

FARMER LABOR VOICE

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LAFOLLETTE'S EMPTY "THREATS"

By JOSEPH MANLEY

(Secretary, Federated Farmer-Labor Party.)

The "threatening" letter by Senator LaFollette, in which he "threatens" private monopoly and bitterly denounces the Communists, is no surprise to those of us whose memory reaches back to the days of 1912.

LaFollette owes much of his present popularity not alone to his record previous to, but more especially during the world war, when with his sham pacifism he made capital out of the real anti-war sentiment that existed. And he is still wearing his undeserved laurels.

When the present crisis, much more serious than the one that faced the Republican party in 1912, endangers internal cohesion, LaFollette is liable to repeat his role of 1912 and stay in the reactionary machine, thereby saving it again from destruction. He has for years posed as progressive Republican fighting against the old guard, and many have felt that his careful "progressive" criticism has helped to keep workers and farmers chained to the old Republican juggernaut, whose adherents would otherwise long ago have given up the hopeless fight and cast in their lot with the growing number of real progressives and militants who even before the Teapot Dome exposure said that the Republican party was hopeless. In this latest statement by LaFollette his old uncertainty and vacillation again came to the surface with his refusal to positively state that he will even run as an independent presidential candidate. His only positive language is the bitter words against the Communists for daring to participate in the Farmer-Labor movement.

LaFollette's present program, recently issued, is filled with empty criticism of the trusts and their interference with the "free opinion of America's democratic institutions." His whole program is an ineffectual wail. For instance, he recites in detail many grievances of the farmers and suggests not a single constructive measure for relief.

In the name of the Federated Farmer-Labor party to which LaFollette refers, we throw his false words back in his teeth. We do stand for and propose political action in this crisis that faces the workers and farmers of America. We are attempting to unite the workers and farmers on the basis of common economic issues. And we have succeeded beyond the reach of LaFollette or his Washington admirers.

The June 17 convention is not called to form a party based upon the philosophy or political ambitions of any single individual. It arises from the economic chaos and misery that oppresses the worker and farmer masses. Its program will be a real foundation on which to build a class Farmer-Labor party that will serve the rank and file rather than the political expediency of a presidential candidate who is more anxious to win than to help the struggling masses form an organization that will hasten the day when we shall have in America the only remedy for the existent misery—a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Call for New Jersey Farmer-Labor Convention

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party of Newark, New Jersey, through its secretary, E. Paulwetter, has issued call for a State Farmer-Labor Party Convention, to be held in Newark on June 14th, at the Labor Lyceum.

To this convention every local organization of farmers or industrial workers is invited to send a delegate; and local political parties within the State are each entitled to five delegates.

Kansas Organizes "Liberal" F.-L. Party

SALINA, Kan., May 18.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.) A convention of 150 delegates—mostly farmers—met here yesterday for the purpose of forming a class political party of farmers and industrial workers.

As permanent chairman the body elected W. E. Freeman, president of the State Federation of Labor. And the organization formed was called the "Liberty Party," of Kansas, rather than a Farmer-Labor Party, because of the State law prohibiting use of more than two words in the name of a political party on the State ballot. But this party name is tentative, pending the name to be adopted by the class Farmer-Labor Party which will be formed in the St. Paul convention on June 17th.

The platform adopted was of a distinctly working-class character, in contradiction to a LaFollette platform proposed by one of the delegates. The adopted platform contained, among other measures, a demand for tenant farmers' protection, for abolition of the Industrial Court law, for reduction of armament and a referendum on declaration of war.

A State Executive Committee of sixteen members was elected—and ten delegates to be sent to the St. Paul convention. The new political party nominated Fred J. Fraley, editor of the Kansas Leader, as candidate for United States Senator in opposition to Senator Capper.

A resolution was unanimously adopted calling for recognition of Soviet Russia; and one in compliment of Alexander Howat's valiant efforts against the Industrial Court law.

On the following day, at Wichita, there was a conference of trade unionists from the A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhood organization, which formed a State non-partisan body. After considerable discussion and debate, this gathering endorsed by a majority vote the political party organized at Salina on the previous day. But it declined to consider the nomination of a presidential candidate until after the Republican and Democratic conventions. With regard to the possible endorsement of McAdoo as a presidential candidate, the vote 12 for and 16 in opposition.

Although this conference voted to retain the State non-partisan political policy for the coming presidential campaign, the trend toward a real class political policy for the benefit of the farmers and industrial workers, was very clearly in evidence.

New York State Convention

SCHENECTADY, N. Y.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.) This convention was jointly called by the Federated Farmer-Labor Party of New York City, and the Buffalo Labor Party. There were 88 delegates, representing more than 100,000 members of organizations. The convention elected as its permanent chairman, J. Kuchner, of the Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union, and as Secretary, R. J. Verhagen, of the Schenectady Central Labor Union.

Report of the Constitution Committee, as later adopted, reads in part as follows:

"The name of this organization shall be, United Farmer-Labor Party of New York State; the purpose of the organization is to unite the workers and farmers, and to carry on the political struggle for their interests; any organization of industrial workers, farmers, may affiliate with this organization."

The National Farmer-Labor convention of June 17th was endorsed, and a delegate elected to there represent the United Farmer-Labor Party of New York State.

MANY STATES FOR ST. PAUL MEETING

ST. PAUL.—Twenty-one states are represented by credentials sent in to the arrangements committee for the national nominating convention of the Farm-Labor movement to be held in St. Paul June 17. The committee announces that credentials already in foreshadow a convention of several thousand delegates and probably as many visitors. Many unions and farmer organizations, too poor to send delegates, have sent enthusiastic resolutions of indorsement a third party.

The auto tourist camps in St. Paul will be enlarged if necessary to accommodate delegates and visitors arriving by automobile, according to the promise of the commissioner of parks. Large auto delegations are being formed in Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, North and South Dakota. They will travel by motor caravan to St. Paul, each state delegation joining the big pilgrimage at points to be arranged.

"Progressives from all over the country are giving the June 17 convention unqualified approval," declares William Mahoney, editor The Minnesota Union Advocate, the state labor federation's official organ. Mahoney is also on the committee of arrangements for the convention.

DETROIT BRANCH OF FARMER-LABOR PARTY

DETROIT, Mich., May 17.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.) A call has been issued by a group of Detroit trade unionists, for a city convention with the purpose of organizing here a branch of the Farmer-Labor Party.

The call endorses the National Farmer-Labor convention of June 17th, in St. Paul, Minn., and registers disapproval of both the Democratic and Republican parties. It is signed:

Herman Richter, Carpenters' Union No. 420.

Edgar Owens, (For the Workers' Party.)

Anna Krakaitis, Federated Workingwomen's Organizations, Detroit.

George Tries, (Member Executive Board, Federated Farmer-Labor Party.)

100,000 MINERS STAND WITH HOWAT!

In the Peoria convention of the Illinois Miners, on May 21, the following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, That District No. 12, of the U. M. W. of A., demand that a Special Convention of the United Mine Workers of America be called, within three months, for the special purpose of giving a fair and impartial trial of Alexander Howat and his associates."

ILLINOIS MINERS FOR TOM MOONEY

The Illinois miners, in convention assembled, voted in favor of sending \$500 to aid Tom Mooney in his fight for freedom. This California real labor leader is still in prison, under life sentence, as result of his conviction on perjured testimony in a framed up bomb explosion case, nearly 10 years ago.

It is generally believed that U. S. Sen. Hiram Johnson could at any time have procured Mooney's release if he had cared to offend the corporation influence that put through the conviction. President Woodrow Wilson's special inquiry board recommended release of Mooney on the ground of manufactured evidence and unfair trial. The trial judge has also sought to assist in undoing the miscarriage of justice.

NO CHANGE IN PROGRAM

In response to Senator LaFollette's published views with regard to the St. Paul convention, the National Committee of Arrangements has issued a statement fully explaining why the expressed opinions of that individual will not cause any change in the original plans for the National Farmer-Labor convention, on June 17th.

Some of the points covered in that statement are as follows:

"The sponsors of the June 17th convention were not oblivious to the strategic advantage of having individuals of national prominence, who had the confidence of the people, to lead in this movement. That is why Senator LaFollette has been, from the very inception, the choice of the active proponents of the convention.

"At the same time, the danger of making Senator LaFollette the prime factor in the movement was not overlooked. From the very outset, the point has been emphasized that this was to be an independent Farmer-Labor movement; and that if Senator LaFollette failed or refused to meet the call of leadership, then the place would necessarily have to be filled by a less prominent person.

"As expressed in the beginning of this statement, the National Farmer-Labor convention is not a LaFollette or a one-man movement. It has come into existence in response to the call of millions of voters whose experience under the lash of special privilege has driven them to seek relief through independent political action. It cannot be diverted or destroyed by anything Senator LaFollette may do or say."

MANY DELEGATES FROM THE DAKOTAS

BISMARCK, N. Dak.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.) From all indications there will be a very complete representation at the St. Paul Convention, from both North and South Dakota.

From South Dakota alone there will be at least one hundred delegates—and most of them will be known "left-wingers."

From North Dakota, three delegates apiece will be sent by such counties as Bowman, Slope and Billings—in the Southwestern part of the State, where the Farmer-Labor movement has not yet been very extensively agitated. It is now planned to hold in this State a Farmer-Labor rank and file convention, after the primaries—the call to be issued before that election. The Non-Partisan League in North Dakota is split in factions, and it is generally conceded that the League will be thoroughly defeated in the primaries.

Lima (Ohio) Organizes Farmer-Labor Party Branch

LIMA, O., May 19.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.) A provisional committee elected by the Lima Trades & Labor Council called a convention of all trade unions and central labor bodies, worker's political parties, co-operatives, etc., for the purpose of forming a country branch of the State Farmer-Labor Party which will be organized in the Columbus convention of July 7th and 8th.

In the call is embodied this statement: "The county and state conventions above referred to are in conjunction and harmony with the National Farmer-Labor Party movement, and with the convention which will be held in St. Paul, Minn., on June 17th."

CONNECTICUT CALLS FOR STATE CONFERENCE

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party of Stamford, Connecticut, has issued call for a State Farmer-Labor Party Conference, to meet in the New Haven Labor Lyceum, on June 15th. This call is signed by Arthur Sockol, local secretary, and Joseph Manley, national secretary, of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

SITUATION IN NORTH DAKOTA

BISMARCK, N. D.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.) The political decks here are being cleared for the primary battle on June 25. The Nestos administration (Independent Voters' Association) is pitted against the Non-Partisan League faction, with Governor Nestos as the standard-bearer of the former and A. G. Sorlie of Grand Forks heading the latter. The fight between the two will be staged in the republican primaries. The democrats in the state are so few in numbers that they are without any political influence.

Voters Not Interested.

There is not very much interest among the rank and file of the voters of North Dakota in the present political campaign, the main reason for the apathy being that none of the contenders for office have any tangible, concrete program to offer the thousands of bankrupt farmers in the state. The general feeling prevails among the farmers and the town workers that it is useless to nominate and elect anybody to office on the old party tickets, and they manifest their disillusionment by not registering for the primaries.

Nestos has always been and is yet, a faithful representative of big business in the Twin Cities and the East. The exploited and bankrupt farmers, of course, have nothing to expect from him and his crowd. Sorlie promises, if nominated and elected, to carry out the League program as originally intended. In view of the fact that conditions in North Dakota and throughout the country are vastly different than they were nine years ago, when the League program of state ownership was first promulgated, this statement of policy becomes somewhat vague and obscure. The bankrupt condition of the farmers demand, that something vital and fundamental be done to relieve the situation, and neither Nestos nor Sorlie appear to have the courage to state the actual facts that the conditions in the state indicate.

Farmer-Labor Sentiment Growing.

There will be no contest within the Farmer-Labor Party of North Dakota in the coming primaries, but the plan is to have a full slate of candidates selected for the November election. A rank and file convention will probably be called, in the summer, for the purpose of endorsing candidates for the various state and national offices.

This Farmer-Labor party is young yet, but militant and destined to grow more and more rapidly because it is the only political party in the state that dares to show the conditions as they actually are. And there is need for such a party in North Dakota at this time.

At the party's first meeting on February 6, it resolutely and courageously tackled the vital problems of the farmers by incorporating in its program a one-year moratorium for working farmers on their farm-mortgage debts and a demand that the land be given to the users of the land. This is exactly in line with what the farmers really need. They must get rid of their debts and have access to the land, in order that their bankrupt condition may be done away with and the important work of food production go on.

The national aspect of the Farmer-Labor movement appeals to many farmers here. They hope that a real, nation-wide Farmer-Labor Party will be formed June 17th at St. Paul, because they are well aware of the impossibility of solving their problems on a mere state basis. The slogan "Forward to a Farmers' and Workers' Government in the United States" is growing in the minds of the common people of the state, and they will not rest until this goal has been reached.

Would Abolish Farm Foreclosure

(By Federated Press)

SEATTLE.—Foreclosing of farms and homes by moneylenders should be forbidden by law, declares Joel Shomaker, Farmer-Labor candidate for governor of the state of Washington. "The man who forces the farmer from his land or the homebuilder from his home because he cannot pay his debts should lose his money and be denied the rights and privileges of citizenship," Shomaker says.

Russia and the Sunny South

(By Federated Press)

WASHINGTON.—Frear of Wisconsin, discussing the McNary-Haugen bill in the house, called attention to the fact that \$25,000,000 had been paid by the Russian government for American cotton during the present year, to supply the 400 mills of its textile industry. He quoted Alexander Gomberg, representative in this country of the Russian textile industries as saying an equal amount of cotton would be bought in the south during the remainder of the year and shipped to Russia.

Mentioning the death in Moscow, on May 21 of Victor Nugin, president of the Russian cotton syndicate, Frear recalled that Nugin told him Russia would want \$40,000,000 worth of American cotton this year. 130,000 bales of cotton have been shipped in accordance with Nugin's plans.

"While the Russian government, as it is constituted, may have its weaknesses, it helps its own people in a way we may well imitate, and when buying cotton it is helping you and all of us," Frear said.

\$50,000,000 TO "HELP" THE PACKERS!

Mr. Charles J. Brand, one of the several tools of the meat-packers, in the Department of Agriculture, is making strenuous efforts to push through Congress the McNary-Haugen bill. His efforts are not due to any solicitude for the bankrupt farmers, however. The passage of that bill would be worth several hundred millions of dollars annually to the meat-packers—part of that sum to come out of the farmers, and the rest from consumers generally. Hence, the heroic efforts of Mr. Brand, and other "servants of the people."

The big millers and exporters of flour would also profit very largely through the McNary-Haugen bill, and the Government's \$200,000,000 appropriation would soon be taken care of by them.

Also with passage of that bill, many easy berths would be provided for the present overproduction of "lame ducks." Ask Secretary Wallace—he knows!

IRON LAW OF WAGES

(By The Federated Press)

Wages should be no higher than necessary to maintain the wage earner as an efficient producing machine. Until the workers of the country allow wages to be shaken down to the point where they give up comforts not necessary to keep them in a proper state of productivity, unemployment is likely to continue.

This is the capitalist theory of wages expressed without a quibble in the April issue of the Stone & Webster journal, the official organ of the huge public utility trust of that name. It is their comment on the report from Lawrence, Mass., that "the textile industry is in such a state that thousands of people" depend upon that industry for a livelihood are now out of employment. Many families and persons are now in dire want and the outlook is not encouraging."

Lawrence textile workers, says the rich corporation, like millions of other persons, have consumed a great deal more than was necessary to keep them in the highest stage of production. (These workers have an average wage of \$20.53 a week.) These textile workers can't extricate themselves except by their willingness to forego that amount of consumption which is above the amount necessary to keep them in the highest efficiency as workers. (There once was a big French employer who put this more briefly by suggesting that they people eat hay. He ended his career swinging from a lamp post with a wisp of hay in his mouth.)

These employers hold that workers should share in the increased productivity of modern machine industry only to make them more efficient machines. "productive consumption begins" they say "at a point beyond which things are consumed that are not necessary to keep a producer in the best condition to produce. Up to 1920 the 100,000,000 inhabitants of the United States paid for this overconsumption by the Lawrence textile operatives. In recent months the 100,000,000 have refused to pay the bill.

CURRENCY REFORM IN SOVIET RUSSIA

By B. BORISOFF.

Three or four years ago who would venture to prophesy that Russia would be the first country to stabilize its currency? But the incredible has occurred. New and stable treasury bills are now being introduced into circulation. State mints are working busily, turning out silver and copper coin. In three months from now the weak and shrinking "soznak" (old currency) will be found only in the museums of Soviet Russia—a relic of the past. The significance of this event is best expressed in the following, brief statement by Lenin, made in the Fourth Congress of the Communist International: **Importance of Good Currency.**

"Were we to succeed for a considerable period, and thereafter to permanently stabilize our ruble, it would mean that we have won."

The great leader has not lived to see this new victory for the Workers' Government. But that currency reform in Soviet Russia is a success, is acknowledged even by the most bitter enemies of the Soviet system.

The following is from a recent speech of Zinoviev ("Pravda," March 25, 1924):

"The currency reform was for us one of the most difficult questions, due to reasons of an objective and subjective nature. Objective—in so far as the money economy is the most sensitive barometer reflecting the entire situation within the country. If the economy is bad, it is impossible to have good finances. Subjective—because in this sphere our party had the least number of competent men—specialists—which, of course, is self-explanatory."

"That we have begun to find our road here, we think, is especially important as a sign of recovery of our economic life. Were this not so, no miracle, no juggler's tricks, would help us to create a stable currency. And now we are succeeding in this—as acknowledged even by our enemies. For instance, Izgoleff—in Messner's Cadet paper, "Rui," issued in Berlin—states frankly that, if one is to speak to some extent objectively, one must acknowledge that the currency reform is already almost a success; that at any rate it has enormous chances to succeed."

Almost in the same vein expresses himself the People's Commissar of France, Sokolnikoff, in a recent interview ("Pravda," March 23, 1924):

"One can say at present, without a danger of error, that the currency reform has overwhelming chances for its successful achievement."

Strong Progressive Basis.

The reform will succeed because it is being built upon the solid economic foundation of a recuperating agricultural industry and restored transportation system. It will succeed because the Workers' and Peasants' Government of Soviet Russia possesses powerful instruments: its banks, and industrial syndicates, and trade organizations, and consumers co-operatives—all working in co-ordination, to bring about the achievement of the reform. And, finally, the reform will succeed because it has the loyal support of the workers' and peasants of Soviet Russia.

The Communist Party has mobilized its strength in order to assure that all phases of the reform are carried into effect by the institutions involved. It has its utmost to explain to the workers and peasants, what the reform will accomplish.

In its official statement the Party says: "The currency reform is the turning point in our political and economical development. . . It will solidify and strengthen immeasurably the revolutionary state of the workers and peasants. . . The two billion state budget will be put upon a secure foundation. . . . Even more appreciable will be the effect upon the external policy of the union of the Socialist Soviet Republics, face to face with the capitalist world will stand not a powerless country—like Austria, whose fate is in the hands of the money-bags of London or New York, which can save her by granting credits or break by their refusal, but a strongly organized Soviet state which was enabled by the efforts of the toiling masses to overcome the heaviest misfortunes and to avoid a financial crash. . . . A new chapter is being opened in the economic development of agriculture and of Socialist industry. . . . Stabilized money will build a currency bridge between the city and the village. . . . The village will get city products at cheaper prices. There will be a firm basis for the struggle against avaricious speculators. . . . Consumers co-operatives and state trade organizations will be enabled to manifest the advantage of their cheaper selling prices; and in the measure to which they succeed in this, will open for themselves the possibility of rapid development. . . . To the workers, stabilization of money means stabilization of their wages. No more will they suffer a loss of from 50 to 80 per cent, due to the depreciation of currency; while with the economic prosperity made possible by the success of the reform, wages will increase. To the peasantry, stable money will bring relief from serious losses in their commercial transactions, the facilitation of trade, the possibility of saving money and applying it for the improvement of their household."

Success in Evidence.

The currency reform is already in full swing, and its first influence is evident. For the first time since the introduction of N. E. P. (the New Economic Policy) the Socialist state is enabled to wage a general economic offensive against private capital. The state industrial syndicates and trade organizations

and the consumers co-operatives have cut the prices of commodities. They allow but the smallest returns upon their capital. The "Nepmen" cannot follow suit: they have bought their stocks of goods at a higher level of prices. The state and co-operative stores are underselling them. Thousands of new customers began to patronize the state and co-operative stores. "Hold them," is the slogan. Hold them by prompt and courteous service and by maintaining the low prices of commodities.

"Expand the co-operatives," is another policy adopted by the Workers' and Peasants' Government, in the course of the currency reform. This policy is bearing fruit. Thousands of workers join the co-operatives, because their customers strengthen them financially by purchasing shares.

The lowering of prices and the growing demand for goods also calls for the expansion of state industry. We are witnessing the adjustment of the industrial syndicates to the new conditions by the issuance of new shares of stock or by the grant of state credits.

A very important measure, intended to secure the necessary capital for the development of state industry, is the issuance of a 100,000,000 gold rouble "Peasant Lottery Loan." This will finance the production of agricultural implements and other products indispensable to the peasant. The provisions of this loan are especially attractive to the peasants: it is being offered at 15 per cent reduction of its nominal value, and is accepted by the state in payment of tax at full nominal value.

Significance of this Victory.

Such are the basic features of the tremendous currency reform undertaken by the Union of Soviet Republics. Its great importance is not only in that a gigantic step forward is being made on the road to restoring the industrial life of the country, but also that simultaneously the Workers' and Peasants' Government builds powerful weapons with which to wrest all means of production and distribution of commodities from the hands of private capital and restore them to the people.

Workers, peasants and farmers of all countries watch with eager interest the creative efforts of their brothers in Soviet Russia. For the future of the toilers is there being forged for them also.

RUSSIA'S FAVORABLE TRADE BALANCE

The attempt of our Standard Oil Secretary of State to isolate Soviet Russia and to line up the whole world in an economic and political boycott against the first Workers' and Farmers' Republic is meeting with failure. The best proof of the complete disaster that has overwhelmed the efforts of Hughes to overthrow the Soviet Government is established by the latest trade figures of the Russian Republic.

For the first time in many years Russian exports have become really an important factor. With the good harvest of 1922 grain exports were resumed. Butter, eggs, sugar, matches, flax, barley are also being exported in increasing quantities. The increase in the main branches of export has been as follows in the past year over 1922: Grain, 131 per cent; oil, 116 per cent; flax, 115 per cent; sugar, 100 per cent; cotton, 140 per cent; linen, 178 per cent, and silk, 134 per cent.

We could go on and on to cite proof that Soviet Russia is succeeding in rebuilding her country despite the efforts of her enemies of the Hughes-Daugherty type to hinder her. About twenty countries have already tendered Russian various degrees of recognition. England and Italy, France and Czecho-Slovakia are in the midst of arrangements for complete recognition. After the American masses overthrow their British exploiters and oppressors it took the United States at least eleven years before the first sign of stability was evident in the country. In view of the almost insuperable obstacles thrown in the path of Russian reconstruction the Russian workers and farmers are meeting their herculean tasks with remarkable success.

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OPPORTUNITY CALLS UPON THE AMERICAN WORKERS

It is clear beyond question that the American workers have now a great opportunity to better their own condition by helping the German workers in their present dire distress; also that while thus helping themselves and the German working class, they can render great service to the Russian people and their Workers' Republic.

International Workers Aid Press Service

In the negotiations at present being conducted to settle the dispute between the bosses and the workers in the British coal mining industry, the whole basis of settlement proposed by the owners is calculated to allow them to cut prices to meet competition in the foreign market, competition mainly from Germany, where the workers are receiving starvation wages, thus enabling Big Business in Germany to underbid all competitors. This cut in prices by the British owners would reduce wages in proportion. The coal miner's family is made to carry the burden of this competition by accepting a depreciated standard of living that approaches slow starvation.

The same thing is happening in many other industries. The bosses want to compete with German products, which are glutting the market because the German products are being sold more cheaply. This the German owners of the industries are enabled to do because of the low wages in Germany.

Unemployment

In America wages are being cut and unemployment is increasing constantly. Cheap German labor is throwing American workers out of employment. In Massachusetts alone there are 90,000 unemployed and there is little hope of early improvement in the industrial situation. In the coal mining industry there is general unemployment. Even the steel industry is being hard hit, and observers predict a drop in production to 75 per cent of capacity.

IF AMERICAN WORKERS DO NOT HELP THE WORKERS OF GERMANY, THE PRESENT SITUATION WILL BECOME EVEN MORE AGGRAVATED.

Need Russian Market

Another cause for unemployment in this country, as well as in other countries, is the loss of the Russian market. Recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States and the restoration of credit to Russia would be followed by an enormous trade between the two countries—because Russia needs an immense amount of every conceivable kind of product—and this would give employment to hundreds of thousands of American workers.

Solidarity Will Win

The Committee for International Workers' Aid is carrying on a campaign for the aid of German workers, and for recognition of Soviet Russia. And it is doing this not because it believes in doling out charity to needy workers, but because it believes that only by class-conscious solidarity and the helping of each other, can the working class of the world be saved; and because it believes that a defeated working class of Germany would mean a defeated working class of America—and of the world.

American workers! In contributing to the fund being raised by the Committee for International Workers' Aid, you will better your own situation, you will help the suffering German workers, and you will greatly aid the world's first Workers' Republic!

AMERICANS FARMERS MOVING TO CANADA

(Extract from a recent report of the Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.)
Employment and Emigration.—Immigration agents of the Canadian National Railways are reporting that they have sufficient inquiries from farmers in the American Northwest to indicate a large influx from that section into Canada in the present year, one estimate giving figures of..... of the Chamber of Commerce.

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Pacifism—and "Patriotism"

From beneath the fertile soil that shrouds his war-shattered human organism, an American "Soldier of the Legion" sends forth this message to the living dead—the world's unawakened young manhood:

"In Flanders fields the poppies blow,
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place; and in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly—
Scarce heard amidst the guns below.

"We are the dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,—
Loved and were loved; and now we lie
In Flanders fields."

This grim admonition against the futility of war, Collier's Weekly now interprets thus, in a super-patriotic "Carry On" editorial:

"These . . . fought not for aggression, not for any lust of power, not for leadership among the nations; but—let no cynical materialist deny it—for high principles" (emphatically in highly idealistic lingo by such false philosophers as the author of "The New Democracy").

"But such greatness was thrust upon us. . . . By the blood we shed on foreign soil, by our wealth poured forth in war loans until half of Europe staggers under the debts incurred; by these 'entanglements'—and later by the needs of our industries manufacturing more than we ourselves can buy, and of our farms producing more than we can eat or wear—we are forever routed from our traditional isolation, our destinies entwined with the destinies of all other civilized nations" (except, of course, the Russian nation—to whom we have loaned none of our "wealth").

And then—apparently quite unperceivingly—"The National Weekly" proceeds to "spill the beans," with quotation of this sentiment expressed by an American admiral:

"Race—yes; territory—country—yes; the heart thrills, the eyes fill, self-sacrifice seems natural, the moral motive for the moment prevails; but in the long run, the hard pressure of economic truth comes down upon these with the tyranny of the despot."

This irresistible disintegration of the capitalist system is chiefly marked by the complete inability of its own paid advocates to logically conclude such a line of argumentation. But this lack of consistency is remedied by the injection of a false nationalistic spirit, and logic is overborne by "loyalty"—to capitalistic government. Thus the dance of death goes on—until the awakening of the world's workers shall be completed. And such capitalistic-inspired utterances as the one here noted will continue to "carry on" Secretary, and Joseph Manley, national secretary, of the Federated Farmer-Labor

Now Let Us Be Intellectual

The "sky-pilots" tell us, "Man does not live by bread alone." And we must admit that in this relation, anyway, they have "said a mouthful" of truth.

But we also know that the great majority of mankind—along with his womankind and children—have tried to exist on bread, and little else, for a good long time now—or a bad long time. And they have all finally decided that they must have something else—something to sandwich in' between the bread.

In the great New England textile workers' strike, a few years back, the little child wage slaves expressed on their parade banners this curious sentiment: "We Want Bread—and Roses, too!"

But the present social system does not consider that "Roses"—either material or metaphorical—are among the necessities of the workers—man, woman or child; and that their requirements of even bread are not extensive.

Which is quite all right, of course—from the point of view of the privileged class; the class which knows so little of the need for bread that it has voiced this protest: "If they can't get bread, why don't they eat cake?"

Mankind's beasts of burden seem to have been provided by Nature with a comforting satisfaction in a sufficient amount of flesh-building food, of whatever sort, and little desire for the more epicurean dainties. A ton or so of hay is a banquet for a worker-elephant. And the more "civilized" draft horse would be fairly content with the same thing, in smaller quantity. But "efficiency experts" decreed that the menu of this now almost obsolete work-slave should be a little more varied—to produce an increased labor-power. And the human work-slave may enjoy a few "luxuries" occasionally—if the wage scale permits. But they should not be extravagant.

Now, a fundamental dictum of bourgeois science states that "Man is gregarious." And although certain other rulings of the present social system—like the Criminal Syndicalism Law, for instance—don't seem to exactly agree with that pronouncement, the wage worker class has become inclined to accept it as a true rule. Hence, the Farmer-Labor political organization movement.

Throughout Nature, most animals seem to have possessed enough intelligence to acquire the gregarious habit, early in the course of their evolution. Animals not possessing such intelligence, never got very far beyond "first base," in their evolutionary progress.

So then, let us be intellectual.

MORE CAPITALISTIC 'LOGIC' AND 'MORALITY'

Commenting upon the "ten to twenty years" prison sentence of Celia Cooney, the Brooklyn "girl bandit," Collier's Weekly delivers itself of this meanly moral and lamely logical opinion:

"A probation officer has investigated her record. A mother who could neither read nor write; a drunken father who seldom worked; a family of eight living in one room; ignorance, filth, crime—such was her education. . . . Celia Cooney was a natural product of an unnatural environment. Your job and ours is to make fewer the conditions which produce such pitiful weeds."

To "make fewer the conditions which produce such pitiful weeds" in this garden of the world, is not enough—except for such as are content with less than universal justice.

LaFollette's "Bluff"

Readers of Farmer-Labor Voice will be neither surprised nor worried by the acknowledgment of "fighting Bob" LaFollette that he is not really a fighter but merely a faker—like all other figureheads of the capitalistic poker game. His bluff was called, in advance of the national elections—and he has "passed" out of the game.

With his translucent mantle of "militant progressivism" fallen in shreds from his shoulders, LaFollette now stands naked upon the political field. And the national Farmer-Labor movement will continue its victorious course, just as though the personality of this sham "progressive" had never threatened to invade its militant ranks.

Every political platform, now-days, should be equipped with a portable snake fence, for the various "progressive" candidates to straddle—particularly the presidential possibilities.

A Washington note to the Federated Press puts it this way: "LaFollette's declaration that can have no political association with Communists on the one hand or with corporation-controlled Republicans and Democrats on the other, has cleared the air at the capital and determined the old party managers to go ahead with a "safe and sane" appeal to the country."

(And the air will now be appropriately heated, in the latest improved manner: "Do it with Gas!")

"PUBLIC OPINION"

The Federated Press reports that according to the Washington correspondent of New York *Herald-Tribune*, it is thought that LaFollette's recent philippic was issued only after "the LaFollette leaders consulted President Gompers, of the A. F. of L."

While the New York *Times* opines that, "LaFollette's blacklisting of the St. Paul Farmer-Labor convention of June 17th is old stuff. 'Gentlemen,' he is saying, 'don't mix me with that Soviet crowd. I'm radical—but not too darned radical!'"

And the *Sun* (also of New York) interprets LaFollette's "diplomatic retreat" in this manner: "Stand by me," says LaFollette, to his followers, "and I will lead you to the ideal without resorting to Russian ways." On the subject chief of the radicals in Congress is not so sure of the method by which he would do this, in case as his admirers and his critics would wish him to be."

"Right Off the Bat"

Out of the dark cellar of obscurity comes one Emanuel Celler,—brand new Congressman from New York City,—and as his "maiden effort" introduce a bill raising the salary of himself and the other Congressmen, from \$7,500 to \$10,000 per year!

Mr. Celler is evidently of the stuff that statesmen are made of. He should move right along up the political ladder—and then down on the other side.

It is amusing to listen to the loud noise being made by the friends of "Silent Cal," in the present attempt to quiet the uproar of escaping steam from the famous Teapot. But the skids are smeared with oil, and the equally famous Silent One will soon slide back to the oblivion from which he emerged to break the Boston policemen's strike.

The Poor Fish says that he doesn't blame young men for being against war; but that the bankers and bosses are always too old—and somebody has to do the fighting.

Watch Your Pocketbook!

Money is the second essential of life, under Capitalism. By voting for Democratic or Republican candidates you will vote, in the main, for the political agents of the trusts, the monopolies and the privately-owned public utilities.

FARMER-LABOR INFORMATION

FARM LAND PROSPECT

(By Federated Press)

Confiscation of the farmers' land by taxation is revealed as a probability of the near future by Richard T. Ely of the University of Wisconsin in an address before the Tri-state development congress. This shows a new route by which the farmer is being made tributary to the industrial state.

Figures gathered by the U. S. bureau of agricultural economics, he said, shows that if tax tendencies continue the time will come when the whole annual net return of America's farm lands will be absorbed in tax payments. Statistical charts were used to show that in Ohio and Kansas the upcurving line representing tax increases is gaining so rapidly on the line representing the increase in land values that it will not take long for the lines to cross. When they cross the government by taking the entire income of the land will have taken the value of the land.

Ely pointed out that this tendency had been accelerated during the last three years because farm lands had been falling sharply while taxes continued to increase. If, he said, land values are absorbed by the state the utilizers of land are tenants and if the drift continues land owners will become state tenants.

The average value of plow land decreased from \$90 an acre in 1920 to 65 in 1923, according to the Sears, Roebuck Agricultural foundation. Crop values an acre fell from \$36 in 1919 to \$15 in 1921. Farm bankruptcy proceedings in the federal courts jumped from 1000 in 1920 to 6000 in 1923. The foundation expects farm values to continue downward for about ten years. Then when the demand for farm production exceeds the supply, prices will rise and with them the price of farm land.

This is a beautiful prospect for the farmer who borrowed money to put land under cultivation when the world needed more food, only to lose both land and investment when farm values collapsed. He will live to see a new farm boom, but not as an independent farmer. He will be a tenant or wage earner without interest in the land. His farm along with others will have been consolidated into some great capitalist enterprise farmed by an expert manager and the profits of the recovery will go to the capitalist lending institutions which secured the land cheap under foreclosure proceedings.

The Farmer's Dollar Shrinks

A farmer's dollar is today worth only 74c when compared with the dollar big business gets for its products. Of course this does not mean that the farmer actually gets a different kind of greenback when he sells his bushel of grain or fattened porker. It's just the department of agriculture's way of showing how much more the farmer has been deflated than the industrial world. The average price of farm products has fallen so much nearer the pre-war level than has the average price of the goods and services furnished the farm by organized business that the farmer can get only three-quarters as much in exchange for his products as he did before the war.

CHICAGO FEDERATION QUILTS F.-L. PARTY

(By Federated Press)

CHICAGO.—On the same day that The Labor Party of Illinois was being founded at Peoria, the Chicago Federation of Labor, original sponsor of the Farmer-Labor Party of the United States, voted to the American Federation of Labor policy of rewarding the friends of labor and punishing its enemies at the ballotbox.

Following this action the Farmer-Labor Party of the United States through Jay G. Brown, national secretary, announced that preparations for its convention at Cleveland July 4 had been stopped. The national committee, of which John Fitzpatrick, president Chicago Federation of Labor, is a member, does not feel justified in incurring obligations for convention expense without better support than has materialized so far.

RIPPED!

The New Majority, official organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor, in its issue of May 24th carries three separate statements that clearly illustrate the hopeless present situation of those so-called progressives who ventured (perhaps in an all too "regular" trade union way) upon a course of non-conformance with the dogmas of Samuel Gompers. The combined statements are a hodgepodge of apology, showing an all around lack of both militancy and logic. And they are really not worth the trouble of analysis. But a passing comment should provide amusement and education for real progressive labor; both of which are worth while—especially when combined.

The several statements are issued by John Fitzpatrick, as President of the Chicago Federation of Labor; by the members of the National (?) Committee of the "old original" Farmer-Labor Party (now labelled by Fitzpatrick as "the only bona fide" party of that character); and by the Executive Committee of the Cook County—equally "old and original"—Farmer-Labor Party.

The published statement of Fitzpatrick purports to be an account of what he said before a regular meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor, in his presidential-chairman capacity. In this statement Fitzpatrick starts out by admitting that "possibly the greatest opportunity is upon us now" for the farmers and industrial workers to organize a political party of their own. Then he laments the alleged fact that "confusion has been created by self-seeking individuals who have injected themselves into the situation." And he continues:

"The only bona fide Farmer-Labor Party is the one launched by the Chicago Federation of Labor. All others are masquerading under various titles and for various reasons, and all are seceding or dual organizations. . . . The bona fide Farmer-Labor Party was created to serve the workers and farmers. . . . There is only one honest position that can be taken by the bona fide Farmer-Labor Party, and that is to cease activities until this hysteria or mania for control has passed over. . . . The American Federation of Labor is responsible, and acts, for the bona fide labor movement. . . . To end this confusion and to prevent further exploitation of labor unions and farmer organizations and whatever the fates have in store for the political future of the labor movement, we cast our lot with the American Federation of Labor." (The ancient Gompers "non-partisan" plan of reward and punishment.)

Noting how often the term "bona fide" is here used, this recalls the story of the thirsty Irish citizens who were obliged to journey six miles beyond the city limits in order to gain the comforts of a tavern, as "bona fide travelers"—and how this camel pilgrimage was designated as "doing the bona fide." The use of the term in the statement of Fitzpatrick seems to be quite as humorously fitting. When the Chicago Federation leader denounces all other Farmer-Labor Parties as dual organizations, it might be pointed out to him that by the same logic his own "bona fide" Farmer-Labor Party was dual to the similar organizations that had been developed in Minnesota and in several other States. And does not Fitzpatrick know that the very labor organization of which he is the directing head helped launch another Union Labor Party, which during its stirring career was denounced as being composed of "anarchists and cut-throats?" This was in the '80s, during the years of America's most marvelous industrial expansion, when the labor movement was militantly demanding a universal eight-hour day and was filled with a spirit of political revolt that has since been pretty well crushed out of it by Gompers and his subservient satellites. Fitzpatrick, the "progressive," has now double-crossed his friends—the men who made him a national figure by giving him all the credit for the progressive efforts which they were making. And since the opening of the July convention last year, Fitzpatrick has been racing pell-mell back over the road he was traveling with them. Until now he has taken this last journey down a blind alley to the dark landing place of the old hard-boiled reactionary capitalistic clown, Sammy Gompers. And Gompers, who in the past has execrated Fitzpatrick, is politician enough to now give him the fish "glad hand" extended only to those whom he patronizingly designates as "my boys."

The other two "official statements" are quite apparently written by the same hand, and equally sound the voice of Gompers. The phrase on "multiplicity of organizations," appearing in both statements, clearly explains just why the "old original" Farmer-Labor Party will not hold its supposed "con" convention at Cleveland on July 4th. But the blame is placed on the Communists and the C. P. A.—a

happy combination! And the "leaders" solemnly aver that they cannot undertake the "responsibility and expense" of such a gathering, which "there is no reason for believing would be largely attended"; and that "the real task of the Party, in the circumstances, is to do all in its power to maintain its entity and prevent theft of its name by designing groups or individuals." So it will stop down and out. And the "old original" Farmer-Labor Party will be put back in cold storage "noted and placed on file," along with other Chicago Federation of Labor progressive documents and things). Only thus may its pristine purity of "bona fide" character be not soiled by the smoke from the class war battleground.

About this little matter of pristine purity, once again: these same "leaders" of the "old original" Farmer-Labor Party issued the official call for that convention of last July, addressing it to "All Labor, Farm and Political Groups." But when there was a hearty response of delegations from such groups, all over the country, and these assembled in the July convention, the old and extremely original leaders of that Party became afflicted with cold feet and shirked their now proclaimed "personal responsibility." Could it be that they feared what Gompers might do to the Chicago Federation of Labor, if its officers dared to align themselves with a workers' political movement of such scope and potential power? And to whom did they then leave the task of maintaining the entity of the Farmer-Labor Party?

Of course, this latest performance of the "progressive" Chicago Federation of Labor president, and his full flight back to the Gompers camp, is only what should have been expected in this country, where the capitalist class is so well and thoroughly organized. And the American labor forces will make little progress against the capitalist organization, unless such efforts are reinforced and directed by those militant elements which are officially classified as "reds" or "dangerous radicals." Eliminate this real progressive element—as Fitzpatrick unsuccessfully attempted to do in the July convention—and the progressive efforts of any workers' organization must die.

Thus has died the "old original" Farmer-Labor Party. Let its grave be marked "R. I. P."

Then these leaders who seem to have decided that their Farmer-Labor Party was prematurely born and should be permitted to die—if they were consistent (which of course they are not) these leaders should carry on to its logical conclusion the jocular admonition of that old "Wobbly" song in which is caricatured the "pure and simple" Gompersite. "Mr. Block":

"So tie a rock to your block, and go jump in the lake; do this, for Liberty's sake!"

THE ILLINOIS LABOR PARTY

At the same time that the leaders of the "old original" Farmer-Labor Party were scrapping their Chicago Federation of Labor political party, the Labor Party of Illinois was formed in a convention held at Peoria.

Declaring for an independent class labor party, this convention nominated a State ticket and elected Duncan McDonald, of Springfield, as delegate to the Farmer? Labor convention in St. Paul on June 17th.

Delegate McDonald was instructed to work for the formation of a class labor party in the St. Paul convention. And it was unanimously voted that if such a political party of the farmers and industrial workers is then formed, the Illinois Labor Party will become a regularly affiliated section of it.

Among the resolutions adopted was one on "Teapot Dome"—ending as follows:

"Resolved, That this convention go on record to do everything in its power to arouse the worker masses of this country to the need for independent political action by labor, and the organization of a strong National Farmer-Labor Party which may successfully engage in the struggle for the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government."

Who Goes to St. Paul?

Away back in 1891, the national president of the Farmers' Alliance was pleading with progressive members, that the time was not ripe for leaving the old political parties. And ever since then, farm and labor organization leaders have been singing the same old song: "It's immature—the time is not ripe."

The great convention of farmers and industrial workers at St. Paul, on June 17th, is for only those who think that the time is ripe for a new political party. *Union National Secretary* worker ma of the Chamber of Commerce

THE FARM CRISIS

By HAROLD M. WARE

REMEDIES PROPOSED FOR FARM CRISIS

Agriculture is, now a sick industry. And many Farm Doctors have gathered at its bedside with "sure cure" remedies. But disillusionment, bred by the bitter experiences of the past, has made the farmer suspicious of such patent medicines. The farmer's mind is filled with questions.

Futile Advice

Can "more credit" do anything but tighten the financial noose around the farmer's neck? Can further development of Marketing Co-operatives do more than add a penny or two to the farmer's short dollar? Will a tariff against farm products be of help? Will bars against "undesirable immigrants" do the farmer any good? Can "guaranteed prices" solve everything, as some people declare? Will "reduced acreage" or the perille "eat an extra slice of bread today" give the wheat farmer a living wage? Is diversified agriculture a feasible remedy for the one-crop farmer? In fact, can any half-way measure of reform restore the land to the farmer? And can isolated, individually operated farms continue to survive under a system dominated by the magnates who control the highly centralized and socialized industry of America?

Useless Remedies

Let us examine these "remedies" carefully. The exhaustive survey made by the Joint Commission of Agricultural Inquiry disclosed the helplessness of the farmer's plight. After studying the four volumes of the report on the "Crisis, Credit, Transportation and Marketing," little doubt remains in the reader's mind that "something must be done." Yet in summarizing, the Commission proposes such remedies as "immediate reduction of freight rates," "provision for agricultural attaches," "appropriation to provide better bookkeeping," "better roads," "greater effort to improve community life," "readjustment of prices of commodities by interplay of economic forces," etc.

The Vicious Circle

Even if the farmer took a glorified course in book-keeping, received reports from Agricultural Attaches from abroad, was granted long term credits, had his combinations of association legalized, and had a good road to market—what would result from it all? What "play of economic forces" could reduce railroad rates? By reducing railroad workers' pay? How would a readjustment of prices come? Mr. Anderson, chairman of the Commission, does not tell. He does admit that even with the measures granted—"Business cycles of alternating great prosperity and succeeding great depression occur with more or less regularity."

The masterly work of investigation by the Commission proved the need for fundamental remedies. Yet Mr. Anderson's conclusions are wholly inadequate and indefinite, and prove the futility of reform. If we trace the utterances of other government officials we find the same tendencies. Instead of stopping the leak in the sinking boat, they propose that we bail it out with a sieve.

Farm Credit Fallacy

The proposal to fit credit to the farmer's turn-over, is not a remedy for the farm crisis. With a debt of more than 15 billions of dollars, with the difference between farm and city prices constantly favoring the magnates, with interest notes, taxes and rents going up, more credit can only add to the farm burden; or at best bring but a mirage of temporary relief, while it speeds the process of pyramiding the farm debt. And no matter what the period of a loan—interest must be paid. So long as the farmer's dollar is kept below the manufacturer's dollar or the railroad dollar, borrowing from Peter to pay Paul will get the farmer nowhere. The Director of the Farmers' National Council said: "It cannot be emphasized too often that merely giving the farmers more credit to go farther into debt, is going to fasten the clutches of the money sharks more firmly on the throats of the farmers. What farmers must have is a fair price for their products, or they are done for, and every government official knows that."

Big Business, "Farm Bureaucrats," and even bonafide farm organizations, propose wide organization of Marketing Co-operatives as a solution of the crisis. The Farm Bureau Federation, backed up by the Chamber of Commerce—for instance—proposes to the cotton farmers that they sell their cotton to them by 5-year contract; it is put in a warehouse and a certain per cent is advanced to the farmer. The idea is that they can hold the cotton for better prices.

Farm Bureau Fakery

and Joseph Manley, Secretary, of the Federated Farmer-Labor Union

of Texas: "The plan of the Farm Labor Union of America is to stop Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce from pricing farm products and taking them at their own price; while the Farm Bureau plan is to buy farm products at Chamber of Commerce prices and sell their products at Chamber of Commerce prices fixed by them. There is no better organization in existence for the big banker and Big Business than the Farm Bureau. For when a farmer signs a Bureau contract, he turns over his cotton to them for five long years. That is, they handle his product for five years and the farmer has nothing to do but work and turn the product over to the Bureau. His cotton is placed in a bonded warehouse. A certain per cent is advanced the farmer on his cotton. This cotton then sets right in the warehouse and draws interest for the banker; it is insured, so the insurance company gets its part. The warehouse gets theirs for storage and the banker gets his interest for an unlimited period, the time being governed by the prevailing prices and the Chamber of Commerce fees; or in other words, the price that is fixed on the exchange by the men who control the price of cotton. The farmer is the goat."

The Shrunken Dollar

It is true that a long, crooked and costly road separates the farmer from the worker-consumer. It is also true that farm organizations have checked the middleman at the farm end of the road. But it is equally true that the farmer's share of the "consumer's dollar" has grown smaller and smaller. Today he gets 20c out of it. The middlemen simply withdrew a step or two and tightened up the screws in the secondary markets.

Many honest friends of the farmer point to the fact that Danish Co-operators get 72c out of the consumer's dollar, as proof that we can do the same and solve the farm problem. But Denmark has three and one-quarter million people, in less than the combined area of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Denmark also has a system of state owned railroads, and a sixty-million German market to cater to just across the border.

Farming the Farmer

In America we have privately-owned railroads. We have great distances to market, and discriminating freight rates that favor big middlemen. Banking interests connive with food gamblers. The food gambler hammers down prices at the same time the banker "calls" his loans. Thus the farmer is forced to sell low. At harvest time his crops soon pass beyond his local co-operative organizations. The middlemen then store the product until the city worker-consumer gets hungry enough to pay the increased price.

Co-operation is a beautiful word—but it is being distorted by the exploiters. A Nebraska farmer tells of the development taking place there: "In Nebraska the Farmers' Union is strong; it boasts of its receipts in the stockyard business. But measure that business with the business of the middlemen, and it becomes a joke. And a tragic one, for it is a sheep's clothing within which the middleman wolf is hidden. Each charges the same commission, but the Farm Union pays back a rebate to the farmer member. This is of course an argument to 'get in.' But the dangerous element lies in the fact that only a small minority of farmers are organized. It is one thing for farmers to become their own middlemen; but when eventually they are forced to adopt the tactics of their enemies and join their associations, they cease to fight the exorbitant commissions of the professional exploiters—allowing them to milk the vast majority of unorganized farmers, without protest; and charging the same rates, even though they make a participation rebate in their membership, they become partners to the exploiters. This is an element of danger in the co-operative movement. It acts as an anesthetic upon the militancy of the farmers' revolt."

Variety of Organizations

There are various degrees of this tendency which may be typified. First, the Farm Bureau Federation, which consistently plays the game of the bankers and other exploiters. Second, the Farm Union, which holds out co-operative advantages to its membership as the solution for the farm problem. And, thirdly, the young militant Farm Labor Union of Texas, whose objective is not only the elimination of the middleman but they are making an attempt to eliminate the causes of the farm problem by organizing political conferences with the industrial workers.

(The consideration of proposed and prospective remedies for the Farm Crisis, will be concluded in the next issue of this paper. After which, there will be a general summing up of the whole problem as dealt with in this serial.)

Other articles by "Hal" Ware will follow in later issues.

THE UNITED FRONT OF FARMERS AND CITY WORKERS

Since the great Farmer-Labor Convention of last July, at which the Federated Farmer-Labor Party was organized, the question of unity between the exploited farmers and city workers came to the forefront. It is being discussed not only in the labor newspapers and magazines, but still more at meetings and in private discussions.

Is it possible to unite these two camps of exploited people for the common battles on the political field? And if it is possible, would it be only a temporary alliance for certain immediate demands? Is there any basis for a permanent and lasting unity? And the last but not least important question is: Does it pay for the workers to strive for unity with the exploited farmers?

These are the questions that are agitating the minds of the class-conscious workers, especially now, during the great campaign for the June 17th convention.

Awakening of Farmers

These questions are quite new to many of us city workers. Living in great cities and toiling in the capitalist hells, we heard very little about the agricultural industry, and knew almost nothing about the problems of the farmers. We imagined the American farmers as little capitalists who waste their lives in luxury. What a surprise it was for many of us when we saw a bunch of farmers, from the west and middle-west, point out their grievances at the last July Convention! And still more surprised were our friends when we returned to New York from that convention and told them about the farmers and their problems. Some of them wouldn't believe us, till they themselves read in the papers about the convention.

Problem Not Passing

It seems to me it is a mistake to think that the present agricultural crisis in America and the depression which is knocking down the poorer farmers is only a temporary phenomenon, which will pass and be forgotten soon, and that the farmers who are seeking alliance with the city workers now will again be lost for the labor movement. I think the past state of mind will never return to the American farmers.

Our agriculture is undergoing a fundamental reconstruction; that is, the ownership and fewer hands. The land of the farmers is being systematically expropriated by the financial kings and powerful landlords. As the city workers were long ago deprived of ownership of their tools, so today the same capitalist system is separating the farmers from their land.

Basis for Alliance

There is but one way out: agriculture must be reconstructed on the basis of capitalist production. This process has already gone so far that today the workers and poorer farmers are exploited and oppressed by the same financial kings of Wall Street. And this is, to my mind, the basis for a permanent unity between the farmers and workers. The farmers cannot get the land for its users without the help of the city workers; and the latter cannot emancipate themselves from the yoke of wage-slavery without the aid of the farmers. We must fight together, or we will be defeated and crushed separately.

June Convention the Hope

Let us hope that the June Convention will accept this fundamental truth, and thus further the unity between the workers and exploited farmers. The July Convention of last year was the first great step toward such a unity. The coming June Convention must be the second and still greater step in the same direction. The June Convention will be crowned with success if we—the more progressive-thinking workers and exploited farmers—will work hard enough for it.

Those of us who live in the cities know that the rank and file workers are enthusiastic about the Farmer-Labor movement. Only the union bureaucracy is fighting it. That bureaucracy is definitely against any unity of the exploited masses. We must defeat its efforts and bring about such unity, in spite of that opposition.

A. BIMBA,
(Brooklyn, N. Y.)

THE APPROACHING CONFLICT

Now, when the farmers throughout this country are groaning under a load of taxation that is unbearable, the "power-that-be" have found the time particularly appropriate for indulging in unproductive pastimes which can only result in still more taxes for the farmers and the city workers. Seemingly it is not enough that American farmers have been suffering from the effects of a "permanent crisis" ever since the post-war artificial prosperity boom "petered out". President Coolidge continues his glib talk of finding a way to "help the farmers." But thus far, nothing has been done except to help them to additional visits from the tax collector.

And this is all a part of the scheme to "place the government on a business basis." Or, in the Harding phraseology, "a return to normalcy." Just a little while back, that term "a business basis" had almost a magic sound—quite like unto the other one. But now the clear-headed and practical tillers of the soil have come to understand the real significance of such hokum. When the Wall Street interests and their political henchmen thus speak of placing the government "on a business basis" it is seen that *what they really mean is to make the government serve the interests of Big Business—to the exclusion of the farm- of the farmers interests.*

In these days of Teapot Dome investigations and Farmer-Labor activities, Big Business is interested chiefly in stifling every voice of protest that arises from the farmer and worker masses. And the masses must be more greatly oppressed in taxes to aid this process. Out of every dollar paid in taxes, at least 75 per cent goes directly toward the building of the repressive machine that is to be used.

The active "radical-hunting" section of that machine has been the now thoroughly discredited "Department of Justice," manned by vicious "dicks" and "stool-pigeons" under direction of the more than shady William J. Burns—now officially repudiated, along with Fall, Denby and Daugherty.

Workers Pay the Bill

By interpretation of this "Department of Justice," everything is "Criminal Syndicalism"

that does not suit the Wall Street interests. No less than 34 States have been influenced through devious methods, to inaugurate "Criminal Syndicalism" laws—which define as a crime all attempts at militant action in the workers' struggle against industrial exploitation. Under these laws, the best of the workers' progressive leaders have been persecuted and prosecuted. And the farmers have been called upon to pay the expenses.

The whole issue of "Criminal Syndicalism" has been dramatized by the famous "Michigan Case," involving William Z. Foster, Charles E. Ruthenberg, William F. Dunne and 29 other staunch fighters in the progressive working-class movement. These were all indicted following the raid on the Communist Party convention of 1922, in Berrien County, Michigan. The raid was ordered by the now officially defunct Mr. Burns, as agent for the United States Department of Justice.

"Justice"—for the Workers

Unable to secure a conviction in the Foster case, the prosecuting attorneys—and the capitalistic interests back of them—decided to "dig up a safe jury" when the trial of Ruthenberg was called. Such a jury was found, and a conviction duly resulted.

Frank P. Walsh, as chief counsel for Ruthenberg, is not limiting his defense of this case merely to its technical points of law, but is challenging the constitutionality of the "Criminal Syndicalism" law itself.

The expense of this defense has been financed by the Labor Defense Council, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, by means of soliciting donations from individual workers and workers' organizations who are determined to end the Daugherty-Burns scheme for destroying the militant working-class movement by a system of persecution and terrorization.

"Workers' Unity," the Slogan

And the American farmers, already so overburdened with debt that they are unable to pay even the interest on their mortgages, will not tolerate the new taxes which are constantly being loaded upon them.

The revolt of farmers and industrial workers is crystallizing in a great movement for joint action between the workers and working farmers. It will be well on its way to triumph, with the successful formation of a nation-wide Farmer-Labor Party, in the coming St. Paul convention of June 17th.

"UNEASY LIES THE HEAD"—

By TOM AYRES

The restless nervousness of our ruling class in society, these days, is ludicrous.

In South Dakota the banks continue to fail. Five have "gone over the dam," in the last week; and it appears that another batch of such failures is on the way. In the meantime, somebody has conceived the idea that it would be a good thing to gather up all the fire arms that are available. Also, it is reported on good authority that the hardware stores in the larger towns are not selling any more guns, and are quietly buying up all the old ones that can be had.

What does all this nervousness mean? Certainly there is nobody out in this prairie country who wants to start anything with fire arms. But the powers-that-be must fear that their late indecent exposure, and the existent bad financial situation, may bring about such a conflict.

The Farmers "Saw Wood"

But the farmers are not worried. The Farmer-Labor Party of South Dakota is actively in the field, organizing in every county and getting ready for the coming Presidential campaign. Meetings recently held in Charles Mix County were largely attended. The spirit of the people is most excellent, and the prospects are more than good for a much larger farmer-labor vote than has ever before been polled here.

Governor McMaster continues to establish oil stations. But the people who have lost money in the failed banks are organizing to give him something else for consideration. Petitions are now out asking that the Governor call a special session of the Legislature, for action to protect the depositors in the failed banks, and also to protect those who have money in the banks which are still "in business as usual."

Unless the scourge of bank failures soon ends, there will be a worse financial panic in South Dakota than there was this Spring. And nobody can tell where it will end.

The Governor Fiddles

Meanwhile, the Governor continues to fiddle—like Mr. Nero, of old. And nobody can get any information about public affairs. The Bank Commissioner refuses to allow depositors to look into the affairs of failed banks. The autocracy of this McMaster individual has become a State scandal. That he will call a special session of the Legislature is doubted. He and his little clique of oily politicians prefer continuing to run the State government in secret—while the people are "cleaned" of every cent they have managed to save up.

"Farmer-Labor United Front"

This new pamphlet by C. E. Ruthenberg, executive secretary of the Workers Party, and published by the Literature Department, contains a statement of the policies pursued by the Workers Party in supporting the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party in the United States.

The sub-divisions of the pamphlet will give an outline of the subject covered. Some of these are:

- The Conditions for a Proletarian Revolution.
- Our Policy in the United Front.
- The Limits of the United Front.
- The Situation in the United States.
- The Third Party Movement.
- The Campaign Since July 3rd.
- The Work Before Us.
- The Significance of the Farmer-Labor Party.
- The Candidacy of LaFollette.

The pamphlet has been written for information of those who desire a clear statement of the principles underlying the policy which the Workers Party is pursuing in the present situation in the United States.

Single copies of the pamphlet are 10c, and for lots of 10 or more, the price is 7½c. Orders should be sent to:

WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA
Literature Department
1030 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
member of the Chamber of Commerce
San Jose.

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Farmer-Labor Forum

Farmer-Labor Voice solicits from its readers a free expression of their opinions upon all subjects of special interest to the farmers and industrial workers generally.

Contributions to this Forum should usually be of not more than three hundred words. With these, pen-names only will be published if requested. But name and address of writer must accompany each contribution.

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

LOS ANGELES, Calif.

Editor, Farmer-Labor Voice:

The hard-working Mr. William Hard, in his perennial "Weekly Washington Letter," published in *The Nation*, under the caption "How Many Hiram?"—has undertaken to demonstrate what he calls "the Progressivism of Hiram Johnson, of California." And this Hi-Johnsonian "progressivism" he represents as of three-ply quality, and the following composition:

- (1) "Political progressivism"; (2) "Humanitarian progressivism"; (3) "Not economic progressivism."

In the vain quest for any logical basis for this "progressive" classification of California's most reactionary political representative, one might ask how can a "political progressive" be at the same time "not economically progressive"? This in view of the accepted theory that the manner in which a people attains its livelihood shapes that people's outlook upon life, and is the basis upon which are founded the social institutions and customs of the nationality represented. And the equally accepted theory that the dominant industry of a country, or any part of it, controls the social life of the people? Is Mr. "Hi" Johnson a prestidigitator—as well as a plain faker—that he can claim to alter a reflection, without first remolding the contour of the substance which casts the reflection?

And as for Johnson's claim to "humanitarian progressivism," Mr. Hard bolsters up that assertion with the following statement of alleged Johnsonian sentiment: "He thought—and thinks—that wage-earners, when too weak to protect themselves should be protected by law, in the matter of the physical conditions of their employment." Which is, in fact, not "humanitarian progressivism," but is the selfish paternalism of chattel slave-lay inspiration.

Also, one might ask, how is this political faker Johnson entitled to be credited with any such sentiment—whether defined as humanitarian or paternal? His action, as Governor of California, during August, 1913, in connection with the Wheatland hop-fields strike, would not indicate that he ever held such sentiment in his soul—admitting that Johnson has a soul.

As reputed leaders of the agitation for betterment of unspeakable working conditions in the California hop-fields, the two labor organizers, Ford and Suhr, were prosecuted and sentenced to life imprisonment, on the nebulous charge of "Constructive murder." And Governor Johnson's refusal to intercede in behalf of these two men was a direct challenge, not only against all such efforts at humanitarian reform but also against the formation of a farm-laborers' union—through which the workers would be able to protect themselves "in the matter of the physical conditions of their employment."

Although out of this hop-pickers' strike against intolerable working conditions—with its sacrifice of several lives, and of the life-long liberty of two men who were quite innocent of any tangible criminal charge—arose certain "Housing Laws," sponsored by Johnson as a Senator, these laws have since been left to idly stand as silent witnesses against his claim to "humanitarian progressivism." That Hiram Johnson has never taken any action toward releasing these innocent men from their living death, must brand him forever as one opposed to all efforts of the workers to improve the unbearable physical conditions of their wage-slavery.

Nor has Johnson uttered a single protest against California's continual violation of human rights, as evidenced by the prosecution and imprisonment of workers, under the infamous "Criminal Syndicalism" statute—which provides that the very fact of membership in the I. W. W. labor union is a crime. Let us quote Secretary, of the Federated Farmer-Labor Union

"LEADING" LABOR



BIRTHDAYS IN JUNE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

Birthdays in June, of Political Prisoners confined in American Prisons, are announced by the Workers' National Prison Comfort Club, 2923 Chestnut Street, Milwaukee, Wis., as follows:

At Massachusetts State Prison, Charleston, Mass.

June 11, Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

At Folsom Prison, Reppa, California.

June 16, Herman O. Suhr, No. 9266; June 22, Louis Allen, No. 12026.

At Leavenworth, Kansas, Box No. 7.

June 10, Jos. Baltrusaitis.

At Blue Ridge State Farm, Hobby, Texas.

June 29, Pedro Paroles.

At Senior Farm, Dewalt, Brazoria Co., Texas.

June 30, Jesus Gonzales, No. 36458; June 30, Leonard Vasquez.

Cora Meyer, National Secretary, invites friends and sympathizers to send birthday cards and letters (money is best for gifts) to these political prisoners. Books and publications must be sent directly from the publishers.

J. Baltrusaitis, who recently was made a political prisoner, writes: "It is indeed a cheer—yes, more than that, a pleasure appreciated very highly, to receive letters of comfort."

This Is Issue Number 17

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Likewise, the "humanitarian progressive," Mr. Johnson, made no protest against the California Judge Busiek's injunction, which denies to workers the right of trial by jury. And upon the question of the release of Mooney and Billings—two workers whose unjust conviction and imprisonment is a world wide scandal—Mr. Johnson has consistently, from first to last, lined up with the enemies of labor unionism.

"How Many Hiram?" There is but one Hiram Johnson, in the minds of the American working class—and he is well known to them, as an absurdly ambitious political fence-straddler, who is neither a humanitarian nor a progressive.

A Worker.

To the Farmer-Labor Voice:

For forty-four years I have been a "diversified" farmer—and ought to know something about that process. In 1917 I was a "well-off" farmer; now I am a "bankrupt" farmer—"broke," and fighting hard against foreclosure. And on as good a farm as there is in the State of Minnesota.

From the "sweet chaise"—located not on the farms, but most everywhere else—came the cry: "Get more dairy cows!" Then butter-fat dropped from 50 cents to 40 cents a pound, and is still going down. And there was also the cry: "Get more poultry!" Followed by a drop in the price of eggs, from 40 cents to 15 cents a dozen.

Now, wheat that cost around \$3.00 a bushel brings to the average farmer less than \$1.00 a bushel. Rye is 50 cents a bushel, that should be \$1.50; and barley is 50 cents, when it should be \$1.00. Potatoes bring 50 cents a hundred-weight, when they should never be less than \$1.00. For beef produced, "on the hoof," farmers have averaged about one cent a pound, and for pork "with the squeal included," six cents a pound. While we pay war-time prices for everything bought.

I am 70 years old, and have figured out that the only thing which will solve the farmers' problem and permit labor to assume its proper place in society, is a farmer-labor federation. And I am for a political organization of these elements, with a platform such as that of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party—with its five-year moratorium on farm mortgage debts, public ownership and the land for its users.

SAM G. WALLACE,
Perham, Minn.

"LEADING" LABOR

