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West Virginia F.-L. P. Convention

Report on the Farmer-Labor Party convention held in Clarksburg, West Virginia, on March 13th and 14th, was not at hand in time for publication in our mid-March issue.

The sessions of this convention, which brought together more than 200 regular and fraternal delegates from farmers' and industrial workers' organizations, clearly demonstrated the lively interest in the swiftly growing farmer-labor unity movement.

The strength of this sentiment was exemplified by the unceremonious manner in which the delegates repudiated and drove from the convention Mr. W. T. Harris, President of the West Virginia Federation of Labor.

With evident intention to wreck the Farmer-Labor Party, this loyal disciple of Sammy Gompers introduced a resolution calling for "non-partisan political action." The vote was almost unanimously against this reactionary proposition. And after grossly insulting the convention for its progressive sentiment, Harris beat a hasty retreat. As a farewell message to this labor faker, he was informed by delegates that charges have been preferred against him, for his pernicious activities in the interests of the capitalists.

The principal purpose of the convention was the nomination of Farmer-Labor Party candidates for State officials. And this purpose was duly accomplished, with nomination of the following slate:

For Governor: Dr. A. S. Bosworth, of Elkins; for Secretary of State, W. F. Naylor, of McMechen (representing the railroad shop crafts organization); for State Treasurer, Dr. John S. Thayer, of the Farmer-Labor Party (formerly president of State Farmers' League); for State Auditor, Joseph R. Diggs, of Fairmont; for Attorney-General, G. H. Duthie, of Clarksburg; for Superintendent of Schools, Mrs. Della Tetrick Franklin, of Huntington; and for State Commissioner of Agriculture, J. B. West, of Mannington.

As a candidate for United States Senator, on the Farmer-Labor ticket, the convention unanimously nominated Dr. M. S. Holt, of Weston. And all the other nominees received a vote of acclamation.

It was a memorable convention, that attended strictly to the business on hand—and then adjourned for a friendly farewell dinner, which was served to the delegates on Friday evening, the 14th. May there be many more of its like—and the sooner the better!

A Farmer-Labor Club

SPOKANE, WASH.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.) Rather a new departure in the farmer-labor movement was the outcome of a recent crowded meeting of farmers and industrial workers in Carpenters' Hall here.

The meeting's chosen chairman was J. A. Vaughan (Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers), and the elected secretary was Dave Reid, formerly editor of The Spokane Forum. William Bouck, National Chairman of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, addressed the meeting.

Plans were made to hold a county mass meeting immediately, with a view to organizing the out-lying precincts and to have a good representation attend the June 17th convention in St. Paul. More than fifty signed the roll as active workers in the Farmer-Labor Club, which was organized in this meeting.

New York State Convention

NEW YORK, March 25th.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.) The Federated Farmer-Labor Party convention here, with two hundred delegates in attendance, from the various sections of Greater New York, has unanimously endorsed the Farmer-Labor convention which is to be held in St. Paul on June 17th. And the delegates have pledged themselves to see that a large representation from the State of New York shall attend that meeting.

A new Executive Committee was elected and instructed to issue a call and make all necessary arrangements for the holding of a Farmer Labor State Convention during the month of May.

Resolutions were also adopted advocating recognition of Soviet Russia, endorsing The Daily Worker, and denouncing the loot of great national resources, as exposed in the Teapot Dome investigation.

"Yellow" disruptionists of the New York progressive labor movement, posing as "independents," were given short shrift at the hands of speakers in this convention.

The Canonsburg Meet

CANONSBURG, PA.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.) The Federated Farmer-Labor Party of Washington County, Pennsylvania, has issued a call for their county convention to meet in Canonsburg on April 27th, with purpose to place a ticket in the field for the coming county election.

This branch of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party has already made great strides toward bringing about a radical reformation in the State political policies. With a membership of nearly 20,000 and an affiliation of fourteen local unions, two central labor councils and several other progressive labor organizations, it is expected that some 200 delegates will attend the coming convention, from the labor union and farmer grange organizations within the county.

Following this one-day convention, an intensive campaign will be inaugurated to align with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party branch every local union, farmer group and progressive political organization in Washington County—and then branch out to the other districts of Pennsylvania.

The successful organization of this group has been accomplished over strong opposition on the part of international union officials, whose executive board members have made every possible effort to interfere with such progressive action.

For Release of Mooney and Billings

WASHINGTON.—A new campaign for the release of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings from San Quentin penitentiary has been launched by a committee headed by Miss Elizabeth Gilman of Baltimore. These industrial prisoners (almost forgotten by the mass of the American people) are the most conspicuous victims of frame-up among the victims of the labor struggle now "doing time." California governors—Johnson, Stephens and Richardson—have refused to grant pardons, and the courts have held that, although there is abundant evidence that the men were convicted by the use of false testimony, there is no way to grant them new trials.

Oklahoma Has A Real F.-L. P. Movement

In a meeting called by the Canadian County Branch of the Farmers Union of Oklahoma, the first steps were taken to organize a Farmer-Labor Party in the State of Oklahoma. About fifty farmers' and industrial workers' representatives from various parts of the state attended the meeting called in the Community House in Cleveland County, and endorsed the call for the June 17th National Farmer Labor Convention in St. Paul. A committee was then appointed to call a convention in Oklahoma, on May 9th and 10th.

The movement in Oklahoma received its first impetus in the recent convention of the Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League at El Reno. This convention endorsed the Democratic ticket, but 165 out of about 400 delegates voted against such endorsement.

As a result of this, a preliminary committee was organized to take the initiative in calling a convention to organize the State Farmer-Labor Party. The possibilities of establishing a State Farmer-Labor Party in Oklahoma have been greatly improved by action of the State Legislature last month which changed the election laws in the state so that a new party may get on the ballot by securing five thousand signatures. Prior to this amendment to the election law, there was no possibility for a new party to secure representation on the ballot.

The move for the organization of a Farmer-Labor Party is securing wide-spread support throughout the state, and it is quite certain that in the convention called May 9th and 10th at Oklahoma City, there will be large groups of farmers and city workers represented and a state organization will then come into existence.

Wage Cuts for Kentucky Miners

CHICAGO.—Wage reductions threaten coal miners in western Kentucky, according to information published for the benefit of the trade in the coal and coke section of the Chicago Journal of Commerce. The suggested action by operators in that region would add mines producing nearly half a million tons a month to the non-union column. Referring to attempts which will be made by non-union forces to extend into what have been union districts, the statement reads as follows:

"Western Kentucky operators are seriously considering adjusting the miners' wage scale in the Muhlenburg union district to the 1917 level. . . . When the contract expires April 1 it is expected the producers will not sign a new part with the United Mine Workers. The field produces approximately 250,000 tons a month.

"One or two operators in the Hopkins county union district adjoining Muhlenburg, where the contract with the miners does not terminate until April 1, 1925, are understood to be restless and are making attempts to operate open shop. One company, it was declared, is planning to bring the wage down 40 per cent, which is approximately twice as low as the 1917 scale. The field mines about the same amount of coal a month as the Muhlenburg district."

National Secretary Reports on the East District

My recent trip and organization effort through the industrial centers of the Eastern district has revealed the fact that the workers there are fast abandoning their former political apathy. Among them is to be found a very keen interest in the rapidly growing Farmer-Labor movement, which at present has its geographic center in the state of Minnesota.

The present great crisis in the agricultural industry—which in turn affects the Western industries generally—together with the widespread political disillusionment following the Teapot Dome oil-land graft exposure, has blazed a new political trail through the West and Northwest. And this trail is now heading directly to the East.

Unemployment Increases.

The unemployment conditions in the Eastern section of the country are becoming more and more acute, as the railroads cut their working forces and the textile, shoe, steel and other great Eastern industries slow down production and lay off workers by thousands. And all of this has a tendency to cause a rapid increase in the sympathetic interest displayed by the Eastern industrial workers—particularly the militants amongst them—toward the present critical situation of the bankrupt farmers in the Northwest.

In the conventions, mass meetings and central labor unions addressed, through Pennsylvania and New York State, strong interest was shown in the story of the Farmer-Labor political revolt that is now in full swing throughout the Northwestern section of the country.

New York City Meet.

First came the convention of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party in New York City, which was attended by two hundred delegates from labor unions, co-operatives and fraternal organization. To this convention, as National Secretary I made a full report upon the recent activities of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party in building up a great national movement for unity of the farmers' and industrial workers' forces. And the hearty response of the delegates gave strong evidence of their desire for such unity with their brother workers on the land—those who labor in the quiet places; far from the roar of the "Bronx Express," which has heretofore pretty much limited the city workers' economic point of view.

After voting an enthusiastic endorsement of the St. Paul convention, to be held on June 17th, the delegates pledged themselves to immediately begin an intensive campaign for the sending of a large and truly representative delegation to that gathering. An Executive Committee of twenty-nine members was elected, specially charged with the task of organizing a State Branch of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. And resolutions were unanimously adopted for the recognition of Soviet Russia, for endorsement of The Daily Worker, and in denunciation of the stealing of national resources as exposed in the Teapot Dome scandal.

The American Labor Party, amalgamated with certain Farmer-Labor and Socialist Party forces, was urged to join in forming a united front with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, and the delegates pledged themselves to work unceasingly for such unity.

A mass meeting for the purpose of thoroughly discussing the Teapot Dome affair was held in Cooper Union—the scene of many historical progressive political gatherings. In this meeting, presided over by Juliet Stuart Poyntz, Educational Director for the Workers Party, Ben Gitlow and Manley were listed as the principal speakers. And at close of the meeting, there was unanimous endorsement of the New York City convention's resolution in denunciation of the Teapot Dome grafters.

Meetings in Buffalo.

A similar mass meeting was held later in Buffalo, and among those attending this gathering were several "Liberals" who seemed to be more concerned with the personality of LaFollette in a third party movement than with the real issue of a class farmer-labor political party movement. These "Liberals" were not very well pleased, but all others seemed to appreciate the information,

when speakers pointed out the limitations of LaFollette's program and demonstrated how such a program could make little headway against the forces of organized capital. The speakers strongly emphasized the need for such a class farmer-labor political organization, separate and apart from the personality of LaFollette or any other popular leader.

And in Buffalo, at a meeting of the Central Labor Council, I was given the floor to speak in the interests of the June 17th convention. I also pointed out the corrupt character of the present political administration, as exposed by the Teapot Dome investigation, and stressed the necessity for unity of action between the exploited industrial workers in the East and the bankrupt farmers in the West. In this meeting a movement was inaugurated for the holding of a State Conference in New York City, at an early date, to organize a State Branch of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

Through Pennsylvania.

Then in Reading, Pa., there was a conference of Federated Farmer-Labor Party and other representatives, as a first step toward organizing a real functioning State Farmer-Labor Party, and to arrange for sending delegates to the June 17th convention in St. Paul.

A conference was also held in Philadelphia, with trade union representatives, for the same purpose of inaugurating a State Farmer-Labor Party—which has existed in Pennsylvania only in name heretofore. It is expected that a State Conference will soon be held, with delegates from Pittsburgh, Canonsburg, Reading, Philadelphia and other points, and that the State Farmer-Labor Party, which will arise from such a gathering, will be committed to a definite program endorsing the June 17th convention.

South Dakota Primaries

PIERRE, S. D., March 28, 1924.—(Special to the Farmer-Labor Voice) The primary election in South Dakota has been fought out between the Coolidge Republicans and the Johnson crowd, with the result that the Johnson candidacy received a scant two thousand majority over the Coolidge people. There were less than eighty thousand votes cast for both Coolidge and Johnson, but the few scattered precincts yet to report may bring the total vote slightly above that figure.

Farmers "Lay Low."

The fight was a hot one. A great deal of money was expended on both sides. The towns voted quite strongly, but the farmers mostly remained at home. The fact that there was rain and some snow does not satisfactorily account for this stay-at-home vote. The farmers, as a rule, saw nothing in either Coolidge or Johnson to entice them from their firesides. All of them could have gone to the polls. The weather would not have prevented even sick people from attending. But sick people did not attend, nor did the well ones; and for identically the same reason: they were not interested in either of the Republican candidates. It certainly is no credit to Johnson that he beat Coolidge in South Dakota. A pig-tailed Chinaman could have done about as well. If there had been real confidence in Johnson he could have defeated Coolidge by a three-to-one vote.

Sterling Disposed Of.

The fight on Governor McMaster—"Gasoline Billy"—and Senator Sterling—"Old Sterling Honesty"—was bitter and expensive. The governor was backed by a horde of State employes. Sterling was backed by the independent gasoline dealers and the stand-pat Republican bunch. The governor has probably won his nomination by fifteen thousand, but that is no feather in McMaster's cap. For Sterling was an easy mark. The voters have been waiting six years to get a whack at him. Anybody could have defeated him, on any issue. McMaster was used merely as the implement to take a crack at the object of an ancient grudge. And this fail, having thus buried Sterling, the voters will probably pay their respects in like manner to McMaster, against whom they have a local complaint quite as important to them as the national grudge they held against Sterling.

The majority democrats, McAdoo, Cherry & Co., were easily successful against the Houlihan fusionists. The majority of the

regular democrats will probably be about four to one.

"Fusion" Fake Rejected.

In the farmer-labor primaries the majority ticket, headed by Alice Lorraine Daly for State Chairman, Tom Ayres for United States Senator and A. L. Putnam for Governor, has probably defeated the Bates-Houlihan fusionists by about the same figures that the Bates crowd was defeated in the regular democratic primaries. The "fusion" illusion has at last received its death blow and will hereafter not be seriously proposed by any group.

The farmers quite generally registered as Republicans, but did not vote. They are not going to vote the Republican ticket this fall. Nor are they going to vote the Democratic ticket. They are farmer-laborites, but they registered as Republicans to avoid the inquisition of the bankers and politicians who belong to the Republican machine. They resented the registration law, but finally complied to a great extent because the agents of the Republican machine made a house-to-house canvass and impressed them into the registration lists.

"Independent" Possibilities.

The air is full of politics. The latest is an intimation that Senator Sterling, smarting under the defeat he received, and declaring that it was brought about by bribery at the state proposal meeting, is likely to run as an Independent candidate for the Senate.

Another promising "Independent" Republican candidate for the Senate is George W. Egan, the disbarred Sioux Falls lawyer, who is now awaiting a decision of the Federal Court to determine whether he shall run for office or go to the penitentiary.

R. Q. Richards, of Huron, is talking about running as an Independent candidate for Governor. Richards has always been a Republican. He would run on a wet plank, and it is likely that if Egan runs for the Senate Richards and Egan will "hook up" together and put a complete independent ticket in the field. When the "independent" show begins there is no telling where it will stop, for there is no limit to the number of candidates who may file in that column, which cannot carry any sort of party or platform designation, **Farmer-Labor Unity.**

All of this muss contributes to the benefit of the Farmer-Labor Party, the only organization in the State which is not rent with dissention.

Interest in the June 17th convention is becoming more acute every day. Inquiries are being received at the Mitchell headquarters of the Farmer-Labor Party about the matter in almost every mail.

WITHOUT PRICE—AND EVERYTHING!

The, South Dakota farmer-laborite progressives report an amusing recent experience with a political aspirant named Houlihan—now more commonly known in that section of the country as "Foolihan"—who has been "stumping the State" in company with one Frank Comerford, an assistant "spell-binder" from the lower regions of Chicago's dubious political precincts.

It seems that this Comerford person proved to be not much of an orator, but quite a spectacular "red" hunter—which is the principal qualification nowadays for antiprogressive stump-speakers. And the performance of this slap-stick team has had a highly exhilarating effect upon the farmer-labor movement, wherever its political song-and-dance was "pulled-off." The progressives are really sorry to see them leave the stage—because their "fusion" comedy exhibitions were quite "free-gratis, for nothing," while "the movies" charge for such comedy presentations all the way from a nickel up to thirty cents!

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JOSEPH MANLEY, National Secretary

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Thesis for the Report "Workers and Peasants"

In the first issue of Farmer-Labor Voice—along with its cartoon showing "The American Peasant"—there was a short article published with regard to the first international congress of farmers of the world—held in Moscow, last October.

As will be found therein stated, the two Federated Farmer-Labor Party delegates to that congress were William H. Green and Harold M. Ware, both members of this political party of the American farmers and industrial workers. Articles by these two writers, with regard to the work of that gathering, will appear in this paper from time to time. And in this issue of our paper we are publishing the thesis of that conference, entitled "Workers and Peasants."

(Adopted unanimously, at the International Peasants' Conference held in Moscow, October 10th to 15th, 1923.)

1. In addition to the working class, the peasantry is interested in the overthrow of the capitalist and landowners' regime. In most states the peasantry forms the majority of the population and is as much oppressed and exploited by the bourgeoisie and the landowners as the working class.

With the exception of a handful of rich peasants, the peasant masses have common interests with the working class. It is only through the united struggle of peasants and workers that capitalism can be overthrown. Their co-operation alone can ensure the well-being and peaceful progress of mankind.

2. During the revolutionary period, when the capitalist social order is disintegrating and the proletariat is carrying on a struggle for a new social order, the peasantry can play a very important historic role in connection with the ultimate victory of the working sections of the population. Capitalism is not able anywhere to solve the peasant question and the land question, which is closely allied to it, in accordance with the interests and demands of the overwhelming majority of the peasant class. Therefore the peasants have become an important international revolutionary factor. The agrarian question is of greater significance than the national question.

3. Neither does the role of the peasantry become less important after the joint victory over the capitalist system. As exemplified by Russia, close co-operation between the working class and the peasantry and close contact between towns and countryside are essential during the period of proletarian dictatorship. On them depend the welfare of the working class as well as of the peasant class. The dictatorship of the proletariat is not at any time directed against the peasantry, but only against the exploiters, the big landowners and capitalists.

4. However, the peasantry is unable to achieve its emancipation and the realization of its needs and demands by independent action, for it is not a uniform class and is scattered throughout small villages. Right up to the present period, all attempts of the peasantry to use independent action for its emancipation from landowners and capitalist rule have ended in failure. The peasant wars are a proof of the truth of this statement, and a particularly striking example is—the sanguinary overthrow of Stamboliniky's peasant government in Bulgaria, a government which embodied the dictatorship of the big peasantry.

Only by co-operating with the workers can the peasants achieve their aims, for the former are the deciding factor in transport, industrial and cultural development. The latter are essential for the existence of modern society and for its further progress.

The active role of the peasantry on the field of general, State politics and its endeavors to become a factor of International politics are a significant phenomenon of the present period. Capitalism has drawn hundreds of millions of peasants throughout the world gradually into the general economic system, thus making them realize the necessity for conquering and exercising political power. But capitalism is an international phenomenon and therefore the struggle against capitalist/exploitation cannot be carried on in one country alone, but must be taken up by all countries. Therefore it is essential to organize the struggle of all workers against their exploiters on an international scale. Hence the peasants throughout the world must establish, for the sake of the struggle for their own emancipation, economic as well as political-organizational connections among themselves. Moreover, they must be continually in touch with the organizations of the working class. Peasants and workers are natural allies, having for their immediate aim the overthrow of capitalists and landowners rule. The political result of the victory over the common enemy is the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government.

6. Landowners and capitalist rule rests on powerful economic and political organizations. The bourgeois State with its bureaucracy, army, police, gendarmerie and Law Courts, is an organized power of the ruling class. Therefore the main prerequisite of a victorious struggle of all oppressed and exploited is the establishment of strong fighting organizations.

The pressing need of the present moment is the formation of peasant organizations of all kinds for the protection of the economic and political interests of the working peasant masses against capitalist exploitation and oppression. Most of the existing peasant organizations are under the influence of a handful of rich peasants and bourgeois lawyers, who contrary to the life interests of the wide working peasants masses, work hand in hand with the landowners and capitalists. The working peasantry must free itself from big peasant and landowners control.

The working peasants' organizations can be of various types, according to the conditions prevailing in the various countries, but they must be amalgamated among themselves and must establish collaboration with the economic and political workers' organization of the given country. Over and above this, the various national organizations must amalgamate among themselves on an international scale and must get into touch with the international workers' organizations. The task of the international organizations will be: Information on all questions concerning the working peasant masses, exchange of economic and political experiences in the various countries, establishment of mutual relations between the small peasants' co-operatives on the one hand, and on the other hand between the worker consumers' co-operatives and the nationalized factories, in fact rapprochments between the working and peasant classes of the various countries throughout the world, for the struggle for the workers and peasants' government, for the establishment of the world federation of workers' and peasants' republics.

7. As soon as the struggle for the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government has become in any one country the direct aim for workers and peasants co-operation, organs of executive power must be established in the form of soviets: workers and peasants soviets in industrial districts and peasant soviets in districts and localities with a purely agricultural structure. The local soviets are to be formed into the higher organs of power, namely, district, provincial and regional soviets.

The peasants' soviets must carry on their work in close contact with the agricultural laborers' and industrial workers' soviets. This is an essential pre-requisite of ultimate victory.

8. The worker's and peasants' State confiscates immediately without compensation the entire land and the forests of the big landowners. Thus it satisfies the land hunger of the peasantry and administers the remaining land in the interests of the entire working population. Beside sufficient land it gives to the working peasant masses the necessary means of production and frees them from the unbearable burden under which they formerly groaned. It takes the necessary measures for increasing peasant production and for raising the general and vocational standard of education of the peasantry. The workers' and peasants' government establishes State model estates and agricultural advisory bureaus for the encouragement and assistance of the working peasantry.

Beside developing industries, the workers and peasants State will place at the disposal of agriculture all the achievements of modern technique and science. One of its first tasks is the electrification of agriculture. These measures will bring agriculture to a very high state of development, increasing its production and thus contributing to the well-being of all workers.

9. These aims can be achieved in a comparatively short time. The union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the first workers and peasants State in the history of mankind offers a palpable example. The workers and peasants of Soviet Russia have not only overthrown by common effort their landowners and capitalists, fought together for several years in a terrible civil war and defended their self-created fatherland against the armed intervention and the economic blockade by the capitalist States, but they also joined forces in the work of creative reconstruction in which they have already achieved considerable results.

10. The struggle between workers and exploiters is inevitable in all capitalist countries. Victory and magnitude of the inevitable sacrifices depend on the union and co-operation between the working class and the wide mass of working peasants. The alliance between workers and peasants throughout the world will lead, in the not far distant future, to the overthrow of the exploiters in all countries and the establishment of a World Federation of Workers, and Peasant Republics.

The Farm Crisis

By HAROLD M. WARE

(Later installments of this article on the agricultural situation will deal with the subjects of Eastern General Farming, Wheat Farming (principally Western) and Cotton Farming (principally Southern). Following a summarization of these various types of farming, the article will close with an analysis of proposed and prospective remedies for the farmers' present critical position.)

In the spring of 1923 the author made a survey through North Dakota and south through the wheat and cotton belts to the Gulf. His object was to determine the effect of the crisis on the working farmer in the several areas.

The effect of the farm crisis upon the farmer depends upon where he lives and the type of agriculture prevailing in his particular area. As has been noted, these vary, and the economic status of the working farmer is also modified by the various types of agriculture. The well-known "dirt" farmers of the Northwest with characteristic breeziness call each other "sod-busters." The working farmer in the South may be a "cropper," a "hand" or merely a "nigger tenant." Along the Pacific Coast he becomes a "work-stiff" and in the East is simply a "farmer."

In plain words, working farmers are the men, women and children who do actually work the land. They work it—and they want it. That is the essence of unity between all working farmers.

Speaking generally we may limit American agriculture to four broad types: (1) Industrial farming; (2) Eastern general farming; (3) Wheat farming; (4) Cotton farming.

Industrial Farming

The first of these is not nearly so important in the United States as commonly supposed. It is dominant only in the high-priced and more fertile irrigated valleys of the West. Some large cattle ranches can be found on cheap land, such as the Taft estate in Texas and Armour's in Wyoming. But the bulk of the products produced by large industrial agriculture are "secondary food products"—i. e., fruits, nuts and vegetables. These crops are shipped great distances to market, out of season, and bring high prices and much profit to the capitalistic farm proprietors.

In this type of agriculture the "working farmer" is actually an industrial worker and receives wages only. They have their skilled and unskilled workers' unions. In numbers they make up but an insignificant proportion of the ten or more millions gainfully employed in agriculture. They are unimportant politically, in the narrow sense, because their work forces them to be migratory, following the harvest north and south along the Pacific Coast States. They have no residence, and home life is impossible. They typify the "dirt farmer" of the future, if the exploiters are allowed to continue.

High freight rates to distant Eastern consuming centers causes a conflict of interests between the large capitalist farm-proprietor and the capitalists who control the railroads. Both groups try to end the conflict by reducing the wages of their employees.

Farm Wages Are Dropping in the United States
Hired by month:

	With board	Without board
1921	\$30.14	\$43.33
1923	27.81	43.20
Hired by day:		
	With board	Without board
1921	\$2.24	\$2.79
1923	1.47	1.98

The effect of the crisis upon the industrialized farmer, then, is this sharp reduction in wages. Through organization in the unions he has managed to keep his wages nearer to that of the city industries, but because of the necessity to migrate to the ripening of the crops, he is compelled to face regular periods of unemployment.

A farmer in Harrington County raised 17,000 bushels of wheat this year. But he feared that his balfew would complain—and probably raise trouble—if he spent \$20.00 from his crop receipts to attend the Farmer-Labor Party convention. So he stayed home.

Another farmer harvested 19,000 bushels of wheat—and after selling it, he had to borrow \$1,500 to pay off the deficit on labor cost and taxes. That was all his year's work cost him.

Another apple-raiser, at Prosser, sold 10,000 boxes of the very best quality—all the rest on ten acres being left unpicked—and he received as return \$10.00.

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Pacifism--and the Power of Labor

In deep crescendo now sounds the capitalistic serio-comic opera fugue in monotone. Harping ever upon the single-string subject of "anti-radical" propaganda, its present theme is different only in vocal-expression from all previous repetitions.

Before this country entered into the Great World War the "red menace to civilization" was connoted as "anti-preparedness activities." During the war period the implication was "pro-Germanism"—or plain "treason." And now it is pure and simple "pacifism."

But with the mental enlightenment which the passing days and their eventualities have brought forth, this windy instrumentation of the apologists for capitalism seems to become ever less popularly received by the listening masses. To such an extent that now even the super-patriotic American Legion organization of ex-soldiers finds this monotonous iteration a strain upon the nerves of its membership. Having valiantly fought "to make the world safe for Democracy," the rank and file is now inquiring as to where is the democracy of a government that permits the Big Business interests to successfully oppose the grant of a governmental bonus for those who performed the real and dangerous service of the World War period.

Music may have "charms to soothe the savage breast"—even of such as these "patriotic" murderers of Wesley Everest and many other mighty spirits of the great Class War that is now raging to its impending climax. The selfish souls within these savage breasts have at last detected the false note in this symphonic dirge of American capitalism. For the semblance has become that of a dirge—and nothing else.

When such as these—with minds enmeshed in the great obsession of "patriotic fervor"—begin to see that "service to their country" is appreciated only at the time that certain presumably civilized national governments are bent upon indulging in a death struggle for commercial supremacy, then does the end of capitalism indeed draw nigh. Because we may rest well assured that the false strains no longer charm the ears of the great worker masses who have never been so obsessed with a zealot fury to battle for their own destruction.

Nor will those masses be deceived by the brassy accompaniment to this meretricious strain—that with a downfall of capitalism would come a collapse of Labor and the wonders which its efforts have brought forth. The masses of the workers have learned much in the cataclysmic epoch of the World War—and are learning more with every passing day since then. The power of Labor to save from annihilation the work of its mighty hands has been demonstrated in a land of a hundred million workers. And the hands of Labor throughout the world are now stretched forth to take full control of the economic power which it has wrought, and to assume for its own benefit the social responsibility attendant upon that power.

The power of Labor will not wane with the fall of capitalism, but will rise supreme upon the ruins of that false edifice—modern exemplification of the ancient Tower of Babylon!

Wars are made by rich, selfish old men; and they are fought by poor, foolish young men.

Administrative Incompetence

Universally, through capitalistic society, the dominant political parties in each country have demonstrated their inability to achieve any lasting benefit for that part of society in all countries of the world.

And this is not because of any structural weakness in the machinery of such political organizations. All structural defects have been removed, and the machine action is perfect—or as nearly so as may be humanly possible. But failure of the political machine process is inherent, because the purpose of its action is a false purpose—unjust protection of the interests of a few individuals, to the detriment of the masses.

In each country must be preserved a semblance of democracy—or equal suffrage—in order that the administrative machinery may apparently function by popular consent. So there are provided two or more political parties—each equally under control of the capitalistic power which rules the State—and between these various political parties the people are permitted to exercise their alleged democratic rights of suffrage. In the United States of America—as elsewhere throughout the capitalistic world—there are at present two alternately dominant political parties. And each has been perfected to accomplish its set purpose—the purpose of each being the same; and each does accomplish that purpose, during the course of its administration.

Then comes the struggle for retention of power by the political machine in official control, against the effort for accession to power by the similar political machine which would supplant it—each fighting for the financial benefit of its constituent office-holders, and for no other thing. "When Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war." And when Democratic politician meets Republican politician, even more interesting exhibitions come to pass—like the Teapot Dome oil-land graft exposures, for instance. With generally bad results for both political machines.

This is the one little defect which the builders of the capitalistic political party machinery have not as yet managed to eradicate—because of the seeming necessity for providing the people with a "democratic choice" of candidates in each national election. That this has been a strictly "fifty-fifty" choice, on the capitalistic principle of "Heads, I win; tails, you lose," has not apparently made much difference to the working masses—thus far.

But times and manners do change, eventually—though very slowly, in some relations. And it seems that the masses of the people have at last wearied of this Tweedle-dee and Tweedle-dum capitalistic "shellgame." So they have decided to construct for themselves another sort of political party—and to see what comes of it.

Would it be proper to say the portrayals of our erstwhile worthy cabinet officials and their "rank-file" cronies, which are now being presented to the public in the daily press, are "studies in oil"?

The latest joke in Washington "high-jack finance," circles is magnate Sinclair's memorial to the defunct Daugherty: "He was a mighty poor oil can, anyway."

When a fellow begins to "bellyache" over some newly discovered "menace to civilization," it is a ten to one chance that he is after a soft, well-paid job at combatting the said "menace."

The Poor Fish says: "I have nothing against pacifists—but they should confine their anti-war activities to other countries; then they would be all right."

Patriotism--Real and Unreal

The Teapot Dome exposure of criminal graft in high political office has delivered a knock-out blow to sentimental patriotism among the American masses. Being generally unable to distinguish between institutions and their official representatives, a great part of the people have come to believe that the republican form of government is itself a discredited thing. Yet that form of government is of course no more at fault for its present misrepresentation than are the ancient principles of democracy—now equally discredited in the popular mind—for the fact that these principles have been prostituted to the political purpose of deceiving the masses, whose exploitation is the very life of Capitalism.

But the people are gaining knowledge of the fact that no form of government—whatever it may be called—can function successfully for the benefit of the worker masses in any country, so long as its administration is under the control of a small minority privileged class. And with this perception comes the added knowledge that only a Workers' Republic, administered by real representatives of the great majority working class, can or will function for the benefit of that class—and in accordance with the true principles of democracy.

With this new intelligence comes an understanding of the real meaning of patriotism—a meaning that reaches far beyond any sentimental feeling of national loyalty to the birth-right country. Thus they know that real patriotism is not acceptance by the masses of the people, of a mere political formula proclaimed by certain officials as the "Constitution" of a stated country's government. And they know that unquestioning conformance with the tenets of a governmental document that safeguards the interests of a minority privileged class, is not patriotism to the country—because it is treason to the majority of that country's people.

And still another thing the worker masses have now well learned: that under the present ruling capitalist system—still dominant in all countries throughout the world, with the single exception of the Russian Workers' Soviet Government—attempts by the workers' great majority to change the economic system from one for private profit to one for public benefit, are officially interpreted as "unpatriotic" and even "treasonable." In America the greatest lesson of this sort is found in the provisions of the Criminal Syndicalism Law, clearly designed to prevent effective organization of the workers for their own protection and welfare.

With the leaven of this lesson in the minds of the working masses, the term "patriotism" has universally acquired a new and brilliant significance, whose splendor blinds the eyes of only those who lack the social vision to confront its glowing truth.

Ex-Archbishop-General Daugherty claims to have information which if disclosed would force a lot of United States Senators to resign in haste. But it seems that as official head of the Department of Justice, Daugherty has suppressed this evidence of presumably criminal malfeasance in public office.

Thomas Jefferson, in speaking of the convention which drafted "the greatest document ever conceived by the mind of mortal man," alluded to that body as the "biggest aggregation of unhung rogues that ever assembled under one roof."

Oppression, theft, graft, bribery, treachery in high places as never before. But it is always darkest just before dawn.

International Hypocrisy

By JOEL GREENE, M.D.

(Editor's Note: The University of Illinois has long been known as a hotbed of reactionary propaganda against the "dirty" farmer. The mortgage bankers, the railroad interests and the grain-elevator people have had their own way at this institution supported by taxes taken from Illinois farmers and their city-worker brothers. The writer of the following article heard the lectures instructing Illinois students as to the inside of grain gambling, when he was a resident of Urbana, the university town. He heard the addresses that denounced farmers' organizations. And he knows what he is now telling about. His son was for a time an instructor in agricultural work at the university, and his daughter is connected with the English department there.)

In the January 2nd issue of the Lansing Mirror (Lansing, Ia.) I exposed the inherent hypocrisy of the College of Agriculture of the University of Illinois in re the "rust" problem. And I propose here to demonstrate that under existing conventional standards the ruling regime of the University of Illinois consists of as fine a selection of "hand-picked" religious and agnostic crooks as ever put the "lie" into alleged civilization and its so-called culture.

I am sending also herewith the report and findings of the "Federal Trade Commission versus Chamber of Commerce of Minneapolis, et al." which dovetails intimately into the foregoing proposition. The action before the Commission was the result of an attack by grain gamblers generally on the economic doctrines taught by the North Dakota College of Agriculture. This attack by commercial profiteers on the farmers of North Dakota proved to be the origin of the Non-Partisan League of North Dakota, with its eventual program of a State-owned bank, grain elevators, flour mills, a home-purchasing and building department at cost on long time, state-bonding, hail-and-fire insurance and ownership of other public necessities and utilities.

This industrial program is in successful use in its entirety in various political States scattered over the world, although not all the component parts are in existence in any one political State. It affords economic relief from political and industrial ills. It was the first honest and efficient economic platform for relief of the industrial, agricultural and intellectual labor put forth by any political party in the United States. Its adoption was at once followed by financial and commercial persecutions all over the United States, accompanied by misrepresentation and unqualified lying wherever financial, religious and intellectual hypocrites could be found or manufactured. The war gave increasing impetus to this persecution in geographic ratio.

In the resulting wave of anti-Teutonic insanity the University of Illinois distinguished itself. I shall here take note of only a small number of the vicious, disreputable and un-American iniquities of the University of Illinois. As I have shown in the little pamphlet, "Democracy and the College," the Corn-Growers' Convention met in May, 1915, at Champaign, Ill., and the State University took a prominent part in its manipulation. Secretary Merrill of the Chicago Board of Trade read a paper on "Truth and Error in the Economics of the Grain Trade." This contained the usual gross errors and in general had been disproven in the "hearings" of Rules Committee on House Resolution 424, subject "Grain Markets." It was not alluded to and no comment or discussion was tendered. They simply "passed."

There was apparently no knowledge of the above "hearings," which at the time was an open book to the agricultural proletariat of North Dakota and well known to the farmers. A search through the general and agricultural libraries of the University failed to find it. An appeal to Hon. Wm. B. McKinley, by library authorities, brought the astounding reply that "no such hearings were held; resolution failed to pass." But a letter to an acquaintance brought the "hearings" by return mail.

I found absolute ignorance among professors (using the term in a general sense) in the Department of Agriculture of Judge Thompson's decision in the O'Dell case (Fed. Reporter, VVol. 115, p. 574), declaring that "the larger part" of transactions on the Chicago Board of Trade "are merely gambling transactions . . . in violation of the law of the State of Illinois." In April, 1916, Badenoch & Co., of the Chicago Board of Trade, furnished a speaker and a course of lectures with lantern slides, designed to teach the aspiring student how to gracefully gamble in grain. This, as

I personally know, was most extensively advertised and urged on the agricultural students.

In the investigation by the Minnesota Legislature at its last session, in response to the vain-glorious boast that one million dollars had been expended in Minnesota alone to "save her from red socialism," owing to the expiration of the session only about one-half of it was uncovered. I had hoped through some of my progressive political friends to find out the source of the Illinois devilry. The "slush fund"—contributed as usual by "the great, good and godly," whose identity as such was almost concealed from themselves—was strictly according to the Biblical injunction (revised version) to not let the right hand know what the disreputable left hand was doing. The revealed contributors were the very last word in social and civic prominence, even as the results of their liberality in funds was the last word in civic and political graft filth.

The environment of the University of Illinois was strewn with anti-radical literature, and it would have been extremely interesting to learn just what intellectual prostitutes were the distributors. Meantime President Woodrow Wilson had changed human nature overnight, and his pride against fighting had suffered a terrible fall.

The first prominently advertised lectures after the war were: "The Use of Explosives in the Next War" and "Treat 'em Rough." This produced a very chilling influence on those who had preserved their mental equilibrium by the thought that this was "a war to end war," and that the university would teach them how best to "beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning-hooks." And this was followed by an alleged "Sunday Memorial Service" in February, 1918, during which "Memorial Service" all the vile slanders and misrepresentations of enemies of the Non-Partisan League industrial program were spilled forth. But this report and "findings" of the Federal Trade Commission give back the lie into the very teeth of the "anti-radical" University of Illinois; and afford a "close-up" view of the lack of morals among those who apologize for or advocate gambling in grain.

A large proportion of the dirty work of this university is done under cover of religious services upon one pretext or another. For instance, on November 28, 1919, Stuart Pratt Sherman, one of the most gifted scholars in English, made a "stage attack on organized labor under the guise of a "Thanksgiving" service! This was at a time when the steel and coal strikes were at their height. His subject, "Where There Is Peace," was a sordid incongruity. It was a specious plea that with intellectual cunning paved the way for longer hours and the open shop.

Religious hypocrisy is characteristic of this institution. It denies to Jewish students and to others of the more liberal religions anything more comforting than the Puritanical Sabbath. But they can "wink the other eye" when it comes to a "pep" meeting in favor of "Lowden for President." While presumably filled with "religious fervor and zeal," they have at heart absolutely no feeling for organized labor.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of Farmer-Labor Voice, published semi-monthly at Chicago, Ill., for April 1st, 1924.

County of Cook
State of Illinois
I, Joseph Manley, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Joseph Manley, who, having been duly sworn according to law, depose and say that he is the Managing Editor of the Farmer-Labor Voice and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 448, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to-wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are:
Publisher: Federated Farmer-Labor Party, 800 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill.
Editor: Joseph Manley, 800 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill.
Managing Editor: Joseph Manley, 800 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill.

2. That the owners be: (if the publication is owned by an individual his name and address, or if owned by more than one individual the name and address of each, should be given; if the publication is owned by a corporation the name of the corporation and the names and addresses of the stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of the total amount of stock should be given.) The Federated Farmer-Labor Party, 800 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill.; William Boock, Chairman, Sedro-Wholey, Wash.; Joseph Manley, Secretary, 800 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning or holding one per cent or more of the total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the names of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, it being understood that where the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders are given in this statement embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders own or hold and upon the books of the company as trustee, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

JOSEPH MANLEY,
Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1 day of April 1924.
(SEAL) ANTON O. LANDES, Notary Public.

(My commission expires April 26, 1924.)

Usury Must Go!

By SENATOR J. W. ANDERSON

Interest on money, or civilization, must end—they both cannot continue. The world has reached a point where it cannot produce enough wealth to pay interest on its indebtedness and live. History teaches us that men repudiate and appropriate, before they starve or die.

Money should be considered as a medium of exchange only and not a commodity. The money lender creates no wealth, produces no commodity, does not in any way enrich mankind, and yet through interest or usury is able to control and own the wealth which the producers of the world have created.

A friend of mine likens the money lender to the keeper of a toll gate upon a public highway. His function is to take tribute. In order to make the illustration simple and the analogy clear, we will imagine all the factories of the nation are built on a rocky barren hill side, and all the farms in a great valley, separated from the factories by a broad desert. Connecting the two is a great public highway over which food goes to the factories and manufactured goods to the farms. This road is essential to the life of the nation; without it the men in the factories would starve and the farmers would be unable to get the products of the factory. The road is a medium of exchange. It is free. It is owned by all the people. It was built by them for use in exchanging the products of the farms for the product of the factories. For thousands of years it was against the laws of the country to obstruct it or control it. The curse of the Bible was upon anyone who took toll for its use—such a one lost all social standing, was imprisoned, sometimes executed and his goods taken from him.

In time of great national danger, certain toll gate concessions were granted, not willingly, but for purposes of national unity and defense—a tribute was now taken from all who used this great highway, and in a very short time the keepers of the toll gate owned both the factories and the farms. The control of the highway, which gave them the control of commerce and industry, placed them in position of such great power, that the owners and workers in the factories and on the farms were absolutely in their power and at their mercy.

The keepers of the toll gate have with the passing of the years, become respectable in the eyes of the world. The slaves in the factories and on the farms consider the toll gate a legitimate institution. It was there when they were born and it would be considered "radical" and "socialistic" to make this great highway free once more.

The factories and farms will not produce enough wealth to pay the keeper of the gate his toll, but that does not matter. The slaves could unite and vote the toll gate out of existence, but the gate keeper, by threatening to turn the farmers off his farms and the workers out of his factories, so intimidates the slaves that they are willing to remain in bondage.

Usury or civilization must go! Which shall it be? Votes will tell. Say it with votes.

THERE'S A REASON.

NEW YORK.—The Hearst papers are getting more conservative because Arthur Brisbane is getting richer, according to The Wall Street Journal, which prints the following:

"Arthur Brisbane, headliner of the Hearst newspapers, whose pungent paragraphs reach every day nearly 10,000,000 readers, is not only an indefatigable writer but one of the largest operators in real estate in New York. The bulk of his fortune, now in seven figures, is in land and buildings. . . . The increasing conservatism of the Hearst newspapers in the discussion of questions affecting property rights is in a large measure a reflection of Brisbane, the property owner and capitalist."

They Fear the Fedje Bill

By H. R. MARTINSON.

A tribute is paid to the progressive farmers and workers of North Dakota by the Fargo Forum, mouth-piece of the reactionary element of the state, when it says editorially, in commenting on the recent primary election, that "They (the reactionaries) must set themselves for a real battle . . . unless they wish to once more surrender control to the radicals."

They fear the more than forty thousand La Follette votes, and they still more fear the better than 45,000 votes for the Fedje bill. And to cap the climax, the defeat of a group of election laws calculated to make it almost impossible for new parties to become legalized, was a sad blow to the forces of reaction within the state.

In view of the fact that no state wide campaign was possible, the results of the vote for La Follette, and for the Fedje bill, are surprising to people in other states, who do not know the conditions here in North Dakota and the breaking away from old parties and faith in old leaders, on the part of the farmers and industrial workers. That North Dakotans are taking the results of the election as a matter of course, is evidenced by the comments of various publications throughout the state.

The Northwest Press, of Ward County, in an editorial headed, "Food for Republican Thought," says that: "It is hard to see how any so-called 'regular republican' can have pleasurable illusion about the outcome of the Presidential primary in North Dakota. . . . It is quite safe to say that if Senator La Follette should be a Presidential candidate on a Third Party ticket, he would get plenty of aid and comfort from North Dakota."

The McLean County Independent sums it up in this fashion: "The absurdity of the reactionary papers claiming a 'great Coolidge victory' in North Dakota, is appealing strongly to the sense of humor of the Progressives. . . . However, this vote has shown the Progressives themselves where the voting strength really lies, and many a faint-hearted one will take courage and go to the polls this fall to help sweep Robert M. La Follette into the Presidential chair by an overwhelming majority over all the reactionary candidates, on a triumphant Farmer-Labor ticket."

The North Dakota Record doesn't leave much unsaid, in its analysis of the meaning of the La Follette "sticker" vote: "It was the protest of thousands of common folks, against rottenness and insincerity in politics. Forty thousand or more, they marched to the polls, an unorganized mass but determined to be heard. The whole country is still listening and wondering what the voice of the 'sticker' is saying."

To the class-conscious, intelligent farmers and industrial workers of North Dakota, the "voice of the sticker" is saying: "We want a Farmer-Labor Party, and we demand that its leaders be above the petty graft and rottenness of the leaders of the old political parties."

"The Ides of March" in North Dakota

In the March primaries of the Presidential preference election, complete unofficial returns (Republican) show that six La Follette adherents were elected as delegates to the National Convention—against seven still addicted to "keeping Coolidge." And four of the five Presidential electors nominated are La Follette supporters.

Returns on the Democratic contest indicate that the Perry and Johnson factions ran "neck and neck," and will have equal representation in the National Convention, at New York, next June.

Upon which the Minneapolis "Tribune" has loosed this prophesy:

"If the political expression in the 'Flickertail' State is indicative of a widespread state of mind, then Republican leaders and campaigners will do well to consider that, from this time forth, they have their work cut out for them, to win next November, or to keep the Presidential election from going to the House of Representatives, out of the hands of the Electoral College."

We Have Some Enemies

All organizations and individuals interested in assisting the formation of a class Farmer-Labor Party—which is the purpose of the June 17th convention in St. Paul—must not imagine that there will be little opposition to this effort.

Just as an instance, the official organ of the railroad unions, "Labor," has come out with an endorsement of the Conference for Progressive Political Action. And the C. P. P. A. is doing all that it can to persuade farmers and industrial workers that they should not attend the June 17th Farmer-Labor convention.

With evident intention to assist such reactionary efforts of the C. P. P. A., this so-called "Labor" publication now attempts to alienate from the Farmer-Labor movement the strong following of Senator La Follette, and to win them for the July 4th convention of the alleged "Conference for Progressive Political Action."

In discussing the coming June 17th convention, "Labor" has this to say:

"Some of La Follette's friends are seriously disturbed over the premature third party movements which are springing up throughout the country.

"They are particularly suspicious of a call for a third party convention to be held in St. Paul on June 17th. According to reports reaching Washington, a majority of the members of the committee on arrangements for this gathering are members of the so-called 'Workers Party,' a recognized Communistic organization.

"Only 13 names were attached to the call and no attempt has been made to insure a representative attendance.

"La Follette is in no sense responsible for this call, and the men who are recognized as the leaders of the La Follette movement had nothing to do with it.

"In these circumstances it would be the easiest thing in the world for the Old Guard to pack the gathering with its henchmen disguised as radicals.

"Then they could nominate La Follette on an impossible platform to the accompaniment of a series of 'red' speeches."

All of which is nonsense, of course. Because the call for this June 17th convention, was signed by representatives of every State Farmer-Labor Party in the United States amounting to anything. And it is a convention called by those groups which are really desirous of creating a Farmer-Labor political party that will represent the interests of the exploited farmers and industrial workers. It is true only that the St. Paul gathering will not be a convention built up merely around the personality of Senator La Follette—whose action before that convention must determine his status there.

The article in "Labor" indicates that the hesitant, vacillating group behind the C. P. P. A.—which alternately announces itself for some indefinite sort of a "Third Party" or for a policy of rewarding the friends and punishing the enemies of labor in both the Republican and Democratic parties—are now bent upon an effort to destroy the real convention of the farmers and industrial workers.

"Lower Than the Lowest!"

William J. Burns, the "great" detective in charge of the Government's Secret Service Department, explains why Edward B. McLean, owner of the Washington Post, was carried on the department's roll as a special investigator. "I found him to be very useful," said Burns. "We got a lot of information thru him and thru the Post. We could use him and the Post when we wanted to find out something."

Senator Walsh, later, pressed Mr. Burns: "You say, Mr. Burns, you have a lot of clean, honest men who could have investigated this scandal had you been asked? One of your men (Mr. McLean) has been revealed to this committee as a liar and a perjurer. Is that the kind of operatives you have?"

"Oh!" replied Burns, "you know, Senator, we don't rely on these dollar-a-year fellows. I was speaking of my real men."

Minnesota Action Enlightens the World

The unity achieved by the Farmer-Labor forces in Minnesota is the most significant and promising event in recent years.

With this achievement has occurred the shattering of many illusions—the illusion that farmers will not co-operate with wage-workers; that unity for third-party political action cannot be secured; that the Reds are only a disruptive force which cannot be trusted; that the people are not ready for independent political action, and other such arguments against political unity have been smashed to smithereens by the success of Minnesota.

The Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota is now firmly rooted in the economic organizations of the farmers and city workers through the instrument of the Farmer-Labor Federation, a movement uniting workers and farmers of all shades of opinion, except that they are agreed for political action independent of the old parties.

Minnesota has shown the development through which the national movement must pass—first, the all-inclusive people's movement; for political action through a third party, then the unity of the economic forces of the farmers and wage-workers as the bed-rock foundation of a class Farmer-Labor Party.

The success of the Farmer-Labor movement in Minnesota is the forerunner of equally great achievements on a national scale. What Minnesota has done, other States can and must do.—Midwest News.

Learn From Our Enemies.

What the Criminal Syndicalism law is to California workers, the Sterling Anti-Sedition bill to be urged for passage by Congress would be to the workers of the nation. The overlords of industry and finance want a more effective club to crush opposition on the part of the workers to unbearable conditions of labor. There is small chance that this bill will carry now, but its presentation indicates that the reactionaries are always on the job. The workers need to take a leaf out of their book. Our job involves: Organization, education, ceaseless activity.—Labor Unity.

The Resolution for the Independent Political Action

The following set of resolutions was unanimously adopted in a meeting of the Schenectady Trades Assembly, and a copy sent for publication in Farmer-Labor Voice:

WHEREAS, all the actions of the government in power during recent years have shown that under the Republican and Democratic administration alike the existing Government is the agency of Wall Street, and the specially privileged class, using its power to aid in the exploitation of the Farmer and Industrial Worker by this privileged class, and

WHEREAS, the exposures in connection with the Teapot Dome naval reserve oil leases have again proven that both the Republican and Democratic Parties are but tools of the privileged interests for the looting of the nation, and these exposures have involved men of both parties, including so-called "good men" and "bad men," thus proving the utter hopelessness of the workers and farmers of achieving anything for themselves by voting for candidates on the old party tickets, and

WHEREAS, the only means through which the exploited farmers and industrial workers can secure relief from the evil conditions which they are subjected to by the capitalist exploiters is by organizing their political power in a Labor party and fighting their own political battles through such a party. Therefore be it,

RESOLVED, that the Schenectady Trades Assembly declares itself in favor of the organization of a Labor Party and independent political action by the industrial workers and farmers, and be it further

RESOLVED, that a conference be called of the different unions, workers' political parties, and other organizations who believe in independent political action, in order to form such an organization in this city.

Burtness, Norbeck & Co., Limited

Who are these senators, and just what is the significance of their "farm relief" measure, commonly referred to as "the Coulter Plan"?

Burtness is the individual who, as a North Dakota state legislator, made ridiculously false charges against the progressive farmers' organization of that period—and was elected to Congress as reward for such efforts in behalf of the bankers' combination. He is a banker himself, and as such is constitutionally in opposition to anything that might really benefit the farmer prey of the banker game.

And Norbeck, as the banker Governor of South Dakota, was financially interested in many money-lending enterprises and other farmer-exploiting games. He was promoted by the South Dakota usurers and there, he is now consistently serving the interests of the bankers, the railroads and the Standard Oil Trust.

Then why should these two Senatorial satellites of Capitalism advocate a "fifty million dollar loan to farmers?"

Because throughout the Northwest the farm-loan sustained banks are failing, right and left, owing to the farmers' inability to meet their loan obligations. And most of these are small banks that still owe to the big banking concerns huge sums of borrowed money. Hence, the great anxiety to distribute some cash among the farmers—with which to meet their loan payments, directly or indirectly. And no more than \$1,000 is to go to any one individual farmer—50,000 drops of financial moisture, that the parched desert may bloom again for further exploitation by those who "farm the farmers."

The Burtness-Norbeck Bill would have been a life-saver for the bankers—big and little. But as a relief for the bankrupt farmers' situation it was "the bunk." The United States senate has just rejected this bill by a vote of 41 to 32. But more of its like will be offered, by the fake "progressives."

Administration Against Farmers

WASHINGTON.—Senator Shipstead of Minnesota, in his maiden speech on the floor, declared that the Western banks are being forced to close their doors, and the number of bankrupt farmers is being rapidly increased by the government's policy of raising the rate it pays for money. Under direction of Secretary Mellon, the interest rate of 4½ per cent, compounded semi-annually, is offered with treasury savings certificates payable in five years. This has forced up the rate charged by banks to borrowers, and the farmers are less able than before to pay interest on loans.

The Big Business gang would dearly like to divert our attention from its unspeakable rottenness, such as the Teapot Dome mess or the war fraud cesspool. That is why it has been so busy of late trying to kick up a cloud of dust over the bolshevist "gobble-un" and other imaginary menaces. But what gets us is to see some working dud help Big Business kick up that cloud of dust. Why play into the hands of your enemies?

We have at last found the right way to organize the farmer. Now let's see it through.

A Cribbing Rate!

By an arrangement with The Western Progressive Farmer, we are now enabled to offer our readers a year's subscription to Farmer-Labor Voice and a year's subscription to the former named publication, at \$1.50 for the two newspapers. The regular rate for each is \$1.00 per year—and each is well worth several times that price, to the farmers and industrial workers who wish to have the latest news of the great progressive political movement that has recently been inaugurated for their benefit. The time to subscribe is NOW, while this rate is in effect.

Another "Heavyweigh Champion" Passes

It seems that Attorney-General Daugherty has at last resigned his high public office in disgust—with himself, perhaps? And certainly the time was "rotten ripe" for such action—most awfully rotten, in fact.

Ascending to office with a vociferous promise to prosecute the war-contract grafters of the Wilson Democratic administration, Daugherty's descent from that highly moral official attitude was fast and furious. His tally of such prosecutions is closely approximated by a large and hollow neutral point, "O."

But his own record of iniquity in office mounts considerably higher in the numerical scale. He not only took no official steps to prevent or remedy such odorous scandals as the following (and others too numerous to mention, if we could recall them off-hand), but undoubtedly he connived in many if not all of them:

The Bureau of Engraving scandal; the Income Tax Bureau ditto; the Veterans' Bureau fakery; the Slemg and the Polbert crooked deals; the Reclamation Service robbery; the sugar profiteering performance; the Liberty Bond "high finance" operations; the Teapot Dome and Elk Hills oil-land graft; and the unspeakable injustice of the Department of Justice—of which he was the official head.

Truly, a record of achievement for any professional politician to be proud of. And now, in his honorable retirement, he can comfort himself with this encomium from his friend, the Chicago Tribune: "Daugherty should go. . . . In the circumstances he will be more highly regarded as a private citizen than as Attorney-General of the United States."

His jacket, Daugherty—in his oily bed of rosy promise!

"Oil and Truth Will Get Uppermost at last"

By TOM MATTHEWS

The Powers—that have established and maintained in the United States a two-party system which has served as a straight-jacket on the minds of the common people.

The Republican and Democratic parties, unlike other organizations which play a part in American life, have no stabilized membership distinguished by dues-payments or other ties.

In theory, the Republican party represents one great section of the American people, regardless of class, while the Democratic party represents the other part. "Membership" means nothing more than voting for the candidates of one or the other party at the polls. Incidentally, the voter may choose delegates to conventions and various committeemen from slates neatly "cooked up" for him behind the scenes.

All in all, this is a splendid scheme of things for the Wall Street men and the political shysters who do their bidding.

Within these two great political machines an honest man has about as much chance as an invalid would have against Jack Dempsey.

Thrive on Graft.

The Democratic and Republican parties have thrived on corruption and graft from their beginning.

The Democratic party rose to power with the "Spoils System" of Jacksonian days, when the slogan of "to the victor belong the spoils" became the guiding motto of American politics. The Democratic party later became the machine of the Southern slaveholders, and is still entrenched in the middle-class Bourbonism of the South.

The Republican machine was from the first, as it is today, the instrument of the manufacturers and big bankers of the North and East.

Is it any wonder that "Politics" is today like a cankerous sore covering the entire nation with slime and corruption?

Notwithstanding the every-day facts of bank failures, bankruptcy petitions, sheriff's sale notices and other evidence of financial liquidation, governmental statisticians continue to flood the country with misleading data about the increase in wealth production—which the capitalist propagandists interpret as "prosperity."

16,000 Producers Declared Bankrupt

By LELAND OLDS

(Federated Press Industrial Editor)

More wage-earners and farmers were declared bankrupt by federal courts during the year ending June 30, 1923, than in any one of the previous eleven years, according to the annual report of the Attorney General of the United States. The number of failures among those who actually produce the goods was probably greater during 1923 than in any year in the history of the country.

Bankruptcies among all classes, including merchants, manufacturers, professional and others, also reached record-breaking proportions during 1923. The total number declared bankrupt by the courts amounted to 34,401, while the total liabilities amounted to \$486,400,908. The year nearest approaching this in the amount of liabilities was 1917 with a total of \$323,567,441.

The official figures show that 10,261 wage-earners and 5,945 farmers were adjudged bankrupt during 1923. In other words, these two groups of producers furnished over 47 per cent of all the bankrupts in the federal court records. This represents a very material increase as compared with pre-war years in the proportion coming from these two classes. During the five years 1912 to 1916 inclusive farmers and wage-earners supplied less than 35 per cent of all the bankruptcies.

The extent to which farmers and wage-earners have been harder hit than the business classes by the war and its aftermath is revealed in the following figures, which show the percentage increase in the number of bankruptcies among the various classes since 1912: Farmers and wage-earners, 195 per cent; merchants, 103 per cent; bankers and manufacturers, 57 per cent, and professionals, 17 per cent. It is a startling fact that seven times as many farmer bankruptcies were reported by the Attorney General for 1923 as for 1912.

Cal Opposes Postoffice Raise

(By Federated Press.)

WASHINGTON.—President Coolidge has come out against the raise in pay demanded by the postoffice employees of the country. His Mellons and Daughertys appear to have persuaded him, for he says that this proposed expenditure of \$125,000,000 on adjustment of postal wages to the cost of living would have a "disturbing effect on the country" if enacted.

"Disturbing effect," is translated into "bad example to labor in all other industries, just when we are trying to smash the general wage level."

(Endorsed by the Central Bureau of Technical Aid to Soviet Russia)

Dairy and Poultry Commune Herald

TO BE ESTABLISHED IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Our delegates are already in Russia to arrange for a suitable estate.

The first group expected to leave soon.

Qualified comrades of all trades may join now.

For detailed information call or write to Secretary,

S. MILLER,
1243 N. Claremont Avenue,
Chicago.

Tel. Armitage 5776

Farmer-Labor Forum

The Farmer-Labor Voice solicits from its readers a free expression of their opinions upon all subjects of special interest to the farmers and industrial workers generally. Contributions to this Forum should usually be of not more than three hundred words. With these, pen-names only will be published if requested. But name and address of writer must accompany each contribution.

The Farmer-Labor Voice assumes no responsibility for the opinions expressed in this manner.—ED.)

Editor, Farmer-Labor Voice,

A neighbor today handed me a copy of Farmer-Labor Voice, the first issue, and I must say that he could not have done me a greater favor. After reading it through, I feel quite relieved of all skeptical delusions as to the third-party idea. I knew, for a long time, that there was something wrong with me. But I never had got hold of the right prescription—until today. Enclosed you will find my subscription, for a year. I am offering you my services, to help in any way possible toward furthering the cause which this paper is advocating—and I believe this is the clear duty of every true American citizen, whether farmer or other worker.

I am a little "under weather" just now; but as soon as I am able to get out, I shall hustle up some more subscriptions. Am sending one other with mine, which I got on the way to the post office. A little later, subscriptions will come even easier—after there have been a few mere Teapot Domes kicked over, along with the Melon tax issues, Interstate Commerce Commissions, Soldiers' Bonus bills, and other Republican high-life scandals. The Harding-Coolidge administration ought to soon be pretty well aired. Some of the old "stand-pat" voters here are already looking white around the gills. Am glad to say that I am not guilty of ever having been affiliated with them, in any way.

In looking through the three county papers which I take, I find reported fifty-four mortgage foreclosures and tax-dead notices. But one thing that hits me hardest of all—and right between the eyes—is this "Notice of Execution Sale," which I am enclosing. It sure is pretty tough on that farmer and his family. Everything taken away—even down to the

"20 glasses of jell," set away in the cellar, for "grand" occasions! It doesn't seem to be much use for people to work a farm, for that sort of a finish. If the Government really wanted to do something for the farmers, they would use that \$50,000,000 to help out in such cases as this—and give at least a few people a chance. And it would help the banks here, too. Land securities ought to be preferable

to defunct foreign securities, or watered railroad-stock securities.

Hoping that I have not over-burdened you with this long letter, and also hoping that I may be of some future benefit to the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and the Farmer-Labor Voice, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Selby, S. Dak.

(Signed.) I. B. NILES.



The Dictatorship of Hunger IN GERMANY

forces German workers to labor long hours for small pay. A skillful machinist must work for the same amount of nourishment

2 hours in the United States,
7 1/2 " " Germany.

This enables German Big Business to produce cheaply. To meet German low prices in the world market, Big Business in other countries must sacrifice profits or reduce the scale of wages to the German level.

forces German working mothers to give away their children. A want ad in a German paper reads:

"Will give away baby immediately after its birth. Necessary clothing available. Offers to be made by letter. Address L. Z. 2172, Agency of Sulz."

Another reads:

"Will give away forever little daughter aged nine months. No compensation expected. Offers to be sent to B. H. 1390, Agency of Lindenthal."

A Defeated Working Class of Germany IS A MENACE To the Working Class of America

Three American Soup Kitchens supported by the Committee for International Workers' Aid.

- No. 1 - Petersburger Platz No. 3, Berlin
- No. 2 - Aachnerstrasse, Wilmerdorf
- No. 3 - "New York", Emdenerstrasse No. 23, Berlin

Committee for International Workers' Aid
32 South Wabash Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois

Enclosed find \$..... toward the support of
American Soup Kitchen No. I pledge \$.....
monthly toward the support of this Kitchen.

NAME.....
ADDRESS.....
CITY..... STATE.....

The Political "Parlor"



W. B. ...
M. B. ...