

FARMER-LABOR VOICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF FEDERATED FARMER-LABOR PARTY

Vol. XIII. No. 16.

CHICAGO, ILL., MAY 15, 1924

Price, 5 Cents

Massachusetts Lines Up

BOSTON, May 12.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.)—Massachusetts has fallen in line with the whole series of states which are organizing Farmer-Labor Parties in support of the June 17th National Convention at St. Paul.

The call for a Massachusetts State Convention is issued in the name of a number of local trade unions and labor fraternal organizations. It is directed to local labor unions and central labor councils, farmers' organizations, workers political parties, workers' co-operative associations and fraternal organizations. The basis of representation is stated to be one delegate for a membership of less than 200, and two delegates for a membership exceeding 200.

This convention will be held at Franklin Union Hall, 41 Berkeley St., Boston, and the opening session will begin at 10 a. m. on June 1st.

Attached to the call for this convention are the following signatures:

Machinists, No. 694, Worcester.
Journeyman Tailors, Local 12, Boston.
Amalgamated Shoe Workers, Local 1, Chelsea.
Amalgamated Shoe Workers, Local 48, Lynn.
Brewery Workmen, No. 14, Boston.
Workmen's Circle, Branch 715, Brockton.
Workmen's Circle, Branch 718, Roxbury.
A. K. Birch, Business Agent, Norwood Building Trades Council.
James E. O'Malley, National Executive Board, U. L. W. I. U. of America.
August Osterholm, Secretary, Carpenters' District Council, Norfolk County.
Committee on Arrangements: T. J. Conroy, Chairman, 50 Benefit St., Worcester, Mass.; Frank Deluca, Secretary, 148 Court St., Boston, Mass.

Rhode Island Labor Party Convention on May 25th

The State Convention of the Rhode Island Labor Party will be held at Providence, on May 25th, in the American Co-operative Association Hall, 1573 Westminster St.

Official call for this State Convention is addressed to "Members of Labor Unions, Workers' Fraternal Organizations, and Co-operatives in Rhode Island." And the call states that membership card in a labor organization will be received as sufficient, by the credentials committee of the convention.

In this call is embodied the following language:

"Two years ago a group of workers in Rhode Island organized the Rhode Island Labor Party; and later they affiliated with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. The Federated Farmer-Labor Party has succeeded in grouping together various independent political parties, into a federation. This is the first real effort that has been made to unite the worker on the land and the worker in the factory, into one organization."

All readers of Farmer-Labor Voice, who are members of farmer or labor groups in the Rhode Island district, are urged to bring before their organizations the necessity for co-operating in the matter of this State Convention. Through such co-operation, a full Rhode Island delegation should be elected to attend the June 17th National Convention in St. Paul.

Nebraska Progressive Party On the Way to St. Paul Meet

OMAHA, Neb.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.)—"I'll go to jail—or to hell—before I'll vote in favor of war, or of the development of any other practices of the capitalists," was the opinion voiced by Chairman J. M. Paul, a farmer, in his key-note speech to the May 1st convention of the Progressive Party of Nebraska. And this sentiment met with vigorous applause from the assembled delegates.

It was the regular convention of the recognized farmer-laborite political party, which has declined to fuse with Governor Charles Bryan's "progressive" Democrats. And at the same time, in Omaha, conventions of both the Democrats and Republicans were in session. Desperate efforts by the Bryan following of Democrats, to "buy off" the Progressive Party and its leaders, have signally failed. But Bryan, with his old-style Tammany tactics, has created much confusion—and little fusion.

It was the chief task of the Progressive Party convention to rid their State ticket of all potential connection with "fusionists," and to make clear the basic economic issues upon which the movement for a national Farmer-Labor Party is being built. Therefore, a resolution was adopted which authorized the State Executive Committee, in cases where Democrats and "fusionists" had filed on the Progressive Party ballot, "to declare all such nominations vacant and to fill such vacancies on the Progressive Party ballot with the names of such members of the Party as are known to be favorable to an independent political movement of farmers and workers, and who will abide by the laws and principles of the Progressive Party of Nebraska." A platform was adopted embodying the various planks of the recent St. Paul Farmer-Labor conference, with additional planks specially applying to conditions in the State of Nebraska.

Essentially typical of the highly mechanized capitalist system of agriculture, the dele-

gates caravan now being organized "to go to St. Paul" will consist of the modern "divver" in place of the more picturesque and spacious "covered wagon" that brought hard-hungry pioneer farmers streaming over the prairies—"going West." Meeting at a convenient central point, this latter-day caravan of "busted" agriculturists will trail across the plains, to help launch in St. Paul the movement which is to bring back from the money-sharks' control "the land, for its users." And there they will fight to save from capitalistic desolation the land which their pioneer forebears sought out and made to bloom with fertility.

Another resolution adopted in this convention empowered the State Executive Committee to change the name of the Party, if necessary, in conformance with whatever name may be adopted by the National Convention in St. Paul. And Robert M. LaFollette was urged to "withdraw from the corrupt republican Party and head a movement of the farmers and wage-workers, in an independent political party."

The delegates were unanimously in agreement that the time for all hesitation and vacillation in past, and that the principal task to accomplish immediately is the building of an organization based upon common issues of the exploited farmers and industrial workers. One speaker was vigorously applauded when he pointed out that this prospective political party must be superior to the personality of any individual and must serve specifically the interest of the working class, through rank and file representation. The strong spirit of determination and evident growing class-consciousness displayed by the delegates to this convention indicates the giant strides now being made by the farmers and wage-workers, throughout the Great West, toward the formation of a class Farmer-Labor Party of national scope.

Washington Delegates to St. Paul Convention

The State of Washington, which is entitled to 33 votes in the St. Paul convention of farmer-labor forces, June 17th, is already prepared for the sending of 25 delegates to that gathering. This delegation will be headed by William Bouck (Sedro-Woolley), National Chairman, Federated Farmer-Labor Party, and John John C. Kennedy (Seattle), State Secretary, Farmer-Labor Party of Washington.

Western Progressive Farmers' Coming State Convention

The State Convention of the Western Progressive Farmers will be held at Prosser, Wash., commencing on Monday, June 2nd—one week earlier than as originally set. This change in date was made by the Executive Committee because of the Farmer-Labor National Convention in St. Paul on June 17, at which many of the W. P. F. delegates will doubtless be in attendance.

For the Prosser meeting, preparations are being made so that delegates can "camp out" and have their food cooked on the camp grounds.

AN IDAHO JUDGE SEES THE LIGHT

The "Criminal Syndicalism" statute received a severe jolt in Idaho, through the recent decision by District Judge B. S. Varian when dismissing the case of C. W. Hammond, a union (I. W. W.) organizer.

Charges against Hammond were based on his activities as a member of that labor organization, and Judge Varian upheld the defense contention that such membership does not constitute a violation of law.

Labor attorneys and other legal authorities are of opinion that this Idaho decision is significant, and symptomatic of a more favorable trend in public opinion. And it will be interesting to note what effect the decision will have on other "Criminal Syndicalism" cases now pending in California, and other states. Nine new convictions, under this statute, have just been reported from California, and the cases will be appealed. The appeal in the case of Ruthenberg, Workers' Party secretary, is noted for decision in the coming June term of Michigan Supreme Court. This case, resulting from the 1923 raid on Communist Party convention—involving W. Z. Foster, C. E. Ruthenberg and many other members of the present Workers Party—was based principally upon the charge of membership in the old Communist Party. The Foster case—which was the first one on trial—resulted in a "fifty-fifty" agreement. Trial or dismissal of the political activities of the farmer that the exploiting class have reason to remember it.

"OKLAHOMA LEADER" WINS NOTABLE DEFEAT

By JOSEPH MANLEY

OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.)—Oklahoma, the scene of many interesting political struggles; all of them reflecting the disintegration of American Capitalism and its two old political parties, has just witnessed another attempt of the workers and exploited farmers to organize a party of their own.

"Leader", Mis-Leads.

This attempt was largely frustrated by the maneuvers of a middle-class group of liberals, professional office seekers and ex-Socialists, all of them under the influence and direction of the "Oklahoma Leader," a newspaper financed by the nickels and dimes of the workers and farmers. It is supposedly co-operatively owned, but in reality because the property of a few self-seeking individuals who have made out of it an institution that now aids and abets capitalism, by preventing the workers and farmers from launching a real class Farmer-Labor Party, and substituting their own pet idea—a monstrosity in the shape of a party with only the name Farmer-Labor, with a Third Party platform and a non-partisan policy.

Old Factionalism.

In the period before the war Oklahoma had its two old parties, Democratic and Republican, functioning much the same as in other states. The war and the consequent boom in agriculture, horse-raising and oil production brought about the conditions that gave rise to such political phenomena as the Non-Partisan League, later the Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League, and still later the Ku Klux Klan. The Democratic Party has been the dominant party, and with all of the foregoing organizations successively functioning within it, it is now hopelessly split into several factions. The old Farmer-Labor Party that existed prior to the Chicago July 3rd Convention of 1923, had no organization here. But its national committeeman, J. E. Spurr, tried to pose as the Oklahoma organization, in the person of its secretary, while actually not having a trace of organization and making no effort to get one.

Progress Delayed.

The Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League met in March last at El Reno, and in line with its non-partisan policy endorsed a full State ticket, all of them parts of factions in the Democratic Party. Many in this convention desired a class Farmer-Labor Party in line with the real needs of the farmers and industrial workers of the state. Consequently a number of middle class liberals, together with the farmers and workers, headed by and due to the urgings of J. E. Snyder (known to our readers as a contributor to Farmer-Labor Voice), met in a conference following the El Reno meeting and issued a call for a class Farmer-Labor Party convention that would support the June 17th convention at St. Paul.

Just prior to this convention at Oklahoma City on May 9-10, it was apparent that the liberals had swung over to the influence of the "Oklahoma Leader" and its editors, Dan Hogan and Ernest Chamberlain, who by their actions were quite apparently opposed to the St. Paul convention and to a class Farmer-Labor Party, and anxious to sidetrack the Oklahoma City convention to Cleveland and the C. P. A.

Steam-Roller Functions.

The convention opened up on the morning of May 9, with about sixty-five delegates present, in the auditorium of the Baptist Church, the pastor of which pronounced the benediction. J. W. Houchin and Ernest Chamberlain were the temporary chairman and secretary, respectively. Houchin appointed a credentials committee and the morning session was consumed in listening to apologies of the middle-class Houchin for the non-appearance of the Mayor—who had promised to deliver the address of "welcome." The delegates were wearied by long speeches, such as that delivered by George Wilson, a former Democrat, who, it afterwards turned out, was the chief engineer on the Oklahoma "Leader" steam-roller that ran this convention—on the glories of our past democracy a la Thomas Jefferson the moral Democracy through the League, to reform the system—and

Delegate Snyder Barred Out.

At the beginning of the afternoon session the credentials committee made its report in favor of seating all delegates with the single exception of J. E. Snyder. And the reason given for omitting him was that he was not a citizen of Oklahoma. In the course of the fight that developed on this issue, other delegates proved that Snyder was just as much a citizen as they were. Finally it became apparent that the real reason why Snyder was not seated was that he was a member of the Workers Party, also an ardent supporter of the St. Paul convention and of a class Farmer-Labor Party. Chairman Houchin railroaded the question back to the credentials committee, by refusing to entertain a motion: "That Snyder be seated."

A Wonderful "Policy".

Dan Hogan was elected permanent chairman, and Ernest Chamberlain, permanent secretary. Various committees were appointed—among them one "on policy," which caused most delegates to wonder. Little of interest took place until the night session, at which the report of the "policy committee" was read by its chairman, Chamberlain—who is editor of the Oklahoma "Leader."

The report contained a clause which read to allow "the endorsement of other party candidates wherever it would be a benefit."

No sooner had the report been read than an attempt was made to adopt it without any discussion. This was blocked by Delegate Cobb insisting upon taking the floor and pointing out the sinister effect of this kind of policy—which was identical with that of the various non-partisan organizations in the state.

Secretary Chamberlain attempted to come to the rescue of his measure by stating what he called "the need for a flexible policy." Throughout the rest of the session (which lasted until midnight), much turmoil prevailed—until finally the motion made by Delegate Cobb was adopted, for postponement of action "until the next morning session."

Manley Gains Floor.

At the opening of the next morning session Delegate Jones, of Tulsa, moved "That inasmuch as Joseph Manley, Secretary of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, is present, that he be seated as a fraternal delegate."

This motion called forth the most bitter opposition from the entire "Leader" bunch and its reinforcement in the person of J. E. Spurr, who had been brought in through the night to tell about the "terrible communists." Chamberlain, Houchin and Spurr all tried to scare the farmer delegates by telling them that Manley was a "communist leader" who would do dire things to them. Eventually a vote was taken and I was seated as a fraternal delegate, by the narrow margin of 31 to 30—as miscounted by Chamberlain.

After some confusion, by an overwhelming vote I was given the floor to make a speech. In the course of which, I pointed out the necessity for a real organization, not based upon any individual, and with a genuine program of class issues and a class Farmer-Labor Party. I appealed to the delegates to support the St. Paul convention and to elect to attend it a large delegation.

Rank and File Response.

At the conclusion of my speech, and much to the chagrin of the "Leader" bunch—whose agent (Hogan) called time on me—I was accorded a rising vote of thanks. I record this incident because it shows that the rank and file will respond to their real class interests and would follow them, if not for the interference and false leadership of the many-hued agents of capitalism.

The control of the "Leader" bunch being visibly shaken, they then, headed by Chamberlain, hastened to unload a malicious attack upon all things communistic, in an attempt to wilfully confuse the minds of the delegates. Our old friend, the "New Majority" (official organ of the old Farmer-Labor Party) was brought to the rescue. Finally a vote was taken and the chairman declared that the policy of endorsement of old party candidates was adopted, but without granting a count of the vote.

This was the cause of a lot of delegates leaving the hall in disgust soon afterwards. What was left of the convention settled down to the listless passing of a typical meaningless middle-class reform program—which Chairman Hogan said was in line with the platform of LaFollette. Then followed the nomination of LaFollette for President,

George Wilson for U. S. Senator, and L. L. Libby for Corporation Commissioner.

Progress Wins Headway.

Finally, when the question of the national convention arose, Secretary Chamberlain moved "to send one delegate to St. Paul, who would be the sole representative of the Farmer-Labor Party of Oklahoma."

This forced me to again take the floor and point out the unfairness to the rank and file of the workers and farmers of Oklahoma, to tie them up with a single delegate.

The effect of this was to pass a motion that a delegate should be elected from each county. Hogan then wanted to have the Executive Board appoint the delegates, but the convention thought this too raw and would not stand for it. Houchin was then elected as the "candidate-at-large," to St. Paul. He immediately announced that he was also going to Cleveland—and no doubt, as that is where his heart lies. J. E. Spurr was elected as the regular delegate to the Cleveland C. P. A.

Good Effects Evident.

Although a class Farmer-Labor Party was not organized, and the idea was betrayed by the "Leader" crowd, great good has been accomplished by this convention. The middle-class elements that stole the leadership from the workers and exploited farmers who had sought to build up the convention, have been thoroughly discredited. The "Oklahoma Leader" has once again been shown up in its true character, as the divider of the masses for the benefit of the capitalists and their own political parties. The convention, even against the opposition of the "Leader" bunch, endorsed the St. Paul convention, and went on record to send delegates from 77 counties.

This convention fight was featured on the front page of all the Oklahoma daily newspapers, and the idea of a class Farmer-Labor Party has gained many new followers.

Oklahoma Advances.

If the communists are the greatest champions in Oklahoma of a class Farmer-Labor Party, it is due to their understanding of the economic conditions that give birth to such a political party—and to the stupidity of such self-appointed "saviours" of the workers and exploited farmers, and "experts in political expediency," as the "Oklahoma Leader." The movement for a class Farmer-Labor Party in Oklahoma goes right along.

When Thieves Fall Out

NEW YORK.—Lawyers and capitalist newspapers got the worst of it in a mutual mud-slinging contest before a New York Bar Ass'n. meeting. President Henry W. Taft charged newspapers with blocking justice, conniving with unethical lawyers, ruining the reputations of innocent people by false and sensational stories, and sabotaging legal reforms.

A CLUBBING 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.

Subscription Blank

Federated Farmer-Labor Party,
800 N. Clark-St.,
Chicago, Ill.

JOSEPH MANLEY, National Secretary:

Enclosed find \$....., for which you will send to below address, Farmer-Labor Voice, for a period of..... months.

Name:
Address:
Town: State:

FARMER-LABOR INFORMATION

California Still Quarantined For Foot-and-Mouth Disease

According to May 7th report of the Department of Agriculture, all California counties infected with the foot-and-mouth plague are still held under rigid quarantine. These include the counties of Orange and Contra Costa, with certain portions of the counties of Alameda, Kern, Los Angeles, Madera, Mariposa, Merced, Napa, San Bernardino, San Francisco, San Joaquin, Solano and Stanislaus.

Western States Conference Called

By invitation of Governor Richardson, of California, the adjoining states will send representatives to a conference in Sacramento, for studying conditions with a view to ascertaining all facts concerning foot-and-mouth disease in California. Invitations to this conference have been accepted by the states of Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico and Oregon.

Coyote Campaign Part of Quarantine

An intensive poison campaign was inaugurated against coyotes and bobcats, particularly in Contra Costa County, to prevent the spread of infection by means of these animals. And many dead coyotes and bobcats were the result—also many stray dogs and domestic cats addicted to cross-country strolls. But—cheerfully states the Agricultural Department—"This reduced the liability of their carrying infection from one ranch to another."

Low Price For Wheat Due to

Loss of Foreign Markets

Reports from the West are that this year's crop of wheat in Kansas and adjacent states will be one of the largest on record, though the prospect of higher prices is not included in the forecast. The foreign market for American cereals of all varieties continues to shrink, and domestic prices are lower than at the same season of 1923.

Comparison of prices in Chicago on April 13, 1923, with those of the same date this year reveal the extent to which the principal cereals have declined. The closing quotation on wheat in Chicago on April 13, 1924, was \$1.02 1/2 a bushel as against \$1.36 1/2 on the corresponding date of 1923. The prices of other grains on the respective dates were: Corn, 80 1/2 cents, and 77 1/2 cents; oats, (September) 45 1/2 cents, and 40 1/2 cents; rye, 57 1/2 cents, and 65 1/2 cents.

While relatively little of last year's crop of wheat remains in the farmer's keeping, these prices are significant as reflecting the curtailment of his foreign market. The harvesting of a big crop this year would mean for him not prosperity but prices below the cost of production.

American Sugar In England

English consumers are buying sugar from American interests at prices below those being exacted of users in this country, according to a statement issued by the Federal Sugar Refining Company, a few days ago.

Retail American interests are offering granulated sugar in England at prices nearly 1/2 cent a pound under present domestic parity," the Federal company reported. "British refiners have met this competition by reducing prices."

In the price paid by American consumers there is a duty of 2 cents a pound granted by the Republican Congress to "protect" the Sugar Beet Trust.

"ABOUNDING PROSPERITY" OF SUGAR COMPANY

One of the large beneficiaries of what the President in his first message to Congress described as "an abounding prosperity" due to the Republican tariff is the Great Western Sugar Company, which profits by the duty of 2 cents a pound on sugar. In its latest report for the year ended February 29 last the Great Western concern and its subsidiaries are credited with earnings equivalent to \$18.26 a share on the common stock of a par value of \$25.

Net income was \$12,004,303 in 1923-24, after depreciation. Federal taxes, etc., compared with \$6,879,112 in 1923-24. Dividends in 1923-24 were \$2,450,000 against \$1,602,000 in the previous year. The company's balance sheet values the assets at \$75,953,434.

The tariff on sugar is costing the consumers of the United States not less than \$216,000,000 a year. Of this sum only about \$124,000,000 goes into the federal treasury, and about \$19,000,000 to the growers of sugar beets. The producers of sugar beets, however, are complaining that the factories derive most of the gains from the industry. In some instances if western states the growers say their beets are sold at less than the cost of production.

In "God's Own Country."

(By Federated Press)

SACRAMENTO, Calif.—There were 343 murders in California in 1923, and 4,358 deaths by accident, many of them industrial; 1,001 persons committed suicide in California last year.

STATES BAR OUT CALIFORNIA FRUIT

(By Federated Press)

SACRAMENTO.—"By God, I'm governor—I'm going to run this state," is Friend Richardson's answer to the pleas that he call a special session of the legislature to help fight the hoof and mouth epidemic. "I don't intend to call a legislature that is hostile to me." Arizona and Oregon forbid anyone to cross the state line from nor to California without safeguards. Nature and the adjoining states are aiding powerfully in making the I. W. W. boycott of California products 100 per cent effective.

OLYMPIA, Wash.—California fruit and vegetables are excluded from the state of Washington unless accompanied by certificates that they have been fumigated. This is a precaution against the spread of hoof and mouth disease which is epidemic in California and which can be spread by dust clinging to food or clothing.

Washington is taking this precaution as a health measure and not out of sympathy with the I. W. W. boycott on California products. Washington has almost a dozen class war prisoners in her jails. The I. W. W. boycott is intended to call attention to the persecution by California of workers who are imprisoned from one to fourteen years because of membership in that labor organization.

"NOTHING TOO GOOD FOR OUR BOYS"

(By Federated Press)

PALO ALTO, Calif.—The veterans' bureau is investigating charges that decayed eggs and cast off scrapings of ice cream are fed disabled soldiers in the base hospitals here and at Sawtelle.

Page Mr. Johnson!

Where now is the great "Redeemer of California?"

The States of Arizona, Idaho, Nevada, Utah, Oregon and Washington—in all of which States the foot-and-mouth disease quarantine has from the start been strictly enforced, are now considering ways and means for placing a still more drastic embargo on California products.

Governor Pierce, of Oregon, complains that infection from California has cost the lives of 20,000 Oregon fine dairy cattle, and that the menace of such infection is seriously interfering with business generally in the big cities of the State. The dealers are arranging for shipments of fruit and vegetables from Florida, Texas, Colorado and other sections, in place of the California merchandise.

In California itself, business is paralyzed. The City of Los Angeles—Mecca of the motor tourist—now stops all in-coming cars and turns them back, with ten gallons of free gasoline and \$2.50 in cash to speed them away. This foot-and-mouth disease epidemic is costing the State a million dollars a day. And "California, the Beautiful"—is now a Leper-land of Isolation!

BE A STAFF CORRESPONDENT.

It is the desire of Farmer-Labor Voice to speak directly from the hearts of the farmers and industrial workers, in their own language and from their own point of view. And to aid this purpose, we are asking our readers everywhere to send in news items with reference to the Farmer-Labor movement in their immediate vicinity—about the growth of farmer-labor sentiment for unity of action, and as to organization meetings held or in prospect.

If YOU have not yet contributed to the columns of Farmer-Labor Voice, do not longer refrain. And if you have, then COME AGAIN!

CONVENTION OF THE NORTH DAKOTA FEDERATION

By H. R. MARTINSON.

BISMARCK, N. Dak.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice).—The 13th Annual Convention of the North Dakota Federation of Labor, which was held here on May 4th to 6th, followed in the footsteps of the Non-Partisan League convention in declining to take a definite stand on the question of a break with the old political parties. A resolution endorsing the June 17th convention in St. Paul, was tabled on motion of one of the North Dakota "labor leaders." But the rank and file workers and farmers of North Dakota are ready for a Farmer-Labor Party, and they will not be frightened by the "red" bogey, which was duly raised here in connection with the Farmer-Labor movement—this time by Stephen Fly, a fraternal delegate from Montana. If the State leaders decline to progress as fast as the rank and file, they will soon be set aside, that the progress may not be impeded. And the fact that the resolution of endorsement was tabled does not at all imply that the North Dakota Federation, or even a majority of the delegates, were opposed to the June 17th convention. The motion to table was made to stop further discussion on the subject, because of a fear that such discussion would "show up" those who venture to oppose the formation of a State Farmer-Labor Party at this time. And it accomplished that purpose—but nothing more. The action will have no effect upon the number of delegates who will be sent from North Dakota to the St. Paul convention, nor will it affect the morale of those delegates. The "red" bogey is dead in North Dakota—killed through over-work, and beyond resurrection.

Convention Achievements

Much work of real value to the labor movement was done in this convention. A resolution was adopted calling upon union labor and its friends, throughout the country, to use flour made by the State Mill at Grand Forks. This flour, and the other mill products, will soon be selling under the union label of organized labor. And this is a real step toward bringing closer together the farmers and the industrial worker. An educational campaign was recommended by the convention to counteract the bad effect of propaganda matter sent out by Kiwanis clubs and Chambers of Commerce. And John Jacobson, of the United Mine Workers—a real progressive—was elected as president of the North Dakota Federation for the coming year.

It is generally agreed that the resolution calling for endorsement of the June 17th convention contained the only hope of the farmers and industrial workers, to gain anything for themselves through political action. And that there is at least a partial solution of the farmer's economic problem in the resolution asking organized labor to buy products manufactured by union labor, in a mill built at the demand of organized farmers and supplied by them with the necessary farm products.

Quite noticeable was the relief of the delegates—after Ely and his "red" tirade had subsided—as they listened to the sane, constructive address of J. C. Pratt, representing the Minnesota Federation of Labor. He evidently had no fear that "the reds" would destroy the Farmer-Labor movement, or organized labor in this country. And he just as evidently convinced the delegates that now is the opportune time to unite all progressive labor forces of the country, in a class Farmer-Labor Party.

PENNSYLVANIA UNIONS ENDORSE JUNE 17TH

BETHLEHEM, Pa.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice).—In a conference held here by representatives of the Painters', Paperhangers' and Decorators' unions in the eastern part of this State, the delegates went on record as endorsing the June 17th convention and pledging to it their active support. The delegates were of opinion that this coming June convention, in St. Paul, will truly represent the fast developing movement of the working class for independent political action. "The farmer" who has reason to fear the exploiting class have reason to fear it.

FARMER-LABOR VOICE

Published twice a month, by the Federated Farmer-Labor Party of America, Joseph Manley, National Secretary, 800 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill. Subscriptions: \$1.00 a Year; 50c for 6 Months. Bundle Orders: At 2c per Copy.

JOSEPH MANLEY, Editor
Associate Editors:
TOM AYRES, South Dakota
ALFRED KNUXTON, North Dakota
CHAS. E. TAYLOR, Montana
JOHN C. KENNEDY, Washington
W. H. GREEN, Nebraska

(Entered as Second-Class Matter, under the name "Farmer-Labor Voice," February 1, 1924, at the Post-Office of Chicago, Ill., under the Act of March 3, 1879.)

May Day

Another Labor May Day has come and gone. And, throughout the day, in New York City—that reputed headquarters of "foreign Bolsheviks" and "American reds"—the Central Park flowers bloomed in peaceful quietude.

No "red plots" were "discovered," and no bombs were exploded. The chief sleuth of the American Department of Justice had other things that day to occupy his "defective" faculties. And he has now passed into history, along with this most tranquil May Day of his brief but hectic official career.

But the New York City police force patrolled the slums—while hair-trigger gunmen of many private detective agencies guarded the mansions of Mr. Morgan and his fellow billionaires.

Meanwhile, Labor's May Day of this year was celebrated, throughout the country, with enthusiastic demonstrations of the workers' solidarity, and with their educational meetings during the day and evening. The fateful handwriting on the wall is visible to the eyes of the workers, though the master class perceive it not. So the workers rejoice in their high hope, while the masters who have battered upon them now scramble and bicker among themselves, for the shattered remnants of the industrial system which their own selfish greed has destroyed.

Comes another May Day, with its blossoms and its fruits: and who shall say what these may be?

THE POLITICAL "COLOR SCHEME"

"Pete" Norbeck, one of South Dakota's ornate decorations in the United States Senate, is pulling a little chameleon stunt of his own, these days.

During the war hysteria, this political faker attained to the office of governor of South Dakota, because of his reactionary stand against the organized farmers who demanded that the government provide a free market for their products. At that time he could see only "pro-Germanism" and "Bolshevism" in such proposals. And by the South Dakota usurers he was promoted to the United States Senate—as a "safe and sane" henchman of the bankers, the railroads and the Standard Oil Trust.

But with the defeat of the Burness-Norbeck "Fifty Million Dollar Farm-Loan Bill"—which would have helped the bankers a whole lot and the farmers not at all—he began to see the hand-writing on the wall. And he now tells the United States Senate—in the very language of the Non-Partisan League: "The farmer must buy in a controlled market and sell in a competitive one; and then you tell him to solve all his own troubles by organizing co-operative stores—when what he wants is a day's wage by which he can live."

Thus Senator Norbeck attempts to change his political complexion from a dull yellow-drab to a sufficiently delusive but not dangerously "radical" red tinge—becoming in effect a pink-toed political chameleon, and nothing more.

As the Farmer-Labor movement grows and the signs of its strength become daily more apparent, these "farmers' friend" fakers scramble more and more desperately in their efforts to reform the system—and

A Mellon-choly Retrospection

The Mellon tax-plan has been killed in the United States Senate—and the Democrats are vociferously jubilant. The Republicans should be equally joyous, though less demonstrative—for this is doubtless an opening measure of the Democratic swan-song.

The Mellon plan sought to reduce the higher surtaxes of the very rich, from the present rate of 50 per cent to 25 per cent—and to load additional taxes upon the worker and the small business man. While the Simmons plan—sponsored by the Democrats, and adopted by the Senate—calls for a tax of 40 per cent on incomes of half a million dollars and upward.

The special interests behind the defunct Mellon plan died hard. But after having been twice repudiated in the House—first, by adoption of the Garner plan and then by adoption of the Longworth substitute—the Senate has now rejected it, along with the other two. The Garner plan was for 44 per cent on incomes of \$94,000 and upward; and the Longworth substitute proposed little change in that plan.

Behind the Mellon plan were lined up special interests controlling the most powerful propaganda machine ever formed in America, representing organized wealth and every predatory force now existent. Through the operation of that machine, these interests received from the last Congress a reduction in taxation to the amount of more than half a billion dollars—while the small tax payer received practically nothing in the way of reduction.

When the Mellon plan was first proposed there was a great hullabaloo from the Republican reactionary and special interest press and other instruments of propaganda, to the effect that the national administration through its Republican Congress was going to give the country substantial tax reductions. But when this plan was analyzed, it was found that the tax reductions would apply only to the privileged few. Yet the operation of its propaganda machine had been so effective that even now a good many of the people who were thus deceived do not know what the Mellon plan really was.

A part of this propaganda was aimed to make it appear that by defeating the Mellon plan, opponents would defeat the issue of tax reduction—and thus were deceived many thousands of tax payers whom the plan would not benefit. This alleged plan for tax reduction was intended to be made an effective campaign slogan for the Republican Party. And out of its subsequent defeat will arise such a slogan for the Democratic Party. The interest of the small tax payer would not have been advanced by adoption of the Mellon plan; nor will those interests be materially affected by its now heralded defeat.

With us, government has come to be a trade and is managed solely on commercial principles. A man plunges into politics to make his fortune and only cares that the world should last his day.—Emerson, writing in 1835.

Government is always stupid, slow, wasteful, corrupt. With its essential limitations it is qualified to be merely a watch-dog; we are lucky if it is an honest one.—Herbert Spencer.

Government at best is a necessary evil; at its worst, an intolerable one.—Thomas Paine.

We wonder if Congress would consider a petition, endorsed with a couple of million voters' signatures, asking that the Post-Office Department change its "Let's Go to Training Camp" slogan into "Let's Go to St. Paul?"

The Farmer-Labor Party goes on gathering strength every day, despite opposition by politicians in high places—elected by farmer and labor votes. And as this new political party gains in strength—watch these hypocrites scramble onto its band-wagon!

The Farmer-Labor Party is not seeking many new laws. Mainly it is seeking to change privileged class laws into common class laws. And eventually to reduce the number of laws to a single one: To the worker, the product of his work.

Governmental "Taxi-Cabbage"

If one would like to know the source of those taxes which are now worrying the wealthy, and which the astute Mr. Mellon sought to load upon the shoulders of the workers and small business men, here is a little "inside information." And probably a "Congressional investigation" conducted by Senator Walsh, or some other political aspirant for public favor, would prove that this statement of facts and figures is approximately correct—even though it comes from such a dubious authority as the Bankers' Trust Company:

According to Vice-President Kent, there are 2,700,000 employes on the payroll of the Federal and local governments in the United States; and there are 700,000 former employes of government now drawing pensions. Making a total of 3,400,000 people who are paid good, better or best wages for doing not much of anything worthy of payment. Then there are about 42,000,000 citizens (including children) in the United States, who are "gainfully employed" (which is the U. S. Census Bureau's euphemistic expression for wage-slave).

The result of which, demonstrated mathematically, indicates that every group of twelve citizens lucky enough to have a paid "job" or "situation" of some sort is supporting one government employe. The cash sum represented equals a charge of nearly \$100 against "each person over ten years of age engaged in a gainful occupation"—protests this benevolent banker. And he goes on to say:

"Employes of the government are not producers, but they are consumers; and they enter into competition with the regular citizenry for their food, clothing and other requirements; and they use the proceeds of the taxes paid by such citizens, to increase the cost of living to those who pay the taxes."

The present wide-spread unemployment situation, and others like it in the past, seem to have interfered very little—if at all—with the "public service" industry. But the Teapot Dome exposure did assist a trifle, in this direction. It lost the "patriotic" Mr. Daugherty his government job (or should it be "jobbery"?). It also lost a government job for that denizen of the depths, Mr. Denby. And, ascending to a more highly moral plane, we find some comfort in a recent statement of Internal Revenue Collector Blair—that he had to dismiss 796 political appointees, upon exposure of their graft in office. These little fish of the political game, it seems, must be penalized much more extensively than the whale-size political grafters—when they are so careless as to permit themselves to be "caught with the goods." Collector Blair does not state how many such "appointees" were able to retain their jobs, because of their ability to avoid such an embarrassing exposure.

ARE WE BETTER THAN STAR-FISH

The person who can keep his eyes fixed unwaveringly on the mechanical achievements of the age must get a dazzling sensation of speed in the progress of human affairs. Discoveries beget discoveries—and civilization, learning from its own inventions, progresses geometrically toward an almost discernible perfection; or, more alluring yet, toward an infinity of thrilling new horizons.

To the person capable of this miracle of concentration, the world . . . must offer an exciting appearance. His eyes are on the future. . . . And he is justified in his enthusiasm; for in science, if in no other field of thought or action, the world does move. The question is, can our wits be turned to other problems? Or have the shaping of iron and steel, the delicate juggling with electrons and air waves, the patient fishing for bacilli, unfitted us for other sorts of work? Has our knowledge of the relations of matter made us unable to deal with the relations between human beings?

One reason for our situation is that until recently human relations, particularly personal relation . . . were under a rigid taboo. Science might not touch them; art could approach them only if it were equipped with pink glasses. Intelligence was commonly considered indecent. Especially in the United States, religion and custom . . . held the field.

From pulpit and press we have warnings and angry outbursts and scorn for the fumbling efforts of the present generation to understand itself and its emotions. But if we are to find our way out of this dark age of human unhappiness and tension and misunderstanding, we must watch the people who are trying the new paths.—The Nation.

Organizational Support Grows for National Farmer-Labor Party

By C. E. RUTHENBERG

Reports from St. Paul indicate a nationwide interest on the part of the farmers and industrial workers of this country, in the June 17th Farmer-Labor Party convention. Unquestionably several thousand delegates will gather in that convention, representing at least a million organized workers and farmers. And what is more important, right now, is the fact that already the work of building a solid organizational structure for the national organization which will be formed as a result of the St. Paul convention, is well under way in many states.

Significance of June 17th Meeting

A great national convention at St. Paul would be a splendid thing from an agitational point of view; but unless this convention was supported by State and local organizations throughout the whole country, it would not be able to accomplish a great deal in carrying on the fight of the workers and farmers politically. The effect of such a convention, if not followed by concrete organizational work, would soon disappear. Thus the significance of the June 17th convention is not only that it is arousing a nation-wide interest and delegates are being selected to attend this convention from all parts of the United States, but that in many States organizations are being built to serve as the permanent foundation for the national organization which will be formed at St. Paul.

Six State Parties Support St. Paul Convention

The St. Paul convention was called in the name of six already existing State Farmer-Labor Parties. These are the Farmer-Labor Party organizations in Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Montana and Washington. All of these political parties have been in existence for some considerable time. In Minnesota, South Dakota, Nebraska and Washington the Farmer-Labor Party, and in Nebraska the Progressive Party, have been in existence through several political campaigns and have polled large votes. The State Farmer-Labor Parties in North Dakota and Montana are of later origin, but they have a substantial backing and are firmly rooted in the political movement of those States. Therefore, the St. Paul convention and the national political organization which will grow out of it begins with these six strong organizations as the basis for a nation-wide organization.

New State Parties Building.

The six State political parties referred to above were already in existence when the St. Paul convention call was issued. And since that time, movements have begun in a dozen other States to build organizations—all of which are pledged to the St. Paul convention.

In Massachusetts, the call for a State convention is being issued by a group of local trade unions, and an organization will be created during the latter part of the month of May which will be pledged to the June 17 convention.

In New York State, the Buffalo Labor Party and the Federated Farmer-Labor Party of New York City have joined hands to call a State convention at Schenectady on May 18th, at which an organization will be formed to send delegates to St. Paul.

In Ohio, a State convention will be held on June 7th and 8th, for the purpose of creating a State Farmer-Labor Party pledged to the St. Paul convention.

In Michigan a movement is on foot at Detroit, for the formation of the first unit of what will be the State Farmer-Labor Party of Michigan.

In Illinois, a large group of progressive trade unionists has issued a call for a convention on May 18th, to affiliate with the St. Paul convention on June 17th.

In Oklahoma, the call issued for a convention on May 9th and 10th specifically pledges the State party there formed to support of the June 17th convention.

In Kansas, a group of some 75 individuals well-known in the Farmer-Labor movement, has called for a State convention to be held at Salina, on May 17th, to organize a State party in support of the St. Paul convention.

And in California, a State convention will be held on May 31st-June 1st, for the purpose of organizing a State Farmer-Labor Party and sending delegates to St. Paul on June 17th.

Other Parties Forming

While the movement for State organizations has taken definite form in the States mentioned, there are many others in which the work of forming State organizations has not yet advanced to this stage but in which efforts are under way to create such organizations. This is the case in Missouri, Iowa, Oregon and Wisconsin. The fact that there is such a movement developing in the State of Wisconsin—the home of LaFollette Republican progressivism—is most significant. Evidently the workers and farmers of Wisconsin are not satisfied with the brand of political action they are getting from the LaFollette Republican Party in that State, and are ready for the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party to fight their political battles.

In the State of Colorado, the Farmer-Labor Party, formerly affiliated with the Farmer-Labor Party of Fitzpatrick and Brown, has broken away from that organization and pledged itself to send delegates to the St. Paul convention.

A similar movement exists within the Farmer-Labor Party of Indiana, which is still functioning as a part of the old Farmer-Labor Party.

In West-Virginia, there is a strong group in the State Farmer-Labor Party which is urging affiliation with the St. Paul group of the National Farmer-Labor Party.

Permanency of Crystallization

The fact that in some twenty States there are Farmer-Labor Parties already in existence or in the process of building, indicates the wide sweep of the movement for independent political action and gives promise of a permanent crystallization of the Farmer-Labor movement into a closely knit, well-organized Farmer-Labor Party.

It is not sufficient that there should be in the St. Paul convention a loose coalition of all kinds of groups which are opposed to the old political parties. What is needed in the United States today is a political party representing the class interests of the farmers and industrial workers, which will not only fight their battles in the election campaign but will function all the year 'round as a political organization carrying on a continuous struggle in the interests of the exploited farmers and the industrial workers.

The State organizations already built and those in the process of construction give promise of the formation of such a political party at the St. Paul convention. Such a closely-knit, fighting organization of the farmers and industrial workers will be a notable achievement for the American Labor Movement.

The June Convention

By ALFRED KNUTSON

As the time approaches for the meeting of the Farmer-Labor Convention at St. Paul, more and more apparent is the opposition of those false leaders who fear the organization in this country of a great mass political party of farmers and industrial workers. A few so-called "progressive" leaders who pretend to be for the farmer-labor movement are now advising against what they call the "premature" launching of a national Farmer-Labor Party.

Farmers for Action NOW!

So far as the farmers in the Northwest are concerned, all talk of such a movement being premature is considered as "the bunk." Almost to a man, they are for such a "new deal" and they want it NOW. They are fully convinced that the old political parties neither can nor will give them justice.

Most of the farmers will say that things are moving too slow for them, rather than too fast. Thousands of them are becoming very impatient with various parties and organizations, because they have failed to "deliver the goods."

And reports from other sections of the country show that the farmer in the Northwest is not the only one who is now in dire need of real relief. The farmers of Oregon, California,

Come to St. Paul!

By ALEXANDER HOWAT

The most important convention ever held in this country, and the one in which the workers have the greatest opportunity to mobilize their strength and to demonstrate their potential power, will meet in the City of St. Paul, Minn., on June 17th.

A Working-Class Gathering.

This convention will be composed of men and women truly representing all that is real in the great movement of farmers and workers for the formation of a national Farmer-Labor Party. It will be an expression of the masses of the people who are dissatisfied with the two old political parties and whose eyes have been opened by a long succession of political and economic events crowned by the recent most terrific exposure of crooked work by the highest governmental officials in both the Republican and the Democratic parties. This recent exposure has aroused the working class as never before. Now more than ever before it is understood that there can be no help for the toilers who produce the nation's wealth, so long as the great financial interests own and control the political parties of the country. And it is now well understood that the great financial interests do control both of the present dominant political parties.

A Call for Unity.

I believe that we should unite, in this coming convention at St. Paul, all the forces of the Farmer-Labor movement. Let us no longer be slaves to the scheming politicians who represent the enemies of our class. The convention of farmers and industrial workers on June 17th is the golden opportunity for the workers in the cities and the toilers on the farms to assert themselves independently of the class which exploits them.

Years of experience have clearly shown that the two old political parties, alternating in power but serving the same master class, are the force which is keeping the working class in endless poverty and misery. Under their rule, we are denied our rights as American citizens. There is no justice for the poor, in the present social system. The courts are used against the workers and in the interest of the employing class. The power of the government has always been on the side of the rich and against the poor. And it will continue so to be, as long as the employing class sits secure in political power.

A Beacon Light.

The great Farmer-Labor Party, uniting all the progressive-thinking elements of the farmer-labor movement now existing in this country—the political party which must come out of this convention—will stand for those principles which so many had fondly thought the American Republic was originally founded upon.

This call for the St. Paul convention flames as a beacon light, streaming its golden rays down the otherwise darkened pathway of our future progress. Let it be the guiding light on the road that will lead to final emancipation of the workers of this nation. Let us all join hands and make this June 17th convention of the farmers and industrial workers a great and glorious success!

Oklahoma, Ohio, West Virginia, and several other states, who are now busy organizing Farmer-Labor parties in their states, realize the necessity for putting up a united front of all workers, against the tyranny of the mortgage-sharks and food-gambiers.

Conditions Ripe for Mass Party

Some there are who fear what a big political organization of the nation's workers might accomplish, and they tell us wisely: "You cannot launch a Farmer-Labor Party by the adoption of a resolution."

But it is not necessary to imagine or invent the necessary conditions and general discontent, in order to inaugurate such a political party at this time. The conditions for its creation were dead-ripe long ago—as the rank and file farmers will freely inform you. And they are demanding real relief for American agriculture. With hundreds of thousands of farmers bankrupt, tens of thousands leaving the farms for the cities, and the whole farmer class in the entire country not earning sufficient net income from their crops to pay the interest on their debts, it is not necessary to "create" discontent in order to find an excuse for now creating a National Farmer-Labor Party.

Let us move forward with the formation of a real Farmer-Labor Party in the United States TODAY. Remember the 17th of June. And see that the exploiting class have reason to remember it.

FARMER-LABOR PARTY IS BUILDING IN PHILADELPHIA

Unions Issue Call For May 27 Conference

PHILADELPHIA, PA. May 11.—A call for a Farmer-Labor party conference, to be held May 27, 8 p. m., at Machinists' temple, was issued last night to all working class organizations of this city.

The call was issued in the name of several local labor unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., by an arrangements committee consisting of representatives of these unions.

Brother Adolph B. Gersch of Painters' Local No. 1083 was elected chairman of the arrangements committee, and brother H. O. McClurg of Paperhangers' Local No. 587 is the secretary.

The call follows:

"Greetings: There never was a time in the history of the labor movement when the possibilities were so apparent for the formation of a labor party.

"The cost of living is rising. An intense campaign is being carried on everywhere for the destruction of our organizations and for the establishment of the open shop system.

Bankruptcy of Farmers

Millions of farmers are bankrupt. The Teapot Dome exposures have shown conclusively that the government is completely subjected to Wall street and the big business interest. When a strike takes place the government machine is used to protect the bosses and against the workers.

The money powers in control of both the old parties are able to rule both in the political and economic world because of lack of cooperation among the toiling masses.

Labor's Success

"The success of the British Labor party is an outstanding achievement of first order. It comes at a time when the need for united action for our common defense is most pressing. It is an alluring precedent to follow.

"The success of the Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota is another striking example of the wisdom of united efforts by the exploited farmers and industrial workers. The farmers and the workers have a common cause. Those who work for the destruction of our organizations are also responsible for the appalling conditions prevailing among the farmers. More than five and a half million farmers are bankrupt and are at the point of starvation.

Unity Achievements

"All over the country the workers and the farmers are getting together and forming Farmer-Labor parties with the end in view of consolidating all these local Farmer-Labor Parties into State Parties and a national party, which will nominate candidates for president and vice-president on a Farmer-Labor ticket.

Conference Called

"A number of Philadelphia labor unions adopted resolutions for the immediate formation of a local labor party. Delegates were elected by these locals to a committee to call a conference for the formation of such a party. The committee met on May 8, at the Paperhangers' hall, 1534 Ridge avenue.

"In the name of these local unions the arrangements committee calls upon all labor and farmer organizations, working class fraternal and working class political organizations to come to the conference to be held in the Machinists' Temple, 13th and Spring Garden Streets, on Tuesday, May 27, 8 p. m., for the purpose of organizing a local Farmer-Labor party in Philadelphia.

"Representation to the conference will be as follows: Three delegates for each local labor union or working class political party; one delegate for each central labor body or working class fraternal organization.

Delegates' Representation

"We call upon your organization to elect delegates to this conference and to forward their credentials to the arrangements committee, whose secretary is H. O. McClurg, 1549 North 13th Street.

"Thanking you in anticipation of your cooperation in this most important matter, and with best wishes for a united front, we beg to remain,

Fraternally yours,

PAINTERS' L. U. No. 1083,
Adolph B. Gersch, Chairman,
PAPERHANGERS' L. U. No. 587,
H. O. McClurg, Secretary."

Kansas Farmer-Labor Party Will Now Be Organized

SALINA, Kan.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.)—A convention will be held here, beginning on Saturday, May 17th, composed of representatives of the farmers and industrial workers of Kansas who are ready to support the June 17th Farmer-Labor convention in St. Paul, Minn.

The call for this convention was issued on May 1st. In the form of a resolution, and signed by some 75 leaders in the Kansas Farmer-Labor movement, this call reads as follows:

In view of the fact that there are thousands of voters who feel they can no longer follow in the steps of either of the old political parties, nationally; and that many of the national leaders of the two dominant parties have been proven unworthy of the support of the forward-looking and progressive voters of the State; and that many men, who, when asked to serve their constituents in an official capacity are reluctant to do so, knowing that by receiving the support of the party machine they are expected to support it's wishes;

Therefore, in order to give the voters of Kansas an opportunity to vote for a candidate for president and vice-president whose principles coincide with the great majority of the voters of Kansas; and to elect delegates to the St. Paul Farmer-Labor Convention of June 17, 1924, and take such action in regard to the naming of State officers as the convention sees fit; the undersigned independent citizens and members of the Labor and Farm organizations hereby resolve to call a State Convention of all Progressive and Independent voters in the State of Kansas. This convention to be held at Salina, Kansas, on Saturday, May 7, 1924.

Call the attention of your progressive neighbors to this convention. Come, and bring some of them with you, not just to protest against political corruption, but because you advocate a constructive political program that will give us "A government of the people, for the people, and by the people."

LABOR PROTESTS LEASE TO FORD

DETROIT.—Charging that "the Muscle Shoals lease is looked upon by those who know, as a bigger graft than Teapot Dome," the Detroit Federation of Labor has sent a resolution to the two Michigan senators calling on them to "do all in their power to prevent the consummation of the deal to transfer government property to a private corporation." The huge government power and nitrate plant in Alabama is referred to.

A "Plum" To Ford

According to the Detroit Labor News, under the provisions of the contract Henry Ford will receive for \$1,500,000 property which would bring about \$16,000,000 at a forced sale.

"Mr. Ford will also be exempted from interference by the interstate commerce commission and the water power act," this paper declares. "The previous policy of conservation provided that a water power lease should run not more than 50 years, with no option for renewal. Ford is to receive Muscle Shoals for 100 years with the right of renewal, which really amounts to a lease in perpetuity.

Millions For Graft

"The government will be obliged by the agreement to spend \$50,000,000 more in construction work at Muscle Shoals in addition to the huge sums already spent. Upon this capital investment of the government, Ford will pay interest at about 2.85 per cent. The government will have no power to limit the profit Ford will make or the price he will charge for power.

No Guaranty of Service

"There is no guaranty in the agreement that the farmers will receive cheap fertilizer. Ford merely promises, to produce fertilizer containing 40,000 tons of fixed nitrates annually, to sell at a price which will bring him not more than 8 per cent profit. It is not known upon what basis the 8 per cent will be computed, whether upon the fixed value including the water power rights given to Ford or upon the cost of production."

THE FARM CRISIS

By HAROLD M. WARE.

(Following this concluding instalment of "The Farm Crisis" there will be a comprehensive consideration of the various proposed and prospective remedies for the present critical situation in the agricultural industry; and at the end, a general summary of the whole subject as dealt with. Ed.)

COTTON FARMING:

As you drop South into Oklahoma and Texas you come to the land of King Cotton. This also is a one-crop country. But the striking difference is the absolute lack of modern machinery, the primitive methods and the small average holdings of the tenant croppers. There are, of course, large farms in these two states, but farther East, in the Black Belt, they average only 20 to 40 acres. Cotton is the main crop. In fact the whole social and financial system of the South, revolves about cotton. It is natural then, that the demands of the crops should dictate the development of the South. In the past no machinery has been invented that can profitably displace the black fingers of the Negro cotton picker; and so, for centuries, the Negro has been kept in actual as well as political slavery.

But now a new element has forced itself upon the South. It is the boll weevil. The ravages of this insect have spread throughout the whole cotton area. It has made necessary new processes of spraying, disinfection and rotation of crops, which are far beyond the experience and powers of the Negro tenant to accomplish on his own.

A social revolution in the South is imminent. The migration of the Negroes to the North is but one of the evidences. Cotton failures have restricted the credit usually advanced to plantation "tenants" who were customarily "carried"—that is, fed—until the cotton was sold. To the general background of the fear of lynching, and the empty stomach through lack of the usual credit, then add the lure offered by Northern manufacturers, of cash wages, and you get—the migration of Negroes from the Southern cotton-growing area.

In the industrial agriculture of the West the interest of the working farmers—that is, the "working stiff"—is more than attainment of higher wages. They have the right due their skill and labor, to a foothold and a home on the land they work.

The Eastern farmer is slowly awakening, from the jolt of a 400 per cent increase in his mortgage debt, to a realization that his equity is evaporating. Also that the fictitious and inflated land values of 1920 have fallen, along with all other farm prices, in the cyclone that hit the farmer and has raged ever since 1920. The Eastern farmer must fight for his land— or move to town.

In the grain country, a social change is being forced by the inequalities between the individualistic system of agricultural production and the socialized system of industrial production. The new social structure in the grain country will depend upon this struggle between the forces of capital and the farmers, to possess the land.

In the South the working farmers—that is, the Negro and "poor white"—have always been bankrupt. The system of farming there has always been in the hands of the capitalists who exploit the working farmers. Even today that system would continue, but a change has been made necessary by a Bug. False "tenantry" must give way to plantations placed on an industrial basis. More and more, modern machinery will be introduced. The Negroes will become in name as well as in fact an exploited farm labor class.

HOME TOWN LABOR'S VIEW OF FORD

DETROIT.—"Ford's labor policy is well known to all who are close to Detroit," declares the Detroit Labor News, organ of the Detroit Federation of Labor. "As one gets away from the city of the straits the admiration for his policy increases in geometric ratio. He doesn't object to paying 'high' wages. He sweats his employes to make up for it. What he dislikes is independence on the part of his workers. Ford is the personification of the industrial autocrat. He will not tolerate anything but servile obedience. His plants, therefore, have the atmosphere of the well regulated penitentiary. Not being able to tolerate independence and self expression in his sweatshop Ford naturally can not tolerate the unions."

This Is Issue Number 16

LOOK AT YOUR ADDRESS LABEL! If the number appearing on your address label is the same as above, your subscription expires with this issue. Watch your expiration number. RENEW your subscription before it expires. No other notice will be sent.

UNEMPLOYMENT ADVANCES

Unemployment is a constant dread of the workers under Capitalism—and the fear of it is a source with which to drive them in the slavery of their employment periods. That fear is ever present in the mind of the worker—except when the conflicting interests of rival imperialist groups produce an international war. Then the workers who are not employed upon the job of murdering each other—for the benefit of world Capitalism—are all required for the production of war paraphernalia and supplies. In "peace" times, the twin spectres of Unemployment and Want are always within the worker's view.

Cause of Present Unemployment

During the period of 1919-1923, beginning immediately with close of the Great War, the capitalist system of the world has presented a spectacle of constantly declining production—because of failing markets—and consequent growing unemployment. Despite temporary variations due to inconsistencies within the system, the general trend was always toward a more wide-spread unemployment of the working class throughout the world. And at the present time the world's workers are confronted with the most profound unemployment crisis in history. For many millions of workers there is now no possible chance of employment. And this situation must grow worse, with the passing days—unless or until another war absorbs the working masses. Although the United States of America is now the richest country in the world of finance, as an integral part of World Capitalism it cannot escape participation in the present financial and industrial crisis.

Extent and Rate of Unemployment

It is certain that unemployment on a mass scale never known before must in the near future face the American working class. The tendency in that direction is fixed by broad underlying factors that are quite irresistible. Unemployment is present, it is increasing, and only the rate of its development is subject to variation by minor factors.

In the United States general unemployment has not yet developed the mass character which is now existent in many European countries. But the downward tendency of production in this country, and the increase of unemployment is distinctly marked and threatening. And the one alternative to a state of general unemployment, in this country as in all other countries, is the same—another Great War.

What else means the recent frank statement of Babson's Economic Service to the employing class: "Many of the men now getting an increase in wages will be out of work before 1924 is ended?" What else means this capitalistic government's admonition—spread nation-wide by means of the Post Office Department—"Let's Go to Training Camp?" What else means the insidious capitalistic propaganda against the prevalent public sentiment toward pacifism? There is—and there could be—no other meaning.

Program for Combatting Unemployment.

Unemployment is an inevitable accompaniment of Capitalism, and can be abolished only with the system that produces it. In the struggle against unemployment, that fact must never be forgotten.

The slogans and practical actions of the struggle should follow two general channels—the political and the industrial. These two lines of action will often be intertwined and interchangeable. The political nature of the struggle must be developed and strengthened, but without destroying the mass character of the movement. The trade unions, all farmers' and industrial workers' organizations, and the unorganized employed must be drawn into organized participation in the unemployed demonstrations and actions. The instruments of action in the fight against unemployment must include every section of organized labor and of the revolutionary movement.

The slogans of the political and industrial lines of action should be, respectively, as follows:

Political.

- Government operation of non-operating industries and shops.
- Inauguration of public work.
- Maintenance of unemployed, at union rates of wages.
- Nationalization of mines, railroads and public utilities.
- Abolition of Child Labor.
- Recognition of and trade relations with Soviet Russia.

Unemployment insurance, administered by the workers.

Grants by the Government.

Industrial.

Industry must be responsible for maintenance of its workers.

Equal division of work among workers in each industry and shop.

Assessment of employed, for relief of unemployed.

Establishment of control committee of workers, to regulate production and investigate accounts.

Struggle against sabotage by employers.

Unemployment insurance, supported wholly by the employers and administered wholly by the workers.

JOBS ON THE TOBOGGAN

BY LELAND OLDS

(Federated Press Industrial Editor)

A serious decline in factory employment during April is shown in reports from the state labor departments of Illinois and New York. Both reports show sharp reductions in working forces as compared with a year ago and indicate that the unemployment which has been slowly spreading since last June has seriously cut down the public's buying power. The importance of reports from these two states is accentuated by the fact that together they employ over one-fifth of all the country's factory labor.

Fully 40,000 workers have been discharged from Illinois factories since June, 1923, according to the state labor department, which points out that employment in the state is markedly on the decline.

"The unfavorable change in the employment situation during April," it says, "is of real significance. Production generally begins to pick up in March and expands further in April and May; following which, there is usually a letdown in the middle of the summer. The decline in April coming when an expansion was to be expected indicates that the level of operation in Illinois industries is reacting to a lower level."

State employment offices reported an oversupply of common labor with 142 applicants for each 100 jobs. This contrasts with last April when there were 86 applicants for each 100 jobs and employers bid the common labor rate up to 70 cents an hour.

Industrial Commissioner Shientag of New York state reports a sharp drop in factory employment during April with 55,000 fewer workers on the payrolls of New York city than a year ago. The reductions extended to most of the industries and to all important manufacturing districts.

Metropolitan industries almost without exception, show a decline.

Shientag reports a condition in the clothing industry similar to Illinois with over 10 per cent in the men's clothing trades laid off. This year, he says, scarcely any of the clothing producers are holding so many workers through the dull season as in 1923. Employment in the shoe factories is below a year ago.

The question, "Is there a depression with concomitant unemployment?" has changed into the more vital one, "How long will it last?"

SECRETARY HOOVER'S "PROSPERITY" HOAX

(By Federated Press)

Was Secretary Hoover conspiring with Wall Street to give the people a false sense of prosperity when he announced through the president's cabinet that there was little or no unemployment in the country? U. S. bureau of labor statistics figures to which he must have had access seem to answer in the affirmative. This is the second instance in which the executive branch of the government appears as the publicity tool of business interests.

Starts Fund For Unemployed

CHICAGO.—One million dollars for unemployment relief is at the disposal of the insurance trustees selected by the Amalgamated Clothing workers and their employers in the Chicago men's garment industry.

WHERE UNEMPLOYMENT IS NOT "WOLF AT DOOR"

Among the other "impossibilities" which the Russian Soviet Government has proven are not really impossible, is this fact: that a period when all of the workers cannot be employed in the industries need not necessarily result in hardship for those unemployed.

The anomaly of unemployment in the Russian Workers' Republic—where that condition does exist, to a limited extent—gives much comfort to "Sammy" Gompers and his ignorant apologists. But the fact is not due to any of the causes which bring about such a situation under capitalism. There is some unemployment at present in Russia because, although the State industries are absorbing more and more workers daily, this increasing demand for industrial workers has not kept pace with the number of peasants and former merchants joining the ranks of unskilled workers in the cities.

Thus, paradoxically, the number of workers employed in the Russian industries has been steadily growing at the same time that the number of unemployed has increased. And as the Russian industries increase production, the wages of the workers are increased accordingly—the presence of a great number of unemployed workers not being permitted to interfere with the Soviet Government's plan for increasing wages whenever a reconstructed industry makes possible an increased production.

Also, in that first great Workers' Republic, the necessarily unemployed receive real relief, of a sort that brings security of livelihood for the willing worker who cannot gain employment. These relief measures operate in four ways.

(1) Relief through public works; and also by Labor Exchanges financing local production, and organizing groups of unemployed to work there until required somewhere else.

(2) Relief by social insurance of the Government.

(3) Relief by way of directly-given food from State kitchens, and allotted sleeping-quarters; with special relief for women and youth, and State nurseries for the children of unemployed women.

(4) Relief by the trade unions, to the extent of from three to fifteen per cent of the union's income, for unemployed tradesmen.

How different under capitalism is the situation and prospects of the worker who is unemployed!

Chamber of Commerce Sentiment

The Chamber of Commerce of Decatur, Illinois, seems to be quite a typical specimen of its sort. In that city recently, through its efforts, was prevented a showing of the great new film—"Russia and Germany: A Tale of Two Republics"—on the pretext that in this effort to assist the starving German children there is "Communist propaganda."

The film was booked to show at the Decatur High School, and at the last moment permit was withdrawn by J. J. Richeson, Superintendent of Schools—who did not submit the question to the Board of Education but acted directly upon the request of John McEvoy, President of the local Chamber of Commerce. It being impossible to secure another hall, on short notice, six hundred people who had obtained tickets were turned from the school doors.

This despicable action of the Chamber of Commerce has aroused tremendous public indignation, and there is a storm of protest from the people of Decatur, who are clamoring for a return of the picture. The film will be shown in Decatur, despite this heartless Chamber of Commerce interference.

The picture is being shown all over the country, without hindrance, and to crowded halls. It appeared in the Orchestra Hall, at Chicago, on May 14th; and the first showing in New York City was on May 9th, at the Central Opera House.

The working class of America is moved to compassion by the sight of the German workers battling heroically against the black forces of capitalist reaction, with its attendant misery and starvation for the masses. And they are thrilled with hope, over the tremendous workers' advance shown in the Soviet Russian picture.

The receipts from the showing of this picture—will be sent to the National Committee for Internationa Justice, Lincoln St., 7th fl. of the Ge.

Farmer-Labor Forum

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.

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

Outlook, Wash., May 4, 1924.

Editor, Farmer-Labor Party:

The Farmer-Labor Party in this state is getting into action. As chairman of the Fourth District committee, I have called a mass meeting at Prosser on June 2 for the purpose of electing five delegates to the St. Paul national convention, and to take action in regard to placing a candidate in the field for member of Congress.

On the same date, at Prosser, the Western Progressive Farmers organization will hold its annual convention. They have already endorsed the Farmer-Labor Party, and will give it their hearty support.

As for the other farm organizations, they are more or less reactionary. The Grange has many radicals as members, but as an organization The Grange is forbidden to endorse political candidates. The Farm Belt and the Farmers Union are in about the same situation as The Grange.

Some of the labor unions are controlled by Gompers, and are clearly reactionary. But a majority of them control The Daily Union Record, which will support the Farmer-Labor Party.

The secretary of our state committee is John C. Kennedy, formerly of Chicago; and at one time a professor in the University of that city. He is very active in the movement. And so is Ellhu Bowles, of Prosser, editor of The Western Progressive Farmer. Brother Bowles is sometimes called "The Cherry King," because of the great crop of that fruit which he raises.

The sentiment is good here for Senator LaFollette as a candidate for president—but any other capable man would be acceptable.

I am enclosing a check for \$1.00. Send me a bundle of your newspaper, for general distribution.

WALTER PRICE.

Editor, Farmer-Labor Party:

The present deplorable condition of the wheat-farmer is because of their lack of effort to help themselves. President Coolidge—as well as the Secretary of Agriculture—has said that it is up to the farmers to work out their own salvation.

So we must organize for action, and hold meetings to explain the plan of operation. County meetings should send delegates to state meetings of conference. And these state conferences should elect delegates to meet with labor representatives in a national convention.

In the nominating convention for a third political party ticket, which is to be held in St. Paul on June 17, the farmer-delegates will have plans to present, for relief of their present situation. We are wanting farm equipment, of all kinds. And we are in need of clothing, of coal, oil, paint—as well as ready money, for educational and other purposes. The farmers today are so poor that social activities among them have practically ceased.

WILLIAM MAXWELL,

Conway, N. Dak.

To the Editor, Farmer-Labor Party:

The present financial situation of the American farmers might be said to be due to "the high cost of false pretense."

For years and years past, the farmer has had to buy at retail (high), and sell at wholesale (cheap). He has had his land (job) taxed to carry on many kinds of government—including several kinds of courts—when the old town-meeting direct legislation would have served him much better than all of these. The banks—licensed by the people to rob the people—charge Seven Billion Dollars a year, to let the farmers use his own credit—and keep big bank ledgers to show that this farmer has money on deposit and at the same time owns the bank.

It is said that the interest-bearing bonds of all the various kinds of government—including mortgages, notes and instalment-house debts—amount to \$350,000,000,000. So, with Five Billion Dollars of capital, the farmer pays the banker Seven Billion Dollars on the claim of loaned bank credit.

In the same way, Henry Ford is able to pay his workers \$6.00 per day—with the buyers' money—and piles up millions each year, for Ford—because he does not give full exchange when he trades a Ford machine for a farmer's money. And now he wants Muscle Shoals—"for patriotic (profit-seeking) purposes."

EZRA R. AVERILL,
Grand Rapids, Mich.

According to the daily papers President Coolidge broke the official record for brevity, in his personal account of this past achievement.

Adolph B. Gersch, Congressional Paperhangers' L. 1-half lines
H. O. McClurg, 8 1/2 lines?

Waiting!



BOOK REVIEWS

International Labor Movement

The Red International of Labor Unions has issued a pamphlet presenting a graphic picture of the trade union movement, from a world-wide viewpoint. Dealing not so much with the technical details of the various labor organizations and their problems, the pamphlet defines most comprehensively the revolutionary as well as the reactionary tendencies existing within the international labor movement.

Special attention is given to the tremendous struggle of progressive labor elements against the class collaboration policies of the old labor bureaucracy which is attempting organization of a so-called International Federation of Trade Unions (the "Yellow Amsterdam International").

Such an exposition of the world's labor situation is especially of value at this time to the American working class. Revolutionary progress of the trade union movement in this country has been for forty years "slow-motioned," through the reactionary A. E. of L. bureaucracy. The narrow nationalistic and craft-union spirit permeating organized labor under the direction of Samuel Gompers has until recently limited the vision of the American trade unionist.

But, following the World War, it seems that a strong revolutionary "left wing" has been developed within the trade unions of the United States. And this progressive movement is being organized into a veritable American section of the R. I. L. U. In the pamphlet under consideration the course of American trade unionism past and present, is given full consideration and illuminating analysis.

The World's Trade Union Movement, by A. Losovsky, general secretary, R. I. L. U., Trade Union League, Chicago.

Foes of Conscription

(Federated Press Book Review.)

While most people were opposed to conscription before the big business interests threw the shadow of world war across America, only 500 men of draft age carried the opposition to the extreme limit in the brave days when every bayonet dripped with gory democracy.

These 500 war objectors and the 4,500 who went part of the way with them in defying the Wilson war machine get their day in the court of the reading public through Norman Thomas' book 'The Conscientious Objector in America.'

The American is not a bad kicker and he will therefore find much to interest him in the account of the government's troubles with these rebels against military authority. He will pass over the accounts of inhuman torture in American camps of

some of the objectors, knowing that soldiers in battle suffered just as much and more, though not perhaps in the name of liberty and justice, coldly administered by safety-first captains and colonels. He will linger a bit over the 57 varieties of religious objection and then will come down to the honest-to-god objector that every doughboy could understand.

This was the objector who handed it out to the officers as his view that it was a rich man's war and a poor man's fight. This objector had no objection to the army and to the fighting men as such. In fact he rather favored a good scrap like the Russian revolution or the American revolution and wouldn't mind putting on a uniform and shouldering a gun to fight against the Wall Street war profiteers and the bosses generally. The dollar a day Yank who has now been refused his cash bonus will appreciate such fighting doctrine.

Right here the more belligerent reader will conclude that the book falls down a bit. The author is evidently allied with the groups opposed to all war and develops a comprehensive anarchist theory of the state. The good point about this is that he knocks those easygoing objectors who were willing to take noncombatant service. They were unwilling to feed the gun but jumped at the chance to feed the gunner. Thomas shows them up.

The book has a foreword by LaFollette who picturesquely points out that "a conscience against war brought objectors to prison! a lack of conscience against stealing brought profiteers to palaces!"—C. H.

The Conscientious Objector in America, by Norman Thomas; B. W. Huebsch Inc., New York, \$2.

Labor Pamphlets

NEW YORK.—The Denial of Civil Liberties in the Coal Fields, by Winthrop Lane (has been published by George H. Doran for the League for Industrial Democracy); the American Civil Liberties Union, and other organizations. It pictures the czarist rule of company managers and gunmen in company-owned towns. Besides, the results of other investigations are given including the official report of the Federal Coal Commission.

Development of industry through reduction of surtaxes on the rich, the steel trust, and how Henry Ford gets his money are some of the subjects discussed in George Soule's new pamphlet, The Accumulation of Capital, published by the League for Industrial Democracy, 79 Fifth avenue, New York.

The New York "World" says, "Little did Coolidge think, when he was sworn into office by the light of the oil-lamp." That's too bad. But he now has plenty of food for thought—in the light of the oil illumination.

Waiting!

