

NORTH DAKOTA IS FACING A CRISIS

IF YOU HAVE A HOME IN NORTH DAKOTA, OR IF YOU EXPECT TO BE A PART OF the Future of the State, this situation concerns you. Read carefully this appeal, and let no negligence on your part contribute to the menace that confronts the State.

FARMERS---MERCHANTS---PROFESSIONAL MEN

Reflect carefully, act firmly and see that your primary vote is registered for Sanity in Government, no matter in what political party it shall be cast.

To the Citizens of North Dakota:

The state of North Dakota today faces the greatest crisis in its history. On the result of the approaching primary election will depend, in very large measure, whether the state will retain its present position as the most prosperous state in the Union or will enter upon an era of uncertainty and disaster.

The statement that North Dakota is the most prosperous state in the Union is not open to question. It is a matter of record and statistics. Undisputed official records show that not only is North Dakota's per capita production of products greater than elsewhere in the United States, but that the returns from those products have given to the people of North Dakota during the past year more dollars and cents per individual than anywhere else on the continent. And because we have among us no men of very great wealth, and because abject poverty such as is found in the congested centers is unknown among us, the wealth realized as the result of the activities of the past few years is more evenly distributed than in any other state.

PROSPERITY OF THE FARM

Our prosperity is the prosperity of the farm. No matter in what activity the citizen of North Dakota may be engaged, his welfare depends directly on the volume of agricultural products that North Dakota produces and on the returns received for these products. Every industry in our state is related directly to the farm, and depends exclusively upon it. Ours is a great co-operative community, with agriculture as its foundation, and with all its other industries and occupations existing because they have been created and arranged to meet the needs and serve the purposes of the farmer. The man who tills the fields, the local merchant who carries a stock of goods for his use, the local banker who supplies him credit, the jobber who supplies the retailer, the larger bank which serves as a reservoir for the funds which are needed from time to time by the smaller banks, the mechanic who performs the necessary work of his craft, and the professional men who perform the various duties which pertain to their calling are all parts of one great system in which every part is related to every other part, and all rest on the solid basis of the fertility of our soil, the excellence of our climate, and the industry and resourcefulness of all our people.

No member of this great community is independent of it; no part or section can prosper unless the prosperity is shared by all; and no failure can affect any part without all being involved in the common disaster. The floater, the transient, the incompetent, the man who has no stake in the country and who is in no sense a part of its common life may thrive for a time at the expense of the community in general; but the welfare of the men who really belong in the state is wrapped up in the prosperity of the state itself, and his welfare is the welfare of all.

THE NEED OF CO-OPERATION

Because of the clear evidence in a state such as ours of the need of co-operation, work has been in progress for years to apply that principle in numerous activities of our people. To this end there have been established co-operative elevators, creameries and cheese factories. In some cases co-operative stores have been established, and we have many banks which, because of the general distribution of ownership among members of the local community are, in principle, co-operative. Much of this work has been experimental, and not all of it has been immediately successful. Inadequate capital, lack of experience, and in some cases the dishonesty of trusted agents have placed many of these enterprises in difficulties. But, as experience has been gained, more effective methods have been employed, and nothing is now more clearly established than that the co-operation of members of a community engaged in a like occupation is practical and profitable, not only for the members themselves, but for all with whom they have business relations.

The phenomenal prosperity of the state and the growing interest in the wise policy of co-operation provided an opportunity for a group of men who, unsuccessful

A PATRIOTIC APPEAL

This folder, with the facts and arguments from various sources which it presents, is intended as a convenient method of conveying information to those who may not be in possession of it, and as AN APPEAL TO THE PATRIOTISM OF OUR PEOPLE to permit no group of imported demagogues to reap a harvest of profit for themselves and disaster to all reputable citizens of the state from the seeds of falsehood and dissension which they have sown. Our present opportunities are too great, our needs are too pressing, and the whole spirit of our community life is too sacred for us to abdicate our functions as the managers of our own affairs and the guides of our own destinies in favor of any five men, much less of men who have demonstrated their own unreliability and unfitness.

Your Vote Will Protect the State

There is but one way in which this disaster can, with certainty, be prevented. That way is for the voters of the state to attend the primary election without fail and there to REGISTER THEIR VOTES AGAINST ALL CANDIDATES WHO ARE KNOWN TO BE CO-OPERATING WITH THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE and to be in sympathy with its management and methods. In this way the crisis will be met manfully and effectively, and the citizens of the state will demonstrate to themselves and the world that they are not to be stampeded by the fulminations of imported orators, but that they are conscious of ability to manage their own affairs to their own satisfaction.

WE ARE ONE PEOPLE, WITH COMMON INTERESTS TO PROMOTE, COMMON DANGERS TO FACE, COMMON PROBLEMS TO SOLVE, AND A GREAT FUTURE WHICH WE MAY MAKE OR MAR FOR OURSELVES.

ful themselves in their efforts to acquire wealth, looked with covetous eyes on the prosperity of others, and these men, shrewd, resourceful and unscrupulous, undertook to appropriate to themselves some of the wealth of the state by exploiting the name and popularity of co-operation. The means which they adopted was to organize the Farmers' Non-Partisan Political League.

THE SO-CALLED NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE

This movement did not originate with farmers within or without the state. Some of the men interested have at various times dabbled in farm enterprises, but they are not farmers, or business men in any other legitimate sense. They are plungers and speculators, and they have wrecked the farming enterprises with which they were connected, just as other men of their class have wrecked banks and insurance companies.

The methods employed are now familiar to everyone in the state. The plans were carefully laid. Some of the prime movers had been identified with the Socialist organization of the state, but had failed to make great headway in the working out of plans for their personal advantage because others, who were honestly convinced of the soundness of the principles of Socialism, objected to the exploitation of the organization for private advantage. No obstacles of this sort was to be permitted to interfere with the new plans. There was to be not even the semblance of popular control of policies or funds, no division of authority, no responsibility of leaders to the general membership. Authority was to be vested solely and permanently in the half dozen men who undertook, through the organization of this new society, to capture the government of the state itself, and to place themselves in control of its finances and its assets.

The men who undertook this enterprise were adventurers. Some of them had been residents of the state for a short time. Others were importations from other states, attracted by the prospect of easy money. Their business records were records of failure and incompetence. They had lived by agitation, by plunging, by speculation, by all sorts of means save that of honest and useful work. Field workers were gathered together, usually men of the same character, transients who had no established residence anywhere, no interests in the state, and no scruples. These men were carefully coached and put through a thorough schooling, and, when the

time was considered ripe, they were turned loose upon the community to solicit the cash subscriptions of farmers and their political and moral support for a program which, it was represented, was to enable the farmers to obtain more for what they had to sell and to reduce the prices of what they had to buy.

The canvass was an effective one, and it resulted in a large list of members. The solicitors were glib, and they had been carefully schooled. Many of them had had experience elsewhere in the sale of worthless commodities. Many farmers who were approached were honestly convinced of the merit of the plan, which was unfolded. Others joined because their neighbors had done so. Still others, though somewhat doubtful, were willing to take a chance. The result was the collection of many thousands of memberships, with dues of \$6.00 to \$9.00 paid in cash or by check. The solicitors found the work more remunerative than any which they had ever undertaken, and the leaders who managed affairs from the central office were able to compensate themselves well for the time which they spent in the preparation of plans.

THE SPIRIT OF HATRED

The plans upon which the managers prepared their enterprise were based upon the creation of a spirit of antagonism on the part of those who were soliciting toward other members of the state community. In no other campaign waged in the state has there been a similar appeal to prejudice, such an effort to create discord, such a deliberate effort to array one group of our people against all other groups. Incompetents and malcontents who have no part nor lot in the state have gone about preaching the gospel of hatred, and collecting money for doing it. Because the value of co-operation is recognized throughout the state these men have preached co-operation, but not the co-operation of all our people with each other, but the co-operation of one group against the rest. In the name of co-operation there have been added to projects which are capable of being usefully developed if handled with sound judgment others of the most visionary kind, and there has been no limit to the promises which have been made by the irresponsible solicitors who represent nobody and are bound by nothing.

The plans of the organization included the capture of the machinery of the Republican party at the ap-

proaching primary election through the nomination by a select group of league delegates of candidates for legislative and state offices. This work was carried on in the various legislative districts during the late winter under the personal direction of representatives of the self-appointed board of control, and was completed at the state convention of March 31 and April 1, a convention which violated the spirit of the primary election law, and which exceeded in the elements of autocratic personal control anything previously witnessed in the state.

The situation that exists today is that there is in the state an organization of many thousand members, most of whom have acted in entire good faith, and with the intent of bringing about economic improvements in legitimate ways; that these members have paid dues, and most of them suppose that they have a proprietary interest in the organization and a voice in its management; that they have, in fact, no such interest and voice; that the five men who constitute the "executive committee" hold office by their own appointment, are not responsible to the members or anyone else, are not removable, and have absolute control of both policy and funds. These men employ solicitors, fix salaries, make purchases, dispose of funds as they see fit, and shape the policies of the league according to their own will, and are answerable to no one.

THE MENACE OF CONTROL

With control so centralized in the hands of men of whom nothing credible is known the citizens of the state are urged to go to the polls and nominate as the candidates of the dominant party the men who have been chosen in this matter. If this should be done and the men so nominated should be elected, the control of the political destinies of the state and of its vast resources in lands, minerals, money and the power of taxation will pass into the hands of five men, not one of whom has ever succeeded in retaining for any length of time the confidence and respect of his own neighbors or in demonstrating the possession of any business capacity whatever. Men who have failed in everything that they have undertaken will become the dictators of the state, and if their plans work out according to statements published in their official organ and made from the public platform, will be able to dictate the enactment of laws, the administration thereof, and the interpretation of which shall be placed upon them by the courts.

OUR DUTY IN THIS CRISIS

No man whose home and interests are in North Dakota, who expects to be in the future a part of the life of this state, can regard such a situation without concern. How extensive the movement organized by this little junta may be, no man can tell, but it behooves every man who has regard for the reputation of his state, the soundness of its credit for the success of its enterprise to see to it that no negligence on his part shall contribute to the success of a movement which is such a menace to everything which goes to make up the real life of our people. If the plans of the committee of five should be carried out the people of the state would be committed to the inauguration of a series of enterprises wholly experimental in their character, under the leadership of failures and incompetents. The horde of imported solicitors who have for the past year been subsisting on funds contributed by the actual farmers of the state will be active candidates for the positions of trust and emolument. They will have served their masters well, and they must be suitably cared for in order that they may be available for future usefulness. Millions of dollars in cash and property will be at the absolute disposal of bankrupts whose only profession is that of agitation. Failure will be inevitable. And failure will mean not only the destruction of credit but the loss of cash. Deficits must be met, and there will be no means of meeting them save from the proceeds of taxation. The farmer, the merchant, the banker, the professional man—all who are interested in the future of the state and have a stake in it are concerned in this matter, and they can not afford to overlook the very real and present danger that confronts the state.

Shall North Dakota turn over to a few irresponsible carpetbaggers, who have not even a vote in the state, its vast school fund of \$50,000,000, its great educational and charitable institutions, its priceless credit in the great financial and business markets of the world, and its wonderful heritage of social and industrial peace?

PRIMARY ELECTION, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 28, 1916