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# FARMER LABOR VOICE

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## Some Trade Union Leaders and The C. P. P. A.

By JOSEPH MANLEY.

The St. Louis gathering of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, held on February 11th and 12th, was the third conference in the history of that organization. And as quite naturally expected, this gathering did nothing that might give the organization a place of genuine leadership in the present political struggle of the poorer farmers and the industrial workers.

It was composed mainly of the so-called "progressive wing" of the American Federation of Labor leadership. Its chairman was Wm. H. Johnston, president of the Machinist Union, who has long laid claim to the title of "progressive." And others of his type, principally from the A. F. of L. railroad unions, were the ones who ruled the proceedings. A handful of representatives of farm organizations and central labor unions, together with the delegates of the now almost extinct Socialist Party, made up the balance of the gathering.

Such a conference, of course, did not dare to take a stand on the most vital present existent problem—that of the rising farmer-labor movement—now flatly facing the farmers and industrial workers of this country. Had it attempted to do that, the conference must have "split into smithereens." Because its "right wing" was for McAdoo—and its "left wing" for Debs, perhaps. No rank and file representation was there to give stability and balance to the gathering. It was a conference only of "leaders." And it adjourned after adopting a motion quite meaningless in this hour of crisis—that a convention be called at Cleveland on July 4th, '20.

### A NEW YORK CITY CONFERENCE.

On March 23rd there will be held a conference of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party of New York City. For particulars with regard to this gathering, prospective delegates should communicate with the Secretary, Eric R. Saenger, 81 E. Tenth St., New York.

Great interest in the coming Presidential campaign and election is displayed within this New York branch of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. And the organization has ordered 1,000 copies of each issue of Farmer-Labor Voice, to be used in its organizational efforts.

There will also be a monster mass meeting held in Cooper Union, on March 30th, where prominent and well-informed speakers will discuss the recent oil scandal disclosures in the national capital. In this meeting, the view-point of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party will be presented by its National Secretary, Joseph Manley.

### WEST VIRGINIA CONVENTION.

CLARKSBURG, W. Va., Feb. 28.—The Farmer-Labor Party of West Virginia will hold a convention here beginning March 13, to organize for the coming political campaign. A call has been sent out asking local labor unions and working class political parties to send delegates. This convention, indications are, will be the biggest ever held in West Virginia. Preparations are being made to accommodate hundreds of delegates.

It is significant to remember that in the Clarksburg convention of the West Virginia trade union and farm organizations, last July, the platform of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party was adopted in its entirety.

take action on the question of presidential candidates."

Just how meaningless such action was, can be significantly illustrated by quoting a statement of Morris Hillquit, leader of the Socialist Party. When asked what this motion meant, Hillquit said: "This call does not commit us to any course of action. You may say at Cleveland, we will have nothing to do with the old political party candidates; or you may say, endorse the candidates of one of the old political parties."

Following the St. Louis conference, the same trade union leaders who attended it met in Chicago, on February 18th. And there the following resolution was signed and passed: "WHEREAS, the propriety of Mr. William C. McAdoo's actions in connection with certain oil interests have been questioned, and his availability as a candidate for President of the United States is now under consideration; and

"WHEREAS, careful inquiry has failed to indicate that Mr. McAdoo has done anything improper or immoral;

THEREFORE, Be it Resolved, That we, as representatives of Railroad Labor, assert our belief that his availability as a candidate has not been impaired, and that there is no valid reason why any fair-minded person should oppose Mr. McAdoo's nomination on account of the allegations made regarding his association as attorney for the Oil Company."

### Representing Railroad Labor:

- (Signed):
- Timothy Shea, (Firemen).
- Thomas Clohesy, (Switchmen).
- E. J. Ross, (Telegraphers).
- Frank Paquin, (Railway Carmen).
- James M. Burns, (Sheet Metal Workers).
- J. A. Sylvester, (Railway Clerks).
- J. A. Franklin, (Boilermakers).
- J. G. Luhrs, (Dispatchers).
- E. H. Fitzgerald, (Railway Clerks).
- Martin F. Ryan, (Railway Carmen).
- T. H. Fljzdel, (Maintenance of Way).
- L. E. Sheppard, (Conductors).
- A. O. Wharton, (Machinists).
- Jas. J. Forrester, (Railway Clerks).
- B. M. Jewell, (Railway Emp. Dept.).
- Timothy Healy, (Firemen & Oilers).
- E. J. Manion, (Telegraphers).

The signers of this resolution apparently seemed to think that the exposure of McAdoo and his \$100,000 fee from Doheny would not operate against him as a candidate of railroad labor. Now that the investigation has gone a little further, and we find that the original sum which McAdoo expected to receive was not a hundred thousand dollars, but a cool million—what will these representatives of labor say? Especially when their union membership are conscious of the fact that this huge amount could come to McAdoo only through much greater exploitation of the already savagely oppressed workers and peasants of Mexico.

Now we find the "right wing" repudiating McAdoo. James Duncan, First Vice-President of the A. F. of L. and chairman of its Legislative Committee, makes the presumably weighty statement that McAdoo is a "dry" (which fact McAdoo himself frankly admits). And therefore, Duncan significantly announces:

"We represent a voting membership of over 5,000,000 members, comprising the A. F. of L. \* \* \* \* \* We present these facts to

(Continued on page 2.)

## Nebraska Progressive Party "Cleans House" at Meet

The farmer-laborites of Nebraska, organized in the Progressive Party, were obliged to call a conference on February 22nd (at Grand Island), although their regular annual convention is slated for April. This was found to be necessary in order that the Progressive Party might "clean house" of the Democrats, headed by Governor Charles Bryan, who had filed for the coming primaries on the Progressive Party ticket. Only thus was it thought to be possible to prevent the intended capture of the Progressive Party by the Nebraska Conference for Progressive Political Action, and their allies the Bryan Democrats. The notable incidents of this conference illuminate the political situation in Nebraska, and typify the broader scale national situation.

Organized in 1920, the Progressive Party of Nebraska showed at the very outset great rank and file strength, particularly among the farmer element. But it seems that a group of political bureaucrats, obsessed with the A. C. Townley "balance of power" conception of progress, soon obtained control of the party—with result that its leadership lost the confidence of the progressive rank and file, because of bureaucratic efforts at "fusion" politics.

Following this political debacle, the really progressive element reorganized for militant action. They elected as Chairman and Secretary, respectively, Rev. J. L. Beebe and W. H. Green, both of Omaha. And these two leaders, together with the present Executive Board, have been rallying the spirit of the rank and file, which had become so disheartened over the failure to develop a genuine independent political party. This pre-convention conference was the outcome of such efforts.

With over a hundred delegates from the various counties of the state, the conference (Continued on page 2.)

## Impeach Coolidge!

The Workers Party of America declares that the Teapot Dome investigation and scandal that has aroused the great masses of the workers and farmers of the United States will end in mere partisan bickering between democrats and republicans with its real lesson unlearned if certain definite things are not demanded by the workers and farmers and those demands enforced.

The Workers Party of America believes that President Coolidge has shown himself cognisant of all the crookedness and wholesale thievery that was on foot when he was a cabinet member.

It believes that he has left no doubt in the mind of anyone that he has tried to shield and defend men like Denby and Daugherty who later admitted their guilt.

It believes that the conduct of President Coolidge in this connection comes under the head of "high crimes and misdemeanors" and is basis for impeachment.

It demands that the necessary steps to impeach him be taken immediately.

The Workers Party of America urges all organizations of workers and farmers to make this demand upon their senators and representatives.

(From The Daily Worker.)

# Trade Union Leaders and C. P. P. A.

the people for their information on the attitude of Mr. McAdoo with respect to the modification of the Volstead Act."

We realize that Mr. Duncan is a "wet," all right. He is, in fact, chairman of an anti-prohibition amendment committee. Therefore, apparently, his objection is based upon McAdoo's "dry" record, and not at all upon his oily one. But we are inclined to believe that he got his enumerations very much mixed. Because, in the first place, the official report of the A. F. of L. membership, made to its last convention, states this membership to be less than 3,000,000. And this figure is doubtless swelled; because it is a well-known fact that many of the unions pay per capita tax upon a greater membership figure than they really possess, in order to secure larger representation in the convention. Also it is a fact that a large percentage of the A. F. of L. membership—probably hundreds of thousands—are not voters. And this for two principal reasons—lack of citizenship and the migratory character of certain occupations.

These three instances, showing the mental bankruptcy of the political leadership at the head of organized labor, clearly demonstrate the fact that they represent only their own crude capitalistic opinions, rather than the wishes and desires of the rank and file which maintains them.

In St. Louis they hesitated to take a stand for or against McAdoo, though he had been exposed as a shameless paid agent of the labor-exploiting capitalist class.

At Chicago they endorsed McAdoo—in a conference engineered by the McAdoo publicity committee itself, which doubtless fully realizes the influence to be gained from a listing of these "labor-leader" names among McAdoo's adherents.

With regard to the A. F. of L. "right wing" opposition, as expressed by James Duncan, how ridiculous his claim must appear may be understood when it is realized that over half of the names signed to the resolution in support of McAdoo are of those representing unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. and include a large part of the 5,000,000 voters which Duncan so generously promises to swing, "wet" or "dry."

The truth is that not one of these "labor leaders" really represent, politically, the rank and file of any union. The members of the unions are like the membership of any other organizations—many voting one or other of the old political party tickets "because their father did;" many voting merely in accordance with their general organization policy, and for no other reason; and many voting not at all—for some reason or no reason.

These "labor leaders," and their petty-bourgeois masters and allies, who will gather in Cleveland on July 4th, are of the sort who, if they do succeed in breaking the chains of the old political parties, will rot dare to form anything but a Third Party dominated by middle-class ideas.

As a result of the threatened total annihilation of the unions—through the open-shop drive, principally—a new leadership and a new political consciousness is arising among the rank and file of the union membership. This new political element is reaching out toward the bankrupt farmers, joining hands with them, and thus forming the rapidly growing farmer-labor movement.

At the coming convention in St. Paul, on May 30th, the McAdoo and Duncan type of leadership will not be in evidence; but the rank and file of the union membership, and the exploited farmer in particular, will have full representation. And out of this gathering should surly come the class political party of farmers and industrial workers.

### WE ARE GROWING!

The circulation of this newspaper is growing fast—but, the faster the better, for all concerned. And if you are a farmer or an industrial worker, you are concerned in the growth of this circulation among the American working class. Farmer-Labor Voice tells the world that it is here to STAY! And that every day, in every way, it aims to grow better and better—from the working-class point of view.

# Progressive Party "Cleans House"

assembled, in fighting mood. J. M. Paul, of Harvard, was elected as Chairman; and J. A. Lochray, of Omaha, as Secretary.

In the line-up at the outset the opposing forces were easily identified. On the one side were those favoring clear-cut and uncompromising political action outside of the old party lines,—and especially apart from the Bryan Democrats, judged as the greatest danger to progress. Aligned upon this side were the poorer exploited farmers and the rank and file trade unionists. In opposition were the rich farmers, the "fusion" Democrats, the C. P. P. A. elements and the conservative or reactionary trade union leaders. The leading spokesmen for these opposing groups were, respectively, W. J. Taylor, a well-known Nebraska farmer, and Joseph Gilbert, a newspaper editor, of North Platte.

Right at the start there was a bitter struggle over a resolution submitted by two typical Nebraska "dirt" farmers, W. J. Taylor and E. G. Stolley. Mr. Taylor is a former member of the State Legislature and is now the Progressive Party candidate for United States Senator. He is an authority on parliamentary procedure, and a star in debate. His masterly handling carried the resolution through the deep waters of opposition.

The resolution reads: "This is a convention of farmers' and laborers, and their friends who belong to and affiliate with the Progressive Party. Whoever favors its continuation as an independent organization and intends to support its candidates, and who also favors forming an independent third-party Farmer-Labor national organization, shall be delegates in this convention."

The "fusionists" and the C. P. P. A. members—classed as one group by the farmer delegates—were quick to denounce this resolution as "unfair," as "putting up the bars," and as "throwing us over a transom," etc., etc.

Mr. Gilbert, the North Platte, editor, came to their rescue with a substitute motion, which provided that, "All shall be permitted to participate in the convention who are favorable to maintaining a third party movement in Nebraska." And amid increased denunciation of the fusionists, caused by this proposed substitute, Mr. Gilbert spoke in support of his motion. He said that the original motion was inconsistent with the call for the conference. But the farmer delegates made short work of laying this argument.

Mr. Jacoby, one of the well-to-do farmer adherents of the opposition, attempted a rambling defense of the substitute motion, but his talk was cut short by the chairman. An appeal from this decision of the chairman was not sustained, only the C. P. P. A. group voting with Jacoby.

Mr. Taylor then availed himself of his parliamentary right to make closing argument for the original motion, and his address was an eloquent plea for protection of the farmers threatened with bankruptcy and foreclosure. Jacoby here raised a point of order which was sustained by chairman. But Mr. Taylor's appeal from this decision of the chairman was sustained by the entire conference, with the single exception of the C. P. P. A. small minority.

This amusing and significant incident seemed to finish the opposition. When the vote was taken, only nine delegates supported the substitute; and the original motion carried, with only Gilbert, Orton, chairman of the Nebraska C. P. P. A., and a few others voting against it. The C. P. P. A. minority of nine then withdrew from the conference. And with their withdrawal was silenced the only note of disharmony in the gathering. Throughout all the discussions that followed, on the various matters brought before the conference, there was apparent the finest spirit of friendship and co-operation between the remaining delegates, of the dirt-farmer and rank and file trade unionist constituencies. The two exceptions to these classifications consisted of Delegates Bigelow and Paul, the first a lawyer from Omaha, whose practice is mostly amongst the trade unionists; and the second, a farmer who is now practicing law, among the farmers locally.

William H. Green, of Omaha, Executive Secretary of the Progressive Party, was

chairman of the committee that brought in the resolution demanding withdrawal of the names of Bryan and the other Democrats as candidates of the Progressive Party. In supporting this demand, speaker after speaker vigorously denounced the attempts at fusion. One of these—a farmer, 82 years of age—recalled the old Populist Party, which had been "swallowed" in a similar manner by the Democrats. All were strongly for getting the Democrats off the Progressive Party ticket, at all costs. And the committee's recommendation was unanimously adopted.

Great enthusiasm was shown for the May 30th convention, and the growing farmer-labor movement. The writer, as National Secretary of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, addressed the conference and appealed for support of the St. Paul convention on May 30th. The conference elected to attend that convention eight delegates from each of the six Congressional districts; and named Rev. J. L. Beebe, State Chairman of the Progressive Party, as a delegate at large—thus completing the delegation of forty-nine.

In addition, a resolution was passed providing that upon return to their homes the delegates to this conference should make every endeavor to influence all trade unions and farmers' organizations, and have them send delegates to the St. Paul convention on May 30th.

The conference continued long into the night, and a full slate for the various State offices was nominated on the Progressive Party ticket.

The candidate nominated for United States Senator was W. J. Taylor, a well-known Nebraska farmer and a popular champion of the cause of the poorer farmers, especially. Mr. Taylor was easily the best orator present in the conference, and his speeches were filled with illuminating facts in connection with the growing bankruptcy situation of the farmers whose interests he spoke for. Mr. Taylor is more than 60 years of age; but he is in vigorous health, and will no doubt become a prominent figure in the growing farmer-labor movement.

A resolution was also unanimously endorsed in this conference calling upon Robert M. LaFollette to get out of the Republican Party and help lead the farmer-labor movement.

The Mid-West News, published by J. A. Lochray, the secretary of the conference, was endorsed as the official organ of the Progressive Party.

Altogether, this conference of members of the Progressive Party of Nebraska has gone a long way toward "cleaning house," of those elements which have been seeking to destroy it. Their regular State Convention will be held in April. And it is almost certain that, if legal technicalities will allow—and if the champions of the C. P. P. A. do not prevent it—the Progressive Party of Nebraska will become the State Farmer-Labor Party. And the conference will have the direct effect of organizing a large delegation, truly representative of the real farmers and industrial workers of the State, to attend the May 30th convention. It will also be committed to the policy of joining hands with sister states, for the organization of a great national Farmer-Labor Party.

### ANOTHER ENDORSEMENT FOR MORATORIUM DEMAND.

PROSSER, Wash.—At a well-attended meeting of North Prosser farmers resolutions were passed endorsing the Norris-Sinclair marketing bill and demanding a moratorium on federal farm loans and irrigation construction charges.

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# A New Farm-Relief "Bunco Game"

By Tom Ayres.

When the bank panic struck the Northwest with such fury, there was hot haste to "save the banks." That the storm would strike South Dakota with greatest force was well known by Senator Norbeck. Hence, his bill to loan fifty million dollars to the broken farmers.

There was no time to get this measure into action, however. The cyclone travelled too fast. It even took the Senator's own bank, at Huron. Then the administration concentrated its power, to save the South Dakota situation. The farmers had been down and out, for three years. All the favorite panaceas offered by the Chambers of Commerce, the Bankers' Associations, the Farm Bureau, and other agencies of the capitalist system, were of no avail. When the final result of broken farmers showed itself in bank doors closed, there was no more waiting. The government acted at once—to save the banks. The oil-soaked government, impotent to save the farmers—made haste to rescue the parasites—who were bound to die when the farmers became too poor to furnish them further nourishment. The farmers are laughing now. The bankers are whistling apprehensively as they grope through the graveyard of their own broken system of exploitation.

### A Game That Failed.

The game of unloading millions of dollars upon bank counters, to amaze depositors, has not worked well. That game is too old. Money shipped from Minneapolis or Omaha, to be immediately shipped back as soon as the flurry passes, has fooled nobody, this time. Indeed, it has furnished an added incentive to get at the money, as fast as possible. Withdrawals continue to be made, and will be made—so thoroughly disillusioned are those who have heretofore had faith in the banks. That the Treasury and Postoffice officials became suddenly aware of this danger, was evidenced by the hasty action taken by those governmental departments when they ordered withdrawn the sale of treasury certificates of indebtedness. The people who have money in banks may yet withdraw their deposits and place them in the postal savings departments of the local postoffices, because these monies will be immediately redeposited in the banks. The postoffice will pay 2 per cent on deposits and the postmaster will beat it to the bank as soon as he gets the money and deposit it at two and one-half per cent. But borrowers would be forced to pay 10 per cent for the same money. The system of buying good government securities, paying 4.25 per cent, had to be stopped, to prevent the people from finding a safe place and a decent rate of interest for the use of their surplus funds. This puts Uncle Sam in the position of holding the victim, while his pockets are being picked by the bankers.

### Another Bunco Farm Bill.

All this effort to save the banks, is reminiscent of applying a court-plaster to a cancer. Our "statesmen" understand this, but they have no courage to use the necessary knife. In the midst of the whirlwind caused by persistent and merciless exploitation of the farmers, they seek shelter under an umbrella. So they raise their "bunco" umbrella and thus seek protection from the storm in which they now find themselves. They know that the farmers cannot pay, because there is nothing to pay with. They know that the farmers will never have anything to pay with, till they can retain something from the product of their labor. But they refuse to give the relief that is needed.

The latest "statesmanlike" attempt to sidestep this issue—which they have neither the courage nor the honesty to meet is the introduction of the McNary Farm Relief Bill, proposing a government-corporation to export foodstuffs. This measure was introduced to off-set the possible passage of the Norris-Sin-

clairg bill—a measure possessing real merit toward restoration of the agricultural balance. (That is, if there were a farmer-labor government to administer it.) The Norris bill is therefore an unsafe measure for the grain gamblers. It would put them out of business (if a farmer-labor government should succeed in gaining power).

### Stacking the Deck.

The grain gamblers must be protected. Their government will act for them, just as it has acted for the railroads and oil interests. Therefore the McNary bill—concocted in the offices of the grain-gambler Barnes; put up to Congress by the grain-gambler's Secretary of Agriculture, Wallace; and sponsored by McNary, Norbeck, and other agents of the grain exchanges. South Dakota is now being flooded with letters from Senator Norbeck, asking farmers to endorse this crooked measure. The Farm Bureau,—the grain gamblers wet-nursed infant—has already taken action. All the legislative forces of capitalism are being employed to put through the McNary bill. Delegates of the "right stripe"—including Carl Gunderson, a perfectly "safe" farmer—candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor—will attend Mr. Coolidge's great conference of capitalistic notables, called upon to "save agriculture."

And the farmers laugh: the old game is so obvious. The farmer knows that this stuff is not for him. He knows that the grafting on the farmer will continue so long as this clique of grain-thieves, meat-thieves, cream-thieves, and their paid agents among the farmers, lawyers, newspaper-editors and public officials are in power. So the farmer is getting ready to strike, where it will mean something—through a class party of the farmers and industrial workers.

### Appeal to "The Law."

South Dakota has a "Development Association." It was started in 1919, "to fight bolshevism." The fellow who organized it was a leading "patriotic" mobster during the war. After he had fleeced the timid merchants and the designing bankers, he went to California to forget about South Dakota. His mantle was assumed by one Arnold, from North Dakota, who has spent more than two years running about South Dakota preaching against "socialism" from the hind-end of a Ford trailer. But that game became unremunerative, so Arnold took up the work of the "Development Association."

Arnold is a handy man. The bankers no longer desire to appear as the prompters of the lawyers in refusing bankruptcy cases—so Mr. Arnold has filled the gap. He is now circularizing the attorneys of the state, appealing to their patriotism, in an attempt to stop the constantly growing procession of busted farmers who are on the road to the bankruptcy courts.

When all these measures fail to meet the needs of the bankers, the grain-gamblers and their ilk, we shall probably have a repetition of the American fascist movement which showed itself during the war in yellow paint, with mobbing of speakers and breaking up of progressive political meetings. But the farmers will now be ready for that. They have gained courage and are showing determination. It is hard to bluff a man who has nothing to lose but his mortgages.

### More High-Jack Finance.

The South Dakota Rural Credits Board has just sold another issue of three million dollars in bonds. The treasurer of the Credits Board solemnly avows that this money is to be used for farm loans. The law provides that it shall not be employed for any other purpose. But the Board has loaned the money to the banks. And some of it has stuck in the banks. The farmers have waited for the money. Meanwhile, they have been unable to pay interest on the loans they received from the State. There are several million dollars of interest in default. Nobody knows just how much, because the Rural Credits Board does not report. It is a "closed corporation."

How much of this new issue of bonds will be shoved into the vaults of the shaky banks nobody will know—not till it is too late, anyway. This is "high finance"—of the "black-jack" variety.

### "Tax Reduction" Propaganda.

The present hot times in Washington over the oil-lease scandal, has evidently frightened the tax-dodgers. They fear that in the mix up they may not be able to get Mr. Mellon's "tax reduction" measure through this session of Congress. And they are correct in believing that if they cannot do it soon, it can never be done.

For months the capitalist papers of the Northwest have been promoting "tax reduction." That sounds good to the average citizen. It makes quite an impression. The newspapers do not explain the measure. They shout gleefully about "tax reduction."

"Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." And shaky are the legs of the millionaires who are totting billions of dollars in stolen plunder. Lately the states west of the Mississippi have been flooded with letters addressed to farmers, asking them if they favor "tax reduction." And if they do, whether they will write their members of Congress in support of Mr. Mellon's plan. Most of the farmers are ignorant of the Mellon plan. They do not know that it was designed only to save the war profiteers. And if they did understand the measure, they would vote no, unhesitatingly and with great unanimity. Evidence that the fear of a farmer-labor Congress is uppermost in the minds of the war plunderers, is on every hand.

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# FARMER LABOR VOICE

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## Senator "Bob" LaFollette Moves Forward

"Fighting Bob" LaFollette finds himself today at the political cross-roads, where he can no longer tarry. He must choose and go forward, along one road or the other—to whatever lies beyond for him. Or else his political career is finished.

Strongly indicative of the fact that LaFollette himself appreciates his present critical situation, is his latest step—the withdrawal of his name from the Presidential primary contest in North Dakota. This is unquestionably a forward step for LaFollette—because it is the first time, in the course of his fifty years in politics, that he has acknowledged the uselessness of attempting to really progress within the ranks of the Republican Party.

And particularly significant is this step, in view of the fact that there has been recently organized in North Dakota a militant Farmer-Labor Party to fight the reactionary clique now controlling the State Republican Party and the Non-Partisan League there. It implies the Wisconsin Senator's recognition of the Farmer-Laborite power, in North Dakota and elsewhere. For it means that LaFollette is making a direct bid for farmer-labor support, in preference to any strength he might be able to gather by continuation of his past efforts within the Republican machinery.

After his long political experience, LaFollette should know that his next progressive step must be in the direction of definite organizational efforts to rally his followers for action against the Coolidge clique, which will probably be represented in the Republican Convention, at Cleveland, by a two-thirds "hand-picked for Coolidge" delegation.

## Labor Gives Voice

If the Senate Committee investigation of the oil-land frauds brings forth no other definite result of permanent value—and it has produced no other, thus far—yet one great benefit has already accrued to the farmer-labor masses of the country. They have become thoroughly disillusioned as to the character of both the Republican and the Democratic Parties. And they have lost all remaining faith in the omniscience of the Presidential office. As a consequence of which these preponderant political forces have been aroused to the point of giving voice, to their discontent with the leadership, past and present, of both these "old-line" political parties of Capitalism.

The primal reaction of these forces to this mass state of mind is now first seen in the widespread demand for impeachment of President Coolidge—the first demand of this sort which has ever come from the American working class. And the ultimate result will be undoubtedly the formation, and inauguration in the coming Presidential election, of a real working-class political party to displace the two now dominant in national politics.

No other force than the organized power of the workers ever has or ever can check the greed of stockholders, financial manipulators and captains of industry.

Neither the capitalist class nor the middle class could ever function beneficially for the working class—the great majority; not even if you feel sure that you wouldn't ballot. There is a live Farmer-Labor vote for you.

## Political Riff-Raff

Now comes Hiram Johnson, seeking greater political preferment at the hands of the American people. Governor Johnson's attempted "official defense" of the unspeakable William J. Burns, "Hawkshaw" henchmen of the equally unspeakable Attorney-General Daugherty, is enough in itself to condemn him. But his "labor record" needs little comment; it speaks for itself. And his painful silence with regard to the oil-land scandal now adds its dubious lustre to that record.

This self-proclaimed "progressive" is responsible, more than any other individual, for the fact that Tom Mooney is still in prison, years after the disclosures which proved beyond question that his conviction was a frame-up by reactionary labor officialdom to do away with this "radical" labor leader. And he is likewise responsible for the continued imprisonment of the "radical" labor strike leaders, Richard Ford and Herman Suhr, who were convicted on a similar frame-up and sentenced for life during Johnson's term as Governor of California. It was also during his term as Governor that the State of California began prosecution of the militant labor forces, under the so-called "criminal syndicalism statute."

The situation in California today—where Hiram Johnson has never made one effort to change for the better—discloses militant labor crushed to earth beneath the iron-shod heel of Capitalism, with reaction firmly in the saddle. Labor spies, government "dicks" and "stool-pigeons" hold full sway. The rights of free speech and assembly are brutally suppressed, while the kept press of Capitalism lies, vilifies and panders without rebuke. The corridors of the State's legislative halls swarm with political fixers, lobbyists and manipulators—leaving in their wake a slimy trail, like the army of human snails which they are.

In the State which presents Hiram Johnson as its most prominent presidential candidate, San Quentin prison is crowded to overflowing with American workers who have attempted assertion of the constitutional rights, no longer existent there. The tenant farmers of the State are bankrupt, or upon the verge of that condition. The militant labor unions are smashed, or in hopeless apprehension of such fate. And the piratical corporations are in full control of the State's political machinery.

Today California is sunk down more deeply into the mire of reaction than any other State in the country. And this is the outcome of all the dauntless, defiant vociferations of Hiram Johnson, "progressive" candidate for President of the United States. He is a fit political representative of that State which the imprisoned I. W. W.'s have so graphically described as "California, the Beautiful—and Damned!"

Profit for the profiteers means famine for the farmers.

Bank credits for the bankers mean bankruptcy for the farmers.

Who ever heard of a banker who was anxious for the government to loan money direct to the farmer?

## Agnostically Speaking

We are asked to believe that Attorney-General Daugherty will be placed on trial before some Congressional tribunal, and that thereafter his resignation will be insisted upon by President Coolidge. While we are "from Missouri" in this respect, we sincerely hope that the rumor is true. Because then a lot more of the long covered political fakers will be dragged into the limelight and their loud-smelling records given an airing. The Daugherty-Burns Department of Justice combination has "got the goods" upon many such.

Also, Mr. A.-Much-hell Palmer, former Attorney-General in the Wilson "New Freedom" Cabinet, is to be summoned before a Senate "Oil Committee"—according to the same sort of rumor. There he will be asked to tell "the truth the whole truth and nothing but the truth" in regard to his rather more than suspected connection with Mr. A. Big Fall. But, as remarked before, we are "from Missouri!"

## The Voice of the Farmer Speaks

Out of the jungle of misunderstanding I am speaking to you—to you, the exploited masses of this country.

By the apologists for Capitalism, and the traitors from our own rank, we have both been misled to believe that you and I are enemies. By these, I have been pictured to you as a "dammy," both ignorant and foolish. Thus they have seeded hatred between you and me.

To you, they have represented me as a selfish producer, for my own profit. They have told you, again and again, that I am in a class separate from you; that I am well-to-do, and that in fact I am a capitalist myself.

Surely, sometimes we farmers have fine houses, fine fields and fine cattle. And we have plenty of work—all the time!

But now I am going to ask of you a question: Do you know who OWNS all these fine houses, and the land upon which the houses stand, and the cattle which feed upon the fields?

Just as surely, it is not I. It is the vampire banker—the capitalist. For I am the slave of Capitalism—like yourself.

Brother worker, do you know that right now there are tens of thousands of farmers in the Northwest who have lost all that they ever had?

Yes, they have robbed us of everything. And we cannot borrow a dollar from our government—which is the government of Capitalism.

But there are billions of dollars for loans to European counter-revolutionists, to combat the only Workers' Government now in existence.

Brother wage-worker, how long shall you and I slumber in this state of ignorance?

Is it not time for you and for me to see that we are friends, and not enemies? That your suffering is the same as my suffering? That we are both exploited and robbed by the same Capitalistic power?

Brother wage-worker, of the shop, the railroad and the mine: I, the farmer, extend to you my earth-soiled hand.

This is a hand that is not beautiful or soft. But it is the hand that feeds the workers everywhere. And it is the hand that will now help you, more than will any beautiful or soft hands.

Come, let us join our worker-hands—and shoulder to shoulder we shall fight for our release from capitalist slavery.

Through the centuries, we have prayed to the God they have told us of. But their God is not our God. And there is no help for us, but the help which we shall give to each other. For the worker's god is the Power of Labor.

Awake, ye slaves—for your kingdom is at hand! (A. Nesla, Chicago City, Minn.)

## FALL—IN SPRING TIME.

The Autumn leaves are Fall-ing—  
As the poets oft declare—  
"They are falling in the atmosphere,  
"And likewise in the air."

The Democratic Party,  
In a virtuous furor,  
Opened wide the "holy" portal—  
And then hid behind the door!

But the odor of their presence  
Gave their little game away;  
So the Autumn leaves are Fall-ing—  
And they're Fall-ing every day.

First Gregory "look a header"  
Into the crude-oil, oyster stew;  
Then Denby—and some others;  
Now what will McAdoodle-doo?

The Autumn leaves are Fall-ing—  
In this Spring-time of the year—  
And the hopes of politicians  
Have turned yellow, rank and sere.

But the farmer and the laborer  
Have clearly taken note  
Of this politicians' paradox—  
And they know how to vote!

Poverty will be abolished whenever the workers decide that they will be poor no longer.

Workers' solidarity means workers' supremacy.

Unity of the unions is the life of labor.



# The Old Game

Farmer-Labor Voice has received a circular letter from O. M. Hector, State Campaign Manager in Fargo, N. D., of the "Johnson-for-President" alleged movement. The letter is addressed "To the Voters of North Dakota," and refers quite feelingly to "the unbearable economic situation" in which are now suffering those to whom this campaign manager fraternally alludes as "We farmers of the Northwest." Thus beginning—and ending with the proclaimed slogan, "Hiram, the Pride of the West and Hope of the Nation!"—this letter is a typical broadside of political claptrap and camouflage.

With the letter is enclosed a four-page leaflet detailing "Johnson's Record" and "What the California Newspapers say About the State's Most Distinguished Son." Some of the newspaper extracts in this leaflet bear such humorously ridiculous headings as the following: "Great National Figure," "Able Executive," "Two-Fisted Fighter," "He Redeemed California," etc., etc.

Twenty years ago—and maybe even ten years ago—such a "line of bunk" might have fooled the farmers into voting for this so vociferously proclaimed "savior of the nation's workers." But with the greater enlightenment and class-consciousness now existent among the American farmers and industrial workers, they will receive this bombastic bunkum at its true value, with the mirthful ejaculation, "Them days are gone, forever!"

## McAdoo and the St. Louis Conference

By W. H. GREEN.

Until we received the official platform of the recent St. Louis Conference for Progressive Political Action, we were unable to decipher why this alleged insurgent political movement was so respectable in the eyes of the big interests. But, the money plank furnished the key to the situation. "Reconstruction of the federal reserve system to provide for the direct public control of the nation's credit and, legislation to permit co-operative banking." That told the tale.

Governor Bryan, Carter Glass, Paul Warburg and "Poison Gas" Harding can subscribe to that harmless antidote.

All of the vigorous campaign that Henry Ford has waged to take the yard stick and the scale beam out of the hands of international exploiters is wasted on those silk-stocking radicals.

The official organ of the transportation brotherhoods lets the cat out of the bag.

While meeting at St. Louis, where some farmers were in attendance, the name discussed was that of Robert M. LaFollette, but the ink was hardly dry on the St. Louis hotel register before those same high officials hid themselves away to Chicago where they signed up a public manifesto for candidate McAdoo.

## ANOTHER CORPORATION TOOL FOR OIL PROBE.

(By Federated Press.)

CLEVELAND.—Former Sen. Atlee Pomerene of Ohio, appointed by President Coolidge as special counsel for the investigation of the Teapot Dome and Elk Hills oil lease, is a tool of big business and an enemy of the workers, according to labor spokesmen here.

As the "liberal" lieutenant governor of Ohio in 1910, he secured his election by the state legislature to the senate with professions of love for the common people. Once in the senate, he served the big corporations so well that he was defeated for reelection in the last election, largely by an appeal sent out to the railway workers of the state by the transportation brotherhoods urging his defeat because of his anti-labor record and his advocacy of the Esch-Cummins law.

In a statement recently filed with the interstate commerce commission, he admitted that he is now the attorney for 15 railroad companies. He is also a director and attorney for one of the largest banking and trust companies in the country, and connected with a host of lesser corporate interests closely enmeshed with the big banking powers.

### WE ASK YOU—

After noting the first three issues of Farmer-Labor Voice, do you think that it is worth its subscription price of \$1.00 per year (or \$1.25, inside Chicago)? If you do, then send in your subscription at once, and become a booster for the paper among your friends.



OPEN!

## Candidate Explains State Issues

CENTER, Neb.—At a recent banquet in the Knox Hotel here, there was an address made by R. S. Scofield, the Progressive Party nominee for Secretary of State. And touching upon State issues, the speaker had this to say:

"I have never doubted the honesty of the rank and file of either the Republican or Democratic parties. The zeal and steadfastness of some members of both parties indicate this over-honesty existent to a degree bordering on insanity. I have at times doubted the wisdom of the average voter. For instance, the Democrats were wrong either when they voted for Bryan on a silver platform or Parker on a gold platform. My idea of a one hundred per cent American, is one who is studious to know the right, and with manhood to stand for principles regardless of party. If we had all done just as 'dad' did, we might yet be clinging to the limb of a tree throwing coconuts at each other. The Bible says to hold fast that which is good and the Proverbs tells you to seek wisdom. Blind partisanship has almost destroyed this republic, and so often rewarded chicanery as to fill the land with grafters from the president's cabinet to the precinct officer. Captains of industry control the machinery of both old parties and thus never take a chance of losing an election. The Democrats elected their first governor of Nebraska by stuffing forty thousand bogus ballots in the ballot boxes in Omaha and defeated that grand old patriot, John H. Powers, Congressman Howard, in recent years exposed this fraud. Yet, a few moss back Democratic office-seekers look upon and utilize every reform movement to boost them into office. It is as easy to change the spoils on one leopard as on another. There are in Nebraska thirty to forty thousand voters who are guided solely by principles and with intelligence enough that they will not again be tricked into any movement of fusion or endorsement that makes a cat's paw of them to pull chestnuts out of the frying pan into the fire. . . . The Progressive Party in Nebraska can make no headway by appearing as a tail to the Democratic kite."

## Prosperity or Hard Times?

There are times when every thinking person is tempted to agree with William Jennings Bryan and the Rev. Billy Sunday in their attacks upon the theory of evolution. The Darwinian concept that man is related to the animal kingdom, and more closely, to the higher apes, is an apparently preposterous notion.

No ape or monkey ever starved in the midst of abundance. Cattle do not famish in rich pastures nor do horses or donkeys want before bales of hay. The only creature on this earth that suffers in the face of plenty is the two-legged, short-eared variety of asses that make up the bulk of civilization's population. In this country they are fairly numerous.

With this prelude we return to the contention we argued in the first article. No ingenious reasoning can ever endanger the truth of the statement, that in this country there is no good reason why poverty, want and destitution should be suffered to exist. A survey of our natural resources, our immense capacity and varied facilities for the production of an abundance of the necessities of life and a fair degree of things the world still considers necessary, stability and security can be established permanently in these United States and for our whole population. Our natural wealth, industrial equipment and labor reserves confirm this prediction. Only our social and political short-sightedness denies it.

Economic order must displace chaos. The first important step forward is to abolish the gambling and speculation with food, clothing and shelter and the other prime needs of our existence. This cannot be accomplished unless we decisively end the private ownership, control and manipulation of our natural resources, the mines, oil wells, quarries, forests and water-power; of transportation and distributing agencies—the railroads, steamship lines, power plants, banks, storage facilities and the important manufacturing industries of the land. We must transfer these properties, their control, management and operation to the commonwealth, the people of the United States.

**RECORD**  
HIRAM JOHNSON

*Progressive Campaigner*  
*Capitalist Sympathizer*  
*Tool of R.R. Interests*  
*Friend of Burma*

**RECORD**  
HIRAM JOHNSON

*False alarm*  
*Spoke Liberal*  
*Factory of Big Big*  
*Ready to*  
*Abolish*

*Labor Hater*  
*Artful Dodger*  
*Wingless Pet*  
*Sick Spittle*  
*Poser*  
*Open Shop Adver*  
*Hunger on*  
*Worst Bag*



OPEN!



# Out of the Muck

## A Chronicle of Crooks

The Senate special committee now investigating the oil land leases seems to have "brought in a gusher" that is quite beyond their control—and becomes more and more so as the investigation proceeds. Each day some new and heretofore presumably untarnished political figure (or figure-head?) who attempts to shut off the superabundant flow, presently retires from the seemingly hopeless attempt, himself oil-smeared and spattered beyond all powers of cleansing.

Some of these would-be saviours of Wall Street's "white hopes"—such as the "union" laundry-workers who recently gathered in Chicago to "dry" clean the doughy McAdoo—will find their task increasingly difficult as the days pass. William G. McAdoo and all his kind—Republican or Democrat—have been so thoroughly discredited in the course of this investigation that nothing short of a political revolution is what now faces the industrial workers and exploited farmers of the country—whose votes are depended upon to elect such political leaders. And neither "dry"-cleaning or "wet"-washing will ever restore the pristine purity of their records, political and private.

### The Gusher Spouts.

Enlightening events follow, one upon another, with kaleidoscopic rapidity. And it is impossible to relate in the space here available even the outstanding points in connection with all these many changes. But we will attempt to "hit the high spots" in the present mad rush of disclosures now on tap from the Washington oil-gusher.

Following the original charges made against the Republicans by the Democrats—which was intended to be merely a little foray of the political "outs" against the "ins"—counter-charges were hurled at the Democrats by the Republicans. And the battle was on.

One of these counter-charges by the Republican cohorts was to the effect that three hundred to four hundred million dollars had been diverted to the treasuries of private oil companies, through wrongful interpretations by a Treasury Board established by McAdoo (of the former Wilson Cabinet); and that McAdoo and two other members of this Treasury Board, upon their return to private life secured for themselves very lucrative positions with the various big oil interests. McAdoo himself was brought to admit that he expected a fee of one million dollars, for his "professional" services to the Doheny oil aggregation. Some of his other "professional" fees have been listed like this:

Charles W. Morse interests.....	\$ 844,000
Moving-picture interests (annually).....	100,000
Republic Iron & Steel Company.....	140,000
E. L. Doheny (part payment?).....	150,000

The last item represents what McAdoo says is all he got from Doheny—and he seems to feel very sore over its "chicken-feed" proportions. And the first item, with reference to nearly a million dollars from the Morse interests, is entered upon authority of public statement by Senator Reed of Missouri—who may be regarded by some people as rather "a slender Reed to rest upon." But we are willing to take his word for it, in the circumstances.

### Daugherty Defiant.

On the Republican side, the most noteworthy picture now screened discloses the supine attitude in which Coolidge receives the defiance of Daugherty, whose resignation he has requested—under pressure from many powerful cogs of the Republican machine. It is apparent that Daugherty can well defy the President, as he seems to have been placed in a most strategic position for a gang-politician. He has at his disposal the voluminous files of the Department of Justice, and the all-embracing "framed" and real records collected by the detective agency of William J. Burns, to give him "the goods" on many who are not willing to risk the danger of courting his enmity. All past ex-

posures of this investigation would probably be "small-town stuff," compared with some of the disclosures which Daugherty could set forth, in such event. If the Presidential authority permits the Attorney-General to "get away" with any such defiance, through this fear of consequent revelations, then the farmer-labor forces should unite in the demand to "Impeach Coolidge"—which demand is now being strenuously advocated by The Daily Worker. Thus far, the President has permitted Daugherty to slip off to Florida. "on personal business," and has not recalled him. From that safe point of vantage, the Attorney General sends back to Washington the cheering information that he will return "as soon as possible"; and that, in the meantime, "the Department of Justice is functioning 100 per cent." (One hundred per cent"—O, old familiar sound!)

### "Personal Business."

With regard to Daugherty's "personal business" in Florida, there is a graphic story going the rounds in Washington, vividly delineating the type of legal authority now posing as Attorney-General of the United States and in supervision of the country's Department of Justice.

This story runs that soon after the Teapot began to simmer in the Senatorial committee room, the sporty Attorney General informed the President and members of the Cabinet that he was about to leave for a trip South, to witness the Kentucky Derby, along with Harry F. Sinclair, in that oily gentleman's palatial private car. (The decorative appellation of this private car, by the way, is "Patriot"—with the "100 per cent" left off, for presumably obvious reasons.) Some of the equally sporty Cabinet members, it seems, chirped up that in such case they would be glad to have Daugherty place for them a few "bets on the ponies." And for this purpose they placed in his trusty hands a pool of considerable proportions—which sum it is chronicled that he honestly delivered into the equally trusty hands of the Southern race-track book-makers.

But this "movie" Attorney-General did not seem to qualify very highly as a betting-commissioner. Becoming separated from the more astute and experienced Sinclair, at the race-track Daugherty picked a "dog," or "dead one," and "put the works on his nose." But happily, Sinclair heard of this performance in good time—so the story goes—and placed another bet for Daugherty, so advantageously that he was able to hand to the Attorney General, after the race, a large sum of money which he said was Daugherty's winnings.

And so, the money of the Cabinet members being lost on the "dead one" the conscientious Attorney General quite fairly divided with them the sum "won" for him by Sinclair. But of course he could not tell these highly moral contributors to the betting pool, that the money came to them through Sinclair.

### One Remedy Only.

The exposure of all this political rottenness recalls to memory the old "muck-raking" days, when the extensive land-steals by the railroads and other robber corporations gave "Terrible Teddy" Roosevelt an opportunity to harmlessly swing his "Big Stick" and indulge in much talk about "trust-busting," "conservation of natural resources," and various other political slogans of the times. Since which date, the stealing of everything not in some way "nailed down"—like the Capitol building, for instance—has gone on as briskly and as safely as ever. Only now such performances are carried on with a little more caution on the part of the corporate 4-cylinder bandits of capitalism and their political prostitutes.

The answer to the present agitation for reform should not be such a Third Party as the vociferous "Teddy" attempted in his "Bull Moose" days. Nor even a slightly more radical one, such as would satisfy the pink-tea preconceptions of the disgruntled middle class. In the May 30th convention, at St. Paul, the combined forces of the farmers and industrial workers will put forth a supreme effort to form a class political party, from those elements. And they will pick leaders in whom they have better reason to place confidence, than loud and lengthy promises of future performance.

# The Farm Crisis

By HAROLD M. WARE.

(Fourth installment of "Hal" Ware's article on the agricultural industry. This will be issued later in pamphlet form.—ED.)

### The Farmer's Dollar:

The Joint Commission of Agricultural Inquiry makes the startling admission that "the consumer's dollar" (that is, the dollar received by the farmer from the sale of farm produce), is divided as follows: Forty-nine cents goes to the railroads and other agencies of distribution; 17 cents to food manufacturers; 14 cents in profits to retailers, wholesalers and manufacturers; and only 20 cents to the farmer. In other words, the city worker must pay to the exploiters whose intervention separates farmer from worker, five dollars for the farm product, before the farmer receives his one dollar portion.

It is evident, therefore, that the city worker and the farmer have a common enemy and a common interest. Their common objective is to eliminate the system which so strongly favors the exploiters of these workers and farmers. This objective can be gained only by their joining in economic and political action.

Likewise the farmers have come to realize that their ultimate market is the purchasing power of the American workers. The farmers are therefore interested in the workers' economic struggles and strikes against these common exploiters. On the other hand, the American workers are beginning to realize that they must be actively interested in the success of the farmers.

### Dollars' Purchasing Power.

In discussing the purchasing power of the farmer's dollar, the learned economists, investigators and so on, arrive at "index numbers" indicating the value of farm commodities in relation to the value of other commodities.

To again quote from the Anderson Report: "Measured in terms of purchasing power, the farmer's dollar in 1920 was worth 89 cents; in May, 1921, it was worth 77 cents; during the past twelve months it has been worth less than in any preceding twelve months within thirty years."

And in the report of Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, for 1923, it is stated:

"While the prices of many important farm products have advanced considerably over the prices of last year, this advance has been accompanied by equally large or larger advances in the prices of other commodities. For example, the index number of wholesale prices of commodities other than farm products was 176 in August of this year, as against 150 in August of 1921."

### Decline in the Dollar.

We prefer to translate the decline in purchasing power of the farmer's dollar into terms showing the declining value of the farmer's labor. This may be easily proved, if it is granted that it takes an equal amount of the farmer's labor to produce a bushel of wheat in 1923 as it did in 1914. Using as a basis the figures of the 1923 Year Book of Agriculture, we find that it took 74 bushels of wheat to purchase a common double farm-wagon in 1914. In 1920 it took 108 bushels. In 1923, 125 bushels were required. And at present prices (1923) it takes 170 bushels of wheat to purchase the same wagon that the farmer could have bought with 74 bushels in 1914.\*

This decline in the returns for farm labor may also be shown by comparing the purchasing power of the total value of crops for various periods. For example, the total value of farm products for 1914-'15 was nearly ten millions of dollars; for 1922-'23, it was over fourteen millions of dollars. But the purchasing power of farm products for 1922-'23 was only 69 per cent of what it was in 1914-'15. In other words, the purchasing power of the farmer's crop for 1922-'23 was less than in 1914-'15.

The natural question would be, "Then what is a 'dollar' worth?" And the answer is—the units of labor required to obtain one. Which leads to the dubious inquiry, "Why increase 'efficiency,' if the increase must be given back to the exploiter?"

\* Note:

Year.	Cost of wagon, in bushels in wheat.	Aver. price of wagon.	Aver. price of wheat.
1914	74	73.25	.99
1920	108	155.	1.44
1922	125	126.89	1.01
1923	170	118.83	.70

### THE DELUSION OF BANKING.

Grand Rapids, Mich., with 150,000 people, has 45 banks, 6 B. & L. associations, 1 post office bank, and Gas and Power Company paying interest on deposits. One of the recent COMBINED bank statements showed sixty-three million on deposit in 45 banks and of that fifty million was PRETENSE money, that is, borrowers' notes, which the bank pretends is money.

### The Coming Minnesota Conference and Convention

On March 10th, there will be held in St. Paul, Minn., a conference of representatives of State and National farmer-labor progressive political organizations. The purpose of this gathering will be to decide certain vital questions in connection with the proposed national farmer-labor convention which is to nominate candidates in the coming Presidential election.

The National Committee of Arrangements, which has designated the time and place for this conference, was adopted and authorized in an unofficial conference held in St. Paul on November 15, 1923. This appointing body was made up of representatives from State and National political groups—including the Federated Farmer-Labor Party—and out of that gathering came the call for the May 30th convention in St. Paul.

Following the March 10th gathering, there will be held—on the 12th, 13th and 14th—the State Convention of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, wherein the question of the proposed National nominating convention will be definitely acted upon.

The Committee of Arrangements has requested that all delegates to the March 10th conference shall be empowered to speak for the organization each represents, to determine conclusively the question of a new National political party in the Presidential campaign of 1924.

### The Rhode Island Convention

The Rhode Island Labor-Party convention, held in Providence, on Feb. 24th, demonstrated strong opposition to any postponement of the May 30th convention in St. Paul. It endorsed the call for the May 30th gathering, and voted that the Rhode Island Labor Party shall send a delegate to the St. Paul convention on that date.

The delegates to this Rhode Island Labor Party convention fully recognized the vital importance of having a farmer-labor newspaper, and pledged to Farmer-Labor Voice the full support of that organization.

The principal resolution passed in the convention, reads as follows:

**Resolution.**

"We, the members of THE LABOR PARTY of Rhode Island declare that the industrial workers and exploited farmers must be represented in the Presidential campaign of 1924 by a Farmer-Labor Party, with a program representing the class interests of the industrial workers and farmers.

"We therefore declare our support of the convention to be held May 30th in St. Paul, Minn., for the formation of such a party. We are opposed to delaying this convention until after the convention of the old political parties, as we are now convinced that neither the candidates nor the programs of either the Republican or Democratic parties are of any importance in deciding the question whether the farmers and industrial workers shall organize a mass party which will fight their political battles.

"We instruct that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Organization Committee in charge of the work of calling the May 30th Convention and be published in the labor press.

Adopted by THE LABOR PARTY OF RHODE ISLAND this 24th day of February, 1924, at Providence, R. I.

LOUIS NARDELLO, Chairman.  
HELEN A. SIEGL, Secretary.

### Oklahoma Sick of Non-Partisanship

OKLAHOMA CITY.—Despite prevailing sentiment among officials of farmer-labor organizations in favor of again confining their political activity within the dominant Democratic party, events are rapidly shaping themselves towards independent political action in 1924. Adherents of non-partisan action are being pushed partly by the old Socialist sentiment and partly by the Bourbon Democrats into a place where there will be no road open but that of the third party.

Jack Walton, impeached Governor, was a 'Friend of Labor' on the Democratic ticket, until he became governor.

### The Farmer—And The Politician

(Written by State Senator Ole Etterstad, of Bismarck, N. Dak., and recited by him in the Non-Partisan League caucus, at Bismarck, N. Dak., January 10, 1919. The twenty-four lines are symbolic of the farmer's daily twenty-four hours of work and worry.)

The farmer's been silent for many a year—  
So the old politicians had nothing to fear.  
They've told him to farm, and told him to vote—  
And nobody worried when he was the goat.

They've told him the ground the moisture would keep  
If he plowed his land about eight inches deep;  
And when he should harvest, and how he should sow  
If much larger crops he wanted to grow.

They've told him how to pack, and how deep to plow,  
And told of his profit in milking a cow;  
They've told of the pork and the beef he could grow,  
And the diversified crops he should sow.

They've told of the beautiful place he can stay  
And smell the perfume of the new-mown hay;  
They picture to the farmer the future so bright  
That he hardly takes time to sleep over night.

No wonder the wrinkles grow deep on his brow—  
When they milk the farmer, while he milks the cow;  
No wonder the hayseeds hang thick in his hair—  
No wonder his whiskers are long and bizarre.

O Farmer! So long as you mortgage your place,  
And let some-one else control what you raise—  
Just that long you'll be in the middleman's care,  
And the hayseeds will never be combed from your hair!

### Farm-Tool Trade "On The B'ink"

The Emerson-Brantingham Company, of Rockford, Ill.,—big dealers in farm implements—have sent forth an awful calamity howl because of a recent decrease in the financial returns from their business. It seems that the present critical financial situation of the American farmers, especially in the grain belt, has "set back" that particular profiteering establishment to the tune of more than two and a half million dollars. According to C. S. Brantingham, president of the company, the present decline in that business, throughout the country, is the greatest ever suffered. It is said that twenty of the leading companies in that line have lost, during the past two years, an aggregate of fifty million dollars.

But Mr. Brantingham thinks that right now the outlook is slightly improved. He says:

"The advances in selling prices made in 1923, on implements, should be very helpful in 1924. The basic nature of this industry, and especially the fact that crops cannot be raised without farm machinery, causes us to feel that a large part of the depleted equipment on the farms must be replenished within the next few years, and that business in this industry should show steady improvement. It is estimated that there is at present a shortage of six million farm implements, on the farms in the United States."

This optimistic forecast by Mr. Brantingham—especially with regard to the present shortage of six million implements on (or rather, *not* on) the farms—is doubtless much more cheering to the profiteering manufacturers of those implements than it is to the bankrupt farmers who are in need of them. But, on the other hand, the farmers may gather a small measure of soothingunction to their souls, over the fact that in this particular instance one of their biters seems to have bitten, rather dangerously near to their hip pockets.

### McNARY-HAUGEN BILL IS SHOWN UP

(By Federated Press.)

WASHINGTON.—Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, testifying before the senate committee on agriculture in favor of the "Wallace plan" of relief for the bankrupt farming industry—otherwise known as the McNary-Haugen bill, admitted that the measure, if adopted, would probably result in a further increase in the cost of living. He confessed also that there were endless difficulties in the way of its operation, and that no one could safely predict how it would work in any case.

Cross-examined by Chairman Norris, Wallace agreed that his plan would not interfere with the present marketing system for farm products within the United States, except as to the surplus for export. To handle this surplus a federal commission would be formed, and the loss sustained, if any, in so disposing of the surplus would be handed back to the farmers in the form of sales tax. That is, the farmers would be the only losers from a low export market.

### "The Fedje Bill"

The bankruptcy conditions in North Dakota have come to the point where the farmer has reached practically the status of a wage-worker. And he has gathered the idea that, such being the case, he is equally entitled to consideration in the matter of wages for his labor—and the labor of his wife and children.

The Fedje Bill, entitled "Farm Labor Lien" (House Bill No. 164), providing for favorable legislation in this respect, was endorsed by the recent Bismarck convention of the North Dakota Non-Partisan League, and will be acted upon in the coming March primaries in that State.

The full text of the Farm Labor Lien measure will be published in the next issue of Farmer-Labor Voice, and its course will doubtless be followed with great interest by all readers of this newspaper.

The following is an enlightening outline sketch of this measure, copied from one of the recent circulars issued to North Dakota voters:

"A majority vote in favor of the Farm Labor Lien, gives the farmer and his wife a right to hold out of the crop next fall enough grain to equal going wages for themselves and their children over sixteen years of age, employed in the farm and harvest work—after paying for the seed, the threshing bill, and the wages of hired man or men, if they have any."

### G. O. P. SHORT TIME LOAN HELPS IMPOVERISHED FARMER.

(Following is copy of farmer's statement of his loan, under federal short term plan. The farmer only pays 17 per cent for this G. O. P. generosity. Following figures will be verified upon request.)

	Prosser, Wash.
Date of note, Nov. 12, 1924.	Amount
\$500.00.	
Preparation of papers	\$ 1.00
Filing mortgage	.50
Certified copy of chattel mortgage	.60
Auditor's certificate	1.00
Release of mortgage	.25
War tax	.10
Inspection fee	12.00
	\$15.45
Interest, 7 per cent in advance on \$500.00, Nov. 22, 1923, to June 12, 1924, 203 days	\$19.74
Balance of loan	464.81
	\$500.00
Payment \$25.00 per month, due on the 12th. First payment due December 12, 1923.	
(The Western Progressive Farmer.)	

### G. O. P. MEANS "GRAND OILED PARTY."

Recent developments at Washington would indicate that many crowned heads are tottering. The slogan for the coming presidential campaign might be changed from "the full dinner pail" to "the full oil barrel."

### Tobacco Growers Lose Heavily In Burley Area

NEW CASTLE, Ky.—Much vandalism has been recently reported in the Burley tobacco-growing counties of Kentucky. And that section of the country is dotted with smouldering ruins of tobacco barns and thousands of tons of tobacco that should now be ready for the market. Twenty-four such barns, loaded with the tobacco product of the growers, were burned in the counties of Henry, Owen, Mercer and Shelby. And later reports will doubtless confirm the rumors of many more such happenings. It is significant that most of these barns were the property of growers who were not members of the extensive Burley Association—natural reprisals being evidently responsible for the few of other sort.

The economic phase of the long line of losses is assuming alarming proportions. Tobacco is the equivalent to cash in Kentucky.

Nine-tenths of the tobacco farm tenants owe their existence to the one crop. They borrow on the future prospects. The rural merchant and banker, perhaps, face a serious situation if the wave of vandalism that is sweeping the Burley tobacco sections is not stemmed out.



### Farmer-Labor Forum

(Editor's Note: The following correspondence arose directly out of the formation of the Farmer-Labor Party in North Dakota. The first letter is Senator Frazier's response to a telegram sent him by R. H. Walker, chairman of the newly formed political party, protesting against attempt to postpone the May 30th convention. And the second is Chairman Walker's reply to Senator Frazier's letter. It clearly indicates the strong sentiment against all such attempts at postponement, which sentiment is particularly existent amongst the farmers of the North-west.)

February 11, 1924.

Hon. R. H. Walker,  
Yucca, N. Dak.  
Dear Friend:

Your telegram received. I had rather expected some break of this kind and judging from the developments that are coming out of the investigations here I do not know but what the time is ripe for such a movement and with good chances for success in the coming election.

I do feel, however, that much advantage would be gained by postponing the National Convention at least until after the Republican Convention is held. I talked this matter over with Senator LaFollette a short time ago and he was of that opinion at that time. However, circumstances alter cases and it is hard to tell just what will develop in the near future.

With best wishes to yourself and family, I am

Yours truly,

LYNN J. FRAZIER.

Yucca, N. D., Feb. 18, 1924.

Hon. Lynn J. Frazier,  
Washington, D. C.  
Dear Senator:

Your letter of the 11th inst at hand. I had also a letter from Congressman Sinclair, and he, like you, suggested a postponement of the Farmer-Labor convention until after the Republican convention, though he admitted that he had not given the matter much thought. I wrote him at considerable length, giving him my personal views.

After the adjournment of the N.-P. League con-

vention, recently held in Bismarck, about forty of us got together and organized the Farmer-Labor Party of North Dakota. Had it not been after 2 o'clock a. m. when we assembled, I venture to say there would have been twice the attendance in this meeting. However, those present were fairly representative of the N.-P. League. Included were such men as Senators Ingerson, and Hamilton, as well as several other League senators and representatives; men whose sincerity and loyalty to our cause cannot be questioned. We discussed quite thoroughly the matter of deferring the convention and it was the sense of the meeting that the convention should be held on the date originally set for it.

It seems to me, that if we are building for permanence, we should not concern ourselves with the doings of the old parties, knowing that neither of them can or will give political expression to the masses of the people. If we have not correctly interpreted the signs of the times, if the apparent social unrest is only apparent and not fundamental; if we have been misled by mere surface indications, and if a political protest is all that the present state of political development will justify, then, as a matter of political expediency, we might be justified in awaiting the motion of the old political parties. Thus we would be building our organization around some individual—a repetition of the Bull Moose movement, boosting Roosevelt.

If I thought that the social processes which we have been experiencing had not prepared the public mind for something more fundamental than that, I would not be any more interested than I was in the "Bull Moose" fiasco. Of course I cannot pretend to say what the convention will do. But it was the sense of our meeting that the platform should be adopted and the leadership be tendered to Mr. LaFollette. I can see no advantage in waiting for the Republican convention to give LaFollette the boot, before we convene. And anyhow I do not think it is of such supreme importance that we should win in the coming election. But I do consider it supremely important that we organize on a basis fundamentally sound.

You know the conditions confronting the agriculturist today,—you, who have been through the mill here in North Dakota. Last year 10 per cent of our farming population was dispossessed, through foreclosures. You know that, since we were deflated by the Federal Reserve Board in 1920, not one car-

load of wheat, not one carload of steers, not one carload of hogs nor one carload of potatoes has been shipped from North Dakota, that did not net the producer a loss.

At the N.-P. League convention held in Bismarck last October, you heard Senator Ingerson's report on Burke County,—how the farm mortgage indebtedness had increased from \$500,000 in 1911 to \$11,000,000 in 1923. And this condition is not peculiar to Burke county, but can be duplicated in many counties of this state, as well as in other states.

You will recall that in this October convention, composed of 235 delegates, all but a scant half-dozen being farmers, I asked that those who had made money on their farming operations the past year should hold up their hands. And not a single man claimed to have made money that year. As for myself, I am enabled to carry on only through the courtesy of my creditors. And unless there is soon a decided change for the better, the next two years will see my finish as an independent (?) farmer. At the age of sixty, I will either become a tenant-farmer or join the ranks of the army of unemployed.

Now, as to the bills pending before Congress for the relief of agriculture, there is one, the Norris-Sinclair bill, of some merit, though it is in no sense a panacea. But the old Liederbach cow bill, stepfathered by John Lee Coulter, and introduced in the Senate and House by Norbeck and Burtness, is "the Junk." Any relief measure that does not strike at the fundamental rottenness of our economic system is of value only to the politician, "grandstanding" to impress the yokels back home.

The only suggestions that I have knowledge of, that go directly to the root of the matter, are two planks incorporated in the agrarian program of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, viz.: the five-year moratorium on farm mortgage debts, and the land tenure plank.

Of course the "red" bogey will be raised but we who have gone through the fight in North Dakota, ought to be pretty well insured to that. At any rate, the farm-mortgage business is breaking down of its own weight, breaking down because of the inability of the farmer to produce surplus enough to meet the ever-increasing tax and interest burdens; and the farm mortgage debt is being liquidated only through foreclosures and dispossession.

Very respectfully yours,

R. H. WALKER.



# Hopeless Hungry AND Unclothed!

## THE SPIRIT OF International Solidarity

is lifted out of the realm of vague phraseology when it is converted into actual aid from the workers and farmers of one country to the workers and farmers of another.

### AMERICAN SOUP KITCHEN IN GERMANY

Russia's famine was caused by a natural phenomenon. It has been overcome. Germany's famine is caused by capitalist greed. Don't let your German brothers be starved into submission to this greed.

\$500 Initial outlay and \$2,000 for February support of the American Soup Kitchen in Germany have already been cabled. A shipment of bacon and beans was also made.

Friends of Soviet Russia and Workers' Germany  
32 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Enclosed find \$\_\_\_\_\_ to help support the AMERICAN SOUP KITCHEN in Germany, which was opened by you on January 29, 1924.  
I pledge myself to \_\_\_\_\_ meals at 10c each monthly for the maintenance of the Kitchen.  
Send me a MEAL COUPON BOOK (Yes or no?)

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' AID

