee.)
register THE END OF CAPITALISM and the establishment of the WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL REPUBLIC. * * *

"Accordingly, at this hour, when the last grains of sand registering the end of life of the era of capitalism are running out, capitalism is marshalling all the dark forces of reaction in a mad attempt to save itself. Hence we stand today not only face to face with capitalism in the social-economic sense of the word—industrial exploitation and oppression, with the poverty, misery, incessant toil, involuntary idleness, starvation, sickness, and premature death which this implies—but we are today facing decadent capitalism, a madman at bay fighting blindly for his miserable life.

"In consequence, the coming campaign of the Industrial Labor Party means arduous toil. It means not only the defiance of the black reaction itself, * * * but it implies the more exhausting daily drudgery of attempting—often in vain—to break down the prejudices of the working class, to make a dent in the breastplate of ignorance of their own class interests. Hence, it is upon the working class we must direct our main charge. Into the satisfied drudges for a mere daily existence we must instill a desire for better things which will arouse them to a spirit of rebellion against wage slavery! To the miserable, the outworn, the drooping and discouraged we must bring the message of hope, pointing out to them the road to a new society where life and liberty are guaranteed to any one who is willing to work."

That Mr. Gillhaus is cognizant of the situation is evidenced in the following statement:

"This is the first national election after the signing of the armistice, an election where the issue is plain—shall industrial control remain in the hands of the capitalist class, or shall the working class take over the control of the industries? The outbreak of the war in 1914 recorded the historic fact that private competitive capitalism had reached its highest development, had fulfilled its mission, and had broken down in its scramble for world markets. The productive forces of the world were during five long, hideous years turned solely to purposes of destruction. Since the day the main combatants laid down arms, the leading capitalist nations have been trying in vain to get industry and commerce back to a pre-war basis. The capitalist system is outworn, the Socialist system is knocking on the door of history.

"Accordingly, the class struggle, the struggle between the workers of industry and the owners of industry, the struggle between dying capitalism and budding Socialism, is brought to the fore everywhere, and particularly so in a political campaign. Hence it is that the coming election assumes a world-wide importance. The forces of progress and reaction are lined up against each other directly for the first time."

Some recent events that have emphasized the breakdown of capitalist production are: The shutting down of many large industries, such as the American Woolen Company which a short time ago closed 51 out of 54 of its mills, throwing approximately 40,000 workers into the ranks of the unemployed which in turn is responsible for giving to the employing class the opportunity to lower wages and to impose intensive conditions of work upon those who are fortunate enough to continue in employment. And the lumber industry of the Pacific Northwest is so affected by the lack of foreign markets in which to dispose of the surplus that many of the mills have either closed altogether or are running only partial shifts. And as a climax to the capitalist breakdown, we cite the serious failure of the railroad transportation industry.

(This information furnished by the Industrial Labor Party of Oregon, F. T. Johns, Chairman, State Central Committee.)
Strikes and lockouts have been growing apace because the workers have been unable to maintain their former standard of living, owing to the increased cost of living and a disproportionate rise in their wages. The strike is the only weapon they know how to use. They have not as yet become thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the situation that confronts them. They are led to believe that by legislation the

**High Cost of Living**

can be reduced, and have, therefore, wasted much energy in supporting movements that have this as their purpose.

If the high cost of living could be reduced, it would result only to the benefit of the employing class for the simple reason that if the worker can purchase those things that go into the production of labor power (food, clothes, shelter) more cheaply, he will be forced to go into the labor market and sell his labor power at a correspondingly lower figure. As an illustration: If Mr. A sells his labor power to his employer, Mr. B, for $5.00 per day, and produces $20.00 worth of wealth during the day, and if Mr. A is able to reduce his cost of living by purchasing commodities cheaper by, let us say, $1.00, then the competition in the labor market will force him to sell his labor to Mr. B for $4.00 instead of $5.00, and Mr. B the employer will realize $16.00 in surplus values instead of $15.00.

The cost of living can not be reduced permanently by legislation or in any other manner, owing to the fact that it is due to the depreciation in the value of gold.

“When commodities (articles produced for sale) exchange in the market they do not exchange directly, one for the other. We do not give a hat for a pair of shoes, but we pay a certain amount of money. Commodities are exchanged value for value. The value of a commodity is determined by the amount of labor time socially needed to produce it. Socially needed means the average labor time required at a given period. If a man spends one hour carrying a brick forth and back from one side of the street to the other, then that is not *socially necessary*, but *socially unnecessary* labor time, and does not count as value.

“Let us assume that it took two hours to produce a hat, and two hours to produce a pair of shoes, then those two articles will exchange one for the other. As a medium of exchange gold is employed. If gold is to exchange for other commodities it follows that it too must be the product of labor, and contain certain amounts of socially necessary labor time. If, therefore, a pair of shoes, or a hat, costs $4.00, it follows that the gold given in exchange must contain the same amount of labor time as the hat and the shoes. In other words, the transaction will look as follows:

$$1 \text{ hat} = 2 \text{ hours} = \frac{1}{4} \text{ oz. gold} = \$4.00$$

“Suppose that at a later stage, due to improvements in machinery for extracting the gold from the rock and chemical methods used in working over the tailings, it is possible to produce twice the quantity of gold—let us say one-half ounce of gold. It means that whereas formerly, $\frac{1}{4}$ ounce of gold would purchase a hat of the kind referred to above, it will now require double the quantity of gold. Since, however, the quantity of gold remains the same, since a dollar is not marked “worth only 50 cents,” it means that more of those dollars will have to be given for the same amount of commodities than before, or that for the same number of

(This information furnished by the Industrial Labor Party of Oregon, W. T. Johns, Chairman, State Central Committee.)
dollars only half of the former quantity can be obtained. Since by law it is decreed that a given quantity of gold (let us for the sake of argument say 1/16 oz.) shall be stamped $1.00, it follows that it formerly took 1/4 oz. to exchange for one hat ($4.00) it now (gold being worth only one-half as much as before) takes 1/2 oz. A quarter ounce was equal to $4.00, so 1/2 oz. becomes equal to $8.00. In other words, formerly we had:

\[
1 \text{ hat} = 2 \text{ hours} = \frac{1}{4} \text{ oz. gold} = $4.00;
\]

we now have:

\[
1 \text{ hat} = 2 \text{ hours} = \frac{1}{2} \text{ oz. gold} = $8.00.
\]

"That is, gold having decreased in value by one-half, the price of the commodity is doubled.

"The only immediate remedy, or rather the only thing to counteract the high prices, is HIGHER WAGES. Ultimately, however, this cannot solve the question even if the workers could wrest such concessions from their masters. The overthrow of a social order, in which the worker himself figures as a mere article of commerce, bargained for, bought and sold in the labor market, only the overthrow of such a system, we repeat, can solve the problem, and with that most, if not all, of the other social ills besetting the workers today."—("High Cost of Living," published by Industrial Labor Party.)

The League of Nations

As an issue, it has grown cold or at best lukewarm. Its primary purpose, we have been told, was "a permanent peace" based upon "unselfish and unbiased justice." These things are impossible as long as capitalism lasts. The mere fact that there is an international executive committee of the capitalist class does not signify that this committee is willing or that it is possible for it to overcome the economic fact that constitutes the very life of the present system of production—FREE AND UNRESTRICTED COMPETITION. The only factor that gives the present League of Nations the semblance of Unity is the menacing attitude of the international working class movement which is sweeping down upon the international capitalist class until its very life hangs by a thread. The League of Nations, according to testimony of William C. Bullett before the Committee of Foreign Relations, United States Senate, is simply a League of imperialists to crush small nations and the international socialist movement in particular.

We are in favor of a League of Nations, which shall truly represent the interests of the majority of the people within each nation, to the end of abolishing war and establishing justice for all. This is possible only, however, when the workers of all countries, including America, unite industrially and politically to establish the International Commonwealth of Labor, with an industrial instead of political basis of representation.

The Presidential candidates of the Industrial Labor Party stand firmly upon the following program of reconstruction, which they offer as a remedy for the present condition of chaos and industrial disorder:

We have social production as we see it in present day industry. An incongruity is found, however, in the individual appropriation that still remains. When we abolish the contradiction that exists between the method of production and the mode of exchange, we shall have the Industrial Republic of Labor, Socialism. Socialized production presents to us a picture of One Great Union of Industry. Working men and women

(This information furnished by the Industrial Labor Party of Oregon, F. T. Johns, Chairman, State Central Committee.)
must therefore organize in the industries to conform to this fact for the purpose of taking, holding, and operating them in their own interests, just as they are now doing for the idle and parasitical capitalist class.

To approach this great task directly, would result in serious opposition from the present owners of industry, the capitalists. They would immediately use the economic power which their ownership in the industry furnishes them to set in motion the political state; and through this agency, which is simply the executive committee of the capitalist class, they would use the police, and the militia against the workers as they have often done in the past, when the provocation was nothing more than a demand for an increase in wages.

The experience of the workers in their struggles demonstrates that it is necessary not only to organize into One Great Industrial Union upon the economic field, but also into a political party for the purpose of capturing the political state, in order that it may not be wielded against them, reserving it for their use against the defeated capitalist class in case it refuses to abide by the will of the majority; an event that history shows must be anticipated, and prepared for; witness the election of Lincoln, and the resort to physical force by the South; witness the unseating of five "socialist" assemblymen in New York State.

When we speak of One Great Union, we point to the Workers’ International Industrial Union of Detroit, Michigan, as exemplifying the correct method of organization in contra-distinction to the American Federation of Labor, which keeps the workers divided into crafts, and which does not have a revolutionary purpose, also in contra-distinction to the Industrial Workers of the World, which organization throws aside the civilized method of procedure—political action.

This One Great Union must function, first, to furnish the MIGHT to back up the RIGHT of the Industrial Labor Party Ballot, and secondly, it must build the permanent structure of government for the future society. It is the permanent arm of the revolutionary working class movement.

The Industrial Labor Party, on the other hand, after having captured the political state by means of a majority ascertained at the ballot box, supported by the economic power of the One Great Union of the workers, will adjourn sine die. The reins of government will be handed over to the Industrially Organized Workers, who immediately begin the administration of production and distribution, a function from which the present political state is absolutely divorced.

Therefore a vote for W. W. Cox and August Gillhaus will signify that the voter stands for a change in government from the present form, which depends upon geographical demarkations for its basis of representation, to a government whose basis of representation is made upon departments of industry.

In this manner all power will go to the workers. They will then be in a position to carry on production and distribution so that each shall receive the social equivalent of the full product of his toil.

Respectfully submitted,

INDUSTRIAL LABOR PARTY OF OREGON,

F. T. Johns, Chairman State Central Committee.

(Written permission from W. W. Cox and August Gillhaus authorizing F. T. Johns, Chairman State Central Committee of the Industrial Labor Party of Oregon, to file the foregoing statement, filed with the Secretary of State, September 23, 1920.)
George E. Chamberlain is a candidate for re-election to the office of United States Senator. No man asking for the support of the voters of this state at the coming election can present a better public record than Senator Chamberlain. It was his splendid achievements and constructive effort as legislator, attorney general, and district attorney that made possible his elevation to the office of governor.

He entered the office of governor at a time when the old school land ring was in its glory. It had for years fattened off the birthright of the school children of this state and one of his first acts was to put these birds of prey to flight and, through the securing of adequate legislation, throw such safeguards around the sale of state lands as would end forever the practices of the past and fully protect the interests of our school children.

His sympathetic nature and kindness of heart led him to give close attention to the needs of our eleemosynary and penal institutions with the result that reforms were initiated which not only worked for the betterment of our institutions but attracted attention and stirred constructive thought in other states.

He was one of the foremost advocates of the progressive legislation which took the control of our public affairs from the hands of the old

(This information furnished by the Democratic State Central Committee, C. J. Smith, Chairman.)
political ring and placed it in the hands of the people. He has always rendered loyal support to the movement to give the right of suffrage to women and to the enactment and enforcement of prohibition.

It was because the plain people of this state found in him an honest and resourceful champion of their rights that he was elected by a splendid vote to represent his state in the senate of the United States.

Upon entering the senate he was able to turn to good account the intimate knowledge of the needs of his state and the northwest gained through his long public service.

We have him to thank for the legislation which unlocked the resources of Alaska through railroad development. He led the fight for the recovery of the lands in the Oregon and California Railroad and Coos Bay Wagon Road grants and for the payment of back taxes to the counties affected. He rendered the administration able assistance in securing the passage of the Federal Reserve Act and the Rural Credits or Farm Loan Act.

He had charge of the administration's Food Control bill on the floor of the senate and it was due largely to his efforts that it became a law. As chairman of the Senate Military Affairs committee he prepared and presented to Congress the measures which strengthened the hands of our fighting forces and enabled them to crown their efforts with victory. He was ever thoughtful of the boys in the trenches and they found in him a friend who could always be reached in their hour of need.

As a senator he aided in the passage of the Postal Savings and Parcel Post Acts, and in the extension of rural mail routes and appropriations for public highways. He has rendered loyal support to those who earn their living by the sweat of their brow and joined in their efforts to shorten the hours of the worker, wipe out child labor, and have the law declare that "labor was not a commodity."

He aided in the passage of income and inheritance tax laws the aim of which is to place the burdens of taxation upon the shoulders best able to bear them.

He rendered loyal service in the battle for amendments to our constitution which would give the election of senators to the people, the ballot to the women and prohibition to the nation.

The great service he rendered our country during the trying period of the war has made him an international as well as national figure and won for him the commendation and respect of all true Americans. Believing that peace was absolutely essential to the stabilization of world conditions, he favored and voted for the ratification of the peace treaty.

His candidacy is respectfully submitted to the good people of the state he has so long and faithfully served.

DEMOCRATIC STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,

C. J. Smith, Chairman.

(This information furnished by the Democratic State Central Committee, C. J. Smith, Chairman.)
I was born and reared on a farm in the State of Missouri. By my own efforts I obtained an education. Having graduated from the State Normal School I attended the University of Missouri for one year where I studied law and languages. Later I graduated from Stanford University, California, with the degree of A.B. and from the law school of the University of Oregon with the degree of L.L.B. I married Hattie May Thornton, a daughter of James Thornton, a pioneer of Ashland, Oregon, and we have two daughters. Our home is at No. 925 Gantenbein Avenue, Portland, where we have lived for the past twelve years. I am a lawyer, and my offices are in the Henry Building.

I have never before been a candidate for public office and only consented to run for the senate upon the earnest solicitation of my fellow citizens, who secured a petition bearing the names of about 5,000 electors.

I have made a close study of the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations, and believe that the League of Nations is the one preventative of future wars of conquest. If elected, I will use my best energy and influence to bring about the ratification of the treaty and the League of Nations. I am absolutely opposed to compulsory military training, which has been so vigorously espoused, and which if adopted would impose on the people an additional burden of two billion dollars annually. Germany has already abolished the system. The system has no place in a republic.

I am pledged to uphold the Volstead Act and will use my best endeavors to see that it is enforced. I favor the development of our national resources for the benefit of the people; the securing for Oregon her just share of reclamation funds, and the extension of the Federal Farm Loan Act.

Having labored hard in my earlier years, I know how to sympathize with labor in its endeavors to secure more of the rewards of toil. Every effort to secure favorable working conditions will receive my support.

I am in favor of a square deal for returned soldiers and sailors, and especially those unfortunate ones who are no longer able to take up the employment they were formerly engaged in.

I believe in a vigorous prosecution of all profiteers, with jail sentences for those who seek to increase the cost of living through control of food products and necessaries of life.

I am progressive, and if elected will use my best energy to carry out the foregoing ideas, and a progressive program generally.

This statement is furnished by Thomas A. Hayes, the candidate, and has the support of J. D. Brown, Chairman, and the Committee for the ratification of the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations.

THOMAS A. HAYES.
R. N. STANFIELD

Candidate of the Republican Party for United States Senator in Congress

R. N. Stanfield’s election to the office of United States Senator is earnestly desired by Warren G. Harding, presidential nominee of the Republican party.

In a telegram to the Harding and Coolidge Club, of Portland, Senator Harding says:

“All who are earnestly desirous that the Republican party shall take control of national affairs, to the end that we may restore the health of the Republic and ensure the good of the country, will wish, as I wish, that the voters of Oregon may find it to their best judgment to support Robert N. Stanfield for United States Senator.”

Harding Urges Stanfield’s Election

A Republican President cannot put Republican policies into effect unless he is aided and supported by a Republican majority in the United States Senate. That is one of the principal reasons why Senator Harding is anxious that Oregon shall elect Robert N. Stanfield, the nominee of the Republican party, to represent his native State in the United States Senate.

Republican Senate Vitally Necessary

The Republicans have a bare majority of one vote in the present Senate. It is clear, therefore, that it is entirely possible that Mr. Stanfield’s vote, when he is elected, may be the deciding vote necessary to ensure Republican control of the Senate. On the other hand, if Mr. Stanfield’s Democratic opponent, Chamberlain, were to be elected, Chamberlain’s vote might be the very one which would turn the control of the Senate over to the Democrats.

The election of Harding to the presidency, therefore, would be but a barren victory unless a Republican Senate is elected at the same time to back him up in supplanting Democratic one-man rule, extravagance and inefficiency with Republican protection, progress and prosperity.

Senator Harding’s interest in the election of Mr. Stanfield is shared by other Republican leaders of national reputation.

Coolidge and Other Leaders for Stanfield

Calvin Coolidge, Republican vice-presidential candidate, has given expression to his desire for Mr. Stanfield’s election to the Senate in a telegram to the Republican State Central Committee in which he says:

“The success of the Republican ticket in Oregon is earnestly to be desired. More than that, my own desire to preside over a Republican Senate leads me to hope for and recommend the election of R. N. Stanfield to represent your great State in that honorable body.”

(This information furnished by Oregon Republican State Central Committee; Thos. H. Tongue, Jr., Chairman; Clarence R. Hotchkiss, Secretary.)
Several of the leading Republican United States senators have similarly expressed their earnest hope that Mr. Stanfield will be chosen by the people of Oregon to add to the Republican membership in the next Senate.

U. S. Senator Miles Poindexter, chairman of the Republican National Senatorial Committee, has telegraphed the Oregon Republican State Central Committee as follows:

"From standpoint of National interests as well as Pacific Northwest. I strongly recommend and urge the election of Robert N. Stanfield as United States senator from Oregon. Tariff on wool, meats, farm products, lumber and protection of American interests against consolidation with European League, are at stake."

Oregon's Republican U. S. Senator, Charles L. McNary, has endorsed Mr. Stanfield's candidacy in the following telegram:

"I am glad of the opportunity to endorse the candidacy of Robert N. Stanfield, Republican candidate for United States Senator, and believe that the election of a Republican Congress will promote good government."

Oregon Entitled to Two Republican Senators

The registration figures show that Oregon has 228,571 registered Republican voters and only 93,405 Democrats. The State therefore is entitled to be represented at Washington by two Republican Senators. Senator Charles L. McNary, who is rendering most meritorious service as chairman of the Senate committee on irrigation and reclamation of arid lands, would lose that important chairmanship—so vital to Oregon—if the Democrats gain control of the Senate at the election on November 2.

For Maintenance of Peace

For maintenance of a permanent peace Mr. Stanfield favors international cooperation with full recognition and protection of American sovereignty. He is in full accord with the following declaration on that subject in the platform of the Republican party:

"The Republican party stands for agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world. We believe that such an international association 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 conference 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. And we pledge the coming Republican administration to such agreements with 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 its judgment and its power in favor of justice and peace."

Labor and Capital

Concerning the vital problem of the relations of labor to capital Mr. Stanfield has very definite views. He stated in a recent public address:

"In my opinion capital and labor are entitled to equality of treatment and it is error to array them as class against class. Instead of each working for a separate object, the two should come together to work for a common purpose and for mutual profit. The longer I have

(This information furnished by Oregon Republican State Central Committee; Thos. H. Tongue, Jr., Chairman; Clarence R. Hotchkiss, Secretary.)
studied the relations of labor and capital, the more I have become convinced that labor is entitled to a greater share of the profits of industry.

**Protective Tariff Absolutely Necessary**

Mr. Stanfield's experience as a producer in a necessary industry, both as woolgrower and in the livestock business generally, has proved to him that immediate application of the Republican policy of a protective tariff is imperatively necessary, if the American standard of living is to be maintained. Unless the next Congress provides for the protection of American farmers and livestock industry by levying proper protective tariff duties, they will be subjected to ruinous competition through the invading of our markets by wheat from Canada, corn from Argentine, beet sugar from Europe, cane sugar from the tropics, rice from the Orient, meat and hides from South America, wool from Australia, butter from New Zealand, beans and peas from Manchuria and other imports from various foreign lands.

**Free Tolls Through Panama Canal**

It is of extreme importance to the Pacific Coast, for the advancement and protection of its industries, that American coastwise traffic through the Panama Canal shall be freed of all tolls. Free tolls for American vessels engaged in coastwise traffic would be the most effective regulator of the discriminatory railroad rates against which Western lumbermen and other industries are protesting.

**Stanfield for Soldiers' Relief Bill**

In language that leaves no doubt of his attitude Mr. Stanfield set forth his views, in response to a request from "The Oregon Veteran," relative to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Relief Bill which passed the National House of Representatives on May 29, 1920. Mr. Stanfield wrote:

"I unqualifiedly favor the Soldiers' and Sailors' Bonus Bill as passed by the House of Representatives and believe it should be passed by the U. S. Senate as soon as that body reconvenes. It will give me the greatest of pleasure to help secure the passage of the measure through the Senate. If elected, and the bill has not been finally passed in the Senate before I take my seat, I shall vote for it."

**Exempt Moderate Incomes From Tax**

Recognizing the fact that the high cost of living, due principally to the profiteering which the present Democratic administration has permitted to go unchecked and unpunished, has laid a heavy burden upon men and women with moderate incomes, Mr. Stanfield favors exempting from the federal income tax all incomes of single men and women below $2,000 and all incomes of married persons under $3,000.

**Reclaim Oregon's Arid Lands**

Oregon has contributed $11,165,000 up to date to the Federal reclamation fund but only $5,000,000 of that amount has been expended in reclaiming arid lands in this State. Mr. Stanfield urges that a larger share of Oregon's contribution be expended on irrigation projects within the State and, if elected, will cooperate with Senator McNary in the latter's efforts to bring about that result.

(This information furnished by Oregon Republican State Central Committee; Thos. H. Tongue, Jr., Chairman; Clarence R. Hotchkiss, Secretary.)
Improve Oregon's Rivers and Harbors

Mr. Stanfield favors the adoption of an energetic policy looking toward the improvement of Oregon's rivers and harbors.

Favors Better Pay for Postal Employes

Mr. Stanfield believes that the present pay of postal employes is entirely inadequate and favors an amendment of the present salary law so that an increase of their compensation can be effected. He also favors an amendment which will permit postal employes to retire after thirty years' service, in addition to the present proviso which permits retirement at the age of 65 years.

Stanfield a Man of the People

Whatever success Robert N. Stanfield has achieved has been won by hard work, combined with pluck, foresight and a magnetic personality. Born 43 years ago at Umatilla, Oregon, he was not quite 19 when his father died and he had to leave the Weston Normal School, where he was studying to be a teacher, and return home. He assisted his mother to care for a family of eleven children, and soon gave evidence of the remarkable tact and business ability which formed the foundation of his successful business career. His popularity with all classes has increased with the passing years because success has not spoiled him and he is held simply as “Bob” Stanfield by hundreds of friends and acquaintances all over Oregon. He served three terms in the legislature, one term as speaker. He has also seen service as a member of several state boards and at present is a member of the Oregon Land Settlement Commission.

Prominent Oregonians Endorse Stanfield's Candidacy

Among the prominent citizens of Oregon who endorse the candidacy of Robert N. Stanfield for the United States Senatorship and urge his election, are the following:

E. V. Carter, Ashland
Mrs. L. E. Perozzi, Ashland
Bert Anderson, Medford
A. C. Marsters, Roseburg
Louis E. Bean, Eugene
Mrs. F. L. Chambers, Eugene
Willard Marks, Albany
C. E. Ingalls, Corvallis
Thomas B. Kay, Salem
E. B. Tongue, Hillsboro
Wm. G. Hare, Hillsboro
Carl Haberlach, Tillamook
G. C. Fulton, Astoria
Frank Patton, Astoria
Wm. T. Vinton, McMinville
John L. Rand, Baker
Colon R. Eberhard, La Grande
J. H. Dobbin, Enterprise

Mrs. W. D. McNary, Pendleton
David H. Nelson, Pendleton
Jay H. Upton, Prineville
John R. Nickelsen, Hood River
E. E. Brodie, Oregon City
Mrs. J. F. Chapman, Portland
Col. J. J. Crossley, Portland
Mrs. C. E. Dentler, Portland
Chas. T. Early, Portland
Mrs. Sophie E. King, Portland
Mrs. Geo. W. McMath, Portland
Arthur I. Moulton, Portland
C. A. Proudfoot, Portland
Alan Welch Smith, Portland
Thos. A. Sweeney, Portland
Mrs. Martha M. Taylor, Portland
Pasquale Tusi, Portland
Mrs. Geo. L. Williams, Portland

OREGON REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
Thos. H. Tongue, Jr., Chairman,
Clarence R. Hotchkiss, Secretary.

(This information furnished by Oregon Republican State Central Committee; Thos. H. Tongue, Jr., Chairman; Clarence R. Hotchkiss, Secretary.)
ESTHER POHL LOVEJOY
Candidate of the Democratic and Prohibition Parties for Representative in Congress, Third Congressional District.

First Duty:
Safeguard and develop the resources of Oregon; secure national assistance for water-ways, highways, irrigation projects, Port of Portland, equitable freight rates.

National Duty:
Just labor laws; prohibition of child labor; protection of mothers; suppression of profiteering; education (Federal Department); economy (budget system); soldier's bonus; regulation of immigration; prohibition; preservation of Federal Reserve bank.

Highest Duty:
Uphold the Constitution of the United States ordained to "promote the general welfare." Put this principle into practice.

Social Creed:
I believe that moral, mental, physical, political and economic disease is due largely to social dishonesty, and poverty induced by ignorance, vice, intemperance, greed and profiteering—and that social justice is the rational remedy.

(This information furnished by Democratic State Central Committee; C. J. Smith, Chairman; and by Prohibition State Committee, Wm. F. Amos, Chairman.)
Doctor Esther Pohl Lovejoy is a Portland woman of international standing. She was born in the northwest and has been a resident and tax-payer of Multnomah County for many years. At the age of 17 she was employed in a department store. She is a graduate of the medical department of the University of Oregon. While head of the Health Bureau of the city of Portland she worked for social betterment, writing and securing the first ordinance providing pure milk for the city. She has been closely identified with the woman's suffrage movement, state and national, and believes that the votes of women will help to humanize governments.

When the United States went into the war Doctor Lovejoy volunteered, and has devoted three years to war and relief work. She served with the American Red Cross at home and abroad, and was executive head of the American Women's Hospital service in the devastated countries. She is president of the Medical Women's International Association, and author of "The House of the Good Neighbor." Herbert Hoover has written a foreword for the last edition of this book.

Because of her positive position in reference to the Prohibition Amendment and the Volstead Act, Esther Pohl Lovejoy has been indorsed by the Portland Ministerial Association, composed of a majority of the Ministers of Portland. Because of her progressiveness, her love of humanity, her antagonism to the old political machine practices she has received the indorsement of the Oregon Popular Government League, a non-partisan organization composed of representatives from the Portland Central Labor Council, Oregon State Federation of Labor, The Railroad Workers, farmers organizations, school teachers and progressive, open-minded citizens of Multnomah County, Oregon.

Dr. Lovejoy believes in the genius of the American people for self-government, and that in spite of partisan handicaps and the misleadership of professional politicians, the men and women of this nation will ultimately put the ideals upon which it was founded into practice. She stands for Progress and Social Justice, and asks the support of the electors of Multnomah County regardless of political affiliation. She is highly qualified; knows the needs of Oregon; and has a record conspicuous for results in public service. The law of her life has been onward and upward. We need such women in the service of the state and the nation. SEND HER TO CONGRESS.

**DEMOCRATIC STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,**
C. J. Smith, Chairman.

**PROHIBITION STATE COMMITTEE,**
Wm. F. Amos, Chairman.

(This information furnished by Democratic State Central Committee; C. J. Smith, Chairman; and by Prohibition State Committee, Wm. F. Amos, Chairman.)
C. N. McARTHUR
Candidate of the Republican Party for Representative in Congress,
Third Congressional District

To the People of the Third Congressional District:

Representative C. N. McArthur, who is now serving his third term in Congress and who has been re-nominated for another term by the Republicans of his district, is a man of ability, industry and courage and has grown into a position of large influence and usefulness at Washington. Mr. McArthur has an excellent record in Congress—not only a constructive record in favor of sound, progressive legislation, but also a record of opposition to quack legislation and demagogy. His record on preparedness before the recent war and his votes on important war time measures stamp him as a man of vision and a legislator whose first consideration is the welfare of his country. He is one of the 47 men in Congress who voted right on all war measures according to the standard of the National Security League. He has shown the same courage and breadth of vision on important reconstruction legislation.

Mr. McArthur is a member of the important committee on Naval Affairs and has stood squarely for a strong, efficient navy. He has labored long and earnestly for more adequate naval facilities on the Pacific Coast and in our insular possessions and the legislation authorizing the location of a submarine and destroyer base and aviation station on the Columbia River is due almost entirely to his efforts.

Mr. McArthur's standing in the House of Representatives is attested by his recent appointment by Speaker Gillett as one of the four house members who will represent the Federal government on The Pilgrim Tercentenary Commission. He has frequently presided over the House and has shown marked ability as a parliamentarian.

Mr. McArthur is a firm believer in the principles of the Republican party and regards a Republican victory in November as necessary to the restoration of representative government under the Constitution.

A vote for Mr. McArthur is a vote for a man who has made good in public life; a legislator who enjoys the respect and confidence of his colleagues and the high officials of the government. Oregon cannot afford to replace him with a new and inexperienced legislator. Seniority and continuous service are big factors in Congress and it behooves the people of the Third Congressional District to keep Mr. McArthur on the job.

Respectfully submitted,
OREGON REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
Thos. H. Tongue, Jr., Chairman,
Clarence R. Hotchkiss, Secretary.

(This information furnished by Oregon Republican State Central Committee; Thos. H. Tongue, Jr., Chairman; Clarence H. Hotchkiss, Secretary.)
When Sam A. Kozer went before the Republican voters of this State in the primary election last May and asked for the nomination for Secretary of State, he based his candidacy on an intimate knowledge of the duties of the office and the affairs and needs of the State gained through a long period of service in the office of Secretary of State and as Deputy Secretary of State. In recognition of these qualifications, he was nominated by the remarkable plurality of 16,000 in a field of seven candidates. He now seeks election to that office and urges the same qualifications as a claim for your support in the general election November 2, 1920.

"Sam" Kozer is a native of Pennsylvania, 49 years of age and has resided in Oregon since 1890. He entered the office of Secretary of State as auditing clerk under Secretary of State F. I. Dunbar, in 1899, was retained by each succeeding administration and promoted to various positions of increased responsibility. In September, 1911, Mr. Kozer was appointed Chief Deputy Secretary of State. Immediately following the primary election last May, Mr. Kozer was appointed Secretary of State by Governor Olcott to fill the vacancy created when Mr. Olcott succeeded to the Governorship following the death of Governor Withycombe.

Mr. Kozer is and always has been a Republican. By reason of his long period of service in the Secretary of State's office, he is entitled to much of the credit for placing that department of the State government on its present high plane of efficiency. Besides, Mr. Kozer believes that a public officer is in the strictest sense a public servant; that public offices belong to the people, who are at all times entitled to courteous and respectful consideration, prompt and efficient service. If elected, it will be his purpose to continue to observe these considerations, maintain the present high standard of efficiency in the office and give to the people of the State a maximum of service at a minimum of cost to the taxpayers.

No other man has a better knowledge of state affairs, the needs and requirements of the various state departments, institutions, boards and commissions. In the election of Mr. Kozer as Secretary of State the people will secure the services of a man peculiarly equipped for the manifold duties of this responsible office—a man admirably qualified by experience to assist in solving the many new and important problems of State administration in a rapidly growing and developing commonwealth—a man whose word is not to be doubted when he promises a full measure of efficient service economically administered.

OREGON REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
Thos. H. Tongue, Jr., Chairman, Clarence R. Hotchkiss, Secretary.

(This information furnished by Oregon Republican State Central Committee; Thos. H. Tongue, Jr., Chairman; Clarence R. Hotchkiss, Secretary.)
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