

The Labor Journal

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PORT DEVELOPMENT

The Grays Harbor district by a vote of 10 to 1 has just authorized the issue of \$800,000 in bonds to be used for harbor development. Bellingham will hold an election on September 14 when undoubtedly authority will be given for a bond issue of about half of that approved by Aberdeen.

The growth of deep water cities on the Pacific, and everywhere for that matter, is materially aided by their harbor development. The Grays Harbor district recognized this fact and is acting on this evident fact.

Everett's Port Commission has it in its power, if any organization has, to help the growth of this city. The pretentious ambition of the Commission to obtain all the tidelands around the harbor is all right, but it isn't getting anywhere.

It would seem to be wisest if the port board, seeing the miserly idea of getting all that it hopes for without waiting for years to accomplish it, if it would select some small piece of property and put it in shape for some small factories.

It would not be long after a few sites were prepared and the fact advertised before some sort of manufacturing concerns would appear to occupy them on such attractive terms as the Port Commission might be able to impose.

If we wait until we are able to develop a Harbor Island or a marginal way, as they were able to do in Seattle another generation possibly may see the development; the present one certainly will not—Tribune.

The Tribune is right. The Port Commission will have enough to do if it manages the little water frontage the city now has for the benefit of the people.

The people of this town are not asking for a magnificent water frontage, covered with wharves and manufacturing plants, that will rival New York in a few years. They want a dock where producers can bring their products and sell them at a reasonable price to consumers.

Why do the people of Everett want to do, "chew the rag" about grand port development schemes for another thirty years? They want something that will do them some good now.

Beside the City Dock, the Port Commission might figure on the condemnation and purchase of the Everett Improvement Company's Dock at the earliest possible date. Then they might indulge in pipe dreams and building aircastles. If the Commission spends all the Port's money in buying tidelands the city will have nothing but "mud" for years to come.

G. O. P. WON'T GET PROGRESSIVES

Amos Pinchot, one of Roosevelt's chief supporters in the 1912 campaign, now a member of the Committee of 48, takes sharp issue with Senator Boies Penrose's statement that "the nomination of Harding has met with a hearty response from the followers of Colonel Roosevelt."

"Real progressives, Democratic as well as Republican, will flock to the new party to be launched at Chicago on July 10," Mr. Pinchot said. "Instead of winning back progressives who followed Colonel Roosevelt in 1912, the nomination of Harding on a reactionary, ambiguous and insincere platform proves the utter impossibility of reforming either of the old parties by working from within."

"For twenty years," continued Mr. Pinchot, "honest independents have been trying to make the Republican party responsive to the will of the people. The Chicago convention demonstrated this method is futile. The bosses and the privileged interests they represent have a firmer grip on the party machinery than ever before. The prominence and undue activity of Senator Penrose himself is evidence of this. There is nothing for any real progressive to do but to get behind the new party which

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NATION FACES A FUEL FAMINE

(Contributed)
Owing to the inefficiency of private operation of the railroads, the nation faces a serious fuel famine next winter. The Interstate Commerce Commission has attempted to forestall this menace by placing an embargo against all commodity shipments and giving priority to fuel consigned to New England ports for trans-shipment by water to domestic destinations. In other words, coal will not be exported until home needs are met.

The railroad situation becomes more serious each day. After a month of effort, the railroad officials announce that there is no improvement and that the "most rigorous policing" is required if a peril is to be passed. The railroad is running millions of dollars behind monthly in operating income, and for April the government will be compelled to assume nearly \$100,000,000 deficit. The roads that have so far reported incurred a deficit of more than \$17,000,000 in April, and this sum will be increased when the full returns are in. In April, 1919, under federal control, in spite of a let-down of transportation following the signing of the armistice, the railroads returned a profit of \$20,000,000. These figures bear out a statement recently made by Mr. Woolley, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, that the railroads under private control would cost the people each year \$100,000,000 more than the two years of federal administration.

The public is paying dearly for private manipulation, but, what is more serious, it is not getting service. We are facing real suffering and perhaps business paralysis because the business of railway managers has been tried and found wanting.

All of which confirms a generally held opinion that the government will be forced to again take over the railroads and operate them outright in the interest of the public. If and when this happens, it will definitely mark the date on which private control of transportation passed out of the thought of the American people.

The people were fooled by the railway managers and their propagandists when Congress was bungling the railroad situation, but it is not possible to fool them all the time. It is apparent now that the railroads have miserably failed at a critical period and it is inconceivable what material number of intelligent men and women will demand the perpetuation of a system that is fraught with so much of danger to the republic.

OPEN THE GATE FOR FORTY-EIGHT

Now that Republican and Democratic convention is a matter of history, public attention is focusing toward Chicago, where a new political party will be organized July 10th by the Committee of 48, Labor party, World War Veterans, Non-partisan League and independent liberals.

The combination of these forces provides a nucleus for the most powerful new party that ever has appeared in American politics. The Committee of 48 has been quietly pushing its membership campaign in every state in the union for two years. The Labor party is organized in thirteen states and its candidates carried a number of middle western cities at recent elections.

The Nonpartisan League has 250,000 paid members in thirteen states west of the Mississippi river, has twice elected its entire ticket in North Dakota, polled 120,000 votes in the Minnesota primary and is admittedly strong in Wisconsin, South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Oklahoma, Nebraska and Washington.

Senator LaFollette of Wisconsin; Frank Walsh of Missouri, well known through his activities as chairman of the industrial commission and later of the war labor board; Governor Lynn J. Frazier of North Dakota; Walter Kahlan of North Carolina; and Senators Johnson and Borah are those most mentioned as probable nominees of the new party. The trend seems to be toward LaFollette.

Questionnaires sent by the Committee of 48 to more than 30,000 persons returned almost as many endorsements for LaFollette as for all others combined. The Labor party also is said to favor LaFollette and he is the overwhelming choice of the North-western farmers. LaFollette recently carried the Republican presidential primary in Wisconsin—the only state where his name was on the ballot—by a top-heavy majority and has a strong following throughout the country, particularly in the West.

The platform suggested by the Committee of 48 favors public ownership of public utilities; the restoration and development of idle land now held out of use by monopolists; and equal economic and political rights irrespective of sex and color, including rigid maintenance of all civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution. It also opposes the use of injunctions in labor cases and endorses the principles of collective bargaining and the right of labor to share in the management of industry.

This clear-cut stand on fundamental issues is in sharp contrast to the platforms of both old parties, which dodge domestic problems and try to divert the people's attention by conducting a sham battle over the league of nations.

The really vital questions which concern the American people are unchecked profiteering, inefficient and costly transportation, monopoly of natural resources, wasteful marketing system, increased tenantry and decreased farm production, and the ruthless exploitation of producers and consumers by great monopolies.

The new party offers to solve these problems in an orderly, constitutional manner that will safeguard public welfare and promote general prosperity. This explains why millions of thoughtful citizens intend to desert the old organizations that no longer respond to popular will and support the new party. The professional politicians who control the Republican and Democratic machines claim confidence, but they know the new party has a splendid chance to win.

In 1856 both old parties dodged the vital issues of the day. A few courageous men met to form a party. They were attacked and laughed at,

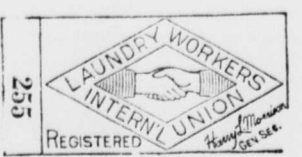
but they persisted and the party they created four years later elected Abraham Lincoln President and regenerated this nation.

Once more thoughtful and sincere American citizens will gather in the West to form a new party responsive to the nation's needs, and, on the face of affairs, they seem to have far brighter chances of victory than did the followers of Lincoln 60 years ago, when they roused the nation's conscience and swept into power on a tidal wave of protest against the corruption and compromise that controlled the old machines are met.

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DANGEROUS JOKER IN THE NEW ARMY LAW

Teaching the Civilian To Be Respectful To The Military Caste

(By Charles T. Hallinan, Secretary of American Union Against Militarism)
Today for the first time in our history, a military court martial has the power to punish a civilian for "contempt."

This little innovation—part of the slow but definite aggrandizement of the American General Staff—we owe to the Army Reorganization act which was recently hustled through Congress by the "big army" combine of Republicans and Democrats. Hustled through Congress, signed by the President and now the law of the land.

Heretofore great care has been taken to make sure that a civilian who, in time of peace, ran afoul of the military authorities, was not tried by a military tribunal but was turned over to the civil authorities, specifically to the United States District court, for trial. Charges might be preferred against him by army officers, but he was guaranteed a trial by a jury of his peers, quite in the spirit of the old Mutiny Act of 1688 which studiously declared: "no Man may be forejudged of Life or Limb or subjected to any kind of punishment by Martial Law or in any other manner by the Judgment of his peers and according to the known and Established Laws of this Realm."

But all that is now out-of-date. Exceedingly so.

Article 32 of our old Articles of War, describing the organization and procedure of a court martial, said:

"A court martial may punish at discretion, subject to the limitations contained in Article Fourteen, any person who uses any menacing words, signs or gestures in its presence or who disturbs its proceedings by any riot or disorder."

On the face of it, this looks pretty broad, but a glance at Section Fourteen discloses the fact that the provisions applied only to those who were "subject to military law." A civilian accused of "contempt" had to be turned over to the civil authorities for trial.

But, in the revision of the Articles of War recently made by Congress and tacked upon the Army Reorganization bill, the phrase "subject to the limitations contained in Article Fourteen" was quickly dropped. "Any person" means today literally any person—any labor leader, for example, who offends the court martial by his bearing, or any old-fashioned citizen who endeavors to stand on his rights in the presence of a military tribunal.

He can be tried then and there for "contempt" and punished with one month's imprisonment or a fine of not more than \$100 fine, or both.

It is not a very serious punishment, of course, but the General Staff is probably satisfied. The principle is established and that is the main thing. Some day they may slip an amendment through Congress removing that restriction as to punishment so that the offending civilian can get the same punishment for "contempt"—actual or constructive contempt—which can now be visited on the enlisted man.

When the question came up on May 28 in the House of Representatives, Congressman Bee of Texas conducted a hard fight against it, but the "big army" crowd was out in full force and smothered him. The discussion in the Congressional Record reads in part as follows:

Mr. Bee: "Mr. Chairman, on page 8, Article 32 seems to me a dangerous one inasmuch as it gives a military tribunal the right to punish a civilian for contempt. It occurred to me that that was a dangerous precedent and I felt it my duty to call attention to it."

Mr. Austin: "Mr. Speaker, the Articles of War were considered by a subcommittee of the Committee on Military Affairs of which the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Crago) was chairman. That committee went into these questions very fully. They had voluminous hearings. A committee from the American Legion appeared before that subcommittee and went over every article embraced in it. That subcommittee felt convinced that it was advisable to retain that section and they so reported to the Military Affairs Committee."

Congressman Crago then arose and defended the change on the general grounds that it wouldn't do to let citizens run amuck in a court martial. Congressman Bee persisted in his criticism of the section but no one came to his rescue and the thing went through!

An examination of the printed hearings held by Mr. Crago's subcommittee shows that the legislative committee of the American Legion endorsed the bill:

Mr. Hull: "As I understand it, you have reviewed the Articles of War as proposed here, and you agree that they are all right?"

Mr. Miller: (Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the American Legion) "We agree that, representing the American Legion, we are in thorough accord with this amendment and merely want to come before you formally and tell you that we are in favor of this proposed legislation."

Mr. Hull: Have you any objection to any of the changes proposed by General Crowder?"

Mr. Miller: "We have no objection to them. We realize that they are largely administrative, and we are very glad to know by his testimony and that they have agreed to the changes proposed in the amendment."

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Farmers' National Council's Program

To Save Billions

(Continued from Last Week)

A Capital Tax Should Be Levied to Pay Half of Present Debt.

The American people cannot afford to pay tens of billions of dollars interest on the national debt during the next twenty-five or fifty years to the wealthy five per cent of the people who loaned the major portion of the national debt.

A tax should immediately be levied upon the capital value of property, with an exemption of \$25,000—which would raise at least fifteen billion dollars, or about half of our present debt. Less than 22,700 people out of our population of 110,000,000 own nearly one-third of the total national wealth—nearly seventy billion dollars.

A capital tax of one per cent upon all property in excess of \$25,000, with rapidly progressive rates up to 75 per cent on all property worth \$500,000,000 and over, would yield almost fifteen billion dollars, and take only about one-fifth of the aggregate value of property of those having an income of \$2,000 to \$60,000 from property.

These taxes on war-profiters and monopolists would save the farmers of America at least \$1,500,000,000 a year for many years to come—or an average of \$225 per farmer family of six.

5. Government Ownership and Development of Natural Resources.

The natural resources of the country, coal, oil, iron, phosphate, sodium nitrate, gas, copper, waterpower and timberlands, still in public ownership are worth over \$500,000,000,000 which is nearly the total commercial and governmental indebtedness of the world.

Private ownership of natural resources is one of the fundamental causes of the high cost of living, and compels the farmers to pay a high price for tractors, farm machinery, coal and nearly everything which they use and wear. Government ownership and operation of these natural resources would save farmers hundreds of millions of dollars a year for natural resources and their products.

A large proportion of the great fortunes of the United States is based upon private ownership and development of some of our natural resources. In five years after the dissolution of the Standard Oil Company, the companies included in that combination distributed in cash, stock at par value, and subscription rights a total of \$650,000,000, while the total income of the companies included in that combination, was, in 1912, only about \$227,000,000. The Standard Oil doubled its stock which will permit a deduction of nearly \$50,000,000, computing the excess profits. In 1916 the corporation developed the gas and salt wells had a net income of nearly \$237,000,000. The total net income of the corporations extracting minerals was in that year, nearly \$800,000,000. Eleven mine owners or mine operators had, in 1916, a net income of over \$1,000,000 each; ten had a net income of over \$1,500,000 each, and several had a net income of over \$5,000,000.

In 1917 the net income of 404 coal companies reported was \$78,000,000, or nearly 45 per cent of their total capital stock of \$175,000,000, and of those companies nearly half—185—earned on their capital stock from 100 per cent to 7,856 per cent. Much of the stock was given as bonuses to buyers of bonds.

6. Credit Must Be Made as Cheap and as Available to Agriculture as to any other Legitimate and Responsible Industry.

This will save the farmers at least \$300,000,000 a year. The total indebtedness against farm values is about \$6,000,000,000, and is increasing. The average annual cost thereof to farmers is at least 7.5 per cent exclusive of payment on principal—that is \$500,000,000 a year. It is feasible to reduce this cost to about five per cent and save farmers at least \$200,000,000 or \$30 on the average for a farmer family of six. High interest constitutes nearly half the cost of production of some farm products.

This program of the Farmers' National Council will save the other workers of America fully as much as it will the farmers. It is to the common interest of at least ninety-five per cent of the American people to have it promptly put into effect.

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