

THE Montana Nonpartisan

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF NONPARTISAN LEAGUE IN MONTANA

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THE FIGHTING PROGRAM.

The League has taken its place in the front rank of the progressive forces of this nation. It has justified its existence and has shown in the National fighting program adopted at St. Paul that it is keenly aware of the existing condition of world affairs. It has fought its way against the most terrible opposition from the reactionary forces who used the elemental passions of man, already aroused by the war to defeat the purpose of the progressive and virile farm organization.

That is the virtue of the League it differs from the political parties because it writes its legislative program in the interests of the producers and then translates it into an actuality. It is thus the direct opposite of the ordinary method, because it is usual for the politicians to formulate a program in the interest of the idlers and with the support of the producers proceed to put it through.

And that is why the League is hated so savagely. It works; if a constitution designed to protect the interests stands in the way, the League proceeds to amend it. If there is a robbery of farmers in grain trading and handling, the League stops the robbery. Presently it will begin writing laws for the protection of labor for what it promises, it performs. That is why it continues to grow, that is why its fighting program is of interest to all who work, because it is a statement of what the League intends to do and will do if you give it the power.

FARMER-LABOR.

The question has been asked what possible interest can be discovered which will bind organized farmers to organized wage workers. A great deal of cheap sarcasm has been spilled by politicians on the heads of people who advocate such a combination. They have said that there are economic antagonisms between the farmer as an employer, and the worker as an employee, which can not be surmounted and that this is the rock upon which the ship of unity will split.

Coming events cast their shadows before and it is one of the great facts of life that before any great movement achieves its purpose, the underlying reasons for that movement have already worked out its destiny, that is to say, that the idea of a combination between farmers and wage workers was not spun out of the minds of men, but already exists below the surface of every day life and is the agent which gives rise to the thought.

A binder or harvester is a typical example of this fact. The most cursory examination will show quite clearly that it contains a combination of the labor of countless people. The crude iron dug from the mines, smelted, cast, turned, finished, painted and assembled, embodies the labor of miners, bricklayers, tailors, printers, carpenters, coal-miners, designers, managers, farmers, in fact, a host so numerous and so complicated that to enumerate them would be to consume the space of this paper. There is the fact however, over which our friends the politicians may chew, for it is this thing which has already declared unity of social effort in language which brooks no contradiction. It draws the farmer and wage worker together more every day, industrializing the grain grower and ruralizing the factories operative. That is, speaking from the point of view of economics.

THOMAS MOONEY.

The Mooney case has at last vindicated the faith which organized labor had in the man and his associates. The Denmore revelations have exposed in the most startling manner possible, the treachery, malignity and cruel design of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce and its tools Attorney Fickert, ex-Supreme Judge Henshaw and their associates. Denmore who is one of the most remarkable investigators in the country, succeeded under instructions from Secretary Wilson of the department of labor in secreting in the office of Fickert, a dictaphone, the presence of which was unsuspected by the Mooney persecutors. The records which the dictaphone produced form one of the most damnable indictments which could possibly be imagined. As the mechanical voices of the phonograph reels off the conversation of these precious champions of justice the listener is amazed to hear them damning the Liberty bond, President Wilson, the War and everything connected with it. Mrs. Mooney, than whom there is no truer champion of labor on the Pacific Coast and no finer woman in the United States, is sworn about and talked of in the manner which we suppose Fickert learned from his Barbary coast associates. There enter upon the stage of this drama at the bidding of District Attorney Denizens of the Red Light district, idiots, dope fiends, professional jurors and perjurers, private detectives and other scum. One hears these bravos of the employing classes make out a list of the people who visited Mooney in his cell among which appears the name of Leon Trotsky, who at the time, everybody knew was in Russia.

Any enumeration of the corruption and perjury with which this case is surrounded serves only to enrage people against those who conspired to do the Mooneys to death. It is sufficient to remember that they are innocent of the slightest taint of bomb throwing and are merely guilty of organizing workers that may obtain better conditions.

Therefore all are interested who feel that the producers of this nation must be protected from the use of the machinery of law, by people who oppress them economically and that the utmost efforts should be made to impress upon the parasites, the coupon clipper and the exploiter that they shall not in the future seek the lives of other citizens who oppose them in their detestable activities. That is the reason for this editorial.

Christmas will have come and gone before this paper reaches you. How long will it take civilization to achieve, "Peace on Earth; good will toward men?" do you suppose.

Congressmen are beginning to find out that the National Security League, is another Standard Oil, Steel, Copper, Grain Trust, excuse for mob violence and terrorism. Couldn't find that out during the war and denounce it, of course. Some one might have called them pro-German, and that would have lost votes. Ugh! what a thing the professional politician is!

"20,000,000 dead by war, 6,000,000 by pestilence due to war, and steel-trust civilization says war is necessary and right. Fact is, Militarist has been spelled wrongly too long. It should read, Mass Murderer."

ANOTHER PRIZE ONE

We have been wondering since reading the Helena Independent of Wednesday 18, just what kind of a grouch the editors of that sheet have with the St. Paul Dispatch, that they should deem it necessary to exhibit to the edification of the people of Montana the paucity of intelligence and absolute lack of any progressive idea for which that sheet has long been infamous.

In the daily pillory which the Independent runs for the punishment of editors who do not please it and which it calls sarcastically, "The best editorial of the day" they hung up on the 18th for all the world to see some editorial prudence about North Dakota called "What is Law to Them." We present it to our readers that they may fully understand how abusive, unintelligent and insane the gang press can become when, after all their efforts, the majority of the people move in a direction opposed to the interests of their erstwhile masters. Here it is:

WHAT IS LAW TO THEM?

"The Townley Bolsheviki of North Dakota is hell-bent upon committing that commonwealth to the wildest adventures of state socialism. It had preferred to undertake the ruin of the commonwealth under color of law and with the consent of the voting majority; this of course, for obvious reasons. But failure to get the support of the law and the countenance of the necessary voting majority only determines that Townley anarchists to prosecute their purpose in defiance of both. So they have set up a returning board which, in full knowledge that the proposed amendments to the constitution did not receive the affirmative vote required by law, yet declares they have been ratified by popular vote and will certify them to the legislature as so ratified. As the legislature is a mere Townley rubber stamp, it will proceed by resolution to record the amendments as adopted and part of the basic law of the state. The supreme court, as part of the same machine and under the same control, is expected to affirm the legality of the proceeding and the villainy is complete."

You will observe in this first yell that the Dispatch makes it is quite clear that the people of North Dakota didn't want the amendments, don't like the League and turned the whole proposition down with the slight reservation that the legislature is a League one and that the returning board is League, and that the supreme court also understands and carries out the wishes of the majority who are Leaguers. Here is No. 2:

"The fact that five of the Townley amendments, quite necessary to the wild plunge into experimental socialism, failed to receive the majority of all the votes cast—a requirement of the North Dakota constitution common to the organic law of most of the states and recognized before the election by the bolsheviki leaders and their campaign committee. But what is a constitution among open contempters of law? What is law, anyhow, when it stands as an obstacle to their schemes? The only wonder is that with their hands upon every agency of state government they thought it worth while, in the beginning, to seek the cover of law for the prosecution of their plans."

There is nothing wrong with this either except that all the amendments carried by majorities amply sufficient. Here are the figures:

- 1. Permitting corporations to limit voting power of members. Majority in favor, 18,000.
2. State hail insurance. Majority in favor, 21,000.
3. Requiring four justices to declare a law unconstitutional. Majority in favor, 24,000.
4. Initiative and referendum on legislation. Majority in favor, 14,000.
5. Defining emergency laws. Majority in favor, 14,000.
6. Initiative for constitutional amendments. Majority in favor, 13,000.
7. Exemption of improvements from taxation. Majority in favor, 12,000.
8. Hail insurance by acreage tax. Majority in favor, 18,000.
9. Debt limit amendment. Majority in favor, 12,000.
10. Public ownership amendment. Majority in favor, 13,000.

And the editorial writer wants to know what is law? Well of course nobody expected you to know, brother, who ever read your open advocacy of mob rule and violence preceding the elections in Minnesota, but for your information, it is this: The will of the majority expressed in terms of rules for the guidance of the community, subject to change at any time a majority see fit, for instance there is a tonnage tax law coming up that you will be able to froth about, but swallow it you must, since the majority have said so.

Spasm No. 3. "It is not to be expected that the self and law respecting citizenry of North Dakota will submit without invoking the last extremity, to this lawless over-riding of constitutional safeguards. If the remedies within the state are exhausted in vain, no doubt federal grounds will appear upon which the anarchistic methods may be subjected to review by higher courts outside the jurisdiction of North Dakota and the wrong righted."

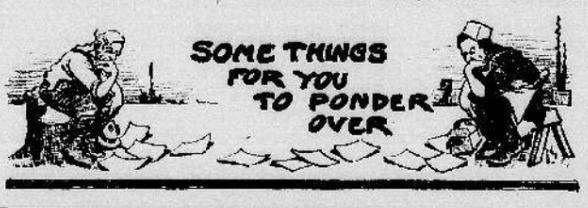
Ain't it fierce! being beaten in North Dakota by the simple business of getting snowed under, the old gang are expected to appeal to the higher courts against the "Anarchistic" majority. There are no anarchistic majorities of course, except in the dull brain of the unfortunate who is condemned to peddle that kind of piffle for his daily doughnut. Majority may and can and sometimes does alter or abolish constitutions, make and unmake laws, build up this or break down that, organize in whatever form it likes, it is the law and the prophets; vox populi is indeed vox dei. No matter how uncomfortable such doctrine make the beneficiaries of special privilege. That is Democracy and there is no other.

Here's the last gem: "The situation has assumed an aspect even more serious than a plunge into the dark waters of state socialism. It is an open and defiant over-riding of the law, under cover of an appeal from the constitution to an incompetent and obsolescent statute providing that a majority of votes cast on a public question carries that question. How any court of review could sustain such a piece of anarchy is beyond belief. How any decent citizen could rest supinely under such usurpation is inconceivable. And how any market could be found, in the circumstances, for the hundreds of millions in bonds, which is a part of the socialistic program, is beyond comprehension."

Thus we have in two consecutive sentences an admission that the thing is quite legal although the law is obsolescent and incompetent—the Leaguers, didn't write that one, by the way—and that it is an attempt to override the law under cover of another law, eh what? Override, under cover! Oh—piffle, piffle, piffle! What next? To what base uses do poor hacks hired to write for the St. Paul Dispatch put their turgid brains, to be unlawful within the law! Bring on a corporation lawyer please. All the same, thanks for the exhibit, Bro. Independent, publicity in dark places, you know, and all that sort of thing.

An event of considerable importance is scheduled for next spring. Nothing less than a mass meeting in Great Falls of League members and others who are interested in the progress of democracy is contemplated, at which the League President, A. C. Townley will be present and will address the gathering. Governor Frasier also is expected to attend as are a large number of other brilliant men and women amongst whom the name of Walter Thomas Mills stands out with prominence.

The date of the meeting is not yet definitely set but since its purpose is to get together and review the results of the legislative work for the session, it is obvious that it cannot be fixed until the session is over. The League managers are anxious to have the membership review the proceedings of the legislature and commend or censure the activities of its legislators. Under these circumstances a gathering of great educational value should result, a sort of "demonstration of democracy."



The Price of Wheat

"In case the war ends, the government would have to sell wheat in competition with the rest of the world and tax the nation to make up the difference."

The above is the finale of an article by a very clear sighted business man, now turned farmer, who farms some 30,000 acres and was at one time a wheat "king" in the Chicago pit. It is of tremendous importance to the farmers all over the United States because it contains an admission and betrays a number of facts which "friends" of the farmer and enemies of the League would love to bury out of sight. It is an admission on the one hand that in spite of price fixing, the economic laws which work continually and effectively behind the backs of legislators are coming into their own again with a vengeance. And on the other that the business man, be he engaged in vast farming operations or not, can always be trusted to find a business-man solution to all problems from the nature of Aurora Borealis to the velocity of other waves.

The idea that the government will have to tax the nation to make up the difference in the price fixed and what can be secured in the world market is of course quite utopian, for we have a long way to travel before any such thing would happen to the farmers product, although it does now and the occur in oil, steel and cotton. The farmer is not yet powerful enough to extract anything of the kind, or indeed would he feel called upon to try and inflict a burden of this kind upon the rest of the people, for of course, any such tax would show itself in the last analysis as an increase in the price of bread.

We are not going into the proposition of taxes however, for we are not fitted to do so, but will investigate a little further into the why, of the original suggestion. That there is a reason for the suggestion is true, and in the answer to that question we shall find revealed a startling condition of affairs which will call for many other questions along the same line. Now why is it that foreign wheat is to be sold below the domestic price and the home product sustained by taxes. Briefly this:

Production of Grain. The production of grain, like that of hogs and oil is governed by certain well defined laws, which operate independently of the producer and over which he has little or no control. The exchange value of wheat at Minneapolis or Liverpool is broadly speaking, a fair measure of the labor expended in its production and transportation, expressed in terms of cash, for there is no other way of measurement in exchange than in terms of effort expended.

Work, hours of work, world work, make the rule, the struggle between buyers and sellers run the price above or drive it below, but always during the process of exchange does it, like a double-acting spring door, pass and repass the mean average—value.

A World Supply. Observe it pouring into the market, here it comes from Argentina, there from British India, yonder from Australia, now from Mesopotamia and Egypt, a little and presently more from Russia and a vast stream from North America, all from different climates, raised under different conditions of soil and labor, subject to one general law and a few general prices, justling into the world's breadbasket to finally appear as bread or breakfast food.

Now as the American product pours into the general stream it is equated with it and has its effect upon the general prices as has all the others, for instance; if the average time for the production of one bushel of wheat in 1910 was one hour, before the entrance of the American product and the average time spent in producing this was 40 minutes then the average time would naturally effect the general price in the direction of lowering it, for all the seasons' world product.

The point is however, that let the mean average be one hour, say from panic to panic, that will be its exchange value and approximate the money received if we rate, for purposes of explanation, the hour at one dollar. Now it will follow that those who cannot produce the bushel below the hour or at least in the hour, are playing a losing game and will end in bankruptcy, while those who can and do reduce the time below the mean average, make a success and win. These, be it understood are general laws only made possible by those arbitrary and extraordinary circumstances which appear to contradict any suggestion of law whatsoever.

Effect of Machinery. This is the thing the effect of which our farmer of 30,000 acres sees, or rather feels and seeks to avoid by taxation, an impossible idea because, time being the basis of measurement in exchange and the tendency to bigness and swiftness in machinery and modern scientific methods of farming reducing the value day after day—subject to the tribulations of frost, hail, drouth, etc., which tend to raise it—by cutting down the hours of labor involved, nothing could result but that the tax would grow larger as the world production reached greater efficiency, because of course the world price would average less as time went on.

The farmers have to face this. The

world war with its artificial demand stimulated prices in an unprecedented manner, so that in some sections of the world we had the economic "surplus" of a high price in the face of a heavy supply. That condition is over and the world production resumes its normal activity stimulated by newer and better methods. It is a mistake to imagine that the wheat growing lands of Europe have been devastated by war, that is wrong. The ground over which the great fight raged was relatively small and greatly devoted to intensive farming of truck; beets, grapes, onions, etc., while on the other hand the wheat areas of the belligerent countries have been greatly enlarged by the stern threat of famine. Vast stores are also waiting in British India and Australia for the release which has now come.

Power Over Product, Keady. Even so, behind it all goes on the beating down of value by the introduction of newer and better methods, the exploitation of undeveloped and very fertile lands in less hostile climates than the sub-arctic of the North America is raised, and the application of science to agriculture. The progressive decrease in the value of gold helps also, while the accelerated productivity not only reduces value but temporarily drives down price by swamping the market.

It is not a pleasant prospect and certainly is not to be met with stupid mal-economics in the direction of taxation. What is necessary is to alter the basis upon which the thing proceeds and whereas today the demand for wheat bears little relation to the need for bread, for with the mastering out of vast armies the normal consumption will be reached again and vast quantities will reach the seaboard regardless of the hunger striking through the cities, to extend the power of all producers, at home, first and abroad later, over the consumption of the total product and to eliminate the coupon clipper and parasite and all those who take toll of the world's wealth without rendering the equivalent.

"Above Manual Labor"

(Editorial N. D. Leader) The Forum has slopped over again. Accidentally it has made another fatal slip which shows its beastly breed. Its latest blundering statement is contained in an editorial in which it insinuates that the farmers of North Dakota, whom it loved to call "pro-German" all summer are Bolshevists. And in telling about the horrors of Bolshevism in Russia the Forum says:

"For once having RISEN ABOVE MANUAL LABOR, a man in that country is under the 'evil eye' and gets less consideration than a dog."

his is the first time we ever knew that there was anything "above manual labor."

We had always been taught that manual labor was highly respectable. In fact the Master gave a dignity to manual labor when He said "By the sweat of the brow thou shalt earn thy bread" or that the Kept Press and the codfish aristocracy can never take away from it.

But it is at least nice of the Forum to state frankly, even though it was accidental, that it is people who "HAVE RISEN ABOVE MANUAL LABOR" who must be better cared for.

The Forum is without question one of the official mouth-piece of those people who THINK they have risen above manual labor, and its utterances can be relied upon as conveying the sentiment of that class of crafters.

But we will continue, in our humble way, to refuse to admit that any one ever did, or ever can "RISE ABOVE MANUAL LABOR" because there is nothing higher, nothing more dignified, nothing more essential than manual labor.

But the Forum has at least shown its contempt for manual labor and issued its formal warning that those who have risen above it can expect no quarter at the hands of Bolshevism in North Dakota.

The Forum, of course, does not know what Bolshevism is. It uses the word, just as it used pro-German, because it believes it is a nasty epithet that fits the farmers and laborers of North Dakota none of whom trot in the Forum's class because they "HAVE NOT RISEN ABOVE MANUAL LABOR."

The Forum thinks that because manual labor has been carrying a heavy burden, that the "barrier" must be above the sturdy shoulders that supported it.

Those who think they have "risen above manual labor" have a rude awakening in prospect. They will discover that there is nothing beneath themselves.

They are just full of Big Business "hop"—just doped from feeding on their own bumptiousness—feeble minded because of their own degeneracy their brains don't track.

And in this great democracy, manual labor, cannot be referred to contemptuously, because better than 75 per cent of the people have to perform manual labor—also the nuts who think they "have risen above it" would starve freeze and "dry up and blow away."

And a few would miss them if they did, except that the burden would be a little lighter for the people worth while to carry.