

As We See It

France and England.

The New York Pub Library  
In Old 476 5th ave  
Scotching the Red

France believes that England is trying to line up the Vatican against her former ally. The Pope sent a note to France recently expostulating with her against a continuation of the Ruhr policy of ruthlessness. This is not at all to France's taste. While the late war was conducted, France posed before the world as a victim of German brutality and the flood of sentimental rubbish that was let loose here in America was responsible to a large degree for the ease with which the bankers were able to ally this country on the French side. Now France is aping the Kaiser's policy of world domination and does not like Papal interference. The former allies are ready to fly at each other's throat. Such is harmony under capitalism.

The world war is over at last. The curtain fell on the last act in the tragedy when a treaty was signed between the "terrible Turk" and the Allies on July 9. The treaty re-establishes Moslem power in Europe. Another of the things we were fighting for gone by the board.

Under the terms of this treaty the Allies agree to evacuate the Dardanelles six weeks after the ratification of the treaty by the Angora assembly. England agrees to restore the German cruisers Goeben and Breslau with stores of Turkish ammunition seized during the war. Russia will be invited to sign the clauses concerning the straits.

In order to make up the loss in man-power suffered by Checko-Slovakia during the war, a woman deputy in the Checko parliament proposed a compulsory two-wives-per-male law. Checko husbands would have lynched her but were checked by the police. Under the slogan "One is enough" they rush for the daring female but were prevented from annihilating her when the standing army of Bohemia stood in the way. Martial law is now declared.

A report of the United States Coal Commission opposes the government ownership of coal mines but favors government supervision. It is rumored that Attorney General Daugherty tampered with the report before it was made public. The original draft being considered too favorable to the Miners Union.

Forty thousand Fascists marched through the streets of Berlin recently under the protection of the Socialist administration. The Communists organized a counter-demonstration. There were several clashes between the two forces, many being wounded.

The proprietor of the roadhouse in the vicinity of Chicago who installed a flock of geese as a protection against a visitation of unwelcome guests must have been reading Roman history or the trial at St. Joseph. The geese proved themselves incompetent and raiders noiselessly entered the premises while the geese were asleep and arrested several men and women on a charge of disorderly conduct.

Bishop F. McConnell of Pittsburgh favors the eight-hour day in Gary's mills because a man cannot have time to develop his Christianity on a twelve-hour shift. He believes big business should not be killed but converted to Christian ideals. Governor Hyde of Missouri declares that Gary is right in his diagnosis of social ills saying that what we wanted was more religion. We have had government because the people want according to the leading citizen in the mule state. Even the geese should kick against being represented by such a person.

The capitalist press found considerable joy in reporting the attacks made on the Workers' Party at the convention. The pet resolution of Lawyer Rodriguez calling for the exclusion of any organization "advocating force and violence" at last found its way to an unhonored grave on the convention floor. And the irony of the situation was that the pallbearer should be Robert M. Buck, who so often and eloquently scolded the gentlemen of easy political virtue, whose only stock in trade is the peddling of "red bugaboos" to their own profit and the swindling of the frightened capitalist.

# VOICE OF LABOR

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## Farmer-Labor Unity!

### POWERFUL ALLIANCE OF AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL WORKERS ELECTS OFFICERS AND PREPARES FOR AGGRESSIVE CAMPAIGN

#### Small Faction of Farmer-Labor Party Spurn United Front

By JOS CARROLL  
The convention of the Farmer-Labor Party, which met after the Federated Farmer-Labor Party convention adjourned, declined to participate in the new combination after several speeches were made against unity by John Fitzpatrick, Robert M. Buck, Koontz of Pennsylvania and others.  
Toscan Bennett, national chairman, Farmer-Labor Party, moved that five delegates be elected with such reservations as seemed proper but without tying the delegate's hands. "That large group in the convention just ended that belongs neither to the Farmer-Labor Party nor to the Workers Party," said Bennett, "seems to believe that the Farmer-Labor Party has not been playing the game and that the Workers Party has. We cannot afford to let this impression get around. Let us die with honor rather than continue to live in dishonor. Besides, rightly or wrongly, the Illinois delegation of the Farmer-Labor Party seems to greatly outweigh in strength the other delegations of our party but it does not entirely represent the sentiment in the rest of the country where the Farmer-Labor Party has an organization. However, if the Farmer-Labor Party decides not to affiliate with the Federated Party, I will not bolt."

**A Voice in the Wilderness.**  
Duncan McDonald, Illinois, stated that the radical program of the Trade Union Educational League was making amazing headway in the Illinois miner unions, while the Farmer-Labor Party was not getting very far. He said most of the delegates at the big convention wanted the new program and the new party and it would be better to come along, although he too would not bolt the Farmer-Labor Party.

**Minority Elects N. E. C.**  
Minority delegates from Washington, California, Wisconsin, Kentucky and Ohio, fearing that Chairman Buck would allow the meeting to string along until the out of town delegates had to make their trains, took action during the noon recess. They chose five of their number to represent the Farmer-Labor Party minority on the new N. E. C. of the new Federated Farmer-Labor Party. These five were to sit unless the Farmer-Labor Party decided to elect five from the whole body of its convention.

The Farmer-Labor Party voted down the Bennett proposal to elect so that the following five minority Farmer-Labor Party delegates constitute that Party's representation so far as the state groups can represent the unwilling national organization. John C. Kennedy, state secretary, Washington Farmer-Labor Party, Seattle; J. W. Rossmiller, Order of Railway Conductors, Racine,

#### CONVENTION DELEGATES CHAFED AT DISRUPTIVE TACTICS OF NOISY MINORITY

The July convention called by the Farmer-Labor Party and to which all workingclass political groups and labor unions were invited opened in Carmens' Hall, Chicago, on July 3, with approximately 600 delegates representing hundreds of thousands of workers.  
This convention was long looked forward to by the progressive elements in the labor movement who hoped that out of this conference would grow a party representing, on the political field all workers of hand and brain who desired political unity. In spite of ugly rumors that certain elements in the Cook County Farmer-Labor Party group were intent on sabotaging the convention the opening was auspicious.

**Fitzpatrick Feels Convention's Pulse.**  
John Fitzpatrick in greeting the assembled delegates struck the note that animated the entire gathering when he called for the unity of all labor's forces on the political field. He received a thunderous ovation, the great assembly hall rocking with applause. This reception was strongly in contrast to the comparative silence which greeted his appearance on the third day of the session when he took the platform to oppose the formation of a Federated Farmer-Labor Party and singled out the Workers Party for attack. It was clear that the overwhelming majority of this delegation was intensely in earnest and while appreciating the services of the veteran fighter in the past, they did not allow such appreciation to blind their judgment that at this moment he was mistaken in his views, and his opposition to the idea of an inclusive Federated Farmer-Labor Party carried no weight whatsoever.

**Militant Voices Call.**  
"Mother" Jones, the 94 year old veteran in the battles of labor, Ex-Senator Pettigrew and Lieutenant Governor Comings of Wisconsin spoke after Fitzpatrick.  
Ex-Senator Pettigrew delivered a revolutionary speech in which he called for the overthrow of the capitalist system and urged the formation of a political party on class lines.

The report of the credentials committee brought the first note of conflict in the hitherto harmonious convention. A certain faction in the Farmer-Labor Party, led by an ex-socialist lawyer by the name of Rodriguez and an ex-preacher, Gifford Ernest, were trying their hands at playing peanut politics. Small in numbers, but exceedingly noisy, this coterie wrangled and quibbled all the way through the proceedings.

Wis.; Mary D. Britte, secretary, Ohio State Farmer-Labor Party, Cincinnati; C. J. Stevens, Kentucky State Farmer-Labor Party, Louisville; Richard Swift, Illinois miners.

William Bouck, a "dirt" farmer from the state of Washington, was elected chairman on the second day of the convention. The Wisconsin delegation urged that the convention declare itself as the Conference for Progressive Political Action, that the chairman be authorized to appoint a representative committee and that this committee elect the committees on organization, resolutions, program and finance.

Joseph Manley, delegate from the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers of New York City moved as an amendment the resolution printed in full on page two.

The first program in the resolution declared for the immediate formation of an all-inclusive Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

It was evident at once that the resolution would carry waves of applause followed by cheering. Numerous delegates from the unions spoke in favor of the resolution, but the hit of the session was made by R. H. Walker, a farmer and representative in the legislature of North Dakota. White haired and venerable-looking he walked to the front of the platform and declared that the farmers wanted action, that they were prepared to line up with the industrial workers and the time was now ripe for action. A storm of applause followed his speech. Opposition was offered by the Proletarian Party, and a delegate who also acted as correspondent for the New York Call, and Rodriguez, of the Cook County Farmer-Labor Party.

At this time Duncan MacDonald moved to segregate matters pertaining to rules from questions of organization. Joseph Manley agreed to this, and the rules were unanimously adopted.

When Manley again urged his proposition, he was ruled out of order, and a motion was made to proceed with the selection of the organization committee. Delegate Ruthenberg then moved Manley's proposition as an amendment, and the heavy fighting was on. Ruthenberg spoke on the amendment, delivering beyond question the best speech made during the convention. When he finished, the opposition did not have a leg to stand on.

Delegate McVey of the Illinois contingent of the F. L. P. moved a substitute accepting practically everything in the Ruthenberg resolution, except the immediate formation of a Federated Farmer-Labor Party. Jay Lovestone, of New York, delivered a telling speech against the

substitute, while Delegate Lillian Hirstein cleverly denounced everything "denounceable," from the Cleveland conference to the Socialist Party, and ended by urging the delegates to vote for the substitute. In spite of her very able appeal, the substitute was overwhelmingly defeated.

As the hour for adjournment arrived, a delegate raised the point of order that no vote should be taken on the Ruthenberg amendment. The point of order was sustained by a snap decision and an attempt was made to rush the delegates out of the hall, apparently with the intention of breaking up the convention in this fashion. Delegate Manley mounted a table and urged the delegates to keep their seats; that the convention was still in session. The delegates remained seated, only little more than a dozen leaving.

On the appeal of Delegate Kennedy, of the Farmer-Labor Party of Illinois, Bouck again resumed the chair and recognized Delegate McDonald of Illinois, who moved a suspension of the rules. This was carried unanimously. Then Rodriguez made another attempt to break up the convention by shouting that the Farmer-Labor Party was holding a caucus downstairs. This did not work, as the delegates were now sick of the tricks of this shyster lawyer. Every subterfuge known to gentlemen of the law was resorted to, to block a vote on the motion before the house. The vote was finally taken, and the convention went along unanimously on record for the immediate formation of a Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

**Third Day of the Convention.**  
The organization committee elected on the previous day brought in a report, through its secretary, Joseph Manley. He read a proposed constitution for a Federated Farmer-Labor Party. A motion was then made by the opposition group that consideration of the proposed constitution be postponed until the question of policy was decided. While the majority were anxious to go ahead and get done with quibbling, they were nevertheless in the mood to stretch every possible point for the sake of harmony.

On reconvening Delegate Manley read the declaration of principles of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. The discussion then started in real earnest. Delegate Buck was the first to secure recognition from the chair. He came forward and read a report which he declared represented the position of the Farmer-Labor repre-

#### A FARMER HEADS THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WITH AN INDUSTRIAL WORKER AS SECRETARY

William Bouck, a "dirt" farmer from the State of Washington, and Joseph Manley, a structural iron worker, were elected chairman and secretary respectively of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, organized at the coalition convention, held in Chicago, Ill., on July 5. William H. Green, Progressive Party of Nebraska, and F. H. Shoemaker, of the American Equity Society, were chosen first and second vice chairmen.

An immediate nation-wide campaign will be started to reach every local union and farmers' organization in the country with the program of the federated party with the object of securing their affiliation.

The party will be represented at the convention July 19 called by the West Virginia State Federation of Labor to initiate independent political action of the workers, in that

state. An official weekly party organ will be published when funds are available. (Continued on page 2.)

#### Problems Considered at First Meeting of Executive Committee of Federated Party

By MAX SHACHTMAN.

Among the many important matters that were taken up by the National Executive Committee, were the problems of Organization of the new Party upon a firm basis, the financing of the Party, which was started immediately by numerous organizations that were represented pledging themselves to contribute; the establishment of a weekly paper as an official organ of the Party as soon as funds were available.

Provision was made to allow representation to any new groups that would affiliate with the Party from time to time until the date of the next convention, when an electoral program will be adopted and a national ticket be nominated for the 1924 elections. This convention is to be held sometime in December of this year or the following January. In the meantime, it was decided that steps be immediately taken for the establishment of State and Local units of the Party, and most of the delegates were certain that their home towns or States would have a unit organized within a very short time.

Thus, Campbell of Buffalo announced that his Central Trades Council was calling a city convention of all labor organizations for the purpose of launching the Buffalo Federated Farmer-Labor Party and that he had no doubt but that it would affiliate to the national organization. He was returning to report in the Chicago convention to the Buffalo bodies. It was also decided, upon the request of the West Virginia members, that a member of the National Executive Committee be sent to the convention called by the W. Va. State Federation of Labor to organize a labor party, in order that he might appeal to them to join the national Party; the W. Va. members were positive that immediate affiliation would be the result of such a visit.

Many of the delegates, representing organizations which published their own organs, assured the Com-

mittee that plenty of space would be given to news of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

Announcement was made that the post-convention caucus of the former Farmer-Labor Party had split on the question of sending five delegates to the National Executive Committee of the F. L. P., and had decided not to do so by a two-thirds majority. The "minority," which in reality represents the strongest organizations within the party, immediately broke off and selected the following five as their representatives to the new federated party.

John Kennedy, Secretary of Farmer-Labor Party, State of Washington.

J. W. Rossmiller, Division 46, Order of Railway Conductors.

Mary B. Britte, Secretary of Farmer-Labor Party, State of Ohio.

C. J. STEVENS, Farmer-Labor Party, of Kentucky, and

Richard Swift, United Mine Workers of America, District 2, Illinois.

Aside from Mr. H. Samuelson of Idaho, not a single representative of the Farmer groups was left in the old party. Chester Platt, manager of the Non-Partisan League of Wisconsin, who attempted to speak on the part of the farmers of his State in saying that the farmers of his organization considered the Federated Farmer-Labor Party too "red" for them, entirely ignored the fact that his own delegation had gone over almost entirely to the new party; in fact, the group had elected W. E. Zeuch, of the Non-Partisan League of Wisconsin, as their member on the National Executive Committee.

The condition of what is left of the old party can be seen by the fact that they announced that if some money was not forthcoming, they would have to give up the ghost; and with the bolting of their most powerful organizations, it can well be said that the only thing left of them is the ghost.

#### The Communist International and the Workers Party of America

To the Workers Party of America and all its language federations.

Dear Comrades—  
It is with great pleasure that the Communist International has learned of the progress that the Workers Party has made in the past few months. We are especially gratified at the militant spirit that has manifested itself in the Party since the Second Convention in December, 1922. The unity of spirit, the determination to work and the understanding of the path to be trodden, and the general tactics to be applied, augur that, in the near future, the Workers Party will mature to one of the truly Communist mass parties of the world.  
With Communist greetings

J. L. Lovestone

#### CAPITALIST PRESS LIE REFUTED

Among the numerous lies in the capitalist kept press, was the one which reported the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America as having severed its connection with the new party; and characteristically, the New York Call, organ of the Eastern "yellows" reprinted the tale from its "correspondent." Hyman Schneid, delegate from local 39, Chicago, A. C. W. A., which has 12,000 members, buried that lie very easily. The truth of the matter was that as soon as the "news" of the withdrawal of the delegates reached New York City, the National Office of the A. C. W. A. wired to the delegates that if the report were true, they had no business to leave the convention and that the organization was to be represented according to the decision of the last meeting of the General Executive Board. There is no doubt as to where that militant trades union stands—in the ranks of the progressives, as always.

#### HARDING IS EASY TO PLEASE

Harding is glad that Gary has promised to put the eight hour day into effect as soon as "conditions warrant." But who is to judge the ripeness of the moment to write the epitaph on the tomb of the twelve hour day? Judge Gary, of course! Now Gary, who is an intelligent capitalist, will postpone the introduction of this innovation until the next slack season and he will by that time have some good excuse for increasing the hours of labor rather than reducing them. Perhaps he may have his slave go on strike for a fourteen hour day. We are almost certain that Sammie Gompers will doubt his intentions but that is about all he will do. The only effective reply to Judge Gary is an organizing campaign to line up his slaves in an industrial union with power to force the eight hour day down his throat.

FARMER-LABOR CAUCUS STATEMENT.

CHICAGO.—The position of the Farmer-Labor Party in the convention that organized the Federated Farmer-Labor Party is given in the statement of the Farmer-Labor Party caucus below:

The caucus of the Farmer-Labor Party of the United States gave earnest consideration to the proposal advanced by Mr. Ruthenberg in his address before the conference, namely, that those he spoke for were willing to accept the name, constitution and platform of the Farmer-Labor Party of the United States in lieu of the report of the committee on organization.

Replying to the suggestion thus advanced the caucus of the Farmer-Labor Party of the United States submits to the conference that the name, structure, constitution and platform of the Farmer-Labor Party offer a sufficient vehicle for united political action by the working class as they now stand, and have been designed for the purpose of accepting affiliation from all groups of workers who subscribe to the principles of the party.

Ruthenberg's Denial. CHICAGO.—Replying to the statement of the Farmer-Labor Party caucus which attributed certain statements to him in its first paragraph, C. E. Ruthenberg declared on the floor of the convention that he was not correctly quoted. "We are ready to accept the structure of the Farmer-Labor Party as that of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party," he explained. "We did not say that we were willing to accept the constitution of the Farmer-Labor Party, which refuses the right of this convention to elect a national committee to represent the groups here present. Nor did we say we would accept the old platform of the Farmer-Labor Party. Nothing in that touches the development and struggle of the workers and farmers in the last year."

Resolution Around Which Fight Centered at Labor Party Convention

Introduced by C. E. Ruthenberg at "Labor Party Conference." Carried by Overwhelming Majority.

- 1. This conference declares itself in favor of the immediate formation of a Federated Farmer-Labor Party, in which shall be included local unions, central labor bodies, state federations, national and international labor unions, farm organizations, labor political groups, labor fraternal organizations and co-operative organizations.
2. The conference shall elect an Organization Committee in which the following groups shall be represented as indicated:
The Farmer-Labor Party—Two members.
The Maintenance of Way Union—Two members.
The Amalgamated Clothing Workers—Two members.
The Buffalo Central Labor Council—One member.
The Workers' Party of America—Two members.
The Detroit Federation of Labor—One member.
The Proletarian Party—One member.
The Los Angeles Labor Party—One member.
One representative of each of the National or State farmers' organizations having delegates in the convention, such as the Progressive Party of Idaho, the United Farmers' Educational League, the Non-Partisan League and other such farmers organizations.
The units of the International Ladies' Garment Workers represented in the convention—One member.
The Machinists Locals, represented in the convention—One member.
The Workmen's Circles—One member.
The Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Societies—One member.
The miscellaneous local unions acting together as a caucus—Two members.
One representative of the co-operative organizations.
One representative of each of any other definite groups in the convention.
The chairman shall declare a recess of a half hour to permit each of these groups to caucus and select their nominees. The nominations made by the groups shall be ratified by the convention.
3. The Organization Committee shall formulate and report to the convention a plan of organization for the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, using the existing structure of the Farmer-Labor Party as the basis for this organization plan.
4. The Organization Committee shall prepare a registration blank for all delegates present, which shall show their names, addresses, the organization they represent and the membership of these organizations and have these filled out by the delegates.
5. The Organization Committee shall include in its report a plan for the selection of a National Executive Committee in which shall be represented the groups named above.

A Correction

In the last issue of the Voice of Labor our printer, in a moment of ectoplasmic excitement substituted the word "farmers" for "landlordism," with dire results to the former. The headline should read "To Dispense With Landlordism" instead of "To Dispense With Farmers," as it appeared. It happened on the day after the Fourth of July, and we suppose the printers' devil was more than usually active. Our printer has now pasted up Coue's formula, so that it can be seen by all the shop staff. As you know, it reads: "Day by day in every way our typographical errors are getting better and better." We assure the farmers that we have no intention of dispensing with them. They are indispensable.

"The Government-Strikebreaker" Is Commended by Noted Labor Leaders

Of the many complimentary letters received by the Workers' Party of America, publishers of Jay Lovestone's book, "The Government-Strikebreaker," the two herewith published are typical examples. The first is from Mr. Duncan McDonald, editor of the Illinois Industrial Review, member of the United Mine Workers of America, and formerly President of the Illinois Federation of Labor.

The second is from Upton Sinclair, noted novelist and agitator. The Workers Party of America Springfield, Ill. June 22, 1928 799 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Dear Sirs: I have read "The Government-Strikebreaker" with more than a keen interest and wish to compliment the author on the clear cut manner in which he sets forth these startling facts. I wish I were in position to place a copy in the hands of every worker in America, but since I am not, I am writing to ask that you send me five copies for which I will mail check on receipt. The price is not stated on the book or I would have enclosed check, I may be able to use more later as I am anxious to help in their sale. Yours very truly, DUNCAN McDONALD.

Jay Lovestone, Pasadena, California, June 22, 1928 c/o The Worker, 799 Broadway, New York City.

Dear Comrade: I thank you very much for sending me your book, "The Government-Strikebreaker." It is one for those books which brings to mind the ancient formula, "I would like to be able to distribute a million copies." It is a most useful collection of the facts of the use by the capitalist class of the forces of government, in place of their own hired strike-breaking agencies. I am unable to understand just why it is that the capitalist class is so determined to drive the workers into politics, but they are building the foundation of our Labor Party, and I suppose we ought to be grateful to them for the service. I cannot distribute a million copies of your book, but I can help to pass the word on the leaders of labor in this country that here is a mine of information which they should possess and pass on to the workers at every opportunity. Having just seen the police of Los Angeles smash a strike of the harbor workers, by throwing six hundred men into jail without the remotest warrant of law, and having myself been arrested for attempting to read the Constitution of my country to the strikers, I can especially appreciate the usefulness of "The Government-Strikebreaker." Sincerely, UPTON SINCLAIR.

The "Government-Strikebreaker" can be secured at the office of the Voice of Labor, 2517 Fullerton Ave., Chicago, Ill. The price is \$1.50 per copy.

Farmer-Labor Party of Washington for Political Unity

John C. Kennedy, Secretary for Farmer-Labor Party of Washington, had this to say:

"Is it possible to have an organization without having a FORM of organization? In order to accomplish the purpose of this Convention, we must formulate some sort of an organization through which we can federate our forces. And is not this all that the Organization Report amounts to? And if anyone thinks otherwise, why don't he put forth a better plan? I have waited in vain for such action.

Are we here in good faith, to accomplish the great purpose for which we were sent here—or are we here to fight factions?

We all know that the Workers Party is a part of the advance guard of the militant working class movement. I am not a member of it—but of the Farmer-Labor Party. And when anyone says that the Farmer-Labor Party is going to bolt this Convention, he is not speaking for the Farmer-Labor Party of Washington!

Let us get busy, and do the things we were sent here to do. I am not here to find out how I can differ with my brother and sister workers—but how we can UNITE.

If any delegate can come forward with a proposition better than this Organization Committee report, I want to hear him. But unless something definite of that sort can be produced, I am going along with this one—and bring about the federated organization we came here to form. Don't worry about that: a Federated Farmer-Labor Party is going to be formed here. And when we go back home, they will say, "You did a good job: let's get into the organization—and make it a success!"

Feldhaus in Eloquent Appeal for Immediate Action

H. J. Feldhaus, representative of Machinists' Union 102, of Cincinnati, said he was a charter member of the Farmer-Labor Party, and that he denied the right of anyone to come into the convention and say that this Party had agreed to any set plan of action. "We came here," said Feldhaus, "to get labor to operating on the political field, in a federation that will mean political unity when it comes to selecting candidates for political office, throughout this land. And I think that unless this Convention gets down to business and forms a Federated Farmer-Labor Party, then it had better disperse."

He said that he was not afraid of being called a "Red," or Communist, or anything of that sort. That whenever the workers anywhere made a real and sustained effort to better their condition, that is what they were called, anyway. And militant labor was getting so well accustomed to that, that it didn't scare them a bit. He compares certain of the so-called "radicals" in this Convention to Jefferson, Tom Paine and others of American Revolutionary days, and added: "I had a prejudice against some of the Workers' Party delegates, along at first, but from now on, I am going to do all in my power to see that justice is done them."

Farmer-Labor Unity

(Continued from page 1.) Chicago will be the party headquarters. Funds are to be deposited in the Amalgamated Trust and Savings Bank, Chicago.

The following is a complete list of the Officers, the Executive Council of seven and the members of the National Executive Committee. Chairman, Wm. Bouck, Sedro-Wooley, Washington, Western Progressive Farmers.

Secretary, Joseph Manley, Illinois, Workers Party of America. 1st Vice-President, W. H. Green, Omaha, Neb., Progressive Party of Nebraska. 2nd Vice-President, F. H. Shoemaker, Green Bay, Wis., Farmer-Labor Publishing Co.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL James Campbell, Buffalo, N. Y. Trades and Labor Council. John C. Kennedy, Washington, State Secretary, Farmer-Labor Party. O. H. Wangerin, R. R. Shop Crafts Legislative Committee of Minnesota. Geo. M. Tries, Detroit Federation of Labor. Anna M. Brady, Non-Partisan League of South Dakota. W. H. Green, Progressive Party of Nebraska. Jos. Manley, Workers Party of America.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Anna M. Brady, Non-Partisan League of South Dakota. James Campbell, Buffalo Trades and Labor Council. Geo. M. Tries, Detroit Federation of Labor. O. H. Wangerin, Minnesota R. R. Shop Crafts Legislative Committee. Ludwig Lore, Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Society. Thomas Myerscough, United Mine Workers of America (affiliated local unions). Franklin H. Shoemaker, Farmer-Labor Publishing Co. Noah London, Independent Workmen's Circle. Wm. Bouck, Western Progressive Farmers' League. C. A. Hathaway, International Association of Machinists (affiliated local unions). I. G. Scott, Socialist Party of Minnesota. Harold M. Ware, United Farmers' Educational League. David A. Gorman, Labor Party of Los Angeles. W. E. Zuech, Non-Partisan League of Wisconsin. Wm. Z. Foster, Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America (affiliated local unions). James McCullough, United Mine Workers of America (affiliated local unions). S. Alammie, representing the Co-operative Organizations. F. W. McKee, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (affiliated local unions). G. C. Hogan, Women's Progressive Association.

M. Jenkins, Independent Workmen's Circle.

M. J. Loeb, representing Miscellaneous Trades.

I. L. Davidson, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (affiliated local unions).

Anthony Capraro, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (affiliated local unions).

H. L. Franklin, W. Virginia State Federation of Labor.

Alexander Boyd, Fairmont (W. Va.) Central Labor Council.

C. E. Ruthenberg, Workers' Party of America.

Jos. Manley, Workers' Party of America.

John C. Kennedy, Farmer-Labor Party of Washington.

J. W. Rossmiller, Div. 46, Order of Railway Conductors (affiliated local unions).

Mary B. Brite, Farmer-Labor Party of Ohio.

C. J. Stevens, Farmer-Labor Party of Kentucky.

Richard Swift, Farmer-Labor Party of Illinois.

Note:—Those members marked "affiliated local unions" represent not their national organization but the locals affiliated to the F. F. L. P.

DELEGATES CHAFED AT DISRUPTIVE TACTICS

(Continued from page 1.)

sentation on the Organization Committee. His report disagreed with that of the majority, the principal point of disagreement being that the new program was almost a duplication of that of the Farmer-Labor Party, that this was a convention of the Farmer-Labor Party, to which it generously invited guests, who instead of humbly watching Buck and his friends perform, put their feet on the upholstery and threw their cigar ashes on the carpet.

The Farmer-Labor Party has an entity of its own, he declared, and would have a convention of its own to consider the matter. He did not make a lengthy or vigorous speech, as he is quite capable of, merely performing what looked like a disagreeable duty. Other members of the Farmer-Labor Party from Ohio took the floor after him and questioned his right to speak in the name of the Farmer-Labor Party. In fact the main attack on Buck's report came from his own delegates.

supreme achievement of the Farmer-Labor Party.

Delegate Brown's opposition to the report did not appear to be very strong, and he was obviously distressed over the wrangling that was taking place.

John Fitzpatrick, whose speech is published elsewhere, made the first open criticism of the Workers' Party, saying that it had injected itself into this conference and was trying to ram a program down the throats of the delegates. He mentioned Foster and Manley, saying that he had worked with them, but that they were now making a big mistake. He feared that the association of the radical Workers' Party with such a movement would be its death warrant. In his opinion the Workers' Party would not win any strong position among the workers in the next twenty years. Only scattered applause marked the end of his speech. This was in striking contrast to the ovation he received on the opening day of the convention.

William Z. Foster took the floor after Fitzpatrick. Foster's appearance on the platform was the signal for thunderous cheering. His speech appears in full on another page. Without heat or passion he replied to Fitzpatrick's argument and urged that the report of the organization committee be adopted.

Delegate Feldhaus from a Machinists' Lodge in Cincinnati, Ohio, delivered a very effective address and ended by asking the opposition to say what they wanted if they were not satisfied.

William F. Dunne, representing the Central Labor Council of Butte, Montana, pointed out that Fitzpatrick fought the employing class all his life, and asked if he was now going to leave the workers and farmers when they were about to make a historic decision.

Ruthenberg came to the platform and received an ovation. His speech appears on page seven.

Delegate Kennedy, secretary of the Farmer-Labor Party of Washington, denounced the disruptionists, saying that any talk of bolting the conference did not apply to the Farmer-Labor Party of Washington. "Why does not the minority present some better form of federation," he asked, Kennedy's arguments made a great impression. He was formerly a Socialist alderman in the Chicago City Council with Rodriguez.

A motion was then passed to allow a recess so that the Farmer-Labor Party could caucus on the question under discussion.

On reconvening the report of the organization committee was adopted and a national committee was elected; the Farmer-Labor Party refusing to participate. However, with the exception of the Illinois delegation, which was badly divided, practically all other Farmer-Labor delegations signified their intention to go along with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party regardless of the decision of their party, which was to hold session the following day.

The convention of the Farmer-Labor Party finally decided not to affiliate with the new organization, thereupon the delegates from Washington, Ohio and several other states elected five representatives on the National Committee. Owing to the inflated representation of the Cook County branch of the Farmer-Labor Party the reactionaries were in a majority, but they do not represent the sentiment of the Farmer-Labor Party.

In spite of this small opposition, the delegates to the historic convention went home feeling that a milestone in the history of the American labor movement was passed and that the first important move toward building up a real mass Farmer-Labor Party was accomplished.

The Chicago Evening Post declares that the Republican and Democratic parties can now go about the business of selecting a candidate for the presidential campaign without the nightmare of working-class political unity lying on their chests. The Post is reckless in its judgment. It takes too seriously the reported friction caused by a small minority opinion, and of course ignores the great alliance between the farmers and workers representing hundreds of thousands of voters. The two parties of capitalism may be found walking some cold night on the streets in their political BVD's for all the optimism of the Chicago Evening Post.

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Farmer-Labor "Guests" Did Not Conduct Themselves Properly, Fitzpatrick Thought

John Fitzpatrick, Pres. of the Chicago Federation of Labor, takes the floor, in opposition to the report of the Organization Committee. He said:

"I think I can subscribe to what the secretary of the National Farmer-Labor Party has said in regard to the hopes and purposes of the party. And if we were able to continue functioning and acting as we have, then all that was done here would have been worth while. But unless there is an understanding as to what this new group is going to do, and who is going to do it—then I feel that not only is the Farmer-Labor Party wiped off the map, but the group that will undertake to function in its place, and those who will ally themselves with it, will have buried themselves so that they will not be heard of for the next twenty years. I am saying this as the result of my experience in matters of this kind."

When the secretary of the Farmer-Labor Party said that this was a special convention, called for the purpose of the Farmer-Labor Party trying to solidify and harmonize the various other political groups, that was truly what the executive committee of the Farmer-Labor Party attempted.

And then the Farmer-Labor Party undertook to specify and define this thing, and that is, that during the convention of the Farmer-Labor Party a conference would be held, such as is being held here now; and that this conference would then undertake to find a common ground upon which the various elements might be related and be able to go back to their constituencies and have the program resulting from this conference subscribed to and adopted by them. And then, after this convention adjourned, the Farmer-Labor Party was to reconvene. And in this convention the delegates would be here to canvass the results of the conference, and either accept or reject. No man could tell what that action would be.

Now, let us see the situation we have got into. When the Farmer-Labor Party met in this convention, other groups took advantage of the call that was sent out, and injected themselves into the convention, which practically nullified the convention as now constituted. And as a representative of this conference, I want to deny that the Farmer-Labor Party, as functioning at the present time, is a party to the proceeding which is being put forward here. After your conference adjourns, and after this thing which has projected itself into the Farmer-Labor Party activities has been explained and has been wiped out—which we hope it will be—then we may be able to get a definite convention of the Farmer-Labor Party. If we are well and good. If we are not, then the Farmer-Labor Party is dead. And I say, let it go! We have done our job. We have done the best we can!

Let's see what the situation is here: The Farmer-Labor Party is the organization that made the appeal, not only to the labor groups as represented by the international unions and the local unions, but also the political groups, and to the farming element, so that the farmers, for four years, have taken the measure of the Farmer-Labor Party. And there is not a dissenting vote that we know of as against the identity of the Farmer-Labor Party, by the farmer—up to the present moment.

Now then, the situation develops where another political party injects itself into the picture. And this political party has just the same right that we have. They can do this thing, if they want to.

I am not going to decry their activities and efforts. If they think the Farmer-Labor Party did not stand for independent political action, and they want to destroy it—they have done a good job! No question about that! But they have injected themselves here!

I know Bro. Foster and the others who are identified and connected with him, and if they think they can attract the attention of the rank and file of the working men and women of America to their organization, I say to them and to this convention, that is a hopeless cause, and they cannot do it.

Then what have they done? They have killed the Farmer-Labor Party, and they have killed the possibility of uniting the forces of independent political action in America; and they have broken the spirit of this whole thing so that we will not be able to rally the forces for the next twenty years! That's the thing I feel bad about. And I say to you, and to Foster and Manley, and to all of these brothers I have worked with, that if they want to do a real job of killing independent political action, let them inject their program into our Farmer-Labor Party and show up their number, and then they will have accomplished their purpose in good shape. But on the other hand, if they want to unite independent political action and promote the instruments that now exist, they can carry the message to the farmers and the industrial workers in the factories, mines and sweat-shops; there is only one way—and that is to pick up their tents and go their way.

As to this particular program, I have no interest in it. I don't think anything that is coming out of this is going to advance the cause of independent political action. But let us see what has been done here. In the first place, in this conference, which men and women came to sincerely and honestly, to try to harmonize, what do we do? Why, we are writing up a constitution and adopting a platform, and scrapping the names of the most effective groups among us—and doing all of this destructive

work, which will make the program impossible. Of course, I am against it, and must declare myself, no matter what the result.

We had the same situation in the city of Cleveland, and a great many farmer groups and others—the Progressive Political Action Committee that met in Cleveland was a conference, and we thought that it was a hopeful thing, and we identified ourselves with it. And they drew up a constitution, making their declarations—and in making that, they settled their own doom! They made it impossible that the other groups go along with them. And here today we have exactly that same thing being done.

And, of course, I say that if it is for the purpose of driving the farmers away from independent political action—for the purpose of destroying the most effective organization that has ever been developed on this continent, then you are doing that kind of a job: You are going to destroy and wipe out that organization. If that is what you want to do, I say: Go to it! Make your declarations; adopt your constitution and platform; give it the name that you think is going to be heralded across this country. And then we will have to see what the result will be. I know, as a practical proposition, that the minute the Workers' Party is identified with this movement, that then that will be the battering ram that is going to be used against every group. And I say that it is just like going up a blind alley. There is a stone wall at the other end. And if you do this, you are going to meet that stone wall, because you are not making an appeal to the hopes and aspirations of the men and women in the width of this country. You are putting the Farmer-Labor Party in the other fellow's hands—to blow you off the face of the earth. And then our activities are at an end.

But I want to make a statement now, as one of the Farmer-Labor Party—happening to be a member of the Executive Committee, representing the state of Illinois, and was instrumental in creating the organization that functioned and made possible that this thing we have here today could come about—and now, measuring up the situation and telling you where we fit in.

I have nothing further to say. If you think you can jam this thing down the throats, not alone of your own organizations—but how are you going to do it in the trades unions and other organizations, and do the same kind of job that was done here in this convention and in the Committee on Organization? Where was your representation? You didn't have any. You were just packed and delivered—and you could not proceed that way. We didn't want to object to that constitution, and didn't want to complain about it. But if that is your tactics, and you want to let them indulge in such procedure, we say to you, go to it and make the best you can of it. We are justifying our position. And we are going to finish as best we can—and alone!

### Int'l Youth Day Will be Celebrated by Y. W. L. of A.

Sept. 3 has been set aside by the Young Communist International as International Day of Youth. This year the date falls on Labor Day in the United States.

The Young Workers' League, which is carrying on work in harmony with the principles of the Young Communist International in the United States, has decided to observe the International Day of Youth on Sunday, Sept. 3, in the United States.

On that day meetings will be arranged by the Young Workers' League in all parts of the country to arouse interest in the youth movement and to carry on educational work as to the part the youth of the nation must play in the Communist movement.

The Young Workers' League requests that all party branches cooperate that day in the celebration of International Day of Youth. It particularly requests that no party organization arrange celebrations for the date in question, which would conflict with the celebration of the International Day of Youth.

The national office endorses this request of the Young Workers' League and urges all party units to cooperate with the Young Workers' League and to refrain from holding other celebrations on Sept. 2.

**TO FIGHT DEPORTATION.** SAN FRANCISCO.—The District Defense Committee is fighting the deportation of Jack Gaveel, I. W. W. from San Quentin prison to Canada, his birthplace, because of the precedent it would set in other cases. Gaveel has another year to serve.

### Timely Hints for Radicals

By GEORGE McLAUGHLIN

The Whites having discovered (hush! the Reds don't know it yet!) that I am one of the "most active and important radicals in America," I have had unexcelled opportunities in past month to develop the jail technique.

As to your personal possessions, have nothing in your room that you are unwilling to allow the most vulgar and ignorant people on earth to see. Destroy all party correspondence as soon as read—if you wish to preserve information therefrom, transcribe it. Destroy your sweetheart's letters or ditch them with a sympathizer, who is not active.

The same rule applies to valuable personal papers—birth certificate, army discharge, etc. The vermin of the D. J. delight to get irreplaceable papers and destroy or steal them. It is wise to ditch such matter in another town, preferably a small one, where the Red-White conflict is not acute—yet! Never keep address-lists in your room. The D. J. seized my address book—and I hope they get busy on it. It lists all my army-officer friends, as fierce a group of Whites as this land can show! Out of any ten there listed, at least two can be relied on to dust the floor with any flunk delegation who should dare bother them! I like to see Whites fall out—"When rogues fall out honest men get their dues."

It is well not to have any valuables—finks are 95 per cent morons and 75 per cent kleptomaniacs and during a raid are sure to steal firearms, valuable knickknacks, fountain pens, etc., etc. A radical had better practise holy poverty—if he doesn't he will have it forced upon him! If seized in your room, be polite and request permission to take your watch, pen, pocket knife, small

jewelry, money, stamps, tobacco and matches, etc., with you. It may be stolen by the police property clerk, but is sure to be, if you leave it behind.

If your landlord is at all sympathetic, arrange with him beforehand to notify two reliable comrades, if you are seized or if you disappear. Arrange with him, too, if a search party arrives to insist on a search warrant; specifying the property to be seized and to accompany the cops, while in your room. This may deter them from theft—to some extent.

Take with you to jail tobacco and matches, if a smoker (buy them en route if necessary), and your overcoat in any event. The jail slats are very hard and no mattress or bedding is furnished. Be philosophic. Your comrades are working outside for you, as you would work for them. Preach the gospel. Among the finks of a city jail are usually many staunch and self-respecting union men. After conflict with an overbearing cop, they are in mood to hearken to amalgamation, labor party—yes! even to soviet form of government! Take their addresses (memorize them if necessary) and get in touch later.

If examined you can refuse to make any statement, if you wish, or you have legal right to lie to your heart's content. I gave names, addresses and full personal description of half a dozen imaginary "active reds," locating them all in the sacrosanct Country Club district. I hope they tried to find them! Be very careful to name no real names, give no addresses, to sign no "statement" under any circumstances and refuse even to read such a statement. A cunningly turned phrase in a statement you admit you read may injure you. If you refuse to read it, they can't prove that it was called to your attention. Do not admit you know any of your comrades—all true information is of some value.

When you are seized, you will be held incommunicado. Therefore you must make all arrangements now with your landlord and comrades, so that they can act with certainty. Tell your landlord several people to phone or (if very trusty and active), who may be worth a personal visit. Arrange with your comrades to bring you certain reading matter or personal comforts—tobacco, etc., if such are allowed. Don't think because you are only a humble cog that you are sure to be overlooked. Owing to the abysmal ignorance of the finks, the most insignificant may be singled out for persecution.

Don't tell them where you work or they may visit your boss and procure your discharge. Don't tell them where you live, if arrested on street, or they'll raid your house.

**Anti-Labor Propaganda.** The latest series of anti-labor propaganda articles is now appearing in the New York Commercial, the Berkeley Gazette, and the Cleveland News. The birth of the militant labor movement is attributed to Adam Weishaupt, who nearly 150 years ago, according to Mr. Marvin, the romantic author of these thrilling tales, founded an order of "Illuminitt."

And from these Illuminitt the modern militant-labor movement is descended. Mr. Marvin ought to be getting a pretty penny for the yarns he is spinning to send chills and shivers up and down the spinal column of the readers of these papers. The headlines reek with "Bloody Revolution," "Class Strife" and "Destruction of the Government." Any one who wants a statement of the facts regarding the development of the radical labor movement will be wasting time on these lurid tales for the feeble minded. Of course, the employing class of this country is ready to assign the origin and growth of the radical labor movement to anything and everything except their own oppression and bitter exploitation of the workers of this country. A statement of the facts in regard to the movement about which Mr. Marvin is romancing is to be found in a pamphlet by the title of "Underground Radicalism," recently published by the Workers' Party of America.

### Voice of Labor

Published weekly at Chicago, Ill., by The American Labor Union Educational Society, 2517 Fullerton Ave., Chicago, Ill. Phone: Brunswick 5593. Entered as Second Class Matter under the name of "Social Democrat," October 5, 1911, at the Post Office of Chicago, Ill., under the act of March 3, 1879. Changed to "The New Age" March 25, 1921. Entry under the title of "Voice of Labor" April 1, 1922. SUBSCRIPTION RATES—One year, \$2.00; 6 months, \$1.00; 3 months, 50c. Foreign—One year \$2.50; half year, \$1.25. Editor responsible for all unsigned articles. MEMBER OF THE FEDERATED PRESS. Foreign Correspondents—International Press. Editor: T. J. O'Flaherty. Business Manager: N. Duncanson.

### BOGALUSA MURDER CASES NOW UNDER JURY INVESTIGATION

NEW ORLEANS, June 28.—The grand jury will convene at Franklinton, La., July 5 to hear witnesses in the Bogalusa labor murder cases in which three men were shot to death in 1919 by the Loyalty League, an organization of open shoppers, when they attempted to organize one of the hell-holes of the South. Through the efforts of the state federation of labor the case has been re-opened, though three previous grand juries have passed the matter. It is said that seventy-eight witnesses will testify for the prosecution and it is thought an indictment will be returned.

NEW ORLEANS, June 30.—Attorney General Cocco returned from Bogalusa today and stated that he had discovered eight new and important witnesses by accident while inspecting the weather beaten shack and unkempt grounds where the men were killed. More than a score of bullet and buckshot holes mark the weather stained walls of the little one-story frame building where the labor leaders were murdered. The yard through which the citizens' posse advanced is now cluttered with old, broken automobiles and trucks waiting to be repaired. Several residents who happened to be passing at the time the attorney general was making the examination, stopped out of curiosity, and in conversation intimated first hand knowledge of the tragedy and stated they had not been summoned before the two grand juries that investigated the case. Coroner Brock said the men were shot from the front, indicating they were killed in a fight, and not shot from behind. The coroner said that his report made at the time of the inquests was that the four men came to their deaths at the hands of thirteen men whom he named at the time. Many of Bogalusa's most prominent citizens were in the posse.

### WAR DEPT. SEEKS LIGHT

Can it be, that some of the officers, and their staffs, of the War Department are becoming conscience stricken? Can it be, that while teaching some vacationist, how to disembowel his fellow workers, at some citizen's Military Training Camp, an officer suddenly saw a vision of the peace loving Christ? We think not. Yet, the following certainly interests us.

Washington.—The Chemical Warfare Service of the War Department wants the Federated Press Bulletin in its library. It asks to be placed on the "complimentary list."

In a note making the request the librarian writes: "The Liberator, 'The Freeman,' 'The Nation' come regularly, complimentary, and are read with interest."

Gen. Amos Fries, who is head of the service and one of the most ardent militarists in the war department, recently declared pacifists, communists and radicals "dangerous to the country." Can it be that the general and his staff are seeking to fight via the labor press?

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### Localizing the Labor Party

By J. RAMIREZ

(Continued from last week.) The whole business revolved around a few dozen "good fellows" with a "political pull." Corrupt union leaders naturally always, became henchmen of the existing city administration, because of personal favors received, in the shape of graft and protection for their misdeeds. In this way a miniature political underworld grew up in the unions, by means of which workers were influenced, now in favor of the Republicans, now in favor of the Democrats. Workers thus participated in politics not in defense of their own class interests but rather as unconscious tools of the big capitalist parties.

So well entrenched in the unions is this demoralizing "ward-boss" system that it is one of the chief reasons why practically all previous attempts to secure independent political action on the part of the Chicago workers have failed. The Farmer-Labor Party, despite the fact that it is officially endorsed by the Chicago Federation of Labor, has not been able to count on the whole-hearted support of even a fraction of the unions affiliated with that body. The Workers' Party has of course not thus far succeeded in attracting anything like the following that one might expect for a militant party of labor such as it undoubtedly is. The Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party are quite clearly without any mass support.

Alleged Progressives. Meantime, many of the more progressive workers, although untouched by the sinister influences referred to above, have succumbed to another and more subtle corrupting influence. They have allowed themselves to be deceived by the fake liberalism of old party politicians like Carter Harrison, or by the sensationalisms of ex-Mayor Thompson. Thompsonism has been a real curse. There was never the slightest reason for supposing him a labor sympathizer, notwithstanding his personal feuds with some of the city's big capitalists. Thompson made a sentimental appeal for working class votes and then capitalized them. Personally a stockholder in several labor-exploiting corporations, his primary interests were with the enemies of the workers. It was Thompson who supported Sheriff Peters when the latter's gunmen killed off union workers on the Argo plant of the Corn Products Refining Co. and as an interested friend of the scab-herding Yellow Taxi corporation he habitually used the police department to arrest and intimidate union taxi drivers, to such an extent that the teamsters were obliged to ask the Chicago Federation of Labor to put him on the unfair list.

With Thompson eliminated, the Brundage-Crowe-Deneen faction is in complete control of the Republican Party here. The moving spirit is Attorney General Edward J. Brundage, who is a bank director and the man who conducted the prosecutions against the Herrin miners. This group, whose candidate in the last mayoralty election was a dignified duncie by the name of Lueder, represents precisely those moneyed interests who have dominated Chicago's industrial and political life in the past. In former years the Democratic Party has been looked upon, rather innocently, as somewhat more sympathetic to labor than its Republican rival. But there is no longer any real distinction between the two parties. Dever, although a Democrat, was supported by interests who stood for the Landis' award. Moreover, while Mitchell, Reynolds, Insull and their friends may have preferred the empty-headed Lueder, they at no time seriously opposed Dever's candidacy. Both the Tribune and the Daily News took the stand that whichever way the election went, Chicago would have "the kind of a mayor that was desired." Since taking office Dever has proved that they were right. Can there be any doubt that in case of important strikes the police will be called upon to practice their time-honored function of breaking up picket lines and arresting strikers?

Must Be Mass Party. Labor must put up a united front against the united front of the bosses on the political field. A large mass party of labor must be created, a party which has its roots in the trade union movement, one which will have to stand four-square for labor, because it is labor's own. It must exclude all capitalist elements and take in all labor elements. In it should be federated all existing parties of the workers—who would retain their autonomy inside the federated party—and all other labor organizations in

Chicago. Such a combination would give Insull, Mitchell & Co. something to worry about.

Unless the workers get together on this basis they will never be able to meet the attacks of the employers, who are every day growing more insolent and more truculent. We all know that the labor-hating capitalists of the city have created what they consider an ideal weapon against the workers. This is the "Citizens' Committee to Enforce the Landis Award." With huge sums of money at its disposal, this committee has maneuvered the building trades workers into an extremely dangerous position. The present building boom will not last forever (there are already signs of slackening) and, unprotected by contract and with many of the trades practically on an open shop basis, the building workers will find it desperately hard to defend themselves against a new campaign of wage slashing, once the period of depression sets in. The Citizens' Committee boasts that up to date "41,560 men have been placed in the fourteen open shop building trades this year, and more than 1,131 buildings are being erected under the open shop plan." It adds that "these are epoch-making gains and must not be signed away in a sentimental compromise." In a circular recently sent out to its wealthy supporters, the committee frankly styles itself a militant organization. It is becoming more militant every day. Its plans for the future, as hinted at in the above mentioned circular, reveal it as the nucleus of a capitalist drive against the entire labor movement of Illinois. It has rallied all the big interests around it, and the Chicago Journal of Commerce boldly states that "almost 10,000 manufacturers are engaged in a quiet concerted movement to establish the open shop throughout the state."

Here is a situation which in itself demands unified action, political as well as industrial, on the part of the workers. The history of industrial conflicts in Chicago has taught us clearly that every big economic struggle is a political struggle also. Already the capitalists are talking about a Republican-Democratic fusion for the November election. Whether or not the fusion actually takes place, the workers can no longer afford to hold back. The time is overdue for working-class fusion.

### Richard Ford, I. W. W. Life Term Denied Parole

SACRAMENTO, Cal.—The State Board of Prison Directors has refused a parole to Richard (Blackie) Ford, I. W. W. organizer, who, with Fred Suhr, is serving a life sentence at Folsom Prison because of the Wheatland hop riots in 1913. The Board stated that Ford will not be eligible for parole until 1925.

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### Short Wages and Long Hours Rule in Southern States

"Not only are the wage scales lower in the South, but the working hours longer," says a recent review by the National Bank of Commerce of the movement of textile manufacturers to the South. In some cases entire plant equipments have been shipped from Northern textile centers, where labor is organized, to the Southern states, where unorganized Negro workers are a source of cheap labor, which can be subjected to more intense exploitation. The fact that in several of the Southern states there is little if any control of child labor is also a factor which tempts the textile operators to ship their plants South. During March the South had a total of active spindle hours greater than the North, although there are only 78 per cent as many spindles as in the Northern states. The facts noted above, cheaper labor and longer hours, however, resulted in their spindles being operated two-fifths longer in hours, making their total spindle hours one-sixth greater. The Textile unions have recognized the menace which the Southern condition presents to the workers in the industry and are close upon the heels of the employers.

### Two Shopmen Released

WASHINGTON.—Zane Bowers, serving out his fine of \$500, and Ann W. Campbell, shopmen, convicted for alleged violation of the injunction obtained by the Wabash railroad at St. Louis, were among the federal prisoners released by President Harding before his departure for the soothing snows of Alaska.

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# Hillquit Tells the Faithful Few of Hamburg Meet

By JOE CARROLL.

About two hundred Socialist partyites (we didn't know there were that many on the map) gathered in Wicker Park Hall on Saturday evening, June 30, to hear the message of Morris Hillquit, who was introduced as "one of the most gifted champions of the working class, mentally, morally and otherwise."

With the exception of a few "rough-necks," who quite evidently "didn't belong" and who enjoyed themselves immensely over some of this champion's mental gymnastics, the audience was composed of very nice, white-collared and shined-shoed gentlemen—all in clean shirts; and a scattering of ladies, with hair not bobbed but marcel-waved. There were slight ripples of well-bred applause, here and there through this speaker's address—but nothing to disturb the peace of "the copper on the beat." A single reference to "the proletarian dictatorship"—not by any means advocacy of it—received a timid response, from the "militants" among the audience.

According to this "gifted champion of the working class," everything is at sixes and sevens in Europe at the present time, and "the war psychology" (whatever that means), exists there now just as strongly as during the war period. And all because—according to Hillquit—"the Communists split the Socialist and Labor unity in France." Then, drawing a capacious handkerchief, in preparation for emergency use, this "Socialist" oratorical prodigy wailed dolefully: "Never again, in this generation of man, will the Socialist comrades of Europe be able to look each other in the eyes, openly and without antagonism, as in the days before the Great War." But this statement, not bringing forth the seemingly expected lachrymal inundation, the handkerchief was buried—unwept and unwrung.

To demonstrate his powers of analysis and logic, Hillquit called attention to the pre-war strength of the Socialist movement, especially in Germany, Austria and France—but the Socialists were unable to successfully resist the World War, because they were strong only in spots." He did not explain how in Russia, where he said "the Socialists had practically nothing," a rather successful resistance of the World War was accomplished—by the Socialists who had evolved into Communists. And his consistency was likewise exhibited by the statement that "wherever kings, kaisers and czars were deposed, it was the Socialists who took charge." In England, he said (where it seems the king is assumed to be deposed) "the British Labor Party—which is synonymous with the Socialist Party, has 144 members in the Parliament, and will soon take charge of the great British Empire—its influence upon the government, even at present, being tremendous."

The Hamburg conference, according to Hillquit, was a very serious gathering, because "Europe is not now a place for mirth and joy." But the things which this congress accomplished, he said, "means the creation of such a forte in Europe as has never before existed—a force for peace and reconstruction." Nothing else worth while can be accomplished elsewhere, however, "until the workers and Socialists get together." Whereat considerable amusement is evinced by the "rough-neck" minority, whose action thus proved that they "didn't belong."

The Farmer-Labor Party effort received no consideration whatever by this Socialist "intellectual," who repeated his formula that "until there is a Socialist and labor marriage," nothing good can come to the present troubled world. And so, "The Socialists must take upon themselves the task of enlightening the laboring masses. Only this will bring about Internationalism, for you and for me—and for all!"

Upon delivery of which ultimatum, Hillquit backed off the stage.

No kid gloves were split, in acclamation of this forensic effort. But a collection of several dollars was taken up, for increasing circulation of the Chicago "Socialist," in order that the masses might be thus enlightened; or, as the announcement ran, "to get our message to others besides ourselves."

Hillquit was preceded on the platform by Leo M. Harkins, Socialist National Executive member and organizer of Local Philadelphia; and he Socialist Party Secretary, Local Philadelphia. Their discourses were of quite so yell-ougent as that of the star speaker, but were equally logical and consistent.

# The Last Revolution

A Comic Opera for Proletarians, in Two Acts. Book and Lyrics by Michael Gold and J. Raimres. Music by Rudolf Lieblch.

Time: The year 19... Place: The Morganville Capitalist Colony, 1st capitalist outpost in the Soviet Republic of the World.

### CAST OF CHARACTERS

JOHN PIERPONT Last of the capitalists; partners in the monopoly corporations that control everything in Morganville.  
FELIX DOOLITTLE  
GEORGE SMITH  
HENRY CABOT VAN DAM  
JULIUS GUGGENWALD  
MRS. HAWKINS-PIERPONT Wife of John Pierpont  
ERNESTINE PIERPONT Their daughter  
MRS. VAN DAM Wife of Henry Cabot Van Dam  
JUDGE BUNK  
SENATOR BUNK  
EISHOP BUNK  
GENERAL BUNK  
ROSE COHEN A housemaid  
TOM PETERS A factory foreman (on good terms with Rose)  
FRANK MILLS A factory worker  
OLAF NANSEN (All friends of Peters) A factory worker  
MIKE MURPHY A factory worker  
LEMUEL CRIMPERS A labor misleader  
MRS. CRIMPERS His young wife  
GIUSEPPE TRENTINI Delegate from the Soviets  
Chorus of Housemaids, Henry Dubbs, Juniors, Newsboys, etc.

(Continued from last week.)

GUGGENWALD (recitative): He's got sahm lahk! I can feel it! But I myself am got malkas again. Lakh! Lakh!  
PIERPONT: How many cards, Mr. Van Dam?  
VAN DAM (in fluttering recitative): Just one! But one, Mr. Pierpont dear friend.  
(A soft and uncontinuous strain is heard, and Bishop, Senator, Judge and General come tiptoeing in from the center and circle admiringly around the wealthy card-players. They are all fat and old and wear the uniforms of their professions, set off by high hats and white spats. They look much alike—are in fact, four brothers, and their second name is Bunk: Bishop Bunk, Senator Bunk, Judge Bunk and General Bunk. They sing complacently):

See these Plutes at their noble task,  
Guiding with God our tangled lives;  
Reward in heaven they do not ask,  
Only this world for themselves and their wives.  
Without the work of each mighty brain,  
Alert, competitive and discreet,  
No grass would grow, no fruit and no grain,  
And no one would have any bread to eat.

O, noble, noble, beneficent Plutes,  
Competing so dutifully every hour,  
Yours the glory and yours the power!  
Yours the labor and all its fruits!  
Dutiful, beautiful, plentiful Plutes.

All their hearts are just oozing love,  
How much they'd rather plow or rake  
Than rest on thrones set high above,  
Taking what workers have sweated to make.  
The Plute he hates to whip kids to work:  
He weeps for every poor workingman—  
But duty's call he doesn't dare shirk,  
And competition is God's own plan.

O, noble, noble, etc.

Sad to toil till the day is done,  
Walled in a factory dull and gray,  
And sad to stand in the scorching sun  
Plowing the stubborn earth all day.  
But fearful, fearful beyond the rest,  
The life the Plutocrats have to lead:  
Forever on the profiteering quest,  
And shackled forever to gain and greed!

O, noble, noble, etc.

(The Bunk Brothers dance a few more rounds, make profound obeisance to the players, who do not deign to notice them; then sit down, taking the four comfortably upholstered chairs at the left of the stage.)

BISHOP: Is it not thrilling to see these giant brains at their Herculean task of producing the colony's wealth? I hesitate to interrupt our capitalist masters even for a moment. (Draws a long sigh.) Perhaps I am a sentimental old man, brothers; perhaps I am more spiritual than a bishop ought to be—but to me the spectacle of any financial transaction is thrilling, inspiring, mystical. It makes me want to cry out Hallelujah! Hallelujah!

SENATOR: Do not be ashamed of your emotion Bishop. It is thrilling. And so like the good old days—golden days of democracy and obedience, when Capital and Labor held hands and whispered sweet nothings into each other's ears all the living day!

GENERAL: The world has gone mad. It needs another whiff of grape-shot. Give us fifty-thousand stout men, men of the good old obedient breed, and I would wipe out this nest of soft-headed anarchists that rules the world today. It would be easy. They have forgotten how to make war. (Continuing, sarcastically) Their boast Proletarian Dictatorship melted away when they all became proletarians. They think they have nothing to fear from us, but...

JUDGE: You are always harping on that, general. But what would you do with the people after you conquered them. They are all poisoned—all. Why if I went out into the streets of any city in these robes, holding an old-fashioned constitution in my hands, and began to plead from a soap-box in the name of our good old law and order, they would laugh at me, laugh at me—rude boys might even throw eggs at me.

GENERAL: Yes, they have gone mad.— But if I had only fifty-thousand men—in a n. I say... (Gets up and paces furiously up and down across front of stage.)

SENATOR: How inconsiderate it was of the workers of the world to rise up against their masters, how gross, how mob-like.

JUDGE: Is it true that there are no more jails in the outside world? No more courts? No more injunctions? General, I feel as though I ought to die.

GENERAL: No, never! I'll fight to the end for our noble principles of Private Property and War. If they attempt to do without injunctions they will starve! Mark my words, Judge.

SENATOR: We have been marking them for years, general. But it has done little good. We are not living in the days of the Woodrow Wilson era. The people do not care for words any more.

GENERAL: Yes, they need a whiff of grape-shot. D y n a m i t e is the only way to bring them to reason. Oh, for fifty-thousand men!

BISHOP (dreamily): Ah, general, general. Why must you let this evil world stir you to thoughts of violence. And you my brethren, why should it make you sad? Is not all well with us in Morganville?

SENATOR: The good bishop speaks truly. Is not everything perfect here as it was in the olden days?

BISHOP: Have we not all the institutions that once made the earth such a garden of Eden? Have we not a workingclass that labors faithfully, obeys the law and keeps its mouth shut—and a capitalist class that takes care for our welfare night and day? (With a large gesture.) See them even now, the mighty thinkers; they are arriving even now at some colossal decision. What a thrilling picture they make!

(Continued next week.)

# The Party Caucus



On the first stop of the president's tour, Mrs. Harding handed out candy to the children.

It took her three years, but she's learned something from hubby who's a wonder in handing out taffy to the workers.

—O. Gosh.

It doesn't take a barber to tell you both the farmer and the city worker get trimmed the same way.

If you want to get the life shaken out of you—get in the Ford campaign.

The Little Young Worker says: I find I must depend on the "Voice of Labor." The other day, in order to get something new, I bought the "Post." I found the first editorial advising me long-windedly to join the American Legion. The next editorial was on a communication just received from the National Fertilizer Association. I couldn't read further. Too much on the same subject.

If you use a little horse sense and vote for a Labor Party—the old parties will no longer make a jackass of you.

—B. V. D.

Helpful Henry meets a formidable rival in the person of the Herr Direktor of the yellow Milwaukee Leader, who gives out the following from his sanctum sanctorum:

"The Socialists sympathize with the Russians and want to help them onto the right track. It is quite doubtful if they are ready to make the change now. They will be ready sooner or later—for their tactics are wrong and are bound to fail."

And in the interim between now and the occasion when the misguided Russians surrender the editorship of Izvestia to the Milwaukee arbiter of revolutionary conduct, the Soviet Government will have to stagger along the best it can.

(Harold Coy, San Francisco.)

We read in the Examiner: "Mr. Harding is the first president to visit this section of Utah and a crowd of seventy-five Plute Indians met the train on arrival. They were in paint."

A personal investigation revealed the last word had been spelled correctly. The letter "t" was not added through error.

The popularity of Governor Smith of New York has convinced us that—Prohibition seems to have turned more workers' heads than liquor ever did.

For a change, do yourself a favor—boost for a Labor Party.

From the Federated Press we learn the miners in the Belleville district have worked only 200 days in the last two and a half years.

We suggest the Tribune editorial writer reserves these figures until the next strike. Forgetting to mention that the miners were closed; these facts would surely convince the "public" that the miners are a cursed lazy lot.

—Delegate.

Send in your contributions for the Party Caucus... and a Labor Party.

Despite all these labor cranks, we must give as our honest opinion that there certainly is a decided difference between the two old parties.

It's usually over the spoils.

If labor celebrates its independence on July 3rd with the birth of a Labor Party—July 4th will become about as famous as December 26th.

—Scissors Bill, Jr.

The most worthwhile labor is labor For a Labor Party —WALT CARMON.

NEW YORK CITY.—"A powerful blow at the iniquitous share-cropping and peonage systems" is what James Weldon Johnson, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, termed the news of the release of the six Negro peons who had been awaiting retrial for more than two years, accused of participation in the so-called race rioting in Elaine County, Arkansas. They were freed by the Arkansas Supreme Court at Little Rock.

# A Mystery Story

By ALFRED TIALA.

(Replete With Mystery, Fights, Love, Terror, etc., as is Proper in such a Narrative.)

### Third Installment.

Our hero had decided to entertain in order to pay for the free lodging, which was to be given him.

With the thoughtful deliberation of a savant he arose from the cuspidor, where he had been sitting for some minutes. Once upon his feet, he became electrified like the leg of a decapitated frog, which is touched with a sharp point in a nerve centre. He spun about on one foot as a top on its peg. As though shot, he fell to the floor and turned a somersault into a corner, where he sat blinking. Then he evoked tears. The scene was extremely affecting. Such perfect acting is indeed rare.

Ole perceived that his hosts were deeply moved—clear down to their toes, for the right foot of each man wiggled as though it had the seven year's itch in the big toe. So before they should begin to give vigorous expression of their sentiments in regard to the entertainment, he decided to change the act. He cleared the last particles of the three-day chew of snuff from the cavities of his teeth and prepared to sing. He recalled the tune of a song he had heard that evening among the people who live in the "Sweet Bye and Bye." The exact words he had forgotten; but just to prove his versatility, he proceeded to improvise lines:

"There's a hole in my pocket book, you see. So money will no longer stay with me. Jesus saves, but a prodigal am I—I will save in the sweet bye and bye."

The last words were drawn out in a snore. Ole stretched out full length on the floor. He acted so marvelously well that his good hosts took make-believe for reality and carried him away. Knowing that he had pleased highly his good friends, he permitted himself to actually fall into slumber.

Here we enter upon a horror scene. Weak women are advised to skip several paragraphs lest they faint, for the ghost and murder episodes of the common mystery stories are parlor pastime in comparison to what follows. And even strong men should prepare themselves for the worst, at least a smelling bottle.

Ole awoke after several hours. A weird semi-glow filled the place where he was. The seventeen hairs (Ole counted them every Sunday morning) which usually fell over his right ear, were standing straight up on the middle of his head. Beads of hot perspiration were frozen upon his noble brow.

He looked at the walls surrounding him, at the floor and up to the ceiling for a place to hide. The steel shelf upon which he had been gently laid, had been stripped of all bedding. For sanitary reasons, Ole supposed. His hosts evidently guarded his health well. But there was nothing with which to cover his head. No escape! He had to look on as destruction approached from two sides. Ah, he sighed, if only Selma were with him so that he could say to approaching danger, "ladjie's first."

The hungriest, scrawniest looking rat he had ever seen was stealthily crawling toward him from a corner. The beast's evil fangs were bared. Its eyes glowed with sulphur and brimstone fire as though it were actually an emissary from hell. Oftentimes it licked its lips—actually glistening a smack as if it already tasted warm flesh and blood.

Ole turned away with a shudder. It takes a strong man to face dreadful death.

When next Ole awoke, it was time for the sun to be shining and the birds to be singing, but he saw nor heard nothing of the usual evidence of morning. A sour taste was in his mouth. He felt for his quid of snuff. It was gone from his cheek. Was it possible that someone had stolen it? He could not imagine how else he could have lost it after three days with him.

A feeling of discontent with life in general rankled his whole being. The fault, of course, was entirely his own. His outlook was too narrow. It was very short, as well, and covered with bars.

At this time an extremely mild mannered waiter came along with breakfast. The waiter reminded Ole of the Biblical saying: "Unless ye become like children," etc., for he played childishly with a rattle composed of huge keys.

Ole accepted his breakfast with thanks. It must be said that Ole was polite on all occasions and knew how to respond as the occasion required. He thought the coffee was black enough. The bread was almost too white for it showed everybody's fingermarks.

On the opposite wall, to which he now faced, he saw coming down from a crevice in the ceiling an army of cockroaches. Such a seemingly endless army it was! And they all looked yearningly at him. The general, who was fully an inch and a half long, with vicious grey whiskers, had stopped about half way down, obviously to marshal his forces into a proper array for attack. His cohorts continued to pour from the crevice and they formed into a wedge shaped phalanx. A myriad of beady eyes were fixed upon Ole.

The poor fellow tried to shout, but his voice died in an unearthly rattle, as he felt a peculiar tickling sensation in one of his nostrils. Suddenly a shining red creature leaped out therefrom and ran to the cockroach army, where he was received with a stirring ovation. This one had been a borer from within, as it were. Horrors upon horrors! How did Ole know but that many of the same breed were still in his gizzards. Not so still either. He had a crawling feeling in the inside regions of his solar plexus area. The devils were probably playing run-sheep-run on the dignified bald plate of his very soul.

The weak ones may recommence reading here. Ole was helpless. He broke down and cried like a baby. He covered his eyes with his hands and resigned himself to the dread fate. Tears ran in torrents through his fingers and splashed to the floor, where a pool formed rapidly. In that agonized minute all his past, present and future flitted before him like a motion picture. He was the star in the drama, director, screen, audience—in other words, the whole shebang. Every moment he expected to feel sharp teeth and tickling snouts on his hide. He felt nothing. The suspense became dreadful.

Suddenly he began to hear splashing in the pool on the floor. He ventured to peep through the crack between his left forefinger and thumb. He saw a wondrous sight. Millions of cockroaches were floating about drowned in the pool of brine on the floor and the lean and hungry rat was feeding upon the carcases. "I am saved, I am saved!" Ole cried jubilantly. He became reflective. A great truth dawned upon him. Its content can be stated thuswise: "If evils beset thee at any time, arrange matters so that one evil will destroy another, and in that manner thou wilt be saved."

Ole fell asleep again. But his dreams were proof that an old horse, who lives on wild oats, is sure to have nightmares.

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(To be continued.)

# A Great Conspiracy is Unearthed by a Philadelphia Sleuth

By MAX SHACHTMAN

Tune up to ABC or XYZ or BVD or whatever else your radio connection may be and listen to this:

Because of complaints made by radio owners of Philadelphia that they have been receiving radical messages through the atmosphere, Brother Joseph McDevitt, agent of the Department of Justice and Brother James Cortelus, Director of the city's Police Department, have held a conference in the hopes that steps will be taken to suppress this radical propaganda.

According to Wm. F. Foster, chief of the D. of J. agents in Philadelphia, May 20 was the occasion for a most violent attack via radio against the government. (Does your hair stand on end?) Although this keep sleuth was obliged to admit that the mysterious station had been under investigation for some weeks, he would not reveal its exact location. He did say, however, that this new enterprise of the Reds was receiving financial backing from Russia. (Does your spine feel frozen with fear?) In fact, the federal agents believe, it is nothing more nor less than part of the Great Conspiracy, and is being paid for by the Russian Soviet government! (Is your blood curdling?)

But the old spinsters, who look under the bed each night, to see if by good luck a man is there, may calm themselves. Retired bankers and cash-weight manufacturers may rest easy. A conference is soon to be held with officials in Washington on the question as to whether legal methods can be found to close up such stations that broadcast this insidious propaganda, and it is piously to be hoped that this vile snake will be ruthlessly scotched. The delicate ear-drums of our radio fans must be protected at all costs; the Republic must be saved. Glory be!

# Plute Urges Military Action Against Miners

ATLANTIC CITY.—Organize a nationwide "minute-man" army of "loyal" Americans to force the mining of coal in the next crisis in the bituminous coal industry. This is the lawless plan suggested by John G. Brydon, newly elected president of the National Coal Assn., in his inaugural address to the convention of the association meeting here.

Brydon is a coal operator at Somerset, Pa., where the miners after fifteen months are still on strike, despite the lawless strikebreaking methods of Brydon and the operators and their strong-arm assistants, the state police. The National Coal Assn. will be remembered as the leading organization which tried to hang the Herrin miner-defendants. Its campaign of lies, including its pamphlet, The Herrin Conspiracy, did much to turn public sentiment against the hard-pressed miners of Williamson county.

# A Western Idyll

(From Davenport Free Press.) Rank and file have been a couple of Steady old Plugs. They have Godead when Mr. Gompers said "Gee" and Haw-ed when he said "Haw"; likewise they have Gid-ed when he said "Giddad" and Whoa-ed when he said "Whooa."

Just after the war, when Sam drove to Town one Saturday afternoon to do some trading the American Legion cut loose on Main Street with "The Stars and Stripes Forever," and Sam darned ne... had a runaway. But he sawed on the bit and the team quited down. (They had thought that they were to see Stars and Wear Stripes.)

But now somebody has come to town with a New Fangled Contraption, that they never saw before. It looks like the devil, sounds like hell, runs on Castor Oil, and passes everything in sight. They call it a Fasciat.

# Use the Scissors

on this coupon, fill out and send in with cash

VOICE OF LABOR  
2517 Fullerton Avenue  
Chicago, Ill.

Enclosed please find

One Dollar to cover a 6 months subscription  
Two Dollars to cover a 1 Year subscription

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City and State \_\_\_\_\_

Farmer-Labor Convention Held In Ashland Auditorium July 3, 4 and 5th, 1923 to Form Federated Farmer-Labor Party



WORKERS FROM ALL OVER COUNTRY REPRESENTED AT THE CONVENTION

The following organizations were represented by delegates at the Farmer-Labor Convention.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America have 5 delegates; Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, 1 delegate; Maintenance of Way and Railroad Shop Laborers, 3 delegates; Amalgamated Metal Workers of America, 1 delegate.

Local Unions Represented.

Local Unions Represented. There were also delegates from Akron, represents Committee of Labor Unions, and 2900 other workers, Bakers & Coal Miners, and Machinists of Akron. Ladies' Garment Workers have 10 delegates from Chicago Joint Board and from four Chicago locals and one Los Angeles local.

There are 20 locals of Machinists represented.

The Locomotive Firemen and Engineers have delegates from locals in Nebraska, Kansas and Michigan.

Local Alliance, Ohio, Michigan is represented.

Maintenance of Way has five locals represented.

Mine Workers, 40 locals.

Painters, 10 locals.

Patternmakers of Chicago; Printing Pressmen; Public Service Employees; American Federation of Railroad Workers; Railway Carmen; Railway Conductors; Railway and Steamship Clerks; Stationary Firemen & Oilers; Steam & Operating Engineers; Stone Cutters' Association of North America.

Young Workers' League has seven delegates: Abner, Lerner, Edwards, Shachtman, Albright, Bergeson and Kaplan.

Workers' Party of America has ten delegates: Ruzhenberg, Bittelman, Loveston, Ballam, Keas, Owens, Tallentire, Miller, Browder, Engdahl.

There are also representatives from Progressive Party of Idaho, Progressive Party of Nebraska, Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, Labor Party of Rhode Island and Wisconsin Non-Partisan League.

Organizations by States.

California, 1; Arizona, 1; Connecticut, 2; District of Columbia, 2; Florida, 1; Illinois, 30; Indiana, 11; Iowa, 3; Kansas, 2; Kentucky, 1; Louisiana, 1; Massachusetts, 1; Michigan, 9; Minnesota, 13; Missouri, 6; Montana, 1; Nebraska, 4; North Dakota, 1; North Carolina, 1; Oklahoma, 2; Pennsylvania, 20; New Jersey, 1; Ohio, 15; South Dakota, 2; Rhode Island, 1; Tennessee, 1; Texas, 1; Utah, 1; Virginia, 3; Washington, 2.

West Virginia State Federation of Labor has one delegate; and the Trade and Labor Council, of Fairmont, W. Va., has two delegates.

Five West Virginia Mine Workers' Local Nos. 2311, 3433, 3521, 5547 and 5595, have sent two delegates.

Wisconsin has sent sixteen delegates, headed by Lieut. Gov. Geo. F. Comings.

Wisconsin Progressive Women's Association has sent four delegates.

The Farmer-Labor Party of Illinois has twenty-nine delegates and almost as many alternates.

There are also delegates from Farmer-Labor Party branches in Connecticut, Florida, Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Oklahoma, Utah and Washington.

Women's Organizations.

The National Women's Party has sent one delegate.

The Wisconsin Women's Progressive Association has four delegates.

Workmen's Circle.

Workmen's Circle, Joint Conference, Philadelphia, has five delegates; there are also Workmen's Circle delegates from twenty branches throughout the country, and from thirty-two branches in New York.

Farmers' Organizations.

From North Dakota, the United Farmers' Educational League has delegates; and from Washington there are delegates from the Western Progressive Farmers.

Fraternals and Miscellaneous Organizations.

African Blood Brotherhood, 2 delegates; American Lithuanian Workers' Literary Association, of Brooklyn; Czech-Slovak Workers' Council, of Chicago; Estonian Federation; Greek Branch, Detroit; Lithuanian Joint Conference, Milwaukee; League for Industrial Democracy, New York; Lithuanian Improvement Club, Chicago; Lithuanian Women's Progressive Alliance, Brooklyn; Lithuanian Workers' Organization of Greater New York; Progress Club, Chicago; Socialist Co-operative Publishing Co., New York; Socialist Maennereher, Detroit; Tyomies Society, Superior; World War Veterans; Workers' Tourist Club (Nature-friends); Workmen's Sick, Beneficial and Educational Association, New York; Workmen's Gym Association, Chicago; Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund, Detroit; Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund, Connecticut; Workers' Educational Association, Detroit; Roumanian Society "Speranta", Chicago; Czech-Slovak Marxian Federation of America, Chicago.

Wm. Z. Foster's Speech in Favor of the Formation of a Federated Labor Party

The most dramatic moment during the convention was when William Z. Foster took the floor after John Fitzpatrick spoke against the resolution to form a Federated Farmer-Labor Party and singled out the Workers Party for attack.

Foster's appearance on the platform was the signal for a deafening burst of applause, in contrast to the comparative silence that reigned during Fitzpatrick's tirade.

Brother Chairman and Fellow Delegates:

There are just a few remarks that I would like to make.

I heard Brother Willis say that if this Organization Committee report was adopted, that in some manner or other the Farmer-Labor Party would commit itself in an irrevocable way. And I want to explain that idea right away.

If I understand anything about procedure, particularly trade union procedure, the present situation is this: We have assembled to devise the ways and means to bring about political unity of the workers. If we adopt this Committee Report, we go as far as we can in that direction. And then we take that Report back to our respective organizations, and if they ratify it we are a part of this Party.

Now, that is plain and simple. And if the Farmer-Labor Party has a Convention in the future, whenever that is called they will do the same as all the rest of us are going to do—lay before our organizations the result of this Conference, for ratification or rejection. So nobody's hands are being tied, here. And the Report can be adopted with a full and free will, by every delegate here, as far as his powers are concerned.

I listened to Brother Fitzpatrick. And Fitz and I have gone through some good battles together. We have stood shoulder to shoulder and fought one of the most villainous aggregations of capital on the face of the earth—the Packers' Trust, with headquarters here in Chicago. And we have fought the great Steel Trust together—and I understand what kind of a man he is. He has the courage of his convictions, and he expressed

them here on this platform. And I have never had to disagree with him until right here. But I must now disagree with him, and say that the duty of this Convention is to go right ahead and adopt the Organization Committee Report.

The creation of the Labor Party in America is a process different from that of any other country in the world. In England and various other countries we find the officials of the labor movement were quite generally in favor of working class political action. But that is not the case in this country. In this country the higher officials of the unions are almost unanimous against it. And the principle obstruction to the establishment of working class political unity in America is none other than the head of our labor movement—Samuel Gompers!

Now, in Chicago here, in the formation of the Farmer-Labor Party, a few years ago, Brother Fitzpatrick and those others who took part, split definitely with Gompers. They said, "We are through with that policy!" And I, for one, applauded them in that decision.

The Farmer-Labor Party drifted along, with more or less indifferent success for a while, until a new development took place—the movement of Bill Johnston, President of the International Association of Machinists—nearly all of us put faith in that movement. I confess that I didn't have as much faith in it as some—because I happened to know Bill Johnston pretty well. However, the labor movement quite generally said, "Here it is! The big International Union—the Machinists, the Miners, the Printers and state Federations, without number—every form and kind of organization lining up behind Bill Johnston's plan. And he held a conference in the city of Chicago—where they did not do anything except call another in Cleveland. And what happened there? Once again, nothing was done. And the hopes of the workers' organizations which were bound up with that conference were deliberately betrayed by the leaders, who had been instructed to form a

Labor Party in the United States. And there was no man in America who said more boldly and bravely than Fitzpatrick did, that the workers' hopes were betrayed. And the Farmer-Labor Party split with the Cleveland conference, which Fitzpatrick denounced as a scab organization and dual movement—and the Gompers policy continued as it was. It had broken with the entire official family of the American Federation of Labor, and knew that henceforth, if it was going to be a labor movement, the only way was to get out and disregard these officials and make into a political organization. And the Farmer-Labor Party did that. It issued a call inviting the rank and file to send delegates here. And here is the result of that call. And the sentiment of this gathering is that the Federated Farmer-Labor Party be formed. And I say that the logic of the Farmer-Labor Party, ever since it was born, indicates that it should go along with this movement and appeal to the rank and file of the labor organizations of America, to enlist themselves in this campaign. The only chance that the Farmer-Labor Party has to be a political factor is to go to the rank and file—as the big labor leaders are 100 per cent against such action at this time. And if the Farmer-Labor Party is not willing to do that, it should not have called this convention here.

That is my honest opinion. And I hope the leaders here will decide to go along with this great movement—and I don't hesitate to say that if they submit the question to their own rank and file, they will decide to go along with this movement.

In conclusion I will say that the time has come when there must be a militant struggle put up in all those unions that are for a Federated Farmer-Labor Party. That struggle has not been carried on effectively, up to this time. And if there is a Federated Farmer-Labor Party formed in the convention, that party will carry on such a struggle for a Labor Party in America that we shall win the great rank and file to that idea.

LETTER OF DEAD REVOLUTIONARY SHOWS MEXICAN WORKERS NEED OF UNITY

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE  
Fed. Press Staff Correspondent.

MEXICO CITY.—From beyond the tomb comes the voice of the dearly beloved and universally recognized leader of the agrarian revolutionary movement here, to urge a united front of the workers and peasants of Mexico and an understanding of the identity of the agrarian revolution with the social revolution of the workers. The publication in Spanish by the Mexican branch of the Federated Press of a hitherto unpublished letter, dated February, 1918, from the martyred Emiliano Zapata to General Amezcua and secured from his archives by your correspondent, is awakening much interest in agrarian and proletarian circles.

Zapata's Internationalism. The letter reveals that the peasant leader Zapata had a thorough understanding of the relationship of internationalism to social revolution, was an ardent supporter of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, and felt that the aims of both the workers and the peasants of Mexico would be defeated if they did not unite. It reads in part:

"We would gain much, human justice would gain much, if all the peoples of our America and old Europe would understand that the cause of revolutionary Mexico and the cause of Russia... are and represent the cause of humanity, the supreme interest of all oppressed peoples. Here as there, there are great, greedy, inhuman, greedy and cruel, who, from father to son, have gone on exploiting to the torture point the great masses of the peasants. And there as here, the enslaved men, the men of sleeping consciousness, are beginning to awaken, to shake themselves to be stirred up to punish.

"... In this connection it would be desirable to remember and keep all ways in view the inevitable analogy,

the marked parallelism, or better, the absolute parity, which exist between that movement and the agrarian revolution of Mexico. Both are directed against that which Leo Tolstoy called "the Great Crime," against the infamous usurpation of the earth,—which being the property of all, like the water and like the air, has been monopolized by a few powerful folk, supported by the force of the armies and the iniquity of the law.

"By the same token, it is not surprising, that the world proletariat applauds and admires the Russian revolution.

For Proletarian Unity.

"For that reason you ought to go to all labor centers and labor groups of the world, in order to make them feel the imperious necessity of realizing jointly the two enterprises: namely, to educate the worker for struggle and to awaken the consciousness of the peasant.

"It is necessary not to forget that by virtue of the solidarity of the proletariat, the emancipation of the worker will not be accomplished if the liberation of the peasant is not realized at the same time. If not, the bourgeoisie can use those two forces against each other, and take advantage, for example, of the ignorance of the peasants in order to combat and check the just efforts of the workers of the towns; in the same manner that, if the occasion offers, they will be able to use the non-conscious workers against their brothers of the field."

The letter is signed: "Emiliano Zapata," is dated "Feb. 14, 1918, General Headquarters of the Mexico Republic, Army of Liberation," and is addressed to General Jengaro Amezcua, at present a leader of the revolutionary agrarian forces in Zapatista's own state of Morelos, an energetic organizer of Peasant Co-operative Communes, and an ardent supporter of all of Zapata's program.

Civil Liberties Union Replies to National Security League

Following the announcement that the National Security League was undertaking a campaign to teach respect for the Constitution throughout the U. S., the American Civil Liberties Union, in a communication to S. Stanwood Menken, president of the League, asks "whether it would not be advisable to begin such teaching first among those who are elected to protect constitutional rights."

"It would be interesting to know how you are going to teach respect for the Constitution to the Chief of Police of Martins Ferry, Ohio, who recently refused James P. Cannon permission to speak there on Russia. When told that his arbitrary action was in 'violation of the Constitution' he replied 'All right, if that's the case, it is sure going to be violated. By God, this is the United States, and you can't have no meeting.' Or take Burgess Constanzo of Old Forge, Pa., who refused to allow Birch Wil-

son and Giralmo Valent, two American citizens, to speak in that town because they belonged to a radical political party, stating that he would prevent them from speaking in Old Forge 'now and forever more.'

"Consider also Adjutant General Pat Hamrick of Colorado who, when asked by what authority he deported William Z. Foster from that state last summer, replied: 'We consulted no law.' Or a prominent judge in Seattle, Wash., who had the case of several members of the Industrial Workers of the World arrested for selling a pamphlet in Centralia. When asked if constitutional rights counted at all in Centralia, he replied: 'No. Constitutional rights do not count at all.'

"These are only a few recent violations of the Constitution we could cite, but they are indicative of the line your campaign would have to take in order to be effective."

Soviet Russia Settling Down to Steady Constructive Work

By ANISE  
(Fed. Press Staff Correspondent.)

MOSCOW.—Now, in the period of waiting the outcome of Britain's drive against Russia, the feeling here is settling down to a steady consideration of the entire situation.

The sudden stinging belief that war was coming, which was produced by the first note, was largely allayed by the Russian answer. There followed a period of trust in British labor, shaken somewhat by Curzon's determination to go ahead even in the parliamentary recess. Now there is a more critical appraisal of the situation.

Russia is not quite sure whether British labor is strong enough to turn the trick. Because she is not sure how widely Curzon has laid his plans and how many allies he has secured. It is only Curzon, or is it Curzon, Foch, Maeslini, with America and Japan, combined in the background? Is it an attempt of the imperialists of Britain to extend British sway in Asia, in which case France can be counted upon for a benevolent neutrality at least? Or is it a capitalist-imperialist combine for smashing Russia?

Russia has been much cheered by the stand of British labor, by the recent united front established be-

tween the transport workers of the rest of Europe with Russia, by the opposition developed at the Second International at Hamburg to the anti-Russian resolution of the menshevik Abramovitch. She begins to hope the recent combined drive of world capitalism is uniting the workers also in bonds of sympathy.

But even more important is any immediate struggle for Russia is more united within herself than at any time since the revolution. The brain workers of Petrograd, leftovers from the bureaucracy of czarism, who sabotaged the revolution, now pour out in thousands to protect the Curzon ultimatum. The moderate tone

of the Russian government has pleased the classes, and the insistent drive of Curzon to humiliate men who grant all concessions in the interests of peace, has aroused intention everywhere to back the government.

I talked with another Russian, who had been in Afghanistan. He expressed the view that Curzon's refusal for "concessions was due to the fact that "he has no documents at all of any value." On my asking where he thought Curzon got them, he replied: "Oh, the northwest territory, between Afghanistan and India, has a regular document factory. You can buy proofs of anything in the world there for money."

# Statement of Principles and Organization Rules of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party

Adopted at the Farmer-Labor Convention Held in Chicago, Illinois, July 3-5, 1923

"The government of the people, for the people and by the people," which has in the past been the boast of American political life, no longer exists in this country. To-day the government of the United States is a government of, for and by Wall Street and the financial and industrial system which it represents.

During the course of industrial development of the last half century in this country the industries, the mines, the railroads, the factories and mills have come into the ownership and control of a small group of great capitalists, who use these instruments of production and distribution to exploit and oppress the tens of millions of industrial workers and farmers who are dependent upon their use to earn for themselves and their families the necessities of life. These capitalist exploiters of the industrial workers and farmers have fastened their grip upon the government and made of it an instrument to maintain and uphold their special privileges and to aid them in levying ever greater toll upon the producers of wealth.

Since the end of the war, out of which was to come greater opportunities of well-being and happiness for the people of this country, the use of the powers of government against the industrial workers and farmers and to the aid of their exploiters has been more open and shameless than ever before.

In 1919 the federal government sent soldiers into the steel centers to help the great steel trust put down the strike of the workers struggling against the twelve hour day, for a living wage and the right to organize.

### Governmental Force Used Against Workers.

In the miners' strike of the same year the Wilson administration secured an injunction against the United Mine Workers of America denying it the right to use its own funds in the struggle of the miners against the coal barons. Since then the government has sought to have the United Mine Workers of America destroyed through declaring it a conspiracy in restraint of trade.

The government created the Railroad Labor Board as a weapon of the railroad owners against the railroad workers. This Railroad Labor Board forced the railroad shopmen to strike in 1922 through reducing the wages below the standard of existence. When the railroads found themselves in a desperate condition during the strike, the government rushed to their aid with the infamous Daugherty injunction, which at one blow took from the industrial workers the right to freedom of speech, press and assembly, the right to organize and to use their organized strength to better their conditions of life.

In the miners' strike of 1922 the administration used all its strength to help the coal barons destroy the organization of the miners and to establish the "open shop" in the coal industry. At the call of President Harding the governors of numerous states filled the mines with soldiers to help suppress the demand of the striking workers.

The courts have been equally diligent in serving the interests of the financial and industrial rulers, who control the government. In every strike of any moment the industrial workers are face to face with injunctions through which the industrial masters seek to prevent them from using their organized strength, to secure more of what they produce. In the Coronado decision the Supreme Court has given the employers a weapon with which to destroy every labor union in the land. The Supreme Court has declared unconstitutional all social legislation in the interest of labor. It has declared the child labor law unconstitutional. It has declared the minimum wage law unconstitutional. It throws the whole weight of the judicial power on the side of the financial and industrial bosses.

The powers of government are not only used to aid the financial and industrial dictators in the struggle against the workers, they are also used directly to enrich the beneficiaries of this financial and industrial system at the expense of the industrial workers and farmers. Through tariff legislation, through ship subsidies, through looting of the government in settlement of war contracts, through guaranteeing of railroad profits and settlement of railroad claims growing out of war-time government operation by the Esch-Cummins Act, hundreds of millions are turned into their coffers.

### Farmers in Grip of Bankers.

Legislation supposedly in the interest of the farmers is turned into means of further enrichment of the bankers. Farm credit bills are so drawn as to aid the great banking institutions and their smaller parasites and give them new means of taking for themselves the product of the workers in the land. The government refused to take any action toward establishing government owned marketing facilities and helps the railroads to maintain high railroad freight rates.

The Federal Reserve Banking System has served the masters in permitting extravagant over-expansion of city industries so that the farm is robbed of its labor supply. This is repeatedly followed by drastic depressions and unemployment that reduce the city worker to servitude and poverty. Millions are forced into idleness every few years. This condition likewise spells ruin to the farmer, for in 1921 it reduced the purchasing power of the city worker by six billions in wages alone. More than five millions of workers were forced to walk the streets in search of jobs that were denied them.

In a depression farm prices drop to ruinous levels; still the farmers and consumers are forced to continue to pay peak prices. This is made possible because of the factories' superior control of production. Industry now forces unemployment onto the city worker to reduce wages and at the same time it keeps its prices high by curtailing its output. The present banking system is largely responsible for the high prices the consumer now pays.

The power of the government is openly used by the financial lords of Wall Street to open up weaker countries for their investments and to protect these investments. Since the Spanish-American war, American imperialism, "dollar diplomacy," has verthrown the governments of Haiti and Santo Domingo, reduced Nicaragua to vassalage and made Cuba a protectorate of the United States in the interest of the Sugar Trust. The Mexican government is refused recognition and coerced in the interest of oil and banking capital. Soviet Russia is outlawed because it

has abolished the exploitation of the workers and farmers by the capitalists.

These are but a few of the outstanding facts which prove that Republican and Democratic administrations alike are the instruments of the financial and industrial masters who own the industries of the nation and use them to amass great fortunes for the few capitalists at the expense of happiness and well-being of the masses of industrial workers and farmers.

In the face of these conditions only one road lies open for the industrial workers and farmers to protect themselves against the exploitation and oppression of the financial and industrial lords who rule in this country—to organize a political party representing the interests of the industrial workers and farmers and enter into the political arena to wrest control of the government from the hands of the financial and industrial masters who now rule in this country.

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party declares that to be its purpose. It calls upon all organizations of workers, whether in the industries or upon the land, to make common cause with it, to join it in the struggle to free the farmer and industrial worker from greedy exploitation of those who now rule in this country and to win for them the right to "life, liberty and happiness," which their exploiters now deny them.

### Public Ownership.

There can be no genuine public ownership of industry until the workers and farmers control the government. But in order to make more clear the conflict of interests between the employing class and the working and farming classes and thus aid the masses in their struggle against exploitation and oppression, we propose an immediate program of public ownership of all public utilities. It must at all times be remembered that only to the extent that there is a strong workers' and farmers' representation in the government and only to the extent that the control of operation is in the hands of workers and farmers can even this partial nationalization be realized today. The F. F. L. P. therefore proposes the following program:

1. We stand for the nationalization of all public utilities and all social means of communication and transportation.
2. Industries must be run on the basis of the workers and farmers steadily increasing their control of the management and operation through their own economic organizations.
3. Industries must be operated in such a manner as to afford the working and farming masses the maximum security against detitution, unemployment, sickness and high prices.

### Program for Social Legislation.

1. That the federal government enact a maximum 8-hour work-day in industry, making any violation of the same by any employer a criminal offense punishable by imprisonment.
2. That the federal government enact a law that will make the Federal Reserve Bank system serve the farmers and workers. Industry should be encouraged to discontinue its reckless "hoarding" and "firing" practises by compensating the unemployed worker temporarily when he is thrown out of employment through no fault of his own.
3. That the federal government enact a Child Labor Law, prohibiting the employment of children under eighteen and making the violation of this law a crime punishable by imprisonment.
4. That the federal government enact a law providing for a minimum living wage for all workers—the wages to be fixed in co-operation with the representatives of the trade unions.
5. That the federal government enact a law providing for the compulsory education of all under eighteen. Special attention must be paid to the erection of new and adequate schools in the rural regions.
6. That the federal government enact a law providing for adequate compensation to the ex-soldiers—a soldier bonus—funds for same to be obtained through the levying of inheritance, excess profits, surtaxes and taxes on unearned income.
7. That the federal government enact a Social Insurance Law, providing for adequate sick, accident and death insurance for all city and rural workers. Funds for the same to be secured through the taxation of incomes, excess, profits, surtaxes, and inheritance taxes and taxes from unearned incomes.
8. That the federal government enact a National Maternity Insurance Law, providing for full trade union wage compensation to all prospective mothers for a period covering one month prior to and one month after child birth.

## Organization Rules of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party

1. The name of the organization shall be the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.
2. The purpose of this organization is to unite the industrial workers and farmers and to carry on the political struggle for their interests.

### II. National Organization.

1. Any organization of industrial workers or farmers, such as local trade unions, city central bodies, state federations of labor, national or international organizations, farmers organizations, labor political parties, co-operative societies, labor fraternal or insurance organizations, which endorse the principles of this organization may affiliate with it.
2. Wherever local or state organizations of the party exist, local organizations shall affiliate through these organizations, provided that whenever five or more local units of any national organization affiliate, they shall be recognized as constituent parts of the national organization and shall be represented in the National Executive Committee as hereinafter provided.
3. The governing body of the national organization shall be a National Executive Committee, which shall be elected by the convention of the party. The National Executive Committee shall consist of representatives of the constituent organizations in such proportions as may be decided upon by the National Convention. Whenever any national organization affiliates between conventions it shall be entitled to one representative in the National Executive Committee. This rule shall also apply whenever five or more local groups of a national organization affiliate.
4. The National Executive Committee shall elect a sub-committee of seven to be known as the Executive Council, which shall consist of members of the committee. The Executive Council shall supervise and direct the work of the national organization

between the sessions of the National Executive Committee.

5. The National Executive Committee shall elect the National Secretary and National Chairman.

6. The second National Convention of the party shall be called by the National Executive Committee for the month of December, 1923, or January, 1924, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for president and vice-president and of adopting a national platform. The National Executive Committee shall decide the basis of representation. The method of calling conventions to be held after the second convention shall be laid down at the second convention.

### III. State Organizations.

1. State organizations of the party shall consist of the local organizations. State organizations shall hold annual conventions and elect a State Executive Committee.

### IV. Local Organizations.

1. Local organizations shall consist of the local units of the organizations mentioned in section 1 of Article II.
2. There may also be formed branches of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, which any person over sixteen years of age, who endorses the principles of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and who agrees to abide by the decisions of the party shall be eligible to membership.
3. The organizations mentioned in section 1 and 2 shall send delegates to a city central committee, which shall be the governing body of the local organizations and which shall elect a City Executive Committee.

### V. Members-At-Large.

1. Persons living in localities in which there is no organization of the party may become members-at-large through the state organization or if none exists through the national organization.

### VI. Dues and Per Capita.

1. Members-at-large and members of local branches of the party shall pay yearly dues of \$1.00, to be accepted for by a stamp to be issued by the National Organization.
2. Local units of the party, other than party branches, shall pay into the treasury of the local organization 1c per member per month.
3. Organizations affiliated directly with the National Organization shall pay to the National Organization 2c per member every three months.
4. Local organizations shall pay to the state organizations 50 per cent of the dues and per capita received monthly, and state organizations shall transmit to the National Organization 50 per cent of the dues and per capita received from the local organizations.

### National Executive Committee to be Elected by This Convention.

This convention shall elect a National Executive Committee, consisting of representatives of the organizations represented on the organization committee and in the same proportion. Nominations shall be made in the same manner as for the organization committee, provided that the Farmer-Labor Party shall be entitled to five (5) representatives in the National Executive Committee.

### Campaign for Affiliations.

1. The National Executive Committee stands instructed to immediately begin an aggressive campaign for new affiliations with the party. It shall endeavor to familiarize the workers and farmers through the country with the aims and purposes of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and seek to bring them into the party.
2. The delegates from each state sitting in the convention shall form a provisional state committee to carry on a campaign for affiliations and to organize their state for the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

An Associated Press dispatch from Moscow states that Archbishop Tikon, of the Orthodox Church, who was in prison in Moscow pending trial, was freed after he signed a document pledging allegiance to the Soviet government.

Harding opposes nationalization of the mines. He does not want the government to own the mines. It is so much simpler to have the mines own the government.

## Federal Fink Exposed in Role of Highwayman

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY.

These are rather unlucky days for finks. In another section of this issue of the Voice of Labor you may read that in Kansas City, Mo., a stool pigeon by the name of Hagan was sentenced to serve one year in jail for the larceny of an automobile. Conviction in such a case usually carries a ten year sentence but owing to his work as one time head of the Mid West Detective Agency the judge perhaps was lenient. The surprising fact is that he received any penalty.

In Boston, Mass., a gentleman by the name of Herbert Shaughnessy, once under cover man in the I. W. W. is in the meshes of the law charged with highway robbery. The writer became acquainted with Mr. Shaughnessy during 1918 when arrested and charged with a violation of the Selective Service Law, disorderly conduct, and half a dozen other "high crimes and misdemeanors."

Was Member of Knights of Columbus. Mr. Shaughnessy, accompanied by a Pole with an outlandish name which I will not inflict upon the readers of the Voice of Labor, came to my rooms one day and brazenly proceeded to ransack the premises. Shaughnessy was then in the employ of the Department of Justice and boasted that he was "one of their best third degree men." He was a member of Knights of Columbus in Roxbury, Mass. This Lodge had headquarters over the rooms of the Conolly Club at 24 Warren Street, Roxbury. We often met on the sidewalk outside the hall and frequently conversed.

He carried a gun and pulled it one evening on one of the boys, but caused no panic. He valued his patriotism very highly. While in the employ of the Federated Government he raided the I. W. W. headquarters in Springfield, Mass., without Federal authority. For this his resignation was demanded but he beat them to it by offering his resignation.

### Got Three Year Sentence.

The next time this worthy was heard from was as a result of his arrest for breaking and entering a jewelry store in Kalamazoo, Mich. His arrest on that charge

light the information that Jack O'Brien stolen two automobiles in Boston his evening had disposed of them. He lectured three years as a result of his activities in Kalamazoo but shortly afterwards seen in Boston.

### Politicians Got Him Out.

The latest feat of his was a hold-up job. He was tried on this charge in Boston and in some mysterious way again released. But no sooner was he out than he was "in again." It seems the authorities in Boston discovered that local politicians interested themselves in his behalf and pulled the legal wires.

His case is not yet disposed of. This is only further evidence that the kind of people who accept employment as stoolpigeons are generally of the lowest type of humanity. They usually escape the consequences of their criminal acts and only suffer when their acts become too outrageous to cover up.



The Pick and Touch System

### Workers Party Activities

#### News of District Number Eight

In these columns we have reported being covered systematically with leaflets and literature. A number of lately the organization of two new

# Ruthenberg Defines Workers Party Position at Convention

### In Brilliant Address that Aroused Tremendous Applause, Secretary of Workers Party Pilloried Farmer-Labor

**What do They Want?**  
And we say to them again—if they have anything to propose to us, we should like to hear it. We have tried

vik program. And we accept it because it represents the present stage of development of this movement generally, and we as Communists—

### Socialist Lecturer in United Front with Ku Klux

Warren, Ohio. (Special to the Voice of Labor). The Ku Klux Klan

# Editorial Page of the Voice of Labor

## A Great Step Forward

The convention which was recently held in the Ashland Auditorium, Chicago, resulting in the formation of a Federated Farmer-Labor Party, marks a turning point in the history of the working class movement in America. For the first time the producers from farm and industry came together and agreed on a program under which they can unite to march together toward the goal of a workers' government.

While it is regrettable that complete unanimity did not prevail and that a small faction placed obstacles in the way of unity, the results achieved are encouraging and definitely place the forward movement of the producing elements in America on a path that can only lead to victory.

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party clearly recognizes the fact that there are two classes in society between which a struggle must go on until the now subject class becomes the ruling class. This change in the status of the working class will ultimately lead to the elimination of all classes, because in the communist society all must be producers. There cannot be any drones.

The recognition of this truth by delegates representing large masses of workers, is a revolutionary development in the political life of America. It means that the doom of the non-partisan policy of conservative labor officialdom is at hand and that the acknowledgement of the class struggle as a cardinal political principle will soon be universal.

It means that the Democratic and Republican confidence men, who now fool the farmers and city workers with glowing promises, will not have as easy a task when the Federated Farmer-Labor Party takes the field with a program based on the needs of the wealth-producers who now occupy the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water. The educational possibilities in the Federated Farmer-Labor Party are tremendous and offer an opportunity to carry the message of social emancipation to every hamlet in this country, such as was never available before.

It is to be hoped that those who did not feel like marching forward with the majority at the recent convention will upon further consideration come to the conclusion that the building of a party representing the working farmers and industrial employees depends on the earnest militants of the rank and file; that to depend on the officials of the big unions is futile, and as the masses are ready and anxious for such a party, they should step in line and shoulder to shoulder join in the great push for the emancipation of those who toil.

The new party is representative of all the exploited elements in the nation. The chairman of the National Executive Committee is a "dirt" farmer with a long record of struggle in behalf of his class. The vice chairman and second vice chairman are also representatives of the farmers. The other members of the committee practically represent the workers in every essential industry throughout the United States.

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party comes into being at a critical moment in the history of the American working class. The forces of reaction are girding their loins for the impending struggle. Fascisti, Minute Men of the Constitution, American Legion, and Ku Klux Klan are all preparing for a united attack on the workers. The workers can beat off this attack and take the offensive only if they show a united front. They should not allow petty points to separate them. They should not allow the slanders issued against the most militant section of the working class movement to stand in the way of co-operation. The need of the hour is unity. The suffering masses sense that need. Those who stand in the way of unity will be swept aside by the rushing current. They will write their own political obituary.

To indulge in mutual recrimination in the face of a threatened capitalist onslaught would be an indication that the workers and farmers lack even the most elementary conception of the fundamental duty of self preservation. Already the capitalists gloat over the possibility of an era of internecine warfare in the workers' political movement rather than solidarity. Let us show the capitalist class that the workers are learning fast the lessons that will enable them to assume the role of a ruling class in order to put an end to all classes and establish a society where human needs alone will be the dominating concern of society.

## The Shame of Michigan: Child Slavery

By FRANK EVANS.

The Children's Bureau, in a recent report, says that work in beet fields, such as that in the Michigan fields, is unsuitable for children. After the five or six months of work from nine to fourteen hours a day the little ones from babyhood up to fourteen, are listless and unable to study when they do get to school in late November, if at all.

Living in old shacks, hardly habitable, underfed, illiterate, overworked and paid nothing at all—the children's work being figured in with the family as a whole—these child slaves of the sugar trust are the most pitiable of objects. They are but young and mistreated animals with broken bodies and dwarfed minds. The whole family, working long hours, can earn no more, or better said, gets no more than \$800 to \$1,000 per year for its collective work. This, while a government commission says that it takes at least three times that amount to support a family of five.

Sodden by labor, these children will grow up, if at all, with deformed mental attitudes toward the social system that made them what they are. Foreign born or of alien parentage they may sooner or later discover that "democracy" means nothing but debasement and toil, or they may furnish the material for a new breed of scabs and stool pigeons and Burns agents. They will be unintelligent in whatever phase of life they enter, be it as gunmen or prostitutes or as revolutionary material in social crises.

And it is the shame of Michigan that she permits such things to go unforbidden by law while prosecuting Communists for free speech upon just such conditions, and convicting Ruthenberg for "assembling with" people who mean to overthrow child slavery and all other kinds as well.

## THE GOLD DUST TWINS



## Ruthenberg's Conviction a Political Persecution. Progressive Labor Unions Rally to His Defense.

By HARRISON GEORGE.

This is the last of a series of five articles on the Michigan Cases written specially for the issues of the Voice of Labor appearing during the Labor Party Conference.—Ed.

W. J. Burns, who hired an entire floor of a New York hotel in 1916 as headquarters from which Burns organized the network of German spies in this country for the Kaiser; Burns, who sends spies into the unions, who spends millions of public moneys to break strikes, was also at the trial of C. E. Ruthenberg, proven to have ordered the raid on the Communist convention in Michigan last year.

Ruthenberg's trial began April 16, and was nearly a replica of W. Z. Foster's trial, with significant differences that showed a determination to convict Ruthenberg by fair or foul means. And it succeeded!

A woman on Foster's jury was the fighter for acquittal—somehow no woman was on even Ruthenberg's venire! Foster's jurors were all farmers, working men or workers' dependents, while—despite the best that Frank P. Walsh could do—Ruthenberg had to accept two Standard Oil minions, a treasurer of a Chamber of Commerce and member of the Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs. No one but property owners were allowed to sit as jurors, thus showing no equality before the law for the propertyless citizen! Judge White, apparently appalled by the criticism of the capitalist press against his fairness to Foster, allowed all documents to go in regardless of law and the fact that they had actually been in the hands of Burns' men—and even altered by them—instead of in the custody of the sheriff as the law provides; while the instructions to the jury were most prejudicial.

As to "evidence," what was proved? That the Communist Party held a secret convention which Ruthenberg attended as a member of the Party Executive Committee. Some stray pieces of literature brought by delegates were found on the scene. Nothing said or done by anyone against any law! But Ruthenberg was there—for which he may be sent to prison for ten years! The judge allowed a book opposing "churchianity" to be read to help prejudice the jury. He crippled Ruthenberg's testimony.

Besides the defendant, Jay Lovestone, author of "The Government as Strikebreaker," testified, as did Charles Krumbin and Caleb Harrison, for the defense. The historical class struggle was sketched. The birth of the Communist Party and its existence as an open organization until driven underground by the raids of 1920 was told. Its constructive work for industrial unionism, helping Russia, educating farmers and workers to the idea of a Federated Labor Party, all overshadowed the matter

of "force and violence," the use of which the party did not advocate, only stating that great social struggles will always culminate in open combat between classes.

Ruthenberg had favored an open party, others were against it, fearing mass arrests of members as in 1920; and this was the question agitating the raided convention. The Executive Committee had decided previously for an open organization. Later the Communist Party was dissolved, merged with the Workers' Party.

The judge's instructions were partly fair and partly very unfair. He held that the jurors, differently than in Foster's trial, should decide—"if the advocacy of sovietism necessarily involved the advocacy of criminal force and violence." Then he left no way out by saying that the constitution provided the only legal way of changing the form of government—hence, everything else was "unlawful." Ruthenberg had "assembled with" those who advocate sovietism—therefore the jury—and him "guilty," as practically directed. But an appeal was taken on June 4th, and the Michigan Supreme Court must decide.

Yet, there are higher courts than the Michigan Supreme Court and the United States Supreme Court. The fate of the Michigan Criminal Syndicalism cases as that of all cases involving the rights of American labor, rests in the hands of the American labor movement. It would be a sad state of affairs if the destinies of labor in this country were allowed to be decided in the courts of the enemies of labor.

The defendants in the Michigan case and the Labor Defense Council, which is conducting the defense, will use all of the advantages that can be gained in the courts, but it is upon the labor, men and women, and the labor organizations that the defense bases its faith and its hopes of gaining the victory.

Burns' stool pigeon, before the Berrien County Commissioners, when the cost of the prosecution was being discussed, stated, "Berrien County will be put to no expense. The money will come; from what source I am not at liberty to say, but it will come. It has come in other cases and it will come in this case."

These "other cases," they are the Mooney cases and the Herrin cases, the Sacco-Vanzetti cases and all the long string of shameless persecutions and frame-ups which have been perpetrated and are now being perpetrated against the labor movement and its active spirits. In these cases the money with which to prosecute

## THE CASE OF JOHN BUSKA, MILITANT MINER

On March 9th, 1923, John Buska, a miner and trustee of the Miners' Temple at Bellaire and a member in good standing of the United Mine Workers of America, Local Union No. 971, of Yorkville, Ohio, and secretary of the Workers Party South Slavic branch of the same place, was arrested by the police on the streets of Wheeling, W. Va., on complaint of one James J. Weitzel, Superintendent of the Belmont Plant, Wheeling Steel Corporation.

Comrade Buska had been distributing programs of the Workers Party, a legal publication which had been going thru the mails since it was issued.

Buska is being railroaded to prison on one of the most brazen frame-ups that the American workers have yet seen. He is the first to be tried under the notorious "Red Flag" law of W. Va.

A Labor Defense Committee has been formed, with comrade J. J. Hoge as secretary; the address is 3257 Guernsey St., Bellaire, Ohio. All workers are urged to contribute to the Committee, or else write to the secretary for the leaflet which is being issued by them. It sets forth the facts of the entire matter with clearness, and it should be in the hands of every worker who has the interests of his comrades at heart.

labor has been supplied by those whose interests it is to destroy labor. Who, then, will defend labor except labor itself? Who will put up the funds to meet the blood money of the open shoppers, except labor?

This series of articles has been published to appear while a great convention of labor is being held, in which a great step is being taken toward the emancipation of labor. To the delegates who attend this convention called to form a federated Labor Party and to all who read these lines the appeal is made to take to heart the live issue that labor defense is to the labor movement. Especially the Michigan case, an open attack of the United States government on the civil and political rights of the workers, offers to labor a threat and a challenge that labor must meet.

Now, when the Michigan case is removed from dramatic public notice to the chambers of the Michigan Supreme Court, the issue is no less vital and the need for support no less urgent. The Labor Defense Council, with national headquarters at 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, relies upon the progressives in the labor movement to provide that support, to continue in the fight until the Michigan case is won.

## Judge Berry Acquitted of Syndicalism Charge

By MORITZ LOEB

(This Is a Pipe Dream.)

DETROIT, Mich., June 30, 1923.—In a trial resulting from the overzealousness of the local police and the prosecuting attorney's office, Judge Elbert H. Berry, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the world's largest corporation and American head of the Fascisti International, was acquitted today. The trial judge directed the jury to return a verdict of "Not Guilty," which they did without leaving the jury box. The crowded court room broke into cheers and the singing of patriotic songs upon the rendering of the verdict, the tones of the "Star Spangled Banner" blending with "My Country 'Tis of Thee" and "Cheer, Cheer, the Gang's All Here."

### Advocates Violence.

The prosecution of Judge Berry was brought about because of a speech the honorable gentleman made before the Detroit Fascisti. Speaking to a crowd of thousands of members of that organization in the great Detroit Armory on August 21, 1922, Berry stated:

"The greatest menace to the welfare of American culture and business is the trade union. It is true that the United States Government, working in harmony with the business interests of the country, has set about to destroy this terrible affliction on the life of our country and the profits of our industrial enterprises, but the government has not succeeded in its efforts. In spite of its Department of Justice, in spite of William J. Burns and his army of detectives, in spite of the courts and the injunctions, in spite of the militia, the regular army, the navy, the police department, the fire department, in spite of all the government has seen fit and has been able to do, unions still grow and flourish in the United States.

### Enemy at the Gate.

"We have recognized the peril and we have done everything in our power to avert it. We have spent millions of dollars in the hire of private detectives; we have had the unions shown up as unscientific and wasteful in our schools and colleges; we have had them declared immoral in our churches, illegal in our courts. We have used our influence to have labor unionists jailed by the hundreds. But instead of being wiped out of existence the unions have grown. In spite of everything, even in spite of Samuel Gompers, the unions have grown until the menace that we have prophesied and warned against now knocks on our very doors.

"Are we Americans that we sit idly by and see this foul growth spring up around us to strangle us? Are we men that we fail to take our stand and fight for all that is precious to life, liberty and the pursuit of business? If our courts, our schools, our churches, our spies, yes our government has failed us we still have ourselves to count upon. In this terrible moment in American history, if we fail in our high ideals, if we quail from our duty, everything is lost. I hold, and I know that those who are here will agree with me that as loyal Fascisti, loyal Americans and God-fearing Christians there is but one avenue for us to follow. We must follow the lead and the inspiration which our brothers in Italy have given to us. There is still firebrand, and noose, steel and lead.

### The Judge Arrested.

"We serve notice on those labor leaders who mislead the ignorant workers into the slavery of their unions, that their halls will touch our flame, their bodies will swing from our trees and their blood will run in the streets before we will allow their nefarious plans to succeed."

Berry was arrested as he left the hall by a squad from the office of the county sheriff, who was elected on the labor ticket. Seven deputies were killed in the riot that ensued after the arrest. The Prosecuting Attorney of Wayne County, who was also elected on a labor ticket, determined to prosecute Berry under the Michigan State Criminal Syndicalism law, which makes it a crime to "advocate, by word of mouth or writing, the duty, necessity, or propriety of crime, sabotage, violence and other unlawful methods of terrorism, as a means of accomplishing political or industrial reform."

Judge Black, before whom Berry was brought for trial, showed his great fairness and judicial mind throughout the trial. Counsel for the defense, while selecting the jury,

challenged for cause all those who did actual work for a living, holding that only a jury composed of the leisure class could be considered a jury of the defendant's peers. That Judge Black could see this point is evidenced by the fact that the jury as finally accepted contained four bankers, two university presidents, two directors of coal mining corporations, one railroad president and three private detectives.

### Business Is a Free Agent.

The prosecution relied solely upon the record of Judge Berry's speech for conviction and the defendant admitted having made some such remarks. On the other hand the defense brought out that business men had the inherent right to protect their profits and their property and proved that in Russia the policy of allowing labor to organize unhampered had brought about the ruin of these two keystones of civilization.

At the close of the testimony and the arguments Judge Black delivered his instructions to the jury. He said in part:

### The Defendant Was Frank.

"The issue which this jury must decide is clear. Apart from the consideration of putting so great an American citizen as Judge Berry in a foul prison, you must decide on these two major points which have never before been passed upon by the law. First, what is industrial or political reform, and if so, why? You will agree with me, I am sure, that this is an important matter. To bring this hypothetical conjecture down into the realm of civilization and in particular to this case of Judge Berry, did the defendant in his speech advocate industrial reform in his plea for the destruction of the trade unions? Judge Berry has told you with unusual frankness for one so rich, that he believes that the destruction of the unions would make for industrial reform, but what the defendant believes is not evidence against him. On the other hand the prosecuting attorney has told you that the destruction of the unions would be an industrial retrogression. Thus the prosecution has claimed that what the defendant was trying to do was the opposite of bringing about industrial reform. The jury must decide whom it is to believe, the chairman of the board of directors of the greatest and richest corporation of the world or the testimony and argument of common working people. Either way you must arrive at the decision that if the defendant did do it, it wasn't industrial reform, and if it was industrial reform, he didn't do it. *"Habeas Corpus Delicti, Gallia in tres partes divisa est,"* which proves my point beyond controversy.

### It's Quite Simple.

"The second point on which you must decide is, what is advocacy? If the attempt to lead other people in path of righteousness by the example of our high ideals and noble self sacrifice is advocacy then the verbiage of the law: *"E Pluribus Unum,"* which is inconvertible. If, on the other hand, the words of the statute under which this defendant has stood trial can be taken to mean that an American business man cannot gain allies to protect his interests, then the prosecuting attorney is in contempt of court.

"I warn the jury not to be misled one way or the other in case, and will now turn the case over to the jury for its decision with the parting admonition that the verdict must be 'Not Guilty!'"

J. Peapoint Sorgum, International Fascist Chief, when interviewed tonight concerning the outcome of the Berry trial, stated that while he had no doubts as to the verdict, he felt nevertheless that the case had noted a great victory in International Fascism. "It is now proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that Fascism is higher and greater than the law," he said. "The law is a good thing in its proper place and I would be the last one to say that the Michigan Criminal Syndicalism Law is unconstitutional. Only good judgment must be used as to who is tried under it."

### Danish Unions Decline.

COPENHAGEN.—The Danish Federation of Trade Unions numbered on March 31, 232,574 members, of whom 38,056 are women. They belong to 52 different unions. During the past year the membership has declined by 72,796.