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STORY OF THE CONVENTION

(By JOSEPH MANLEY)

This national convention marks a new epoch in the struggle of the workers and exploited farmers for economic and political emancipation. The political revolts of the past, with their strong agricultural backing, fell far short of their mark largely because of failure to form a solid bond of unity with the industrial workers.

The St. Paul convention, tho held far from the center of population, had in it a large and leading element of industrial workers. It's size would have been greater, but for the poverty of the two basic groups—the renting or bankrupt farmers and rank and file industrial workers. One group of farmers drove from the Pacific Coast over the Rocky Mountains in their little auto, to the convention; a number of workers from the Atlantic Coast were enabled to "ride the cushions," thru the efforts of several workers organizations contributing to a common expense fund.

Complexion of Convention

Has this convention been built around the personality of LaFollette, it would have been flooded with lawyers and politicians of the small business-man type, all anxious to help "lead" the workers and farmers, into any kind of "practical political expediency." Whereas, that being not the case, the great bulk of those who came were more anxious to lay the foundation of a great united organization than to cater to a vote-catching proposition. To the latter fact may be attributed the harmony of this great convention, which on all important issues voted unanimously.

On the opening day, St. Paul morning newspapers were filled with the usual hysterical attacks upon the convention and the so-called "menace of Bolshevism." This barrage by the newspapers had little effect upon either the worker or farmer delegates. The latter especially were mindful of similar attacks upon the old Nonpartisan League, many of the farmer delegates having been victims of "tar and feather" parties in the not far distant days of war hysteria. And consequently, little attention was paid to the scarehead lies of the various capitalistic scribblers.

Keynote of Harmony

When Mahoney opened the convention with an address in which he traced the history of the Farmer-Labor movement and the previous conventions that had all contributed their part to build the foundation for a national movement. The first great burst of applause came when he stressed the need for a permanent organization of farmers and workers. This plainly indicated the temper of the convention and set the keynote for the succeeding sessions. The mention of LaFollette's name scarcely brought forth a ripple and clearly showed that the delegates were not willing to subordinate their desire for a Party to the opportunism of any individual, no matter how seemingly popular.

The delegates in the convention numbered well over five hundred, and they came from more than thirty states. They represented sixteen state Farmer-Labor Parties and two national political parties—the Workers Party and the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. Hundreds of delegates were from local unions, central labor unions, workers and farmers co-operative and fraternal organizations. The entire delegation was highly representative of the young but militant Farmer-Labor movement that is becoming national in character, with ever increasing speed.

All Delegates Seated

The report of the credential committee was unanimously adopted, with very little discussion. Thus for the second time a Farmer-Labor convention seated Communist delegates

representing the Workers Party of America—the first time being in the Chicago convention of last July. And in this St. Paul convention not a single delegate amongst all the various philosophies represented raised any question on their right to be thus seated. This fact, probably more than anything else, served to cement together, at the very outset, the various elements in the convention. Also it proved that the workers and farmers were not frightened by the capitalist newspaper "red" scares, but have come to recognize that the Communists are playing a leading part in the Farmer-Labor movement and in the building of a National Farmer-Labor Party. And following the report of the credentials committee the convention settled down to business—with the shadow of LaFollette hovering over it.

Farmer-Laborite for Chairman

A spirited contest took place over the election of permanent chairman, William Mahoney and Charles E. Taylor being nominated—the latter a Farmer-Labor State Senator from Montana. The LaFollette candidacy was injected into this contest, the delegates seeming to recognize that Taylor stands for the organization of a National Farmer-Labor Party, while Mahoney was for a loose campaign coalition gathered around LaFollette as the master mind. The vote was counted by States, and the result was 718 in favor of Taylor and 116 for Mahoney. Minnesota, Mahoney's own State cast a majority of its vote for Taylor.

Adjourn for Committee Action

It was proposed to elect three committees, one on organization, one on platform and one on candidates; each to be composed of delegates from each state represented in the convention. Some confusion and debate occurred on the method of procedure. It being almost time for adjournment, the writer moved to recess and hold a special night session, thus giving the various states a chance to caucus and select their representatives on the committees. As the convention hall could not be obtained for the night session, adjournment took place until the following morning.

The Question of Platform

On the second day the convention started somewhat listlessly, because the points at issue were being fought out in the various committees. The platform committee contained some who favored a very short platform that would be acceptable to LaFollette; while others—and these afterwards proved to be in the majority—favored a platform whose brevity must be consistent with clear-cut proposals to meet the various economic and social issues underlying the Farmer-Labor movement.

The organization committee was confronted with the differences arising out of the two viewpoints, the one that favored the immediate taking of steps toward the formation of a national Farmer-Labor Party, and the other that nothing but a loose campaign coalition be formed. Those on the committee who favored the candidacy of LaFollette also favored the coalition idea.

The committee on candidates raises the question of whether the convention should merely endorse LaFollette as an independent candidate or go right ahead and nominate its own candidates and wage the coming political struggle as the Farmer-Labor Party.

Referred to Committee

No reports being ready from the committee's on organization and candidates, the writer as chairman of the committee on platform made a report agreed to by all but one of its thirty members. This took place at the night session of the second day, due to the desire of Chairman Taylor to give the widest latitude for discussion; and to avoid the charge of "steamroller" tactics, an extensive discussion on the (Continued on Page 2.)

OUR CANDIDATE

Duncan McDonald is and has always been a worker—not a politician. He was born in a mining camp log cabin, near Youngstown, Ohio,—November 25th, 1873.

In 1881 the family moved to LaSalle County, Illinois,—where McDonald's father followed the precarious vocation of a coal-miner and the boy Duncan took care of the small farm homestead. At the age of sixteen—as soon as the law permitted—Duncan McDonald went to work in the mines.

Being a very active member of the miners' organization, he was soon elected local secretary of the National Progressive Union—which later became the United Mine Workers of America. After representing his local union, as a delegate in practically all conventions from 1897 to 1902, Duncan McDonald was then chosen as organizer for the Pittsburgh district, of Pennsylvania.

In 1903 he was sent to Colorado, Wyoming and New Mexico—where he took an active part in the big mine strike of that year. Here McDonald was elected as an Executive Board member of the Illinois miners' organization. After serving four years in that position, he became a member of the International Executive Board; and while thus functioning, was elected President of the Illinois miners' union. He served one year in that capacity, and then seven years as Secretary-Treasurer.

McDonald then took up the work of organizing co-operative stores; and while in that capacity, was elected President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. Following a year's service in this position, he took part in the organization work of the Labor Party; and later began publication of the Illinois Industrial Review—which was continued until the late industrial depression closed the mines and forced suspension of that newspaper.

This Farmer-Labor candidate for President of the United States was eighteen years a member of the Socialist Party,—leaving that organization to join the newly-formed Labor Party, and later the Farmer-Labor Party.

THE WORKERS PARTY AND LAFOLLETTE

In spite of the scarehead lies spread by the capitalist daily newspapers relative to the alleged attempts of the Workers Party to "control the convention," the proceedings there soon demonstrated that the attitude of this organization is militant and constructive. It well proved its stand for a class Farmer-Labor Party, rather than the subordination of that objective—which was the almost unanimous sentiment of the convention—to the personal wishes of some self-seeking individual.

The position of the Workers Party toward LaFollette was clearly set forth by its National Chairman, William Z. Foster, in the following statement:

"In view of the statement made by Mr. Mahoney, relative to the candidacy of Mr. LaFollette, I feel it incumbent upon me to state the position of the Workers Party on this matter. In the coming negotiations between the national committee of the national Farmer-Labor Party and other groups relative to combined action upon a presidential candidate, the only basis upon which the Workers Party will accept LaFollette as a candidate is, if he agrees to run as the Farmer-Labor candidate, to accept that party's platform and its control over his electoral campaign—its own funds."

LaFollette, Whom I Will Not Support

Wm. Z. Foster

STORY OF THE CONVENTION

(Continued from page 1.)

platform took place. No serious objection was raised to the platform as a whole. The discussion occurred on points of technical advisability for direct mention of the negro problem. Walter Thomas Mills, California delegate, made an argument for a platform modeled along the lines of the old Nonpartisan League platform. Most of the delegates were in favor of the platform as read, but in order to allow of certain minor amendments and so that all might be thoroughly informed, the platform was ordered printed and all those having amendments to submit were invited before the platform committee on the following morning.

Committee Report Adopted

William Mahoney, for the committee on organization, presented a report which he said was unanimously adopted by the entire committee. The report (which is printed in full elsewhere) was the result of the combined efforts of the committee members, and represented an agreement between the two points of view in the committee.

The report declared for a national Farmer-Labor Party. A national organization and campaign committee was provided for, consisting of two representatives from each state and two from each national organization. The Chairman, Secretary and Executive Committee of five members, to be elected by the National Committee and authorized to carry on negotiations with any other group that favored a national Farmer-Labor Party, with a view toward unity. This report was adopted by a unanimous vote of the convention and it completed the second days session, at the hour of midnight.

Action on Candidates

At the opening of the third days session Delegate Gorman, Chairman of the Committee on Candidates, reported as follows: "The Committee on Candidates recommends to the convention that it shall proceed with nominations for President and Vice-President of the United States, in accordance with the provisions of the Organizational Committee report which was unanimously adopted." Delegate Taylor, of Nebraska, moved as a minority report the following: "That we favor Robert M. LaFollette for President if he should become a candidate. If he should conclude not to become a candidate, then our National Committee is instructed to confer and agree with the conference or convention which is to convene at Cleveland, Ohio, on July 4th."

The discussion that occurred on the report of this committee brought forth speeches in favor of LaFollette, and on the other hand, speeches condemning him as an enemy of a real Farmer-Labor Party organization. As the discussion went on, it was plain that much hero-worship of LaFollette had been indulged in and that a careful examination of his record showed that he had never really taken a fundamental position opposed to the system that was crushing the lives of the workers and farmers alike. Finally, in the afternoon session, the convention voted to table both the minority report and a substitute moved by Missouri delegate Stanley J. Clark. And immediately following, the report of the Committee on Candidates was adopted by an overwhelming majority.

The convention amidst tremendous enthusiasm, then nominated Duncan McDonald and William Bouck for President and Vice-President, respectively. McDonald was nominated by Alexander Howat, who told the story of McDonald's life as a miner. John C. Kennedy, nominated William Bouck. And both nominations were declared to be unanimous.

Convention's Task Completed

The state delegations then announced their selections on the National Committee. And shortly afterwards the convention adjourned sine die.

The following day the National Committee met and elected Alexander Howat as its National Chairman and C. A. Hathaway as its Secretary (the latter office being provisional, as was also the choice of St. Paul as headquarters, until after the July 4th convention). The members of the executive committee are William Mahoney, Alice Lorraine Daly, Scott Wilkins, Joseph Manley and Alfred Knutson.

The St. Paul Convention completed its tasks without a break in its ranks. The organization it formed is entering the coming political campaign not only to elect candidates but to

MINNESOTA LABOR EDITOR DECLARES FOR THE NEW PARTY

If the enemies of the National Farmer-Labor Party—and this includes the entire capitalist press—had hoped for some comfort from William Mahoney, Minnesota Farmer-Labor leader and editor of the Union Advocate, then they have been sorely disappointed. That newspaper—which is owned and controlled by the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, and is also the official organ of the Minnesota Federation of Labor—contains the following editorial by Mahoney:

NATIONAL FARMER-LABOR PARTY SUCCESSFUL

From the Minnesota Union Advocate,
June 19

The National Farmer-Labor-Progressive convention has been held and its work is a matter of history.

No like undertaking ever encountered greater opposition, or more vicious and unfair attacks. From the day it was decided to hold a national third party convention until it adjourned sine die it met with increasing malignity.

But in spite of this volume and variety of hostility, the convention accomplished its purpose in a most satisfactory way. An excellent platform has been adopted, able and representative candidates have been nominated for president and vice-president, and the foundation has been laid for a great National Farmer-Labor Party.

Surely the character and purpose of the convention should have evoked the commendation of every farmer, worker and the other elements who are the victims of the present iniquitous industrial conditions; and it should have received the support and those promoting it should have had the co-operation of every intelligent worker who must recognize the necessity for unity and harmony if the common people are ever to escape from their present wretchedness.

It was to be expected that the old parties would fight the idea of a convention of farmers, workers and progressives; but when organized groups representing the working people joined in the attacks, success was made doubly difficult. As a last and supreme stroke Senator LaFollette was pressed into

the service of the opposition and employed his powerful influence to kill the convention.

The last stroke, without doubt, seriously affected the attendance, and cut the size of the convention to a fifth of what it would have been without Senator LaFollette's denunciation. The character and spirit of the convention was likewise influenced by the perpetual hammering of its enemies.

But the delegates were finally brought together and a spirit of depression and distrust prevailed at the outset. This feeling was aggravated by the local newspapers, which did their utmost to destroy the morale of the delegates by seeking to differentiate and array one set of delegates against the other.

As the convention proceeded and the delegates began to get acquainted with each other their mutual confidence increased, until finally there was the utmost good faith and unanimity among them. Aside from a few unimportant outbreaks of suspicious individuals, it was an extremely harmonious and constructive gathering.

It was charged that the "Communists" were in control and would run away with the convention. In the entire period of the convention there was not at any time a test of strength, and on practically every important occasion the vote was almost unanimous. The convention did not divide on Communist and non-Communist principles.

If the "Communists" were in the majority, they did not show the least inclination to employ their power in putting across any one of the outstanding views they hold, either in matter of principles or tactics.

The leaders showed a disposition to go the limit to lay the foundation for a great Farmer-Labor national party, and deserve the most unqualified praise for their moderation and good sense in subordinating theoretical principles to practical accomplishments. Mr. Foster and Mr. Ruthenberg both employed their vote and counsel to promote the purposes for which the convention was called and have given the lie to their traducers.

We believe the convention accomplished in the highest degree the great work for which it was intended. It has laid the foundation for a great national party of the common people; and it deserves the confidence and co-operation of all other groups seeking the emancipation of those who live by labor.

THE FARM PROBLEM AND INTERNATIONALISM

When William Bouck was called to the platform, following the ovation that greeted his unanimous nomination, he didn't indulge in pyrotechnics, but immediately began discussing internationalism.

Internationalism Vital.

"They tell us that we must have nothing to do with anything that smacks of internationalism. I want to say that I claim the right to investigate conditions in other countries as well as in this country, and to learn how those conditions affect us. I want the farmers to talk internationalism. They all know that the price of their wheat is fixed in the Liverpool market. Liverpool settles the price of world wheat. You farmers can crawl back into your Minnesota and your North Dakota but your markets, the price of your wheat and other grain will not crawl in with you. That is an international question."

Bouck Praises Wobblies.

Bouck also paid tribute to the Industrial Workers of the World, amid the cheers of the delegates, showing how they had cleaned up the lumber camps in the state of Washington and were now enjoying a decent wage and conditions better than the farmers.

He that will not reason is a bigot; he that cannot reason is a fool; and he that dare not reason is a slave.

—Drummond.

Today the absurdities of capitalism are becoming as apparent to even its own champions, as its iniquities have for decades past been apparent to radical thinkers.

SORLIE AND THE LEAGUE

Senator Ladd of North Dakota is quoted in the capitalist press, as seeing in the victory of A. G. Sorlie over Governor R. E. Nestos, a complete come back of the Nonpartisan League. The "progressive" Senators at Washington profess to see in this also a powerful backing for LaFollette.

In the convention of the Nonpartisan League last February, a bare 97 delegates were present. All the old Leaguers were filled with pessimism as to the future of that organization, because previous to the convention the League-controlled Republican State Central Committee had endorsed Coolidge for President. At the convention itself letters were read from both Congressman Sinclair and Senator Frazier asking for the endorsement of LaFollette for President. The convention refused to endorse LaFollette. But the convention was nothing more than the defunct remains of the old League, with its worst office seekers infesting it. Following the convention, many of the best League delegates got together and organized the Farmer-Labor Party of North Dakota.

Senators Ladd and Frazier since they have moved to Washington may not know the true situation; and for their information we offer the above facts, which they can easily verify. The Nonpartisan League is dead. In its place stands the Farmer-Labor Party, with a militant program that offers some real hope to the bankrupt wheat-growers of North Dakota.

The worse the condition of society, the more visionary must a true code of morals appear.—Herbert Spencer.

The New Party Platform

The Declaration of Independence enunciated a principle that every human being is endowed with certain inalienable rights. Among these are the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. These rights are today denied the great mass of people of this country by a privileged class which thru its economic and political power dominates the life of the people of this country.

This privileged class has, thru the organization of trusts, thru interlocking directorates, thru the great banking institutions of Wall Street, concentrated control of the economic life of the country in the hands of a financial oligarchy with its headquarters in Wall Street. It uses its power to amass great wealth for itself at the expense of the happiness and well-being of the farmers and industrial workers who are the producers of the wealth of this country.

In order to maintain its privileges and to aid in its exploitation of the farmers and industrial workers, this privileged class has fastened its grip upon the government. It uses the legislative, executive and judicial branches of the government alike as instruments in its service to secure greater and greater profits and to amass greater and greater wealth.

It has used bribery and corruption to steal from the people the natural resources of the country.

Thru raids upon the public treasury during the war and in the settlement of war contracts it has looted the people of hundreds of millions if not billions of dollars.

The legislation passed by Congress is cleverly designed to increase the profits of the privileged class. It has driven millions of farmers from the land thru its financial manipulations.

It uses the courts to strike down the industrial workers who dare to carry on the struggle for better wages and working conditions.

It uses the police power and soldiers against the same industrial workers who seek to secure from industry the means in wages sufficient for a decent standard of living.

It has created governmental wars which have no other purpose than to keep the workers in subjection and make impossible the realization of their aspirations for a higher standard of living.

It uses the Supreme Court to protect its proprietary interests and its right to bring process against the welfare of the millions who produce wealth.

It maintains a great army and navy for the purpose of protecting its investments in foreign lands and coercing weaker governments in the interests of the Wall Street financial oligarchy.

It has not hesitated and will not hesitate to throw this country into war and sacrifice millions of lives and millions of wealth in order to protect its financial interests and increase its opportunity to make profits.

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

The Farmer-Labor Party frankly avows its purpose to carry on such a struggle. It declares openly that it is the Party representing the workers in the mines, mills, factories, and workshops, the workers upon the land, and the working farmers. It declares its purpose to take over the government in the interests of these groups, and to use it to build a social system which will give them a higher standard of living and which will have as its first object their happiness and well-being.

The Farmer-Labor Party declares as its purpose to end the existing system of exploitation and the rule of the privileged class. It calls upon all organizations of workers, whether in the industries or upon the land, to make common cause with it; to join it in the struggle to free the farmers and industrial workers from the greedy exploitation of those who now rule the country and win for themselves the right to "Life, liberty and happiness" thru the establishment of a Workers and Farmers' Government.

A. Public Ownership

There can be no genuine Public Ownership until the workers and farmers control the Government. It is only to the extent that there is a strong workers' and farmers' representation in the government, and only to the extent that the control and operation of the nationalized industries is in the hands of the workers and farmers that any benefits can be realized from nationalization of industry. The Farmer-Labor Party will carry on a struggle to create these conditions and for:

1. The nationalization of all monopolized industries, such as railroads, mines, super-power plants and means of communication and transportation.

2. The organization of the workers in these industries for participation in the management and direction of the industries nationalized, thus developing industrial democracy until industry goes under the control of those who produce the wealth of the nation, subject only to such control as will protect the interests of the producers as a whole.

3. We demand the repeal of the Federal Reserve and National Banking acts and in place thereof declare for the government ownership and operation of all banking institutions at cost.

B. Organization of Labor

1. The protection of the right of the industrial and agricultural workers to organize labor unions for the protection of their interests and the encouragement of such organizations.

2. Legislation abolishing the right of the courts to issue injunctions in labor disputes.

3. The use of police, militia and army to protect the workers in their struggles against the exploiters in place of the use of these instruments of the government to suppress the struggles of the workers and farmers, as is the case under the existing capitalistic government.

C. Social Legislation for the Industrial and Agricultural Workers

1. Enactment of a law providing for the adjustment of the hours of work so as to afford employment to all workers in each industry, with the maximum workday of eight hours in all industries.

2. A federal constitutional amendment making the employment of children in industry under sixteen years of age a criminal offense and compulsory education and maintenance at government expense.

3. A federal law providing for a minimum wage for all workers—the wage to be fixed in cooperation with the representatives of the trade unions.

4. A social insurance and old age pension law providing for adequate sick, accident and death insurance for all city and rural workers. Funds for the same to be secured thru increased taxation of incomes, excess profits, surtaxes and inheritance taxes and taxes upon unearned income.

5. A national maternity insurance law providing for adequate compensation for all mothers for a period covering one month prior to and one month after childbirth.

6. The abolition of residential restrictions upon the right to vote.

D. Farmers' Program

1. Land was created for all the people and we demand as system of land tenure which will eliminate landlordism and tenantry and will secure the land to the users thereof.

2. Public ownership of all means of transportation, marketing institutions and industries engaged in the preparation and distribution of farm products, with participation of the farmers in the management of these industries.

3. Legislation for loans to farmers in distress, without interest, thru government banking organizations.

4. The development of marketing organizations owned by the government, with participation of the farmers in the management, to finance and insure a systematic distribution of the product of the land, with charges covering the cost of administration only.

E. Women's Plan

We demand equal political rights for men and women.

F. Negro Problem

The Farmer-Labor Party recognizes the particularly vicious economic and political oppression and exploitation of the Negro in America and pledges itself to extend

struggle to free all toilers to include the political and industrial emancipation of the Negro workers and farmers.

G. Unemployment

1. Enactment of a law prohibiting the employment in industry of children under the age of sixteen.

2. Enactment of a law providing for adequate compensation during unemployment at regular trade union wages for all city and rural workers. Funds for same to be secured thru the taxation of all excess profits, inherited wealth and unearned income.

H. Imperialism and Foreign Affairs

1. Immediate full diplomatic and commercial recognition of the first Workers' and Peasants' Government—Soviet Russia.

2. Immediate independence for the Philippine Islands.

3. The right of self-determination for colonies and possessions of the United States, such as Porto Rico, Guam, Virgin Islands. The question of the relationship of the government of those possessions to the government of the United States to be decided by a plebiscite of the people of these countries.

4. The removal of United States marines and soldiers from Haiti, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua and the full recognition of the right of these countries and Cuba to decide upon their own affairs.

5. Absolute non-interference in any other country for the purpose of safeguarding investments or collections of debts of the financial interests.

STRONG MEN ON FARM-LABOR COMMITTEE

These Leaders Insure Aggressive Campaign

ST. PAUL, Minn., June 20.—Duncan McDonald and William Bouck, candidates for president and vice-president of the National Farmer-Labor Party are both members of the national committee that met here today to plan for the campaign and map the future of the party.

McDonald is a member from Illinois and Bouck from Washington. The two committees of the Workers Party will be William Z. Foster and C. E. Ruthenberg.

An executive committee of seven was elected to direct the work, consisting of Alex Hlowat, chairman, C. A. Hathaway, secretary, William Mahoney, Alice Loraine Daly, Joseph Manley, and Scott Wilkins.

The full national committee consists of the following persons elected by their state delegations:

CALIFORNIA—Anita Whitney, George Kidwell.

CONNECTICUT—Robert McKenzie, John J. Balliam.

COLORADO—William Dietrich, George N. Falconer.

ILLINOIS—Duncan McDonald, Morton L. Johnson.

IOWA—L. J. Kelvig, A. P. Kramer.

KANSAS—Alexander Howat, W. J. Fraley.

MINNESOTA—William Mahoney, Louis Engstrom.

MONTANA—Charles E. Taylor, J. Haaland, Jr.

MASSACHUSETTS—Thomas F. Conroy, Frank Deluca.

MICHIGAN—Charles S. Girard, William Reynolds.

MISSOURI—Stanley J. Clark, John Mihelic.

NEBRASKA—J. L. Beebe, William H. Green.

NE WYORK—James Campbell.

NORTH DAKOTA—R. H. Walker, Alfred Knutson.

OKLAHOMA—S. M. Stallard, Daniel Cobb.

OHIO—Scott Wilkins, A. J. Feldhaus.

PENNSYLVANIA—H. O. McClurg, J. C. Strong.

RHODE ISLAND—J. P. Reid, Helen Siegel.

SOUTH DAKOTA—August Peterson, A. L. Putnam.

TENNESSEE—Frank Drufenbrock, L. J. Holtzapfel.

WASHINGTON—William Bouck, John C. Kennedy.

WEST VIRGINIA—W. F. Naylor.

WISCONSIN—Franklin Shoemaker, Carl Milde.

WORKERS PARTY—William Z. Foster, C. E. Ruthenberg.

METAL WORKERS UNION—Fred Biedenkapp.

YOUTH WORKERS FOLLETTE, whom it styles

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The Launching

The St. Paul Convention that launched the National Farmer-Labor Party, composed as it was of industrial workers and farmers, shows clearly the tremendous strides being made in political consciousness by the great army of producers. This is all the more apparent now, coming as it does between the Republican well oiled machine process, engineered by the "old guard" at Cleveland, and the performance in the Democratic Madhouse at New York, hopelessly foundering upon the rocks of middle class antagonisms formerly steered clear of by its late Tammany Hall captain, "Charlie" Murphy.

The St. Paul gathering produced its own leadership—men and women from the farms and factories, capable of carrying on the tasks set by this convention. It was not necessary to go to either of the old parties for the material with which to wage the coming campaign. In the convention sessions—which lasted for three days—more real work was accomplished than would be dreamed of in a week's sessions of either old political party. On the vital questions of platform, organization and candidates, here was displayed the utmost intelligence and desire for cooperation and unity. And this fact furnishes a convincing answer to those who have said there is no foundation for unity between the farmers and wage-workers.

Capitalism in America is producing, at breakneck speed, a strata of industrial slaves and proletarianized farmers, whose economic interests are rapidly becoming identical. This element was the joint combination that formed the St. Paul Convention. Because of its closeness to bedrock, no serious fissures were encountered. The candidates nominated were McDonald the miner, and Bouck the "grass roots" farmer—truly representative of this combination and movement.

The platform adopted is not by any means the last word on the basic issues underlying this movement. But it is a real beginning with which to build a united front, from the bottom up. The plan of organization also is but a beginning. In the hands of the elected National Committee and the candidates nominated, the coming presidential struggle will furnish the opportunity to build upon a solid foundation a Farmer-Labor Party that will break away from the two old political parties millions of voters who are not now class conscious.

As Good As Ever

In 1872 a New York newspaper published a sensational expose in which it was charged that the Union Pacific "ring" had bribed fifteen important members of the Republican administration in Washington, including the Vice-President, the Secretary of the Treasury, two United States Senators, the Speaker of the House and six Congressmen, with 20,000 shares of stock having a par value of \$100,000. The "ring" was worth a great deal more than the "old days"—even

PACIFISM—THE IDEAL AND THE REAL

With the ultimate aims of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, we have no difference of opinion. Universal complete disarmament; world organization for social, political and economic co-operation; abolition of classes in society—these are among the aims of the Third International as well as of the Women's International League. But on the question of methods, we must take issue with the League—as with "pacifism" in general.

In their zeal to abolish all war, these women overlook the limitations of their pure idealism, and they float in a vaporous cloud of unreality. They do not seem to know that propaganda can never disarm the entrenched and powerful militaristic, imperialistic and capitalistic interests, which will ever continue their preparations for war, their alliances to carry on war, and their provocations to induce war—in the name of "patriotism."

The Women's League for Peace and Freedom is hopelessly limited by its middle class pacifist outlook. The middle class stands between the capitalist class and the working class—those irreconcilable antagonists—and cries "Peace!" where there is no possibility of peace.

There will be an end of war only when the class in whose interests war is waged has been put out of existence. There will be world peace only when the social and economic causes of war—capitalism and imperialism—have been abolished by the world's working class organized internationally.

The "Business" of World Peace

In conformity with the Washington peace pact, the battleship *Australia*, formerly flagship of the Australian navy, was ostentatiously sunk in the presence of the other vessels of the navy. And on the evening following the sinking of this battleship, the prime-minister announced the building of two new cruisers—the combined tonnage of which would be more than equal that of the *Australia*.

Going to Take a Hand

There's going to be a change in things that now exist;
The laws are in a tangle and business in a twist;
But they soon will be unfolded and straightened out, because
The farmer's going to take a hand in the making of the laws.

The lawyers have been running things in a pettifogging way,
And fostering those interests most liberal with the pay;
They've nabbed the national treasury, and pauperized creation;
But the farmers now will right these wrongs by future legislation.

The combines and the money power have the country by the throat,
And have Uncle Samuel's signature on a twenty-four billion note!
But their wild career of plunder will have a different phase,
When the farmers are the "Solons" who cast the yeas and nays.

The farmers have been voting, for many years gone by,
For the men who promise everything—from the earth up to the sky;
But they've placed the errors of the past to dry upon the shelves,—
And some future legislation they propose to do themselves.

(L. BAKER.)

As it is the only class that is interested in extending itself to the benefit of the masses is their united selfishness—apparent to radical thinkers.

At Last!

Recently while in a facetious mood we remarked in a paragraph that it was surprising that the California capitalists, who blamed the Industrial Workers of the World for almost every other misfortune that befell the sunny state, had not yet charged them with responsibility for the foot and mouth disease which caused a loss of millions of dollars to the cattle breeders of California.

Now, a Mr. Fink, district attorney, solemnly announces that the I. W. W. is responsible for the foot and mouth plague and a general roundup of the wobblies will be launched. Every sex pervert and low grade moron not in jail, will be mobilized by the gentleman with the very appropriate name to beat up and jail the members of the labor organization which is a thorn in the side of the capitalists of California.

It is almost unbelievable that such a charge should be made by a person holding a responsible position and some of our readers may be inclined to dismiss it as a light yarn. But it is a very serious matter for the thousands of workers in California who may be persecuted by these capitalist hell-hounds because they refuse to bend the knee to mammon. The I. W. W. in California should be supported in their fight against the most brutal and lawless section of the American capitalist class by every class conscious worker in that state. And they in turn should realize that district attorneys and other capitalist servants are in a position to use the powers of government against them and their class simply because the workers do not exercise their political power to take over the machinery of government as a step toward the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the rule of labor.

Some Editorial Effluvia

The Chicago *Tribune* seems to be greatly concerned "for the people's interests"—as the national election approaches, while the Congressional investigation has been turning up the records—and the toes—of certain Republican "stall-warts."

It has lately been finding comfort in the report that the defunct Daugherty's successor as Attorney-General of the United States "has promised to give access to any of the Department files" which the investigation committee may wish to inspect. And it very "Syrrettionously" expresses the hope that, "If Attorney-General Stone establishes himself in the confidence of the committee and the public, the continuation of the inquiry and the definite verdict of guilt or innocence may be left to his prosecution."

The odor of a rodent seems to emanate from this particular editorial paragraph in "The World's Greatest Nose-paper."

Who Owns the Air?

Command of the sea has been all-important to most of the great countries—from ancient Phoenicia to modern England; and efforts toward such attainment have led to many international wars. Is it not fair to assume that efforts to attain a commanding radio-control of the air, will result likewise? The British, the French and the Japanese are now vying with the United States of America, each striving for greatest "contact station" scope.

It's a great world—but it needs fixing!

Yes, the organized farmers and wage-workers are in politics, up to their celluloid collars. They have already learned quite a lot about the political game—and they will learn a whole lot more on July 4th. And the more they learn, the better able will they be to deal with traitors and trimmers.

One of the toughest tasks confronting the politician is to sustain a vigorous policy about nothing much in particular.

FARMER-LABOR INFORMATION

Grain Exports from Southern Russia

The exports of grain from Russia are now under strict state contract. The Institution of State Grain Inspectors has been recreated for the purpose of controlling the quality of all cereals and linseed exported. Each car of grain is examined by a state grain inspector who issues a certificate of identification and classification. When a car of grain is about to be discharged at the dock, the grain is examined once more to see that it agrees with the original certificate obtained as a result of the first examination. The railroad way-bill weight is accepted less 3 poods (108 lbs.) per carload of 1,000 poods (16 metric tons) when grain is delivered from car to vessel.

The large grain shipments from Russia during the latter part of 1923 turned the balance of trade in its favor, according to the Department of Commerce. Shipments during March through the Bosphorus amounted to 10,025,770 bushels and it is believed that the month of April practically completed the Russian grain shipments until next harvest. It is reported that the Export Grain Company has received an invitation to participate in the international conference at Rotterdam, the Black Sea grain contract among others coming up for revision. A group of Dutch importers are now in Berlin conferring with the Soviet Trade Commission in an effort to direct Russian grain shipments to the port of Rotterdam.

Canada's Increased Farm Acreage

The census general at Montreal reports that the large farm is increasing in popularity in Canada. In 1921 there were 63,500 more farms of 200 acres or over than in 1911. The small farms up to 50 acres have decreased in number. Since 1919 the acreage devoted to pasturage in Canada has gradually decreased from 10,421,444 acres to 9,567,143.

Bigger Area to be Seeded

According to the report of the Interior Department, Ottawa, Canada, the farmers in vicinity of Calgary are increasing considerably their acreage this year. In one case a farmer intends putting an additional 700 acres under wheat cultivation. Owing to the exceptionally large crop last year and the excellent weather during the fall which permitted the farmers to haul their grain to the elevators, considerably less plowing was done, particularly in the north country, as compared with 1923. In the south, however, more work was done, as the crop generally was gotten off earlier.

Canada's Feedstuffs

According to Consul F. S. S. Johnson of Kingston, Canada, there is plenty of feed to meet stock requirements. Farmers have been receiving 13-15 cents per pound for slaughtered hogs, and \$7.50 for live weight. There is very little demand for hay, much of this product raised by the Wolfe Island farmers being shipped to the United States via Cape Vincent, New York, the price received varying from \$12 to \$15 per ton. Loose hay was selling for \$14 per ton in Kingston. Farm wages are generally low except in few cases. The range is \$20 to \$35 per month.

The Department is Much Amused

(From Report by U. S. Department of Agriculture)

"The exchange value of farm products for the things that farmers buy, now stands at the highest point in nearly four years," declares the United States Department of Agriculture in its monthly agricultural review.

"The urban community is now beginning to taste the result of over-expanded producing capacity," the department says. "The textile, automobile, railway equipment and many allied industries are in the position recently familiar to wheat, cattle and hog producers of being 'all geared up and no place to go.' Credit demands have grown so light that money is now relatively almost as cheap in New York as hogs in Iowa."

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.

THE FARMERS' STRIKE

(By Senator J. W. Anderson.)

Thousands of farmers in the Northwest have gone on strike and refuse to pay both interest and taxes. The movement is spreading rapidly and very quietly and is causing the mortgage companies considerable anxiety.

A dry land farmer, from McKenzie county, North Dakota, called at my ranch last fall to buy some potatoes. I said to him: How are you fellows getting along in your section of the country?"

"Fine, fine," he said. "We are getting along just fine."

"Are you going to be able to pay out?" I asked.

"No, hell no. We are not trying to pay out. We have just quit paying taxes and interest and we are getting along better than we did before. We are living better than we ever did, and we have a little money to spend."

"If you don't pay any taxes then how do you plan to run your county government?"

"County government be damned. What do we need of county government. We are law abiding citizens and can get along pretty well without any county government. We don't see much of the county government over our way anyhow. I don't care if the assessor never comes around and we all behave ourselves pretty well and don't need any sheriff."

"But if you don't pay your interest, the mortgage companies will foreclose on you and put you off your farm."

Joke Is On The Banker.

This brought forth a hearty laugh, after which, he said: "Why bless your soul, don't you know that there are five times as many farms as farmers, and when they put us off one farm we will just move across the road onto a deserted farm, which we can rent for simply keeping the windows in the buildings and the fences in repair. Why should we pay taxes, when we can rent good farms with good improvements, for less than the taxes? A man would be foolish to own land and pay high taxes under present conditions."

Another farmer said to me, "Coolidge was right when he said in his message that we farmers must help ourselves. That is just what we are doing—we are helping ourselves."

"How are you doing it?" I asked.

Different Methods.

"Well, in quite a few different ways. You know the bankers are just waking up to the fact that a deserted farm, growing up to weeds, is not a paying investment. They didn't know that two years ago, when they began foreclosing right and left, but they see it now—some of them. If the farmers only knew it, they hold the trump card. They can stay in Montana longer than the bankers can. If the busted farmers of the country would just sit tight, and hold together, why they would have the bankers eating out of their hand in a short time. If they were business men, they would see to it that no one made anything out of land. They would force land values down, and when low enough, buy their farms back at their own terms."

We have about reached that situation in Montana already. A short time ago, a friend of mine living 25 miles west of Sidney bought a half section of good land for four dollars per acre. The terms were nothing down and nothing for two years, interest 6 per cent. At this rate land will soon be down to where a farmer can afford to buy land again.

About three-fourths of the dry land farms in Montana are deserted. The buildings on these deserted farms seldom last more than three or four years; kindling wood is scarce

in some sections, you know. The fences also disappear.

Bankers Fought Farmers.

In 1920 the banks led in the fight against the Nonpartisan League. The farmers wanted economic justice and a square deal in selling their grain. The commercial and financial interests of the state united against the farmer. They joined forces with the interests which exploit the farmers.

These shortsighted pawnbrokers could not see that their own success was built upon that of the farmer. As a result of agricultural bankruptcy, over 200 bankers have failed in Montana alone during this depression.

We are almost back to normalcy!

The Montana farmers today are independently poor. They have taken their losses and are cheerful. Only those who are broke and don't know it, continue to worry.

The cheerfulness of the bankrupt farmer is almost universal. He has nothing to lose, and is, therefore, afraid of no one. He laughs at the threat of the banker or the sheriff. He is a free man and knows it, and enjoys it. He tried hard to pay out, and worried himself sick trying. Then he saw what the Federal Reserve did to him. He considered how this government helped the railroads and refused him a square deal. How the government held the price of wheat down during the war.

He saw how organized business, the railroad, the banks, and the federal government were all united against him, and for the purpose of exploiting him and this led him to go on strike; to take matters into his own hands.

Most Farmers Not Fooled.

Not one farmer in ten expects a square deal from our Teapot Dome government in Washington. They know that Wall Street is in control there and Wall Street stands for exploitation.

They are, not fooled by the disinterested patriotism and sudden love of the \$10,000,000 Wall Street credit corporation which will lend \$100,000,000 of credit to the Northwest banks in order to save the farmers. It looks like a good business proposition, and not an act of charity, when a corporation with a capital stock of only ten million dollars of "credit," can loan one hundred millions—all of which one hundred million will bear interest. The farmer may look like such a fool but he is not foolish enough to fall for this.

Four Immediate Steps.

All farmers who are heavily mortgaged should do four things, and the sooner they do them, the better for all concerned.

First, he should accept bankruptcy.

Second, he should quit paying taxes and interest: rent land on his own terms—a small crop-rent; do everything he can do—as the capitalist does—to beat down the price of land.

Third, he should try to save in a few years (when relieved of taxes and interest) to buy a farm for cash.

Fourth, he should keep out of debt and refuse to do business of any sort with any bank, until the banks are owned and operated for service and not for profit, under a workers' and farmers' government.

(J. W. ANDERSON, Chairman of Executive Committee, Farmer-Labor Party of Montana.)

Where private property in land has divided society into a land-owning class and a landless class, there is no possible invention or improvement—whether it be industrial, social or moral—which, so long as it does not affect the ownership of land, can prevent poverty or relieve the general condition of mere laborers.

—Henry George.

BOOKS FOR MEETINGS

By Upton Sinclair

THE campaign is coming, and you will want books to sell at meetings. We have an overstock of our two best propaganda books, "The Brass Check," a study of American journalism; and "100%," a story which exposes the spy system of Big Business. "The Brass Check" contains 448 pages, and we offer eight copies of our brown paper edition for \$1.00. "100%" contains 329 pages, and we offer twelve copies of the brown paper edition for \$1.00. Also we have "100%" in cloth binding on the best white paper, six copies for \$1.00. You will never have another bargain like this offered to you; the price is less than half the actual cost of manufacture of the books. The retail price has been \$1.20 cloth, 60 cents paper. You can make money by selling the books at 50 cents cloth and 25 cents paper.

Upton Sinclair and Pasadena, Calif.

Candidates for the coming election. Pollette, whom it styles a "Socialist Party" candidate.

When

THE FARM CRISIS

By HAROLD M. WARE.

(This installment concludes "Hal" Ware's analytical study of the agricultural situation. It will soon be published in pamphlet form.—Ed.)

The Real Remedy:

Finally, we must face the fact that our so-called "farm co-operation" remedy is inadequate. Thus far, we have had co-operation only after the product has entered the secondary or distributive channels of production.

The farmer is a "land animal," and his industrial sphere is distinctly that of a primary producer. His desire, his training, his work, all are restricted to the land which he cultivates.

In our modern highly organized society, the manufacturers turn over distribution to specialized distributing organizations. Yet "co-operation in distribution" by farmers is the cure-all offered them by politicians and other "farmer's friends." The time is ripe—and rotten ripe—for the farmers to decide that they must "stick to their knitting" by staying on the land; that they must hold the land, and at last begin co-operation on the land.

After the farmers have won their political struggle against their exploiters, still there will be a long economic contest to wage. When "the land for the users of the land" becomes a reality, only then can true co-operation begin—and the farmers can organize as primary producers. So long as economic conditions take from the farmer all but a meager livelihood, he will restrict his production to his own requirements. Whether the traditional single family farm or groupings of them shall exist, depends upon local conditions and practical considerations. The most important fact is that the efficient farm unit will be organized and operated by the farmers—and not by the banker-capitalists who are taking up the farm-mortgages today so extensively.

Governmental Guilt.

Bars to "undesirable immigration," and a "tariff wall" against foreign farm products are merely political slogans, and they have no real bearing upon the problem now facing the American farmer. In the United States today there are 581,000 foreign-born farmers. Many who have farmed here for a generation have joined in the native-born farmers' revolt against the farm exploiters.

The present Secretary of Labor proposes to select immigrants particularly adapted to the purposes of certain industrial barons. And the farmers certainly have no justification for participation in these plans of the Department of Labor.

As for the "tariff wall," competition from abroad—even from Canada—is not to be feared, inasmuch as the American farmer's exports are mainly the primary food-stuffs, grain and cotton—all of which are sold on the world market with the Liverpool price as a basis. The tariff is of far greater interest to manufacturing middlemen, meat packers, and sugar refiners, for instance. All these have reason to fear imports from abroad. The total money value of present food exports is exactly balanced by the value of food imports. We trade low-priced cereals for high-priced fruits, and other food products of a secondary nature. Therefore, today there is no trade balance in food-stuffs. The United States is exactly self-supporting.

Diversification and Reduced Acreage.

One of the most plausible remedies held out to the farmer in the wheat and cotton producing area is "diversified agriculture." This has the theoretical support of science. Diversified agriculture is no doubt, more efficient in spreading the farm labor schedule evenly throughout the year. It assures a regular income. The variety of crops and stock assures at least partial success with one crop even if the others are total losses. But diversified agriculture requires training and experience not possessed by the cotton and wheat farmers. It requires larger investments in plant and stock. Such capital is far beyond the reach of the bankrupt farmer. Note that all plans to "help the farmer" are based upon his giving "adequate security." A bankrupt has no security. Obviously, it does not solve the problem. Even if he could overcome those objections, the Western farmer would find, as has the Eastern farmer, that his debts would pile up and he would, more slowly but just as surely, lose his equity in the land. And lastly, if diversified agriculture should generally be introduced, there would be a large surplus in the perishable food products which at present evenly approximate the domestic consumption demands.

"Reduced acreage" of our wheat and cotton crops is also put forward as a remedy. They argue—"We produce the bread crop consumption and a surplus of 12 per cent which must be exported. This export must compete in the world market. It affects the price of the entire crop, therefore, if we reduce the surplus and produce only enough for our own consumption, our domestic price will equal a price based on 30,000 shares of stock of 'Liverpool Minus,' a 'domestic' crop, however, at the mercy of the middle-

men and their manipulations as it is today. Or as milk is at the mercy of the middlemen price-fixers. G. F. Warren, the noted Cornell farm economist, showed that milk was being sold below the business cost of production, and only by giving his labor can a dairy farmer figure that he makes money.

Freights and Prices.

Practically all farm organizations advocate the repeal of the Esch-Cummings Transportation Act. Many stand firm for government ownership of railroads. At the Agricultural Conference called by Secretary of Agriculture Wallace in Washington in the winter of 1921, the railroads tried to prove that only by reducing railroad wages could the farmer get lower freight rates. Farmers protested: "We won't reduce our rates by squeezing the railroad workers' pay, but by squeezing the water out of railroad stocks."

Government ownership and operation of the railroads by workers and farmers is a general demand. That power to manipulate prices, going and coming, must be forced from the middlemen. Refer to the table in Chapter I, and it will be seen that the manufacturer keeps his price of the farm wagon well above the increase in price of wheat. As a matter of fact, the increased price in dollars and cents for wheat has meant a real price decrease, for the farmer was forced to give more bushels and more labor for the wagon. Remember the quotation from Anderson's report, in Chapter I, and what he says about the "rise and fall of commodity prices." Lastly, remember that the city worker who consumes farm products is the farmer's ally. When we demand guaranteed prices for wheat, let us also demand a minimum price for bread. We must remember that the middlemen are between the farmer and the worker consumer. Our job is to squeeze them. We can do this only by pinching from both ends at the same time.

The Only Relief.

Strangely enough, the very foundations of agriculture—the land—does not seem to concern the "farm doctors" at all; yet ownership in the land is passing from the hands of the farmers into the hands of the bankers. Foreclosures, tax sales, abandoned farms and the rapid increase in tenantry give glaring evidence that the farmers are being forced actually to fight for their homes. So hopeless is the struggle to hold the land, that many have overcome a warring prejudice and are taking advantage of the National Bankruptcy Law. This at least gives them personal property up to a \$1,000. So general has this movement become in the grain states that legal firms are doing an exclusive business in taking farmers thru the bankruptcy court. They charge a blanket fee of \$125. All the farmer has to do is to "sign on the dotted line." They carry him thru the intricacies of red tape to freedom from debt, plus his \$1,000 in personal property. The movement is the concrete expression of a growing conviction among farmers that "repudiation of debts" is the only solution. And it is—for bankrupt farmers. Well, the majority of farmers are bankrupt.

SUMMARY:

But the farmers are not alone in their bankruptcy. The whole system of capitalistic exploitation of the land is bankrupt.

The Railroads, the Machinery Trust, the Grain Gamblers, Brokers, and Distributors of the farming products have grown more and more centralized and powerful. They have finally wrung the last shred of equity from the independent owner who operated his farm free of debt. In 1919 there were 6,448,000 farms. 70 per cent of them had a mortgage or a lease which labeled the farm operator as a serf to the system. Only 30 per cent of the farmers were on the fringe of independence. The terrible slump, the unprecedented bankruptcies, foreclosures and tax sales that have come since 1919 will materially reduce that 30 per cent.

Useless Remedies.

What have the capitalists, the reformers or the so-called farm leaders and labor leaders proposed, to solve this crisis?

With consistent blindness the "reformer" farm and labor leader refuses to see that the trouble lies in the fundamental struggle between the isolated individual producing inefficiently and the highly organized industries producing efficiently. Therefore, they propose one of three superficial remedies.

1. Credit, or, price fixing.
2. Diversified agriculture.
3. Co-operative marketing.

Organization the Need.

These are, but sugar coating for the pill which capitalism must now swallow. For the Capitalists, the Bankers and other Creditors are also at a loss. The capitalist has gathered in the deeds to land, dispossessing the farmer. His system has worked too well. He will soon attempt a reorganization of agriculture. He must—or violate the rules of his game. He will not grant moratoriums, or cancel debts, without a struggle. We must force these demands as political issues, or find ourselves not farmers, but employees of the Banker-farmer. American agriculture must enter a new phase, a period of gradual reorganization on the basis of more efficient production. As a national plant, it is overstocked with "overhead machinery," in one section and understocked in another.

Land is not used most efficiently. Isolation of the individual producer prevents specialization. Comparatively speaking, American agriculture is still in the one-horse stage, while its erstwhile twin-industry has grown to the million horse-power stage. The unequal struggle cannot go on. Inevitably changes will come about; but these will be directed by the bankers, unless we enter the political fight to prevent it.

Final Solution.

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party realizes the fundamental basis of the present farm crisis. It recognizes that co-operation at the initial point of production—on the land—must be advocated. It faces the essential truth that eventually agriculture must be reorganized into efficient Farm Units. But it demands that the land shall be returned to the owners of the land now; and that the subsequent long period of change and reorganization must be entirely in the hands of the Farmers.

THE GOOD AND FAITHFUL SERVANT

By Tom Ayres

An interesting side-light on the recent primary campaign in South Dakota is this little delineation of how Governor McMaster "fought the Standard Oil Company." And it should be of particular interest right now, in view of the newspaper reports that Attorney-General Stone—successor to the late unlamented Daugherty—has filed suit against fifty oil companies, headed by Standard Oil, charging "combination to control the market."

First McMaster accused Sen. Sterling and others of being Standard Oil favorites, because they opposed him. Then he pointed to his own sales of gasoline—his "Gasoline War"—as evidence that he was fighting for the people and against the oil octopus.

A great many people were honestly under misapprehension, through this line of talk. Only a few knew that McMaster, as a member of the Highway Commission, was aware for two years that there was a difference of from ten to fifteen cents per gallon between the wholesale and retail price of gasoline. The Highway Commission was a large purchaser of gasoline, and well knew the prices. Likewise McMaster knew the prices, and he knew that the people were being gouged on gasoline. But he did nothing to relieve the situation, until after he became candidate for Senator and wanted a campaign issue. He then vociferously proclaimed that the people were being stung on the price of gasoline, to the tune of six million dollars a year. Yet he had quietly allowed the people to be thus robbed, until he got ready to "save them"—and in saving them, he himself saved by them (as he hoped).

Worse than that, he signed one of the most pernicious Standard Oil bills that has ever been adopted. It was introduced in the legislature by Otto B. Linstad of Pierre, a henchman of Lute Stevens, who at that time was attorney for the Standard Oil Company in South Dakota and is now general attorney for the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, with headquarters in Chicago.

This bill provides that it is a crime to cut the price of gasoline or kerosene. It was passed to cinch the power of the big oil companies in their game of exploiting the people. While it pretends to be a bill to punish "unfair discrimination," it is in reality a bill to punish competition, to forestall competition, to exterminate the small dealers and to penalize them if they sell gasoline or kerosene below the price fixed by the oil companies.

If anyone is still in doubt, at this time, as to whether Governor McMaster wanted to help the people against the oil profiteers, or was himself in league with the Standard Oil Company let him read sections 1 to 4 of this bill, which was approved on March 7, 1923—and signed by McMaster.

"Comical Silliness"

Laws can do anything, they say. The Senator from Pickway County, in Ohio State Legislature, suddenly awakened to the necessity for progressive action. So he framed and offered a bill providing that it is unlawful, under penalty of fine, for the thermometer to register above 79 in summer or below 42 during daylight hours in winter. This bill is now pending, and in support of it the State Solon argues: "Think of the saving! Nowadays, as soon as we escape from the coal-man, the ice-man gets us. This law will save us from the clutches of them both."

REPORT OF ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL FARMER-LABOR PARTY

1. We declare in favor of the organization of a National Farmer-Labor Party.

2. That this new party shall be entirely free from any alliance with or subject to the control of any organization serving the interests of those who profit from the private ownership of the great monopolies in industry and commerce.

3. That both the Republican and Democratic parties are the servants of these great private interests and that their representatives in public office, their committeemen in charge of their party affairs and the source of their party funds are selected by, financed by and used by the beneficiaries of these enemies of the common good.

4. That the only way by which a new party can be established free from the influence of monopoly and corrupt control is by making the economic and occupational groups which do and must exist in every modern community, the units of its organization, together with such labor and farmer political groups as are organized in support of their interests.

5. That this convention declares in behalf of the majority rule and to seek to secure control of this country only by the majority rule, and in doing so seeks to create a political party whose delegates to conventions, committeemen in control of its affairs, and public officers elected by it, shall be answerable only to the occupational and other groups which elected them.

6. It further recognizes the fact that a national political party in the United States must be organized with regard to the state units which together compose the national government. The national legislative body is created and controlled wholly by the action within the states—two United States senators from each state and a congressman from each congressional district within the states, making up the membership of that body. The president and vice-president, elected once in four years, are also chosen by electors elected by the states.

In consideration of the foregoing, your committee recommends that the first requisite to the creation of an effective national political party of the workers and farmers is to create effective state political parties ready to co-operate in the national elections and able to act as national units in national elections.

In view of these facts your committee recommends that a national organization and campaign committee be chosen by this convention, to consist of two national committeemen from each state, who shall be subject to ratification or change by the state organization, and two national committeemen from each national organization affiliated. This national organization and campaign committee shall elect a national executive committee and a national chairman and a secretary-treasurer. The national executive committee shall consist of the national chairman, secretary-treasurer and five other members. The national executive committee to be under the supervision of the national campaign and organization committee.

That this national organization and campaign committee be instructed to proceed in promoting and assisting in the organization of the state political parties of the Farmer-Labor Party along the lines now followed in Minnesota, which provides for an enrolled membership of farmers, labor, co-operative organizations and district political units.

That this work proceed with the utmost vigor during the present national campaign.

That arrangements be made to hold state conventions of the state organizations as soon as possible after the national election for the purpose of perfecting these organizations and to select representatives to a national convention which shall then organize in a permanent way for a National Farmer-Labor Party. There shall also be represented in the national convention national economic and political organizations affiliated.

That the national organization and campaign committee be charged with the duty of conducting the national campaign for the election of 1924.

7. The national organization and campaign committee is authorized to carry on negotiations with any other group which favors the organization of a National Farmer-Labor Party with the view of uniting upon a single set of candidates and a platform and to give such groups a representation upon the national campaign and organization committee.

They Convict Themselves

From the Democratic convention in session at New York comes an authentic story that will surprise only those naive souls who think of our self styled "labor leaders" as being capable also of political leadership.

The group of presidents and secretaries who attended the St. Louis conference of the C. P. P. A., and did not dare to then endorse McAdoo, but shortly afterwards met in the Great Northern Hotel at Chicago and unanimously endorsed a resolution giving McAdoo a clean bill of health in spite of his oily record,—this same group has issued the statement printed herewith. These officials are: Timothy Shea, vice-president, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen; A. O. Wharton, International Association of Machinists; B. M. Jewell, president, Railway Employees Department, A. F. of L.; J. A. Franklin, president, Boiler-makers and Iron Ship-builders. The statement reads in part:

"There are here today more than forty representatives of leading labor organizations, including those of railroad labor, working day and night in support of Mr. McAdoo's candidacy."

"The sentiment amongst the great mass of organized wage-earners is overwhelmingly for Mr. McAdoo, and in the judgment of these same leaders he must be the nominee if these leaders are to go to the convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action on July 4, at Cleveland, and vote against the placing of an independent candidate in the field. They have the necessary votes to prevent the successful launching of an independent movement."

Coming from these gentlemen who are such champions of "democratic" methods, this hard-boiled statement may sound strange. But to those who are familiar with their methods, there is nothing unusual about it. In fact this whole method is the one regularly pursued by the A. F. of L. and its various International Unions.

At the C. P. P. A. gathering in St. Louis, last February, the whole strategy must have been framed when this gang adopted in the rules governing the coming Cleveland convention the following clause:

"5. All motions and resolutions shall be voted on by a viva voce or by a show of hands, except that upon the demand of at least 50 delegates the vote on any question before the meeting shall be taken by roll call. Upon a roll-call vote, each national or international organization of farmers, workers or co-operative societies shall be entitled to one vote for every ten thousand members in good standing or fraction of such number; every other organization shall cast as many votes as the number of delegates to which it is entitled."

This clause means that the "labor leaders" carry the July convention in their vest pockets. For instance, Warren S. Stone, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, will cast 9 votes representing the ninety thousand members of his organization. The clause of course refers also to farmers national organizations. And the principal "national" farmers organization that will be represented will be Ben Marsh's "Farmers National Council." As to whether this is a national farmer's organization or not, may well be left to the judgment of the farmers.

All of this is but another item in the long list of proofs that these men, supposedly elected by the rank and file to serve those interests, are in reality using their position not alone to benefit their own material welfare but to mislead the workers into the camp of the enemy. The answer to this double-dealing and double-crossing of the workers is evident on every hand, in the fast rising Farmer-Labor Party. The St. Paul convention represented the workers and farmers; the Cleveland convention will represent those who work and lead them.

DEMOPUBLICAN NATIONAL "CON"-VENTION MEETS

NEW CLEVELAND, Oyo.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.)—Following is a brief synopsis of the capitalistic combination convention, just "pulled off" here:

Program

Opening Prayer by Chaplain. (No relation to Charlie.) Chaplain misses gold watch, key ring, pocket-book and spare set of false teeth. Sergeant-at-Arms hurries out to apprehend Senator Crottonell who was seen leaving the Convention hall with suspicious bulge in the pocket next his Department of the Interior.

Second Chapter

Unveiling of portraits (done in oil) of Baron Munchausen and Dr. Frederick Cook.

Third Verse

Keynotes delivered by Senators Linseedoil and Oilcake. Promissory notes delivered by candidates for Cabinet Offices. Banknotes delivered by Satchel.

Fourth Stanza

Senator Camphorated Oil urges loans to farmers in order to put them further into debt. Offers one ounce of federal aid to agriculture, one ton to manufacturers of fertilizer, and two and a half tons to railroads. Offers amendment to Farmers' Almanac and Weather Bureau to improve weather conditions so more wheat can be raised and sold at a loss.

Intermission for Lunch

Several delegates complain that their beans are cold. Head waiter tells them to put on their hats and keep them warm. Senator from West Virginia objects to oil dressing on his salad.

Fifth inning

Distribution of subpoenas. Southern delegates assert cause of farmer distress is overproduction, and propose that free boll-wool eggs be sent to cotton growers to reduce cotton crop more. Sergeant-at-Arms arrests Williams J. Burns for impersonating an officer of justice.

Speech by William J. Bryan.

Swiss Bell Ringers.

Swan Song by H. Johnson.

Sixth Round

Introduction of Daylight-Saving Plank to make farmers get up at 4 A. M. so city dwellers and tired clerks can get off at 4 P. M. Exhibition by Houdini. Unraveling Daylight-Saving Time Table.

Seventh Seance

Sergeant-at-Arms returns with Senator Crottonell in custody. Admits taking Chaplain's gold watch, key ring, pocket-book and spare set of false teeth, but says he was just practicing up for a cabinet post. Crottonell released with apologies.

Wind-up

Anánias nominated for President. Says he is the farmer's friend.

Dr. Cook nominated for President. Says he is the farmer's friend. Baron Munchausen nominated for President. Undoubtedly the farmer's friend. J. Rufus Wallingford nominated for President. Says he is the friend of the farmer.

Telegram handed to the Chairman that Diogenes is reported to have found an honest man. Senator from New Mexico wants to know if he had any oil in his lamp.

Al Smith enters convention hall behind brass band. Delegates all carry brass rails.

Senator Laugh-a-Lot enters disguised as a Third Party.

Bryan and Darwin placed in nomination.

Mc Adieu makes a speech. Convention sings Aurevoir but not McAdieu.

Enters the Dark Horse. Stampede of candidates. Dark Horse nominated by overwhelming majority. Dark Horse says he is unquestionably the friend of the farmer.

Farmers listening in on the radio can now go to bed, so as to be up bright and oily.

Progressive Farmers Meet

SALT LAKE CITY, June 20. (Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.)—The Utah Farmer-Labor-Progressive state convention will be held in Salt Lake City beginning July 23, according to a call sent out by its secretary, M. P. Bales.

This Is Issue Number 19

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 date.

DNFW will be published against all the other candidates in the coming election, including La Follette, whom it styles the "candid localities who..."

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 hundreds 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.)

To the Editor:—

Now that there seems to be more than a probability that the radical, reform and progressive people of the United States will get together in a class Farmer-Labor Party—the question arises, will that new party steer clear of the "fusion" rocks which wrecked the ship of the People's Party?

The Democratic Party in those days was a minority party—as it is now—and very anxious to get offices for its leaders. As in the fable of the spider and the fly, it made some very tempting offers to the leaders of the People's Party. And the results were disastrous to the latter. The People's Party was swallowed—or a large section of it, anyway. The portion not swallowed organized the Socialist Party, which always declined fusion with either of the old political party organization.

Walter Price, (Outlook, Wash.)

Editor, Farmer-Labor Voice:—

During this critical situation in which the farmers are now struggling, much advice has been offered and many various sorts of remedies have been suggested. But most of them are at best only timid palliatives, not affecting the root cause from which all the present agricultural difficulties have developed.

Upon investigation, this cause is easily found to be purely economic—affecting the farmers and wage workers alike. Until very recently, this fact has not been acknowledged by the vast majority of both farmers and industrial workers—the fact that they are economically exploited alike. And the result has been that the employing class has succeeded in playing the one class of producer against the other—industrially and politically—to the disadvantage of both working class groups. These lines are written in the hope of more widely spreading a knowledge of this fundamental fact, of which so many farmers and industrial workers are not yet aware.

And being a firm believer in the necessity for united effort, industrially and politically, by the farmers and wage-workers, I shall set forth some of the reasons that have forced these ideas upon my mind, with the hope that the facts which have convinced me will likewise convince others.

First comes the fact—beyond dispute—that the farmers and industrial workers jointly constitute the producing class great majority. By their efforts all things are produced that make possible the present civilized state of human existence. They also produce the wealth of the world—in whatever form it may exist and no matter who may be in possession of it. All things essential to the welfare of mankind are the results of labor power expended in tilling the soil or in converting into commodities the products of the soil, the mines and the forests. And labor is likewise the force which distributes these commodities to the points where used—though it has nothing to do with the apportionment of these products of labor.

Labor is, indeed, "the very basis of civilization." But under the present highly developed industrial system of production and distribution, with its efficiency divisions of labor, under which all industrial activities have become specialized, the whole working class is absolutely interdependent—as producers and consumers. No one can with justice claim the product of his labor to be purely his own. And this is even more apparent when consideration is given to the highly efficient and complicated machinery used for industrial production—all of which are the combined results of labor, from the humblest hand-worker to the most cultured brain-worker within the producing class.

The farmers must use daily hundreds of articles that are produced by the city workers; and the city workers are of course dependent for their existence upon the products of the farms. And both are exploited alike by the non-producers who wring profits from the labor of each.

According to the statistics presented in The Nation's Business (from the capitalist point of view), in 1922 the food production of the farms totaled in value more than seven billion dollars—which was sold to consumers for more than twenty-two billion dollars. Thus showing a profit of fifteen billion dollars (less the small percentage for unproductive "domestic" crop, however, at the mercy of the middle class machinery).



Not Dead Yet?

greater fleeing of the farmers; and of both farmers and wage-workers, as consumers. And, through much the same operation, the wage-workers are fleeced for profits.

All of which seems to be very convincing proof that the farmers and wage-workers, as the producing class, really have interests in common which they should protect by united political action. But at the same time, it must be remembered that no political action will result in proper adjustment of economic conditions, unless it is based on systematic and efficient industrial organization. Because experience has proved that political power cannot be maintained by votes alone, but must depend upon the strength of the workers' organization to sustain such power, and it is with this end in view that the effort is now made to combine the forces of the farmers, the trade unionists, and the industrial workers organized and unorganized, for united action on the political field. And there the struggle will be carried to conclusion, under the slogan: "Abolition of the wage system, through a Workers' and Farmers' Government!"

Carl Axelsson, (Bigville, Alberta, Canada.)

Our purpose is to educate—not in the academic sense of the word, but to propagate the principles of the Farmer-Labor movement and to analyze and reveal the subtle but destructive propaganda of those opposed to the farmer-labor alliance.

Every capitalist country is inhabited by two nations, between whom no common interests can exist—the rich people and the poor people. Loyalty to the one, must be treason to the other.

It is well that in every age someone has had individuality enough to stand by his own convictions—someone has had the grandeur to say his say.

—Ingersoll.

BIRTHDAYS IN JULY OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

Birthdays in July of Political Prisoners still confined in the United States, are announced by the WORKERS' NATIONAL PRISON COMFORT CLUB, 2923 Chesnut Street, Milwaukee, Wis., as follows:

- At Pittsburgh, Pa., Western Dist. State Penitentiary, July 4, Jacob Dolla—A-12891.
- At Boise, Idaho, Box No. 58, July 5, Jos. Doyle.
- At Repress, California—Folsom Prison, July 4, Warren Billings; July 26, James Price.
- At San Quentin, California—San Quentin Prison, July 3, T. O. Kleiberg, No. 38119; July 18, Wm. Flanagan, No. 37897; July 26, H. R. Hanson, No. 38114; July 30, Jac. Varela, No. 38133.
- At Midway, Texas—Et. No. 1, c. o. Ferguson Farms, July 28, Chas. Cline.
- Cora Meyer, National Secretary, invites friends and sympathizers to send birthday cards and letters (money is advisable for gifts) to these Political Prisoners. Books and publications must be sent directly from the publishers.

Resolutions were adopted by the convention demanding the release of the class war prisoners, including the 100 still confined in California under the criminal syndicalism laws of that state. The repeal of all syndicalism laws were also demanded.

A "dangerous radical" is anybody who has a practical plan to disturb the feathers in the capitalistic nest.



Not Dead Yet?