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FARMER-LABOR VOICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF FEDERATED FARMER-LABOR PARTY

Vol. XIII. No. 20

CHICAGO, ILL., JULY 15, 1924

Price, 5 Cents

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY

The endorsement of LaFollette by the Conference for Progressive Political Action, in Cleveland on July 4th, and its failure to form a Labor Party and to launch an independent political campaign in the interests of the workers and exploited farmers, compels the National Executive Committee of the National Farmer-Labor Party to issue the following statement:

We have been pursuing the aim of bringing about a united front of the oppressed masses of the country, for a common political struggle against the rule of capitalism in the United States. For this purpose we have been carrying on a widespread campaign of agitation and organization in favor of a Farmer-Labor Party as the only means of establishing this united front of the oppressed against the exploiters. In this we were successful to a very large extent.

In spite of the treacherous attack of Senator LaFollette, the national convention of the Farmer-Labor Party, held in St. Paul on June 17, 18 and 19, succeeded in laying the basis for an independent political party of the workers and exploited farmers, thus paving the way for a united front campaign in the coming presidential election. The convention also instructed the National Executive Committee to negotiate with other groups favoring a farmer-labor campaign, in order to make the united front as wide and all-inclusive as possible by the convention.

The next step was to be made by the Conference for Progressive Political Action. To these men and women claiming to represent the interests of labor on the political field belonged the final word as to whether there should be a united front campaign of workers and exploited farmers in the coming presidential election. We have been anxiously awaiting the results of the Cleveland conference.

The decisions of the conference are already known. It decided against the united front. It decided against the political independence of the workers and exploited farmers. It decided against a Farmer-Labor Party. The C. P. P. A. at its conference in Cleveland on July 4th surrendered to LaFollette, betrayed the farmer-labor masses into the hands of merchants, manufacturers, bankers and rich farmers, and thus destroyed the only chance for a united front campaign in the coming presidential elections.

The betrayal at Cleveland makes impossible any united front Farmer-Labor campaign. It delivers into the hands of LaFollette and a propertied middle class who represent large sections of American labor, it shows the complete surrender of the labor bureaucracy and the bankrupt Socialist politicians, which dominates the C. P. P. A., to LaFollette and LaFolletteism. The united front in the coming campaign, therefore, becomes impossible.

The only redeeming feature in this black orgy of betrayal is the brave and loyal fight against American capitalism and the menace of LaFolletteism, that is being made by the Workers Party of America. It is the only political labor organization in the United States which stands the ground and fights without compromise against LaFolletteism dominating the labor movement.

We have also taken note of the fact that the Workers Party has decided to place in the field its own presidential ticket, thus taking the lead in the struggle against LaFolletteism and for working class political

THE WORKERS PARTY TAKES THE FIELD

The betrayal of the Farmer-Labor movement, in the C. P. P. A. convention at Cleveland—and the subsequent stampede to the LaFollette petty-bourgeois standard—indicated to National Farmer-Labor Party leaders that a new line of action must be undertaken in the coming presidential campaign.

The LaFollette Illusion

Following the hearty reception accorded to the National Farmer-Labor Party presidential candidates, Duncan McDonald and William Bouck, everything looked very favorable for that new political party of the farmers and industrial workers. But a couple of days later, the proposed Great Adventure of the American working class assumed a very different aspect. It then appeared that the LaFollette illusion not only was not dead but had undergone a monkey-gland operation, in the Cleveland convention. The false stimulation thus gained seems likely to carry it into the November election, with its piebald banners flung to the breezy air. And the platform of LaFollette—adopted complete by the C. P. P. A. group—is not the platform of a class political party composed of farmers and industrial workers.

New Candidates Named

Faced with this situation, the National Farmer-Labor Party has withdrawn its candidates from the political campaign. And the Workers Party of America will enter the field, naming the following candidates:

For President, William Z. Foster, Chicago, chairman of the Workers Party; for vice-president, Benjamin Gitlow, New York, member of Workers Party executive committee.

Campaign Inaugurated

State and local candidates also will be nominated, wherever possible on the Workers Party ticket; campaign leaflets will be issued, and speakers will be sent out over the country in a nation-wide campaign, under the banner of the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

The official announcement of this action by the Workers Party, and the naming of its candidates, met with a roar of acclamation in a meeting held on July 10th, in Chicago. And the crowd in attendance demonstrated its approval by donating more than \$1,200 to start the campaign fund.

Independence. We see in this action of the Workers Party the only guarantee that the idea of a Farmer-Labor Party in the United States will not be totally extinguished, and that when the time comes the masses will again rally to the united front banner, which still remains the only solution of the difficulties of the oppressed masses.

Because of the above, the National Executive Committee of the National Farmer-Labor Party has consented to permit its presidential candidates to withdraw and to endorse the candidates of the Workers Party of America.

The National Executive Committee of the National Farmer-Labor Party pledges itself to support in every way possible the campaign and the candidates of the Workers Party, and calls upon the workers and exploited farmers of the country to do likewise.

(Signed):

ALEX. HOWAT,
C. A. HATHAWAY,
ALFRED KNUTSON,
SCOTT WILKINS,
JOSEPH *****

THE WASHINGTON STATE CONVENTION

SEATTLE, Wash., July 7.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.)—The Farmer-Labor Party of Washington held its State convention here, in Labor Temple, on July 5-6. The 110 delegates present included representatives of the Farmer-Labor Party, the Workers Party, the Western Progressive Farmers and labor unions. Invitation was extended to all farmer, labor and progressive organizations believing in the principles of the Farmer-Labor Party, to become members of that organization.

The State Executive Committee was given full power to act in the matter of securing candidates to file for all Congressional, State legislative and County offices, and to collect funds for meeting the expenses of an active campaign. Donations of about \$500 were made in the convention, to start the campaign fund. John C. Kennedy, re-elected as State Secretary for the Farmer-Labor Party, declared that favorable interest in this campaign is widespread throughout the state.

An outstanding civil liberties plank of the platform adopted calls for release of the Centralia I. W. W. members now under long-term imprisonment for defending their union hall against armed American Legion rioters on Armistice Day in 1913. It is stated that six of the jury which convicted these lumber workers on a charge of second-degree murder have made sworn affidavits that the men were innocent and acted in self-defense under supreme danger. Other planks of the platform call for repeal of the Criminal-Syndicalism Law; elimination of labor injunctions; full ratification of the Child Labor Amendment; restoration of the land to its users; public ownership of utilities; social welfare legislation, and against military training in public schools, colleges and universities.

JOEL SHOMAKER,
Chairman, Platform Committee.

Montana Labor Swats Walsh

(By Federated Press)

BUTTE, Mont.—U. S. Sen. Thomas J. Walsh, who has been presiding over the Democratic national convention in New York, was denounced for his anti-labor record by the annual convention of the Montana State Federation of Labor in session at Butte. He was raked particularly for his support of the wartime espionage act and of the federal injunctions against the United Mine Workers.

The convention voted to hold convention every two years hereafter instead of annually. Organization of the Butte copper miners was the principal business.

NAME ILLINOIS TICKET

(By Federated Press)

William F. Dunne, co-editor of the DAILY WORKER, the Communist newspaper, heads the state ticket in Illinois of the Workers Party. Besides Dunne for governor, nominations for other state offices, for congress and for U. S. senator have been made. Local tickets will be put up in many localities. J. Louis Engdahl, nominee of the Illinois Labor party for U. S. senator, is now running on the Workers Party ticket and is expected to receive the Labor Party's endorsement with the rest of his running mates. Duncan McDonald withdraws from the race for governor.

The Workers Party declares that an out-and-out working-class campaign will be waged against all the other candidates in the coming election, including LaFollette, whom it styles the "candidate of the industrial masses."

WHAT HAPPENED AT CLEVELAND

(By JOSEPH MANLEY)

Just as had been expected, the convention at Cleveland, on July 4th-5th, of the LaFollette "not-yet" political party, was a very smoothly steam-rolled affair. At all times it was within the control of the under-studies of the "big" labor leaders—who themselves were down at Madison Square Garden, shouting themselves hoarse in a fruitless effort to nominate their favorite political figureheads, the oil-smeared McAdoo and strike-breaker Berry. The one "big" leader of any note who attended the Cleveland "con"-convention was its subsequent chairman, William H. Johnston, international president of the Machinists' Union and sponsor for the "celebrated B. & O. plan" of "mutual agreement" between the workers and their exploiters. This plan betrayed the railroad shopmen in their strike, just as the present gathering was about to betray the Farmer-Labor movement. Mr. Johnston looks like a banker, he talks like a banker—and he is a banker, being one of the directors of the Mount Vernon Savings Bank of Washington, D. C.—national headquarters of the C. P. P. A. political strategy.

A Pocket-edition Convention

There were actually present in the Cleveland convention little more than six hundred delegates, the majority of these being either officials or representatives of trade unions or of the socialist party. The delegates of the latter organization were headed by that wealthy New York lawyer, Morris Hillquit. Altogether, it was a very insignificant appearing delegation, in the tremendous Auditorium where this convention was staged.

Farm Problem Ignored

There was not a single farmer delegate present in the Cleveland convention. And except for the speech made by Senator Frazier, the troubles of the farmer were given very little consideration. The gathering was not representative of either the farmer or the rank and file labor element. On the contrary, it represented that malignant growth on the body of American labor known as "business unionism," and its long-standing alliance with the small business man, the contractor and the banker.

Where Is Freedom?

William H. Johnston served as temporary chairman throughout the first day's session and until noon of the second day, when a perfunctory vote was taken to make his chairmanship permanent. And in his opening address Johnston sounded the keynote of the convention, with the following:

"Where is economic freedom and equality of opportunity for the independent manufacturer who must buy and sell in a trust controlled market and is suffered to exist only on condition that he does not engage in active and effective competition?"

"Where is economic freedom and equality of opportunity for the small merchant who finds his wholesale and retail prices fixed by trusts and combinations, while he himself is being slowly but surely crushed and forced out of business?"

"Where is economic freedom and equality of opportunity even for the independent banker, who is permitted to participate in the sale of bonds and the financing of new enterprises only by the grace of the great banking syndicates, while he already foresees his early extinction by relentless competition from the branches of the great centralized financial institutions?"

"We may not all know it, but we are all in the same ship—farmers, industrial workers, salaried employes and professional men, as well as independent manufacturers, merchants and bankers."

The Old Bunkum

How often have the workers heard this "philosophy" sounded in their union halls! It is the middle-class bunkum that has always been used to take the militant spirit out of American labor and to substitute in its place a weak feeling of pity for "the troubles of the poor business man." William H. Johnston is about the strongest exponent of this line of bunk, because he still retains and makes use of some of the old socialist phraseology of his early "militant" days.

"Rah-Rah-Rah!"

The Cleveland convention from start to finish was a LaFollette rally meeting. It accepted without hesitation the dictatorship of LaFollette—just such a "domestic" or "with seal" at the mercy of the middle

FARMER-LABOR REGULARITY

(By Federated Press)

ST. PAUL, July 21.—State Farmer-Labor parties must not be endangered by the LaFollette independent presidential campaign. This warning is issued both by William Mahoney, chairman Minnesota Farmer-Labor federation, an ardent LaFollette backer, and by the Workers Party, which is supporting the Farmer-Labor state ticket in Minnesota.

Mahoney says: "There is grave danger that the desire for office of some of the state candidates and the belief that they can ride in on the LaFollette wave may tend to weaken the party loyalty, and swing the movement into the LaFollette independent column. The Minnesota Farmer-Labor party must not only be maintained in all its strength, but like organizations must be formed in other states so that the workers on the farms and in the industrial centers will be prepared to organize nationally when the campaign is at the close."

The Workers Party says: "The candidacy of Robert M. LaFollette as an 'independent progressive' is a grave menace to all state Farmer-Labor parties." It calls on its Minnesota supporters to support the state Farmer-Labor candidates but will put electors on the ballot for Wm. Z. Foster for president.

Cause and Effect

The capitalist press would fool the farmers and industrial workers into believing that they have nothing in common—because when these two powerful groups unite for political action they will soon do away with capitalistic privilege and monopoly. Then there will be no more Teapot Dome grafts, public land steals, free gifts of waterways, power sites and other natural resources of the country, to the privileged class.

ing of this convention was that it might act as a sounding-board for the LaFollette useless program, and to formally accept the candidacy of that equally useless individual.

Ancient Philosophy

The LaFollette program is a fine collection of glittering generalities, with all the usual trite arguments against "special privilege and predatory interests." It is an elaboration of the John Sherman brand of progress—and harks back to the revolutionary period of 1776. Its most up-to-date and popular plank stands for "regulating the trusts." Even Roosevelt, in the days of 1898, recognized that such "regulation" was a thing impossible of accomplishment and he shouted from one end of the land to the other his campaign slogan of "Bust the Trusts!" All talk of "trust regulation" at this time is a false issue raised to deceive and to mislead the growing Farmer-Labor movement. In the face of this fakery and betrayal, it becomes more than ever necessary to raise the standard of a political party that will battle for a Workers' and Farmers' Government—a government that will take over the trusts, with all their tremendous organizational machinery and practical efficiency, and will use that machinery and efficiency for the benefit of the producing class.

Laugh-a-Lot "Progress"

LaFollette, with this out-of-date program, will have plenty of inconsistencies to defend. As an instance, he says in his message to the convention:

"Happily we can point to great progressive commonwealths like Wisconsin, where prosperity has been enjoyed by business, agriculture and labor alike; where honest taxation and efficient government has been substituted for graft and corruption," etc. The state of Wisconsin and its principal city, Milwaukee, constitutes from a labor standpoint one of the worst open-shop districts in America. The steel trust, the paper trust, the leather trust, and the big manufacturers generally—all are ruthlessly exploiting their slaves in this "great progressive commonwealth"—the home state of LaFollette.

Passing Along

The Cleveland convention of the C. P. P. A., with its spineless and unprincipled labor leaders (one of whom was seen to enter a "scab" taxicab, on his return to Chicago!), is but a passing phase of the long struggle of the farmers and industrial workers toward their emancipation from the capitalist economic system, which makes them both alike.

FARMERS OPPRESSED; LABOR NOT GUILTY

Greed of land barons who want to hold the inflated land values by which they gobbled up all the gains from war time wheat prices is the real force behind the legislative proposals of so-called farmers' representatives. Interest in the fate of the poor working farmer to whom they are appealing is only secondary.

Farm Exodus

These landlords and bankers are worried because farmers cannot meet high rents and mortgage payments. They are faced with the fact that 1,500,000 people left the farms between 1920 and 1923 and that probably another 600,000 will go during 1924. They know that 20 percent of all the farms in the United States had different occupants in 1922 than they had the year before and that during the year 1922, 25 percent of the farms occupied by tenants changed hands.

The Rent Robbers

What these wealthy owners are looking for is some way to make the wage earning population pay enough, more for bread so that the poor driven wheat producer can turn over his annual 30 cents a bushel for rent.

Rent absorbs one-quarter of the entire cost of producing a bushel of wheat or corn or oats. The landlord takes in rent more than half as much as is given to all labor involved in producing and marketing the grain. In 1922 if the rent item had been cut in half wheat farmers could have met all their costs including a fair charge for their own labor and have had in addition a net profit of 3 cents a bushel. Instead the landlord forced them to take a loss of 12 cents a bushel.

Capitalistic Camouflage

Propaganda blaming high wages for the farmers' plight is mere camouflage. The owning class is trying to drive a wedge between the two broad classes of producers whom they exploit quite impartially. They want the support of the farmer in accomplishing a further deflation of wages—knowing that this deflation of wages will in turn make possible further deflation of the farmer.

The Real Reason

The demand for wheat, upon which farmers must count to maintain prices, is largely dependent upon the purchasing power of American labor. Fluctuation in the purchasing power of factory workers has resulted in a reduction in wheat consumption which exceeds the entire quantity exported to meet foreign demand. To quote a recent article in the *New Republics*: "In years when the purchasing power of American wage earners is high domestic consumption has reached 7.62 bushels per capita; in years when purchasing power is low it has fallen to 4.42. The aggregate difference may amount to as much as 250,000,000 bushels—more than our total exports."

Unity of Interests

A single interest unites the majority of the farm population with city wage earners in opposition to the various programs by which land capitalists will attempt to tax all producers to support their inflated land values. No proposed remedy will hold water which does not aim to lighten and finally to eliminate the burden which all production carries in charges for the support of an unproductive owning class.

Tax Foreclosure

During the last three years, according to a recent report of the Department of Agriculture, 180,000 owners and tenant farmers lost their farms through foreclosure and tax sales. More than 122,000 lost their property without legal proceedings, and 378,000 retained their property only through leniency of creditors. Of 95,000 farm owners and tenants in the fifteen leading corn and wheat producing States of the Northwest 9,700 have lost their farms during that time, 4,700 through foreclosure and tax sales, and 5,000 without the formalities of legal procedure, while 15,900 have held on through the tolerance of creditors.

No wonder the exodus from farm to city at the rate of a million a year. To wonder the country is finally awakening to a tragic situation, and thinking people generally are considering ways and means of saving the farmer. If ever a victim of untoward circumstances needed saving, it is the same farmer.

Farmers Pay Tribute to Wall Street Vultures

The Equitable Life Insurance Society holds mortgages on farm properties to the amount of nearly \$1,000,000,000 and during 1923 the company collected upon these more than \$5,000,000, according to the annual report of President W. A. Day to the Board of Directors.

This tribute to one of the biggest constituents of Big Business hit more than 12,000 farmers, the report shows, and it demonstrates the extent to which agriculture is becoming tributary to the great financial institutions of the New York money octopus.

New Field of Exploitation

President Day's statement clearly indicates the rapid development of this burden upon the farms, and shows that in 1911 that institution carried upon its books no farm mortgages.

Day now considers farm loans as among the safest and most profitable forms of investment, and he proceeds to describe the pawnbro' or terms by which the bankers guarantee themselves against losses. He says:

Farm Loans "Safe Investment"

"Farm loans represent an investment in the most basic of industries, and constitute one of the safest investments when properly selected. It is our policy to lend on farms upon a conservative valuation which treats the land as the only security and disregards improvements. The appraisal is based on quality of soil, productivity, marketability, drainage, etc. The loans generally do not exceed 35 per cent of that value. They bring an unusually good average return—which for this year has been nearly 5 1/2 per cent."

The Equitable has never lost a cent on a farm loan, it seems. And the majority of these mortgages are held against small farmers, the average loan being \$7,800. According to Day—"Our experience with such loans, aggregating a grand total" of \$137,715,875, testifies to the extraordinary strength and security of this form of investment."

Operates in City Also

The report also shows mortgages of over \$40,000,000 against the homes of city dwellers. This creates a huge stake in the present high real estate values, and practically guarantees that the financiers will use their full power to prevent material reduction in this burden of debt which is enforcing congestion and evil housing conditions upon the city proletariat.

Altogether, President Day's report seems to constitute quite a good argument in favor of the proposition that farmers and workers do have some common interests to protect.

Seals Doors and Lips

(By Federated Press)

SACRAMENTO, Cal.—Hot on the footsteps of their declaration that newspaper reporters and other writers no longer interview prisoners at San Quentin, and Folsom, the California prison board announces that no further news of paroles applied for, granted or denied will be made public.

This means that when rich John Smith kills somebody with his auto and is sentenced to the penitentiary he can be paroled in a few months and no one will be the wiser; and when poor William Jones is refused parole because he once made a face at a guard nobody will know about that either. These two rulings of the prison board make California's penitentiaries secret and silent institutions, in which anything can—and probably will happen, without any opportunity for the public to protest.

Objection to Radio Monopoly

MEXICO CITY.—As a result of the United States' desire to grab all radio points in the western hemisphere, the Inter-American conference on electrical communications threatened to suspend its sessions. Brazil refused to be bullied. All the Latin-American countries except Argentina sided with Brazil. Quintana of the Argentinian delegation says he voted with the United States because he did not wish to oppose it. The meat industry of Argentina, the largest in the world, is controlled by U. S. packers.

FAKE FRIENDS OF THE FARMER

(By Federated Press)

ST. PAUL.—An attempt to break the strength of the farmer's revolt in the northwest and to confuse individual agriculturists into lining up behind one of Wall Street's presidential candidates is revealed masquerading as the American Council of Agriculture recently formed at St. Paul. Behind the thin disguise are visible such pseudo-agriculturists as its president-elect G. N. Peek who in every day life is known as president of the Moline Plow Co., director of the Merchants National Bank of Omaha and former member of the War Industries board, a citizen much bedecorated by France, Italy and Belgium.

The money bags of the organization will be held by John R. Mitchell, former chairman of the board of the Capital Trust and Savings Bank of St. Paul and 2nd vice-president of the Twin City Rapid Transit. The reason he no longer technically holds these offices is that he is a Harding appointee to the federal reserve board at Washington. He is a member of the Republican club.

Gray Silver, Washington lobbyist of the reactionary American Farm Bureau federation and Mark Woods, who placed Hell an' Maria Dawes in nomination as the Republican candidate for vice-president are also outstanding figures in the new organization which announced its purpose as being to discuss and plan legislation for producers all over the country.

The council plans to reward its friends and defeat its enemies. It will ask the candidates for office on the Republican and Democratic tickets to pledge themselves to a revival of the McNary-Haugen alleged farm relief bill. And it will try to confuse the farm vote by designating the real progressive candidates who refuse to sign such a pledge as enemies of the farmers.

An act of the council which reveals its composition was the rejection by a vote of 58 to 4 of the farmers' equity plank calling for reduction in freight rates. This was put forward by James Monahan, representing the Equity cooperative exchange.

PRICES REDUCED—WHEAT 50 PER CENT, BREAD 2 PER CENT

The big 1922 slump in wheat prices brought less than a 2 per cent decrease in the price of bread, the Federal Trade Commission declared in a report on its investigation of the wheat flour milling industry from January, 1919, to September, 1922.

The price of flour in the Northwest decreased 33 per cent and in the Southwest 43 per cent, the report said. Wheat prices declined 55 and 50 per cent, respectively, in the two districts, it added, but the decrease in bread cost was only 2 per cent, except in Kansas City, where a price war brought a 15 per cent drop.

The commission reported that certain trade associations tried to hamper the inquiry immediately after it was launched, and charged that the Millers' National Federation, the leading association of the flour industry, told its members that they had the right to refuse to answer the cost and profits questionnaire sent out by the commission, and advised them not to open their books to the commission. Despite these occurrences, the report said, the millers accorded every aid to the commission.

Subscription Blank

Federated Farmer-Labor Party, 800 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill. JOSEPH MANLEY, National Secretary:

Enclosed find \$....., for which you will send to below address, Farmer-Labor Voice, for a period of..... months. Name:..... Address:..... Town:..... State:.....

Farm "Prosperity"

By LELAND OLDS

(Federated Press Industrial Editor)

Farmers who furnished the country with wheat and oats in 1923 should be reckoned philanthropists, while those producing corn, cotton and potatoes made a good business proposition of it, according to the department of agriculture. The report shows losses of 25c a bushel on wheat, 3c a bushel on oats and profits of 13c a bushel on corn, 8c a pound on cotton and up to \$86.23 an acre on potatoes.

Reports on wheat, says the announcement, show an average gross cost of \$22.88 per acre. The credit of straw was \$1.86 per acre, leaving a average net cost of \$21.02 or \$1.24 per bushel on an average yield of 17 bushels. The crop had a sales value of 99c a bushel. The total cost was preparing seed bed, planting, 45 per cent; fertilizer and manure 11; seed 7; land rent, 26; miscellaneous 11 percent.

Robbed on Oats

Oats showed a gross cost of \$20.23 per acre and a net cost of \$18.08 or 52c a bushel on an average yield of 35 bushels to the acre. It sold for 49c a bushel. Man and horse labor for preparing the seed bed, planting, harvesting, threshing and marketing took 49 percent of the cost; fertilizer and manure 7; seed 7; land rent 26; miscellaneous 11 percent.

Corn cost an average of \$26.40 per acre with credits bringing it down to \$23.75 net or 68c a bushel on average yield of 35 bushels. The crop sold for an average of 81c a bushel. The cost was divided 53 percent to labor; 15 for manure, 2 for seed, 22 for land rent, and 8 percent miscellaneous.

Slim Margin on Cattle

The cost of production varied widely according to the yield per acre. Those farmers producing from 101 to 140 pounds per acre are considered by the department most nearly average. They show an average cost of 22c and sales value of 30c per pound.

PITY THE POOR STANDARD OIL CO.

We learn from the financial columns of an unspeakable contemporary, that Standard Oil made a new high record for dividend payments in 1923—in round numbers, One Hundred and Thirty-eight Million Dollars, compared with cash payments to its stockholders of only One Hundred and Twenty-nine Million Dollars in 1922. (The odd \$29,000,000 is exactly the amount which the "radical" decision of Baseball Judge Landis did not remove from the treasure-chests of that struggling financial institution.)

When on another page of the same newspaper, the chairman of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey (which is an entirely separate and distinct part of the "busted" oil trust, be it noted), informs us that the price of gasoline is now much too low, and the honorable chairman complains bitterly against "the narrow margin of profit" now obtainable. And thus the "Prosperity" boom of President Coolidge is handed yet another black-eye.

Candidate Davis' Credential

(By Federated Press)

WASHINGTON.—John W. Davis' letter on March 31, 1924, to a friend who asked him his attitude toward the combination of presidential politics and big-business legal services, is thus quoted among his lawyer associates in Washington:

"I have a fine list of clients. What lawyer wouldn't want them? I have J. P. Morgan & Co., the Erie railroad, the Guaranty Trust Co., the Standard Oil Co., and other foremost companies on my list. I am proud of them.

"They are big institutions, and so long as they ask for my service for honest work I am pleased to work for them. Big business has made this country what it is. We want big business, but it must be honest; and a lawyer can be proud to tackle big problems for big business when all intentions are right and honest!"

Opinions are stronger than armies. Opinions, if they are founded in truth and justice, will in the end prevail against bayonets of infantry. Your subscription is a contribution to the cause of the farmer.

FARMER-LABOR VOICE

Published twice a month, by the Federated Farmer-Labor Party of America, Joseph Manley, National Secretary, 900 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill. Subscriptions: \$1.50 a Year; 50c for 6 Months. Bundle Orders: At 2c per Copy.

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(Entered as Second-Class Matter, under the name "Farmer-Labor Voice," February 1, 1924, at the Post-Office of Chicago, Ill., under the Act of March 3, 1879.)

BLOOD AND THUNDER

It seems that a number of progressive students in Northwestern University—Steel Trust Gary's pet institution of "learning"—decided to take literally the Nazarene teaching and obey the commandment, "Thou shall not kill." They declared themselves "pacifist" and opposed to war as a means of settling international disputes.

Immediately the Chicago Tribune, as "The World's Greatest Newspaper," began to throw fits, all over the landscape. Lurid stories and heated editorials were belched from the brain-storm factory of that capitalistic publication—all aimed to propagate "100 per cent patriotism." Thirty-eight "pacifists" in the Evanston school-house had dangerously rocked the great ship of state majestically sailing o'er the oil-spread tide. And the Tribune would heroically save from wreck, "the foundations of American liberty," "the privileges of constitutional government," and various other things—including, quite incidentally, "the nation."

The most interesting feature of this literary litter was the Tribune's startling discovery that "the pacifist movement" is directed from Moscow, Russia, at one end of the line, and Hull House, Chicago, at the other—with many noted Communists named as characters in the plot to outlaw war.

The Communists have been charged with many idiosyncrasies; but it remained for the astute Tribune to discover an entirely new one—that they are pacifist. It has been said that the Communists would "destroy civilization," by killing off all the capitalists—people who have accumulated much property, by thrift, ability, and other means not specified. But now they are organizing "pacifist societies," with purpose to corrupt the youth of our country with anti-war sentiment, thus leaving our fair nation the defenseless prey of barbarians who might wish to enslave us, seize our oil supply, confiscate our railroads, preempt steel mills, purloin our coal mines, and otherwise denude the country of the economic resources so necessary for maintaining the regal splendor of our ruling class.

Down with such a dastardly plot! Does not this make the blood of every 100 per cent American man, woman and child to boil with indignation? This blot upon the fair name of our nation must be erased. Let us wave the flag while the eagle upon the standard screams that we want no weaklings here, to sting the national breast that has nurtured them! The teachings of Christ are out of date; he has been dead for nearly 2,000 years. Strike up the band!

A recent visitor to this country, from England—one of the truly great intellectuals—said in private conversation: "You have in Minnesota done what has never been done before on earth; you have created a feeling of solidarity between the farmers and the industrial workers." (LaFollette, without mentioning the dictatorship of LaFollette—just such a state or—has as LaFollette a "domestic" & with steel at the mercy of the middle

War Will End

The civilized human race today is engaged as never before in devising a plan, a scheme, to assure a permanent world peace. The world's best brains have studied the problem. Admittedly it is not any easy problem, and the outlook is none too optimistic. As a speaker recently put it: "It is unreasonable to even hope that the human race, which since the beginning of history has lived under a state of war, will suddenly adopt a state of permanent peace."

The most hopeful sign of a permanent international peace, however, lies not in a change of heart on the part of the human race, and recognition that war in general is cruel and immoral, or even unprofitable for all concerned, as Norman Angell pointed out years ago in his "The Great Illusion,"—but rather in the law of self-preservation. The minute it became apparent that, with the development of science, war will come to mean the extermination of all belligerents; the human race will solve the problem of war.

The "war to end war" at least served well in that respect. It introduced the use of poison gas, which now is said to have reached a more perfected stage for destruction of life than ever dreamed of. The use of airplanes to drop powerful explosive to wipe out entire towns is freely being discussed by military strategists. So is also the use of virulent germs to spread disease among enemy populations. And the possibilities for the use of the so-called violet-ray are not very comforting. Already, it is said, a machine has been perfected by an English scientist to throw this ray in such a manner that no life could survive in its path.

The possibilities for such agents of extermination are unlimited. Each country has its scientists at work perfecting machines of destruction. The most devastating agents of the recent world war shrink into insignificance in comparison.

The result will be two-fold. In the first place it will take all the glamour and glory out of war. The element of personal heroism, the ideal of the soldier, will disappear. There is nothing to stir the soul in mass scientific butchery where the personal element is entirely lost sight of. But it goes even further than that. The lowest forms of animal life possess the instinct of self-preservation. When war comes to mean self-extermination, we may expect the human race to at least exercise this animal instinct and devise a system for peace.

Is There Objection?

Since the nomination of Dawes for vice-president, the discovery has been made that he is a very angelic individual. Before the nomination he was "Hell and Maria"—and very "hard-boiled." But many nice people who have votes are not attracted by such barbarism—hence, the sudden new discovery.

And another discovery has been made—that Dawes is popular in the agricultural States. Correspondents are scurrying to and fro, picking up this information by the bucketful. As soon as they get through with that job, they will doubtless sail in and make the discovery that the doughty "General's" open shop ideas have made him solid with union labor.

In view of these amazing revelations of Dawes' popularity, we really don't see why an election should be held. Why not let him take the office by unanimous consent? Is there any objection? The chair hears—well, say—the chair would prefer to not report what he hears; is sounds worse than "Hell and Maria!"

NOT CAVALIERS— BUT PROFITEERS

The hoary myth of "Southern chivalry" was pretty well exploded by the Southern Senators' almost unanimous opposition to the Child Labor Amendment.

But Senators Garden, Poo, Tydings and Tamm of Tennessee, North Carolina, Maryland and Virginia, are of course owned and controlled by the industrial magnates who coin money from the bodies and souls of little children who slave in the Southern cotton fields and mills.

The Bunk Season

With the annual school-commencement season, the bunk crop comes into full flower. And especially active are the militaristic bunk peddlers in furnishing the minds of the young people who are then leaving the schools. "Nothing like being soldierly; the discipline is just what you need; it trains you to think" (as others tell you to); and there is no danger of your becoming "an undesirable citizen"—with opinions of your own.

Also they mix militaristic bunk with patriotic bunk. To hear them tell it, a patriot is a person who is always itching to fight for his country; and quite naturally, public school graduates are expected to be thus patriotic.

The baccalaureate orator at Northwestern University, it seems—didn't get that way. He saw the results of the World War, and he said, "We are breaking faith with our heroic dead, who died to make an end of war. We are beset by the perils of reaction."

They must have got him on the program by mistake. The good old rule is that none but spillers of undiluted bunk shall address the students at commencement season—or at any other season, for that matter.

Yet, it seems that in spite of all precautions the students are beginning to really think. In spite of the millions that are spent (by the Garry-Rockefeller sort) on elaborate scholastic facilities to prevent the students from gaining a knowledge of truth, they are learning the truth. War is a great teacher. Quite a few heads of educational institutions are now in danger of losing their jobs, for the inefficiency of their efforts to keep such knowledge from student bodies.

Leaders of Men

Many of the present organization leaders would never have attained to leadership if possessed with intelligence to know and understand the requirements of true leadership. Most popular leadership today is based upon the ignorance and selfishness of the masses, who readily accept as their spokesmen equally ignorant and selfish individuals having the cunning to oratorically solve the grave social problems of which they themselves have no real understanding. Speciously offering themselves as the servants of the people's need, they become masters of the people's mind. And this sort of leadership is found in political life, as well as in the labor movement.

Then there are the real leaders of mankind. These are men and women of superior intelligence, of high character and deep knowledge. They are people with ideals—and with ideas. These never lack the courage to face the world in defense of their beliefs. They have visions—and a mission in life. And they are the seers, the prophets, the teachers of the human race. Thus it has always been, throughout the progress of humanity. And thus it must ever be.

When the owning farmer dies, the value of the land he has left will generally send his children to town—or plunge them into debt. One will buy out the farm—and be submerged in debt. The others will move to town—and are lost to the farming industry. Or they may all refuse to take on the burden of the farm, and the land will be added to some landlord's necklace of farms.

If this tendency continues, of young people leaving the farms, soon the country district will be polka-dotted with abandoned farms everywhere—because no one can be found who will undertake the hopeless job of tilling the land.

There should be, to remedy this situation, a higher rate of taxation on large tracts of undeveloped land than on small, productive farms. At present, the opposite is the rule.

IS WAR COMING?

(By Tom Ayres, South Dakota Farmer-Labor Candidate for United States Senator.)

Another war? Certainly! The war-makers are even proposing—for the purpose of allaying public fear—to conscript wealth as well as the nation's manhood, in the next war. And this is but a hypocritical device to justify such conscription of manhood. It should be thoroughly understood that while the owners of wealth hold political power—as they now do—there will be no conscription of wealth. The war-mongers—partners of the bond-holders, in every war—backed by a political government of their own choosing, will be sure to so arrange matters that they shall suffer no loss whatever as a consequence of any war promoted in their interests. Let nobody be deceived by this suggestion coming from the war-makers, that they intend to conscript property and funds in the next war. They use this propaganda merely to help allay the fears of those farmers and industrial workers who will furnish the human bodies to be destroyed in the coming war, and who will pay taxes to support that war.

What Must We Do?

There is only one thing to be done by the farmers and industrial workers in the United States, to guard against this fast-coming danger. Fight war, from every platform! Never let an opportunity pass to explain to the people how this war is to be brought on, for whose benefit it is to be fought, and who is to be called upon to do the fighting. Let the war-makers be told, straight to their teeth—from every platform and through every untrammelled publication—that the time has come when we will give no more money and no more men for the support of Mr. Morgan's wars of profit. Let Morgan and his bribed henchmen in Washington, and in all parts of this country, take notice that they will not be permitted to bring on another war, without the united opposition of the farmers and the industrial workers.

War Against War!

Let us start the fight at once, and make it so hot that Morgan and his henchmen will understand that at the first attempt to use the taxing capacity and the manhood of the United States in an effort to collect interest for them, or to protect their stolen concessions in foreign lands, this attempt will be met by immediate counter-war upon them. Let them understand, finally, that they will be held responsible for any attempt made to embroil the people of the United States in a war whose purpose is to collect their foreign debts or to furnish protection for their loot in foreign lands.

Calles Is President

(By Federated Press)

WASHINGTON.—General Calles is elected president of Mexico, according to Louis N. Morones, of the Mexican Federation of Labor, who has telegraphed here a statement that labor elected Calles by an overwhelming majority, and that it also elected all of its candidates for the house and a majority in the senate. The national election was July 6.

(Morones is the Gompers of Mexico; and Calles is Mexico's LaFollette.—Ed.)

Won't Give Up Their Arms

(By Federated Press)

MEXICO CITY.—Because many peasants who had been armed during the last revolution, are using their arms for the appropriation of land, the Mexican war department intends to disarm all peasants at once. From the rich landowners hundreds of complaints are urging more rapid disarmament.

From all the peasant organizations protests are coming against this order to disarm. These complain that after the arms have been taken away they will be unable to defend the land which belongs to them. Hostility to disarmament has assumed concrete shape in Hidalgo. There the peasants have organized to defend their arms even at the cost of their lives.

While the tax-payers are filling the nether heavens with raucous racket about the cost of nearly everything else, we do not hear much about the cost of administering justice—or what now passes for justice. And this cost is piling up, at an airplane rate of progression.

Fake Prosperity Junkets

(By Federated Press)

MINNEAPOLIS.—Faced by bankruptcy of farmers and collapse of bankers throughout the northwest, big business induced Louis Hill, son of the late James J. Hill, to head an Are-We-Downhearted expedition of 25 editors and reporters of financial and other subservient journals from the east.

The explorers have returned from their trip to the Pacific. They found that the depression has its compensations. The Cincinnati Times-Star man found, for example, that thousands of acres in North Dakota are purchasable "at a reasonable price." Another editor discovered that the depression has "been a lesson." A Boston scribe had little to say about the farmers but thought Tacoma, Seattle and other towns were a revelation.

Two days of the prosperity hike were spent in Glacier national park where they pursued their investigation by being initiated into the Blackfoot, Indian tribe.

Their-unanimous vote, as Louis Hill might have predicted before he organized the booster expedition, is that the northwest is not busted. Federal statistics in bankruptcy proceedings don't count.

"PATRIOTISM"—AND ORGANIZED LABOR

When this country entered the World War, the American Federation of Labor became quite militaristic and effectively supported all war measures and projects.

But now that the brutal capitalistic character of that undertaking has been fully disclosed, all labor organizations should be in the fore-front of the movement to prevent a repetition of such a monstrous struggle of worker against worker.

The fact having been proved that the World War was but a conflict of capitalistic interests, all organized labor should throw its influence and power on the side of the anti-war movement now in process of formation. Capitalistic militarism—which is exclusively for imperialistic purposes—should be combatted by Labor just as strenuously as it fights industrial despotism. And as the first move in this direction, a general warning should be given by the labor organizations to the profiteers and patrioteers, that no more such wars will be waged by the workers for the benefit of the exploiters of Labor.

"Safe and Sane"

The next war started by the plutocracy, "to end war and make the world safe for Democracy," will be a complete success—because when that war ends there won't be any plutocracy left.

The Wars of the Roses made way with a whole lot of royal rottenness—but, unfortunately, not all of it. This time, a better job will be done. The Houses of Rockefeller, Rothschild, Morgan, Locheur, Vickers and Stinnes, after the coming war will have followed the Houses of Hohenzollern, Hapsburg and Romanoff, to "where the woodbine twineth." And the "common people" will be IT, from Greenland's icy mountains to India's coral strand—and then some. Let 'em start it!

The education of an "industrial prince" should include lessons in plumbing or something. You never can tell.

Senator Edge says that the quality of Senators is now at the lowest ebb in history; but he will have to admit that the quantity never was at higher flow.

We are all first aids to the Chicago packing-house industry. Last year eighteen billions pounds of meat were consumed in this country.

Without the economic power attained by industrial organization, no political success of the workers will be a permanent victory.

The industrial system of Capitalism has chiefly succeeded in the manufacture of poverty for the working class.

WHERE ARE THOSE "DAIRY-COW PROFITS?"

By William H. Green

The Nebraska daily papers have been heralding the glad tidings that the President of the Union Pacific Railroad has discovered a remedy for all the ills that oppress the farmers in this section of the country—one which will bring for them the millennium.

Milk Production Increased

"Buy more dairy cows," became the slogan spread by all the stool-pigeons for the centralized interests. But recently, over three hundred dairymen of this section met in the Douglas County court-house to protest against producing milk for less money per hundredweight than they had received for it when they were renting pasture lands from the Indians. Just another evidence that this virulent trust policy, which became a menace to the key industries twenty years ago, is cracking under the weight of its injustice.

Farmers' Price Lessened

The dairyman now gets three cents per quart for milk—and the consumer pays eleven cents a quart. "It's the service," declares the distributor. The problem of distribution threatens American industry with national bankruptcy.

The dairy-farmer cannot obtain enough, net, at three cents per quart for milk, to even pay the taxes on the pasture land used. And the wage-worker consumer of milk, where there is a numerous family of children, finds that milk is a luxury instead of the staff of life. Therefore, the consumption of milk is reduced.

Only Middlemen Profit

Secretary of Agriculture Wallace made these distributors a present of \$40,000,000—at the consumers' expense—when he permitted those centralizers to pump three per cent more water into the butter-fat. And the farmer is still looking for his profits.

"Them Days Are Gone!"

In an editorial headed "Railroad Profits and Prosperity," the Chicago "Tribune" says:

"Farmers and workers of all vocations, who are being exhorted by radicals to support more restrictive legislation against the railroads, would do well to ponder the report of the Illinois Central Railroad Company."

And really this might not be a bad idea—if that report were in the hands of the farmers, to ponder upon. But it isn't—except in so far as the capitalist-owned newspapers undertake to "interpret" the report, for the farmers' enlightenment. And it is not likely, that the farmers will call for copies of this report. Because they have become rather more than suspicious of such reports by railroad companies. Also of other public documents issued for the alleged enlightenment of the working class.

It Pays—They Say

Collier's Weekly has been throwing a love-your-neighbor fit, like this:

"A bank in Springfield, Mo., was threatened with a 'run'. It was necessary to get a supply of currency immediately. Airplanes were used to bring \$400,000 from St. Louis and \$100,000 from Kansas City. That is interesting. It is also interesting that the \$100,000 secured after bank-closing hours in Kansas City was furnished by two theatres, the Union Station, and a restaurant.

"Not only are we learning that it is good citizenship to be the friendly Samaritan—we are learning that it is good business."

The expropriators are the capitalists. It is they will confiscate the property of all the toiling classes—wage workers, small producers, working farmers alike.

To cease to fear our fellows and learn to depend on them, to do away with competition and build up co-operation, is our one necessary watch your experiments. **FEW your subscription**

Patent Medicine for the Farmer: Diversification, Credit, Co-operation

(By HAROLD M. WARE.)

Pick up any paper, journal, magazine or financial report and you are sure to find some reference to the "Farm Crisis" or "Farm Revolt" or that Agriculture is a "sick" industry. And just as certainly you will find a pet remedy proposed. Of all the pet patent remedies now advocated Credit, Diversification and Co-operation lead the field.

It is really too bad that all the old economists have left no definite sign posts to guide the farm doctors thru the Agrarian wilderness. True, Marx did foresee this little difficulty; and gently, and perhaps too generally treated the patient of the future. If a poor Farmer may "steal his stuff" I want to point out that it is not Agriculture but Capitalism that is ill.

We have had no general drought, and our scientific work, our Agricultural Extension are models for the world. We have literally learned to make two blades of grain grow where only one grew before. Modern tractors and machinery are in operation all over the U. S. And the American farmer leads all others in production per man. Yet the farmer is admittedly BANKRUPT!

Capitalism's Problems.

If you want a close-up, or rather an X-Ray, of this apparent contradictions, get out to the wheat country. There is the Farmer. He is still on the job, evidently because he has no other place to be and because his small town Banker doesn't dare foreclose. In the small town sits the Banker; far sadder than the farmer, waiting to learn his fate from the Big Banker back in St. Paul or Minneapolis. And these bigger bankers also wait the commands of the Powers that Be in Wall St.

It is a tremendous problem. The whole structure of Capitalist organization depends upon its correct solution. How can the city worker and the farmer be kept apart? How can crop foods be taken from the farmer who knows his farm tenure is—after all—a Gold Brick? American Capitalism has builded upon a deluded, unorganized farm class and used them in its struggle against the city worker.

In the past the high "American standard of living" among the industrial and city populations, has been maintained by the payment of high wages without hurting the profits of the Powers that Be. To understand this clearly, you must see them, standing these two great masses of workers. On one side the industrial workers, each one paid a definite wage for a definite days work. A system dictated by the nature of centralized production and constant struggle on the part of organized workers united by daily contact and work in common.

On the other side of The Powers that Be, stand the working farmers. The traditional family farm unit, isolated, unorganized, operated by the unpaid labor of the family. The small food factory, multiplied by millions, has persisted while all other industries grow into larger and larger combinations. By building up an ideology of The Family Farm as an objective; the Powers that Be stimulated the illusion that financial independence could be won by breaking all the economic laws of Capitalism; i. e. by telling John Farmer that he could somehow do better by standing still, while all other industries progressed by organization.

Being unorganized and isolated not only from the city worker by distance and insidious propaganda of the Press, the farmer was also isolated from other farmers by smaller distances and by a greater individualism carefully idealized by politician and pulpit.

Thus they were led to produce food-stuffs below a true social cost of production. Or, in other words, they were forced to sell their products to the Powers that Be, at prices that not only did not account for the family labor but which also forced the farmer to draw upon every resource at his command.

It is a damning indictment of Capitalism and a pathetic history of faith in an ideal, which records the farmer's struggle. He has put untiring labor, free land, modern machinery, science and last of all, his Land mortgage into the fight for his illusion. He has lost both the fight and his illusion. He is Bankrupt; but not beaten. True only 29 percent of the American farmers are "Free" and independent of capitalist control. 30 percent are either managers, tenants or mortgaged owners subject to the capitalist interests that have slowly but surely absorbed their equity in the land. But, remember, those farmers are still ON THE LAND. They are demanding "Moratoriums"—and some, even "Cancellation of debts."

Medicine Men.

So you see it is the Boys back in Wall St. that need your sympathy more than John Farmer. What makes the latter "sick," is the puerile Bunk of the petty go-between who peddle such "Remedies" in the name of the "domestic" capitalism, by the mercy of the middle class, "chinery," h.

by such tactics; but John Farmer, who holds the land, and the Financial Gentlemen who hold the title to the land, know better.

If the Powers that be should decide upon eviction, they will meet actual physical resistance as well as the political revolt, which already confronts them. If they do nothing and try to make a virtue of their indecision, by telling the farmer they are his friends and wouldn't foreclose for the world; then they will have set up an unwritten law of possession, that no subsequent decision could change. If they grant the radical demands, which by the way are the only real solution, then they have actually broken down the very Laws of Capitalism and set up precedents that would lead swiftly to a general breakdown of their power. And to these powerful gentlemen are sad indeed. It must make them sadder still to be forced to continue the old game of deception. They have no solution—and so they hopefully offer for John Farmers consumption the patent medicines labeled: Credit, Diversification, Co-operation.

It is undoubtedly true that there is a sucker born every minute. But you can't fool all the people all of the time. Every election brings hordes of politicians, who have miraculously become "Farmers' Friends." They tell us that we are the "Backbone of the Nation." Well, its about time we stopped getting the lower end of that "backbone" kicked. It is about time that we faced the realities of our economic position and power.

Land Psychology.

After all, it takes a farmer to farm. There is an universal Land Psychology that binds all farmers together. Whether he is a Mexican peon, a Russian peasant or an American farmer—he work the land and he wants it! - It spells "home" and the work he loves. He gets a kick out of matching things grow. The smell of the first brown furrows in Spring is like wine to his wintered soul. The freshly mowed clover hay that perfumes the whole barn pays dividends in satisfaction if not in dollar. The hard necessities of his struggle against the forces of nature and the artificial man-made handicaps, has forged iron as well as poetry in his character. Such men can fight.

For the first time in American history the American farmer is literally fighting for his land. General history records that whenever farmers fight for land—THEY WIN!

Page "American Defense Society"

Referring especially to the Mellon plan which would have cut the taxes of the rich, a writer by the name of Guy M. Walker, in the Wall Street Journal, let his "radical" ideas run away with him, to the following effect:

"If they do not give us economic tax reduction at once, it is time for the Vigilantes to start for Washington. Surely, there is somewhere in America a Mussolini to lead the American 'blackshirts' to Washington."

But as the Wall Street Journal is not on the official list of "red propaganda" publications, it is not likely that the United States Department of Justice will ever "investigate" this "reasonable" Walker guy.

Another "Friend of Labor"

Mayor W. W. Campuell, of Schenectady, N. Y., was elected to office by the union votes in that town, as a reward for his alleged friendship to Labor. The mayor proceeded to discharge a union machinist employe of the city, and the Schenectady Trades Assembly unanimously passed a resolution of protest. All machinists employed by that city are now non-union. The business agent of the machinists' union was one of the principal supporters of Mayor Campbell.

And having thus rewarded their friend, it is now up to these non-partisan political action unionists to punish their enemy—the mayor they rewarded by electing.

A Dirty Deal

Although doubtless with no intention of advocating "the ground for its users," the Wall Street Journal finds space for this story:

A Westerner, sojourning temporarily in New York City, received from a friend in his home town some native plant bulbs, and he set out to buy a flower-pot for them. The city florist said it would cost 25 cents.

"That's all right," said the Westerner—"and put in a little good loan for the bulbs." The package was presented, at 75 cents. "But you said a quarter!"—the Westerner little acted.

"Yes, for the flower-pot," answered the florist—"but the earth costs 50 cents more."

Farmer-Labor Exchange in Successful Operation

Chicago's Farmer-Labor Exchange, with headquarters at 166 W. Washington street, is fast becoming invaluable to the organized city workers as a central clearing house for co-operative trading. This Exchange sells farmers' products to city consumers and trade union label goods to organized farmers. Its operations now stretch from coast to coast. Car loads of honey from Idaho, potatoes from Minnesota, eggs and poultry from Iowa, oranges, green peas, egg plant, and green peppers from Florida, water-melons from Arkansas—all these and other farm-grown foods have been handled since the first organization of the exchange.

Tabulate Labor Spies

(By Federated Press)

CHICAGO.—A pamphlet with practical information on spies in the labor movement with names and records is being prepared by the Labor Defense council, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, the body which has promoted the legal defense of labor radicals arrested in the Michigan red raids of 1922. Photographs of the spies, the organizations—they have victimized and the corporations they work for will be published.

Information on these matters is welcomed by the council.

Shall It Be Again?

GENEVA, Switzerland.—Almost ten million soldiers were wounded or disabled during the World War, according to statistics published by the International Labor Office. Arranged according to countries, the figures stand as follows:

Germany, 1,537,000; France, 1,500,000; Great Britain, 900,000; Italy, 800,000; Russia, 775,000; Poland, 300,000.

Labor

Out of chaos, from the murk,
I arose and did my work,
While the ages changed and sped
I was toiling for my bread,
Underneath my sturdy blows,
Forests fell and cities rose,
And the hard, reluctant soil
Blossomed richly from my toil,
Palaces and temples grand
Wrought I with my cunning hand,
Rich indeed was my reward,
Stunted soul, and body scarred
With the marks of scourge and rod,
I, the tiller of the soil,
From the cradle to the grave
Shambled through the world—a slave!
Crushed and trampled, beaten, cursed,
Serving best, but served the worst,
Starved and cheated, gouged and spoiled,
Still I builded, still I toiled,
Undernourished, underpaid,
In the world myself had made.

Up from slavery I rise,
Dreams and wonder in my eyes,
After brutal ages past,
Coming to my own at last,
I was slave—but I am free!
I was blind—but I can see!
I the builder—I, the maker,
I the calm tradition-breaker,
Slave and serf and clod no longer,
Know my strength—and who is stronger,
I am done with ancient frauds,
Ancient lies and ancient gods—
All the sham is overthrown,
I shall take and keep my own,
Unimpassioned, unafraid,
Master of the world I've made.

—Berton Braley.

"Normalcy"

The normal condition of things in a capitalist society is necessarily a condition of open or concealed struggle between wage-earners and wage-payers. And that must remain the normal condition, so long as classes exist in society.

WHY FARM CHILDREN LEAVE HOME

By ROSA LADDON

Federated Press Staff Correspondent.

WASHINGTON.—Gentle spring as a season when thousands of country children enter upon a period of toil which lasts almost until Christmas, is a picture of the vernal season depicted in a radio broadcast released by the U. S. children's bureau.

To the city dweller spring means relief from coal bills, longer evenings for outdoor recreation and other pleasant things. The city child turns to marbles, early baseball and plans for summer holidays.

"But country children are not looking forward to a vacation of play and freedom," we are told. "The rural districts which have the long school vacations are generally those in which the labor of children is considered more necessary than their education."

The school term is as brief as three months out of the year in certain cotton-growing districts; and the average school term is only five months for colored children, and for white six to seven months.

Spring and child labor in the fields begin in February in the cotton districts. In the plowing, planting, cultivating and harvesting the little ones take a tedious and wasting part. Early crops begin to ripen before the latest ones are planted. "Corn picking comes in August, and at the same time the beginning of the long cotton-picking season, lasting till November or December, with no thought of school till the cotton is harvested."

CHILD SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES

(By The Federated Press)

WASHINGTON.—Thousands of school children work at home after school hours on factory products to add their mite to the family income, says the Children's Bureau.

In three cities where the bureau recently made studies it was found that more than 5,000 children were doing industrial home work. More than 86 percent of those included in the survey were under 14 and over 45 per cent under 11. Many were found who were only 6 years old.

Their labor was not only for an hour or so after school. The majority of these small breadwinners, including three-fourths of the 6-year-olds, worked evenings, their eyes heavy with sleep, and after until far into the night. Some of these little economic slaves were not free from their work even during school hours. Teachers told the bureau's agents that they had pupils of tender age who brought to school snaps to card or beads to string during recess.

The bureau told these facts in a radio broadcast of the jobs of vacation time for boys and girls who have the luck to have parents who can afford to take them to the seashore or the mountains or on long motor trips.

"Perhaps, the train or auto will carry the vacation party through the anthracite coal district of Pennsylvania and they may get a glimpse of the trapper boys as they emerge from their underground work in the mines or of other 13 and 14 year old children who have become full time wage earners in the coal mining districts, or, if the train is in early summer through Michigan and Colorado or through a number of other states, the vacationers will see eight and ten year old children at work thinning and blocking or hoeing beets. Cramped legs and aching back are the lot of these childworkers who sometimes are even too tired to eat at night.

"Then there are the boys and girls in the cotton mills and fields of the south, on the truckfarms in the east, the berry pickers and the youngsters on the farms in the middle west."

Twice as many children, 14 to 16 years of age, are applying for permits to work this summer, as last year. Increased cost of living is given by the school officers as a probable explanation of the situation.

The permits are granted for employment in occupations not considered as extra hazardous. To obtain them, children are required to go personally before the board of education and submit evidence of their age.

Permits issued here in June, 1922, totaled 1,400. The total this month will be at least 3,000. For the eight months of the school year of 1922-23, the total was 11,124, compared with 5,620 during the corresponding months of the preceding year.

A survey shows that in most cases the father's wage is inadequate to maintain the home.

The Worker Children

Fragile little bodies bending over blouse and gown,
Threading beads, with fevered fingers, swiftly up and down;
Sewing endless silken seams,
Weaving all their childhood dreams
Into dainty garments wrought with strands of silken thread,
In the loathsome work-room where childish hopes lie dead—
Their childish hopes lie dead.

Shrunken bodies, frail and weary, faces dull with care;
Little children, sick and pallid, toiling everywhere;

In the basement of their home
Fluting ruffles white as foam,
Binding, braiding, cutting, sewing, through the endless day;
Knowing not that youth is play-time—they who cannot play—
They who cannot ever play.

Children fashioning bright flowers, children racked with pain—
They who never saw the blooms in a country lane;

Wasted little bodies spent,
Toiling in the tenement,
In the basement sweat-shop pasting flower-petals gay,—
Flowers hinting of the Spring that never comes their way—
That never comes their way.

O, little toiling children, what are your poor day-dreams?
Are they of the countryside, of birds and crystal streams?

Do you ever dream of play—
You who toil from day to day?
Of happy children's birthright of sunshine and fresh air?

Poor little, wretched children! Are there none who care —
Are there none who care?

Child Labor in Sweatshops

(By The Federated Press)

NEW YORK.—Child labor in tenement sweatshops of New York and other eastern cities has reached proportions far more serious than in factories, according to Owen R. Lovejoy, general secretary, National Child Labor committee. The sweatshop conditions of 20 years ago, which were somewhat abated because of publicity given them at that time, have gradually been returning, and in a form more revolting than ever. Thousands of boys and girls, many of them scarcely old enough to go to school, are being driven by the low-wages paid their parents to toil for contractors who in turn deal with big wholesalers. The largest industry which derives its products from this sort of child labor is the powder puff trade.

These children work in the morning before school, and in the afternoon and at night after school hours, in filthy, ill ventilated, dingy rooms. No state or union inspection reaches them.

Conditions existing in New Jersey, described recently by this service, have spread to practically every large city in the east, Lovejoy declares. He said that while the New Jersey department of Labor has been making vigorous efforts to expose and destroy the evil, the public has shown so little interest that the labor department has been unable to get funds enough to do the work.

MORE AMERICAN "PROSPERITY"

NEW YORK CITY.—Health conditions are worse, especially among children, in the country districts of America than in the cities, according to the annual report of scientists of the Rockefeller Foundation.

That nationwide bankruptcy among farmers and the rapid increase of tenantry, prevents the rural population from improving sanitation, the report does not state. Ignorance is put forward as the chief cause.

We Pause to Inquire

The Wall Street Journal states authoritatively that the per capita wealth of this country is \$3,100.30. And we have got our 30 cent all right—but would like to know where is the \$3,100?

FARMER-LABOR INFORMATION

Farmers have to pay taxes, so do wage earners, whether they have a net income or a gross deficit, Secretary of Agriculture Wallace in his report for 1923 says:

"Our investigations lead us to estimate the property taxes and interest combined paid by agriculture in the year 1920 at about \$1,457,000,000, in 1921 at \$1,684,000,000, and in 1922 at \$1,749,000,000. In 1922 the value of the wheat, oats and tobacco crops, and one-half of the potato crop were required to pay taxes and interest very high in price, taxes and interest charges were equivalent to the entire value of the cotton crop, plus two-thirds of the wheat crop.

Day by day for the last three years a vast army of 1,200,000 men, women and children have been on the march from the farms of the country to the towns and cities in the hope of finding a livelihood which their industry could no longer bring them from the land. These dismal figures are found in official reports of the department of agriculture.

This annual exodus—equalling the population of the state of Nebraska—has been the result of the low prices of agricultural products and the high cost of everything else. Statistics gathered by the department of agriculture indicate that in the last three years the number of persons affected by bankruptcies among farmers has been about 2,700,000. All of these have lost their homes on farms through foreclosure or voluntary abandonment of their property, to creditors.

What the fate of these men, women and children has been in the towns and cities where they sought better conditions is not revealed. There is reason to believe, however, that they have not improved their situation. Meantime, this migration from the land is a threat to adequate production of staple foodstuffs, and an immediate detriment to all kinds of business which depend on the prosperity of agricultural producers. The record number of failures of banks and mercantile concerns in the last three years—particularly in the agrarian districts—discloses how this distress and poverty, among farmers has reacted on other industries and enterprises.

It is almost three years since the Republican "farmers tariff" was enacted. It is more than 18 months since the passage of the Fordney-McCumber tariff. During all the time that has intervened since this "protection" was given to agriculture, the lot of the farmer has grown steadily worse. The prices of his produce have persistently declined, while the cost of supplies that he has had to buy from others has either risen or remained at high levels.

That is why an average of 2,300 persons have left the land every day for more than two years to swell the population of towns and cities.

Bryan Said It!

William Jennings Bryan, in the grape-juicy flow of eloquence with which he at intervals deluged the Democratic convention, set forth one interesting truth, anyway. "The burglars steal \$65,000,000 a year in this country," averred Bryan, "and the pickpockets nearly as much; but the swindlers take two thousand millions, ten times as much as the amount stolen by all the thieves now in prison." Mr. Bryan neglected to mention, however, that none of these swindlers mentioned in connection with the late Congressional investigation have been imprisoned.

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Farmer-LaborForum

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 hundreds 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.)

To the Farmer-Labor Forum:

A generation ago it was the prevailing sentiment that land holdings at this time would be of a small scale. The reverse is the case, there has been a concentration of holdings. Machine production is the cause, the larger and more powerful the machinery the larger became the holdings. The owners of many half sections are enabled to do all of the work excepting harvesting. We have even seen Big Bend bonanza farmers after finishing spring seeding, load their horses and machinery on cars and put in another seeding in Canada. The latter country proves what farming with machinery means. Canada has a population of nine millions, a large part of same live in towns, many are under or over the work age; thousands are engaged in mining, lumbering, fishing and railroading, yet the remaining people produced 460,000,000 bushels of wheat. The possibilities for expansion are great and inviting. The farmers of South America and Australia are as far advanced in machine farming as the farmers of the north.

Prior to the war Russian wheat was a great factor on the world's market. But the possibilities of the future may be beyond our comprehension. The revolution found this country disorganized and torn by war. The owners of Russia had with a purpose kept the peasants ignorant, religious and drunk. They had to give four-fifths of the production to the poterie which laid claim to Russia. They were allowed only enough land in order that they should have a mere existence, for prosperity would cause a desire for education and an educated proletariat spells the doom of exploiters' rule.

The revolution freed the people from the exactions of the landlords. The land today belongs to the man who use it. He is no longer compelled to hand over the largest part of his production to those who laid claim to that which nature gave to all. Production under these circumstances will be encouraged to an extent that machinery will be used as in other lands. The results will be in Russia as in other countries, viz: an expansion of farming areas and mass production. Russia has again offered wheat on the world's market in spite of all adversities.

When the world war was ended other nations were enabled to give all time and efforts in order to offset the effects of the war. Russia had not this opportunity, her young men had to remain under arms in order to protect the country against the onslaught of a number of nations who meant to frustrate the revolution. Then followed adverse climatic conditions with the consequent disastrous famine.

The Russian farmer is no longer kept drunk, he is no longer illiterate. The school master was an important adjunct to the army of the revolution, schools also were established for adults in rural districts. Today 60 per cent of the Russian people are able to read. Everything is the reverse of what it was under the czarist and granddukes' rule.

Hungary also deposed its large land owners and the land is in the hands of actual users. It is estimated that a moderately improved Hungary is enabled to supply the wheat deficiencies of Europe. This new competition on the world's market will demand great readjustments on the part of other nations. Farming like other machine using industries will find a narrowing world's market.

The intellectuals of Russia see the full import of Russia's machine produced wheat. They see the dawn of a better day and greet it with the slogan: "The German steam hammer and Russian wheat will transform the world from a disorganized capitalism into an organized and scientific co-operative society." The American farmer will soon face conditions which will demand different remedies than an export bonus or a \$50,000,000 loan. If he does not adjust himself in an economic way to these prospective conditions, then he will take the place formerly occupied by the Russian peasant. The time is past when he could liberate himself by work. It is time that the farmer's brain should become productive and be fallow no longer. Not the sophistries of corrupt politicians, but an education on economic conditions, a "domestic" machinery, at the mercy of the middle class, h...



"GIT!"

Editor, Farmer-Labor Voice:

"Diversify" is the principal slogan of the "farmers' friends," these days. But there is not a single farm product in the United States that is not said to be "suffering from over-production"—which in 99 cases out of a hundred, means under-consumption through inability to purchase. In nearly all the big industrial centers the people are paying hold-up prices for fruits, vegetables, bread, etc., while the farmers, from one end of the country to the other, are going bankrupt because the prices they receive are below the cost of production.

The farmers are forbidden by ordinance from delivering their products to customers within city limits. But they are permitted to ship to the commission-sharks, by paying freight, dockage and haulage. And as what the farmers thus get for their products is practically nothing, this is a clear exposition of the term "farming the farmer." On the other hand, it isn't much of a recommendation for the "diversified farming" argument.

Five thousand boxes of extra choice Washington apples (from the Yakima Valley) were auctioned off last fall at 41 cents a box; and these are now being sold here by retailers at 5 cents for each apple—the number of apples in a box being about 120.—JAMES BILLINGS, Seattle, Wash.

"Out-door Sports"

Invitations have recently been sent out for President Coolidge's "outdoor recreation conference"—which will probably seek to determine whether field-plowing is a sport or just plain work.

Thinks He's Thinking

"After all, where would the farmer be if he were not able to sell his products in the city and metropolitan areas of large population?" solemnly inquires President Coolidge, in a characteristically feeble effort to justify tariff robbery.

The slavery of our times results from three sets of laws—those about land, taxes and property. —Tolstoi.

Great is the art of the capitalist propagandist—and his most noble achievement is to persuade the workers and the consuming public to love the chains they wear. Quite appropriately, the chief exponent of this artful art is Art Brisbane.

In California, "the Beautiful—and Damned"—last year a thousand mortgaged farmers were driven from their homes, in Sacramento County alone—and that is the richest county in the state. Also a recent industrial investigation shows that there are in the state more than 150,000 child wage-slaves for the age of thirteen.

Federated Press Jingles

By BILL LLOYD

I see some Meth'dist in the east got somewhat het at a lovefeast, debating whether not 'twuz right to send their young men off to fight.

I think perhaps in these peace calms their consciences was having qualms, because they sprung so many gags and blessed so many service flags when Wilson called 'em all to be the heralds of democracy. I think their consciences should twitch and make 'em scratch their weak souls' itch.

One man, who teaches in a school, sed he was gonts make a rule that he would rather go to jail before agen he'd ever fail by sending school boys off to fight. That man has surely saw the light.

But Bishop Wilson wuz on guard to shoo peace-makers off the yard. He got the resolution altered, so that it sed in words that faltered, that church and preachers should oppose all tricks to lead 'em by the nose on the offensive; 'twuz different with the wars DEFENSIVE.

When preachers' minds has grown so strong that like Gene Debs they think war wrong, and like old Gene they go to jail before their consciences they fail, when at the risk of losing dough they tell the youths they should not go to shoot their fellows in the guts because some statemen has gone nuts, when they give up campaigns of hate, I'll drop a nickle in the plate.

Perhaps. The people of all nations will turn against war, only when they see how war turns against them.

Between the government which does evil and the people who accept it, there is a certain shameful solidarity.—VICTOR HUGO.

It still remains unrecognized that to bring a child into existence without a fair prospect of being able to provide not only food for its body but instruction and training for its mind, is a moral crime both against the unfortunate offspring and against society. —John Stuart Mill.

The Lis-town Humorist says: "Retail merchants who join the open-shop plutocrats in their war on the farmers and industrial workers remind me of the man who climbed out on a tree-krab, sawed it off—and then was surprised because he got all busted up." And it sure does look thataway, now, doesn't it?



"GIT!"