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# FARMER-LABOR VOICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF FEDERATED FARMER-LABOR PARTY

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## REPRESENTATION IN ST. PAUL CONVENTION

The June 17th national convention of the Farmer-Labor movement will name candidates for President and Vice-President, on a definite voting basis. The vote apportionment for each State is as follows:

State	Votes
Alabama	15
Arizona	3
Arkansas	10
California	23
Colorado	8
Connecticut	3
Delaware	3
Florida	7
Georgia	14
Idaho	12
Illinois	53
Indiana	18
Iowa	63
Kansas	12
Kentucky	14
Louisiana	10
Maine	6
Maryland	9
Massachusetts	23
Michigan	60
Minnesota	77
Mississippi	10
Missouri	23
Montana	15
Nebraska	35
Nevada	4
New Hampshire	4
New Jersey	21
New Mexico	4
New York	72
North Carolina	12
North Dakota	21
Ohio	36
Oklahoma	37
Oregon	7
Pennsylvania	71
Rhode Island	6
South Carolina	9
South Dakota	14
Tennessee	12
Texas	22
Utah	5
Vermont	4
Virginia	12
Washington	26
West Virginia	9
Wisconsin	43
Wyoming	3

### Basin of Representation

(1) Each state shall be allowed votes equal to its electoral vote, plus one one for each five thousand votes or major fraction thereof cast for the progressive candidate receiving the highest number of votes in the 1922 general election. Any state delegation failing to agree, the total vote of such state shall be apportioned equally among the delegates from the state.

(2) Each national political organization shall be entitled to five votes; each national economic organization shall be entitled to five votes, provided such organization shall have subscribed to the fundamental principles upon which the call for the convention is based.

**Apportionment of Delegates to the Convention**

(1) Each state federation, central body, and local organization of labor, farmers, business or professional men shall be entitled to one delegate. Also any group of twenty-five or more farmers, not represented through another organization from the same territory, affixing their signatures and addresses to a credential indicating their agreement with the political demands enumerated in the Convention Call, shall be entitled to one delegate.

(2) Each state political organization having legal standing shall be entitled to five delegates; where no legal standing exists, a state political organization shall have but one delegate.

## FORMATION OF OHIO STATE PARTY

COLUMBUS, O.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.) Quietly and without ostentation, the Ohio State Farmer-Labor Party came into existence, in a convention held here on June 7th and 9th, with delegates representing 43 unions throughout the State.

Seven delegates were elected to attend the Farmer-Labor convention in St. Paul on June 17th. And the State Farmer-Labor ticket nominated for the November elections named Scott Wilkins, of Lima, as candidate for Governor; and Mary D. Brite, of Cincinnati, as Lieutenant-Governor. The State Executive Committee was empowered to select candidates for offices remaining vacant.

## CINCINNATI ORGANIZES FEDERATED F.-L. P.

CINCINNATI, O.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.) A local organization of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party has been formed in Cincinnati, with A. J. Feldhaus as Secretary.

Three delegates were elected to attend the State Convention at Columbus on June 7th—8th, as follows: Mary D. Brite, Jos. A. Hearing, and A. J. Feldhaus.

The next meeting of this local will be held after the June 17th convention in St. Paul, so that the State delegates to that meeting may then render their reports. And at the same time, the Committee on Constitution and By-Laws will present its report.

## THE CALIFORNIA FARMER-LABOR PARTY

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.)—The newly formed California Farmer-Labor Party has elected delegates to attend the St. Paul convention on June 17th. Among these delegates will be Anita Whitney, J. H. Ryckman and David German—the latter representing the organized electrical workers.

## TEAPOT DOME DISCLOSURES BLAST BOTH OLD PARTIES

By JOHN C. KENNEDY

One after another, would-be presidential candidates, members of cabinets and other prominent figures in the political and business world have been impaled on the sharp point of the Teapot Dome investigation. The old-party managers quickly recognized that a dangerous situation was developing for them and they promptly decided to save themselves and their machines by making scapegoats of Fall, Denby and half a dozen others if necessary. For them, the important matter is to keep in power and save the system of profit and plunder. If a few individuals must be sacrificed to satisfy the public—it's unfortunate but can't be helped.

New Falls and Daugherties can easily be found to replace the old—if the plunderbund can only keep in power.

**You Said It!**  
(By The Federated Press)  
"The platform will have to be largely evasive, or it will do Mr. Coolidge's candidacy more harm than good."—(Chicago Journal of Commerce, June 10, 1924.)

## NORTH DAKOTA STANDS FIRM

GARRISON, No. Dak., June 11.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.) With the exception of a few outstanding middle-class individuals, the rank and file of the Farmer-Labor movement here are not tightly bound to LaFollette or any other personality.

The farmers (most of them Leaguers) are all for the June 17th convention and a nationwide Farmer-Labor Party. At Belden, in Mountrail County, I talked personally with about forty farmers—and signed up thirty-five of them in the North Dakota Farmer-Labor Party. There was not a single turn-down, except for lack of money. Many of them had his stand in opposition to the St. Paul convention for LaFollette, and they commented upon that. But they signed up, and expressed the desire to see a great Farmer-Labor Party inaugurated.

It is evident that the influence of LaFollette among the farmers has waned quite considerably, and that with them a mass Farmer-Labor Party is expected to stand independently upon its own platform—with leaders whose ideas are all in conformance.

Alfred Knutson.

## PHILADELPHIA IS "THERE"

PHILADELPHIA, June 6.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.) The slanderous attacks by Senator LaFollette against the National Farmer-Labor convention will not prevent the delegates of the Philadelphia Farmer-Labor Party from going to the St. Paul meet. The statement issued by LaFollette is but an additional proof that the workers must place no confidence in any of the old political party leaders, no matter how "liberal" they may pretend to be.

Our delegates will go to St. Paul to fight for the organization of a class Farmer-Labor Party. And we are calling upon all labor organizations of Philadelphia to stand firm with the June 17th convention, and help to build up the Farmer-Labor Party here.

Executive Committee, Philadelphia Farmer-Labor Party.

Delegates to the St. Paul Convention:—  
Greeting !  
The Federated Farmer-Labor Party, composed of workers' and farmers' organizations numbering thousands of members, extends a hearty greeting to this June 17th convention.

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party, from its inception in the great Chicago convention last July, has carried on a militant campaign for the organization of new State Farmer-Labor Parties, and for the uniting of these with state parties already in existence.

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party has been represented in the various state conventions of the Farmer-Labor parties, particularly of the West and Northwest. And we have endeavored to help with our counsel and co-operation the work of these state parties. In addition we have sought and obtained the affiliation of local unions, fraternal and co-operative organizations, to the end that a great national Farmer-Labor Party may be organized.

With Fraternal Greetings,  
**FEDERATED FARMER-LABOR PARTY,**  
William Bouck,  
National Chairman,  
Joseph Manley,  
Member of the Chamber of Commerce  
San Jose.

whom it styles

### Taylor Tells It to Marsh

Under the caption of "Watch Your Political Step" (very appropriately capitalized!), and thru the Farmers' National Council Benjamin C. Marsh has been broadcasting the usual C. P. P. A. slander against the mass Farmer-Labor convention which at St. Paul on June 17, will launch the National Farmer-Labor Party.

And in the following Open Letter to Marsh, Senator Charles E. Taylor, of Montana, has very effectively met and dispersed that pernicious gas attack:

#### Taylor's Letter.

B. C. Marsh, Mgr.

Farmers' National Council,

My dear Marsh:

I read in your current publicity letter (which arrived a couple of days ago, under the head of "Watch Your Political Step," a repetition of the dirty political slander put out by the C. P. P. A. against the St. Paul convention of June 17th. You may imagine my surprise at this skulduggery at the instance of the Gompers machine.

You know and I know that the C. P. P. A. is a traitor gang; that they are an oil-smeared, McAdoo financed bunch of four-flushers who would restore the Wilson regime; that it is financed by the officialdom of the big labor unions; most of whom met in Chicago and endorsed McAdoo even after his connection with some of the dirtiest political activities ever recorded in the history of the United States. You know as well as I do, that the July 4th convention at Cleveland intends to and will betray the farmers and workers of this nation into the democratic camps, and that they will endorse McAdoo, and will do this under the pretense of progressivism. You know as well as I know that the C. P. P. A. does not intend to form a Farmer-Labor party, but rather they intend to slaughter the idea; that they will never nominate candidates. You know as well as I know that the C. P. P. A. represent the minority of the progressives, if that organization is progressive at all. You know as well as I do that they do not represent a corporals guard anywhere or any place. And you know as well as I know that there is not a single United States Senator or Congressman at Washington who is there because of the C. P. P. A., but that that organization is claiming credit which is not coming to it by a longshot and you know that all "Legitimate Farmer-Labor Organizations" are not invited to Cleveland; you know that the C. P. P. A. is so framed that it is controlled by a little clique of labor fakers, who always betray the workers in a show-down, and that it is so controlled in order to prevent the formation of a Farmer-Labor party which the people are crying for; that if the C. P. P. A. was anything but a bunch of fakers and traitors it would have participated in the St. Paul convention; that the reason that they did not participate in the St. Paul convention was to prevent the formation of the Farmer-Labor party; and that if the farmers and workers are not betrayed again into the hands of the exploiters it will be in spite of the C. P. P. A. and because of the St. Paul convention, which will show up just what you fellows are, to the rank an file. And that is what you are afraid of.

The fact is that you fellows are capitalists with progressive pie cards, you have not as much interest in the workers as the exploiters. For every word you say in behalf of them you utter two words of apology. If the workers wait on you and the C. P. P. A. until their problems are solved or any relief comes, they will be waiting for the next hundred years—yes, forever.

You know that your letter is a tissue of falsehood from start to finish; you know that you are doing the dirty work of the capitalists when you write and send out such an article.

The people of Montana are not paying any attention to the C. P. P. A. and its fake leaders; we know them out here; we are glad to get the numbers of you birds right now, so we can card index them for future reference—for the St. Paul convention on June 17th will show the world who are the true and who are the false, and it will start a mass Farmer-Labor party in spite of all of your efforts in behalf of the exploiters—and the C. P. P. A. will endorse its actions not because it wants to, but because it will have to—the St. Paul convention will have its thousand delegates where you may have ten.

I had thought that you, Marsh, was a sincere worker for the people, but now I know that you are a faker.

I am, sir, for a mass Farmer-Labor party, the St. Paul convention an fidelity to the cause of the workers on the farm and in the factory.

CHARLES E. TAYLOR,  
Editor of the Producers' News.

One economist says that the way to save is to make more than you spend. The workers own the means of production. Let us quote Secretary, of the Federated Farmer-Labor Union

### AND, BRO. BOUCK WANTS TO KNOW—

In conjunction with the warm letter of Senator Taylor to Marsh, the following pertinent questions asked of Marsh by President Bouck of the Western Progressive Farmers, should be of considerable interest at this time. Mr. Marsh has not yet answered them. Yet the questions were asked during last March when Brother Bouck, who is National Chairman of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, was "suspended again," as he nonchalantly put it—presumably for his connection with the really progressive Farmer-Labor movement.

"Who puts up the money for the Farmers' National Council now?"

"How much do farmers put up?"

"Is it not true that not one single farm organization of 100 members, in the whole United States, is paying dues into the Council?"

"Do you deny that organizations not of farmers are furnishing your Council with funds?"

"Is it not merely for purposes of propaganda that you retain the word 'Farmers' in the name of your National Council?"

"Who made the by-laws of the 'Farmers' National Council'?"

"Will you cite me to the provision in those by-laws, under which I have been suspended from the Council?"

"Is it not true that yours is now a 'paper organization'—quite 'pure and simple'?"

"And in conclusion, Mr. Marsh, let me say that I know where I am going, and am on the way; and I would rather be a part of a great working-class movement like the Federated Farmer-Labor Party than to be part of a pussyfooting organization such as that into which your 'Farmers' National Council' has degenerated."

"William Bouck."

### SORLIE BURIES THE N.-P. LEAGUE PROGRAM

GRAND FORKS, N. D.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.) A. G. Sorlie, non-Partisan League Candidate for Governor of North Dakota, has issued a statement to the effect that Leaguers if elected will develop only the state-owned mill and elevator at Grand Forks, and the Bank of North Dakota, and "will go no further with the industrial program, unless explicitly ordered to do so, by the vote of the people."

In the face of the League convention's platform reaffirming the original platform, for state-owned terminal elevators, flour mills, packing plants, etc., this statement is generally looked upon as a bid by Sorlie for the votes of opponents to the League and as just as close to a full repudiation of the N.-P. League platform as he and his advisors dared to go.

### LAUNCHING A GAS ATTACK

The Oil & Gas Journal, published weekly at Tulsa, Okla.—strictly in the interests of the oil profiteers—carries a full page editorial called "A Program of Action." And this is evidently not expected to meet the eyes of many farmers—as it very effectively lets the oily cat out of the bag.

For instance, it says in reference to the plan for "putting the story of the oil industry before the public:"

"The moment to get the story of oil to the people is when the people are talking about oil—while they are interested in it. The time to forestall political attacks is before they are launched, and not wait until we are forced into a position of defense and convicted before we can utter a word. . . ."

"The initial step is obvious, in the direct contact which the industry has with its 15,000,000 customers at the filling stations. . . . There should be no difficulty in arranging for the instruction of filling station agents.

"Even if it were necessary to add to the cost of gasoline, to get the facts of the business before the people—satisfying them of the justice of the industry's case—the public would be better contented than if the price were a cent less, and they were still disgruntled by tales of gouging and robbery. It is not what they pay, so much as what they are led to believe, that infuriates them. . . . It's human nature to feel aggrieved at the thought of being gouged."

### Figures Knock Koolidge Kold

By LELAND OLDS

(Federated Press Industrial Editor)

First admission of the Coolidge-for-President machine that 4 years of Republicanism have failed to develop industrial stability is found in Burton's keynote speech. The lofty attempts of Cal and his cabinet to persuade the jobless that there is no unemployment and no depression, appear to have been suspended. Burton's attempt to whitewash the Republican party merely reveals the fact that neither one of the major political machines has been able to meet the post-war issues squarely in such a way as to give wage-earner and farmer reasonable assurance of the steady chance to make a livelihood.

"The great mass of employes" said Burton "find their chief benefit in steady employment and those prosperous times which make high wages possible. If there is now a slackening of activity it is due to uncertainties in our domestic policies and to the unsettled state of Europe."

But why the uncertainties?? What has the Republican machine done in the direction of solving the domestic and foreign problem besetting farmers and producers of manufactured products? None except a passionate advocacy of untaxing the rich—which Wall Street now admits was non-essential.

During the last 12 months of the administration which Burton wants the farmers and workers to perpetuate, industrial activity has been declining, jobs getting scarcer, unemployment increasing and the purchasing power of the public decreasing.

After over three years of the present administration the farmers' dollar is only worth 76 cents, that is the farmers' products will only exchange for 76 per cent as much of the products of industry as before the war. And farmer legislation has been allowed to die.

To complete the picture of Republican prosperity suggested by Burton's keynote, it need only be added that June dividend payments will be \$64,840,000—an increase of 8 per cent over the payments in June 1923. "It's an ill wind that blows nobody good."

Final note—New York bankers admit that prosperity does not hang upon the Mellon tax program or upon winding up of Senate investigations, but upon major problems of tariff reduction and participation in international affairs—which the Republican and Democratic parties will sidestep.

### "A Head for Figures"

(From statement issued by Walter W. Head, president, American Bankers' Association.)

More than ten millions of our people are actively engaged in agriculture. They comprise 26.3 per cent of all persons over ten years of age engaged in a gainful occupation. Our farms represent more than one-fourth of our total national wealth. The value of our farm products in a single year is 40 per cent of that of our manufactured products—and the latter include many finished items which left the farm as raw material. Thirty-one per cent of all our exports in 1921, in terms of value, were food products of the farm.

### Flattery for the Farmers

"Classified among the movements doomed to failure because of natural reasons is the effort to align the farmer with union labor," says the Open Shop News, organ of the Merchants and Employers' Association of San Diego, and then quotes approving from the Michigan Business Farmer the following misleading information:

"The farmer, although a worker, is not a laborer or an employee. The farmer is a manufacturer and an employer. He is a capitalist, in that he owns his farm-factory and employs labor to make his business profitable. He must invest in raw material and sell it at a profit above his cost of manufacture for the market.

"In European countries, where the farmer is a peasant, who tills the soil for the benefit of the land owning aristocracy, there may be some reason for a union between the men who thus are laborers and the laborers who are employed in factories in which they own no interest.

"In America, thank God, we have today no such conditions and with a continuation of American ideals and proper co-operation of American institutions, we shall never have."

**Party or Coalition**

By C. E. RUTHENBERG,  
Executive Secretary, Workers Party

The question whether the June 17 convention shall merely form a coalition of various groups for the 1924 election campaign or whether it shall form a Farmer-Labor Party with a definite organizational program, is one of the important issues which will have to be threshed out at the convention.

The Workers Party believes that the June 17 convention should definitely organize a Farmer-Labor Party, not only for the 1924 election campaign, but for a continuous struggle in the interests of the farmers and workers against the capitalist parties and the capitalist system.

It believes that the overwhelming majority of delegates to the June 17 convention will make a similar demand.

**Coalition Limitations.**

An election coalition means that the convention will nominate candidates for president and vice-president and then elect a national campaign committee to carry on the campaign this year, without endeavoring to create on a nation-wide basis a party organization which will continue to exist after the election is over, ready to serve the workers and farmers in their future struggles.

To accept such a proposal means that there will be the great possibility that all the work, energy and enthusiasm that has been put into the June 17 convention will be lost. The Farmer-Labor Party cannot be expected to rise to victory in its first campaign. Very few, if any, political parties have ever come into existence which in their first fight have gone thru to victory. It is the long, persistent political struggle that finally wins results, and such a struggle can be carried on only by a definite party organization which not only fights during election campaigns, but carries on a year-round struggle in the interests of the class which it represents.

Those who hold the coalition viewpoint sometimes add that after the elections, another convention should be held at which the Farmer-Labor Party could be definitely organized. This would mean to sacrifice the best opportunity for organization and try to create an organization in the most difficult time. It is in the spirit of a fight that organizations are created. A party can organize itself only in the conduct of a struggle and the election campaign period will be the best period to create a nation-wide Farmer-Labor organization.

**Fitzpatrick's Defunct Organization.**

What happens to organizations which are merely election coalitions has just been demonstrated in the demise of the old Farmer-Labor Party of Fitzpatrick, Buck and Brown. This organization, while it called itself a political party, was merely an election coalition. It did nothing between campaigns. It had no continued political program and did not call upon workers and farmers from day to day and week to week to enter into certain actions in their own interests. Such an organization could not permanently hold the allegiance of workers and farmers. It is only an organization which is continually stirring new interest, continually demonstrating that it is ever on the watch, guiding the interests of the class it represents, that will stand as a permanent body.

Any other kind of organization will be built upon sand and will soon disappear as the old Farmer-Labor Party has now disappeared from the scene.

**Permanent Party Necessary.**

The June 17 convention should formulate a definite organizational plan for a permanent, solidly organized and close-knit Farmer-Labor Party.

The Farmer-Labor Party, as it has developed in the United States, and as it exists in its English prototype, is not built upon individual membership. Its organizational units are organizations of industrial workers and farmers, representing them in the economic struggle, such as the trade unions, farmers' co-operatives, labor fraternal organizations. These organizations, together with farmer and labor political groups, federate in the Farmer-Labor Party, maintaining their autonomy of action outside the Farmer-Labor Party.

**Education Required.**

The June 17 convention should adopt a definite plan for federation on a local, state and national scale, of all organizations of industrial workers and farmers; it should create a National Executive Committee which will function all the year around. Election campaigns are not the only means of political action. Mass meetings, mass demonstrations should play a part in the Farmer-Labor program between the election campaigns. The Farmer-Labor Party should carry on educational work to familiarize even wider masses of workers and farmers with its aims and objects. It must have speakers and lecturers and papers for this work. The National Executive Committee must closely follow every development of the political life of this country and must issue slogans for the struggles against the capitalists in every situation affecting the lives of the workers and farmers.

A party organized on this basis of continuous functioning as a fighting organization of workers and farmers will not die and disappear as have the political organizations thrown up by the workers' struggles in the past. It will hold its place in the hearts of the masses of farmers and workers. It will show by its actions that it is entitled to their support.

**Opportunity Now at Hand.**

It is now, on the present wave of enthusiasm, that such a party can best be organized. If this opportunity is missed at the June 17 convention and only an election coalition organized, the opportunity will be gone for some years, to come.

Every workers' and farmers' organization that desires a permanent Labor Party, every trade union, co-operative or fraternal organization which is ready to become part of such a permanent federation of the forces of farmers and workers, should instruct its delegates to the St. Paul convention to stand firmly for the organization of a Farmer-Labor Party.

**Prepare for Final Struggle.**

The election campaign this year will see great masses of farmers and industrial workers mobilized for the struggles against the old Republican and Democratic parties. For the first time in the history of the labor movement of this country there will be a great mobilization of the political strength of the farmers and workers, to fight for their class interests. Let us not only make this election campaign a great fight against the capitalist parties, but also the preparation for greater struggles in the future—for the great struggle which will bring the Workers' and Farmers' Government.

The Farmer-Labor Party is the instrument thru which the Workers' and Farmers' Government will be achieved. Let us create that political party, on a national scale, at the St. Paul convention.

**NO WORK WON'T WORRY "BIG BIZ"**

Business need not worry about the prospect of industrial depression just around the corner. This is the feeling of Philadelphia bankers, according to Broad street gossip in the Wall Street Journal. Corporations are rich, railroads are rolling in cash, the bankers have more gold than ever before and "labor could finance itself through a period of depression without bread lines."

"If the country should run into a state of depression it would probably be the easiest depression in history, according to the way the bankers figure it," runs the Journal's gossip. "Conditions are in contrast with what they were in 1920-21, a period of inflation. First, industrial corporations that were compelled to borrow heavily from banks, have paid off their loans. Earnings of the railroads have placed them in the strongest cash position in years. . . . Gold holdings are larger than ever before and recent financing has placed those corporations in need of money in a very strong position."

**HARD TIMES IN NEW ENGLAND**

(By The Federated Press)

Severe depression continues in Massachusetts, with employment during March approximately 12 1/2 per cent below the level of March, 1923, according to the monthly survey of the Massachusetts department of labor. One-eighth of the factory workers who had jobs a year ago are today out of work. This means about 90,000 unemployed in Massachusetts alone, with little hope of an early improvement in industrial situation.

Food for thought is often the result of one's inability to obtain the other kind.

**Wild Rumors Afloat**

By JAMES BILLINGS.

NEW YORK.—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice).—Today "On 'Change," money was "in abundant supply at 3 1/2 per cent." But "Farm Mortgages preferred" were not quoted.

Wall Street has heard again that Henry Ford is negotiating for the purchase of the C., M. & St. P. Railway and the Montana Power Company. The existing "industrial depression" doesn't seem to have hit Mr. Ford very hard, from this indication.

The C., M. & St. P. is one of the longest railways in the country, with over 10,000 miles of road. The Montana Power Company is one of the largest corporations of that sort in the United States, and it supplies power for over 600 miles of the "St. Paul" railway. Also for the Anaconda Copper Company—which Mr. Ford has evidently not yet figured on purchasing.

This rumor—which originated in Montana—is to the effect that President Byram, of the St. Paul Ry., and President John D. Ryan, of the Montana Power Co., will hold a conference in New York with the Ford interests—for which conference Byram came back from China and Ryan from Europe.

It is conceded that possession of the St. Paul Ry. would give Ford an outlet to the Pacific Coast, in case he intends to push the sale of the Ford cars in European markets. And with regard to the Power Co. propositions, it is thought that the automobile magnate may be planning a huge central Giant Power system covering the northern part of the country—particularly the Northwest—connecting power-plants on the Ohio and Missouri Rivers with power plants in West Virginia, and perhaps with Muscle Shoals, if he gets it.

**CALIFORNIA POLITICIAN—AND TOM MOONEY'S CASE**

(By Federated Press)

WASHINGTON.—A press correspondent walked into the office of Representative Free, of California, and asked him to discuss the possibility of getting a new trial for Tom Mooney. Free, who was district attorney of Santa Clara County, just south of San Francisco, from 1907 to 1910, said that he knew all about the legal situation in the Mooney case, and did not see it had anything to do with Congress.

The correspondent agreed that only Gov. Richardson could bring about a new trial, by pardoning the famous labor prisoner and permitting the new trial to be had on indictments still pending. He pointed out what Free already knew—that the trial judge, district attorney and members of the jury have been convinced, due to confessions of perjury by the chief witnesses, that the trial given Mooney and Billings was unfair, and his conviction a reproach to the law.

Free, in a rising voice, repeated that he knew all about the case, and wouldn't discuss it.

"Aren't you interested in getting a fair trial?"

"That has nothing to do with me as a congressman."

"Do you think Mooney got justice?"

"No. He ought to have gained."

"Then why not vindicate the law by giving him another trial?"

"I say I won't talk about it. There's the door!"

In the Congressional Directory, where the vanity of come-and-go politicians is paraded in lengthy autobiographies, Free devotes 24 lines of fine type to his own career. He has been a member of the regular Republican machine organization, village attorney county attorney, and is in his second in the House. "He is a 32d degree M<sup>o</sup> Knight Templar, past exalted ruler<sup>th</sup> Jose Lodge B. P. O. E., a member of Jose Rotary Club, I. O. O. F., and member of the Chamber of Commerce San Jose."

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## Gravity

"Coolidge and Dawes! Raw—raw—raw!" And it's all over but the shouting—so far as the elephantine Republican Party is concerned.

In this slow-witted weakling, who did not have the moral courage to dismiss his crooked Attorney-General on legitimate grounds of corruption and malfeasance in office; this wavering Chief Executive who cringed and side-stepped, in the face of his obvious duty; who even today has not a word of condemnation for the grafting cabinet members whose exposure forced their dismissal—here we have the Republican nominee for President of the United States.

But, "Hell and Maria!"—it was sure a hard job for the convention to dig up a running-mate who would "Keep Kool with Koolidge." The various political headlines who were approached with that proposition seemed to promptly become "all het up." But the powers in control (doubtless having in mind the brilliant idea which the falling apple knocked into the head of Isaac Newton), presently plumbed the depths—and Dawes was dragged to the surface.

Dawes, the financial sharp who proposes to enforce an international financial scheme which will load upon the backs of the German workers a debt-burden of more than half a billion dollars annually. Dawes, who recently in Chicago promoted the formation of an American fascist organization, patriotically dubbed "Minute Men of the Constitution." Dawes, who led the campaign of eulogy for the un-speakable Daugherty's injunction against the striking railroad shopmen. Dawes, who demands the open shop, throughout this country—and eventually as an international institution that will forever enslave the world's workers.

"Coolidge and Dawes!"

Two K—old, K—calculating and K—areful souls with but a single thought; two adamant hearts that beat as one—for Capitalism.

The Democratic Party will find it difficult to equal that perfect combination of any tendencies.

## AERATED BENEVOLENCE

The Presidential Poor Fish says: "Our aim in this country must be to try to put the chance for the out-of-doors pleasure, with all that it means, within the grasp of the rank and file of our people."

If this august advocate of "free fresh air for the rank and file" wants to make a small beginning toward accomplishment of such aim, he could get busy with the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution. Presidential Congressional action, under this amendment would give the child wage slave an opportunity to get into the open air, from the mines and factories. At least, until the day comes when the states complete their plans for "correcting" the air and setting their price on it.

## The Congressional Rumpus

The "Old Guard" seems to have lost control of Congress. Both the Senate and the House are manifesting a disposition toward too strenuously safeguarding "the people's interests." And Congressional investigations are reaching some of the "higher-ups."

That is the simple explanation of the vitriolic attacks upon Congress, which are now filling the columns of the paid press, and the alleged "popular demand" that such investigations be stopped. Likewise it explains the equally "popular" defense of Kalkulating Kal Koolidge.

There have been sharp conflicts between the Executive and Congress, throughout American history. But the President almost always won, because of "public opinion" being marshaled to his side of the controversy. "Stand by the President" has been a winning slogan—in peace time or in war. When the interests controlling the public press were opposed to the President, he lost. But that has seldom been the case—because those are the interests which elect the Presidents.

Today the Republican section of the capitalist press is lined up solid behind the President—and the Democratic press is evidently instructed to, in this critical situation, "lay off of him." Because the President is on the side of Special Privilege; he deals tenderly with those who have looted the public domain; he demands a reduction in the taxes of the rich; he refuses to get excited about the heavy taxes of the farmers; and though he publicly deprecates official graft, he loses no opportunity to discredit and harass those who would expose the grafters.

## Progress of Civilization

WASHINGTON.—The first rent laws laid down by King Hamurabi of Babylon, D. D. Luckenbill told the National Association of Real Estate Boards, provided that the poorest workman could purchase a dwelling for a year's wages and rent one for 1/30 of his income. That was over 4,200 years ago.

What kind of a dwelling could an unskilled worker purchase today for his \$900 average annual wages or rent for \$30 a year?

## "Kal" Koolidge Konservatism

WASHINGTON.—Coolidge is staging one trick after another, but none of them seems likely to do him any good next November. His latest is the sanctioning of great military activity, and the assumption of total innocence of the violent attacks made on the peace organizations by army officers. His local organ of publicity has even denounced the Womens Conference for Political Action as being tainted with dangerous foreign pacifist influences. If public resentment at his tactics becomes as powerful as its radiations of his Mellon tax evasion scheme, he will publicly indorse peace. Otherwise, he will plead for "patriotism on guard."

## FINISH THE JOB!

It is now intimated that Daugherty threatened to prosecute Palmer, and then agreed to hold off if Palmer would use his influence to keep the Democratic members of Congress from "spilling the beans" about the Republican administration. Are we to continue to have government by blackmail? Demand that the investigations go on! Expose the grafting politicians in both parties! Then, organize a Labor party. Shout from the house-tops, that the corrupt gang is the natural brood of capitalism. Make it plain to everybody, that private ownership and graft go hand in hand. This is the opportunity of a generation. Don't let it pass unheeded.

Artful Arthur Brisbane—the \$100,000-a-year propagandist for capitalism—is also very busy on the job of "soft-pedaling" Congressional investigations, on the ground that they are "hurting business."

## Political Paregoric

The only European nation that is showing real indications of recovering from the economic chaos following the World War, is Russia under the Workers' Soviet Government.

So-called financial experts, in the pay of the capitalist press or other institutions of the system, have offered all sorts of explanations for this peculiar situation. But none of them have stated the real reason—which all of them know: that this is because the Soviet Government repudiated responsibility for the enormous war debts, the interest upon which would have consumed more than any possible surplus capital from national production.

All capitalistic governments are being driven to the brink of ruin, through the financial bankruptcy due to the bonded and mortgage debts contracted over that period. Yet every country is producing an abundance to provide food, clothing and shelter for all its people—if these products were marketed under an equitable system of exchange. But the surplus products are stored away, for increased profits. And the industries are closed down, periodically, to restrict production—while unemployment grows and the people wait.

Nor will there ever be any change in this state of affairs, until the interests which are considered by the government are the interests of the worker majority and not of the exploiting minority. No national government that would really consider the welfare of the masses, to the exclusion of the privileged class, could ever function under the capitalist system of production and distribution. And a workers' government will be inaugurated only by the mass political and industrial power of the workers themselves.

That this is no theoretical formula, but an unquestionable fact, has been proven by actual experiments of both positive and negative character. And general acceptance of this truth is dependent entirely upon a proper enlightenment of the worker masses—the overwhelming majority in every country of the world.

## CALLS RUSSIA WORKERS' HOPE

RAVINA, Ill.—"Coming back from Russia I feel in America an unpleasant atmosphere of selfishness," said the Rev. Sydney Strong, Seattle, in a forum address in Ravina. "Russia is the land of the workers' hope where people are united in a common effort to make life better for all. In America each one seems bent on grabbing what he can for himself from the rest. This capitalistic anti-social spirit cannot last. It is doomed to give way before the pro-social spirit one finds in Russia."

## Tweedle Dum and Dee

By NORMAN THOMAS

Hard as our industrial barons will work for the re-election of Coolidge they will not neglect the Democratic ticket. The men and corporations who regularly contribute to both parties will not be caught napping. The game in the Democratic party will be to adopt a platform full of high sounding phrases of devotion to the people and to find a leader who can be sold to the people as honest and progressive, but who can be trusted to do nothing to hurt the interests. Already we have been told confidentially that in line with this policy one of the greatest and most definitely anti-labor corporations in the United States has loked over one of the prospective dark horses of the Democratic party and put its o. k. on him.

Hope may be a virtue but hope in the impossible is folly. And the man who hopes that the Democratic party will help farmers and workers, hopes for the impossible. The Federal Reserve Board which deflated the farmers was the creation of a Democratic administration. And Attorney General Palmer was at least as bad a friend of labor as Attorney General Daugherty.

## FARMER-LABOR INFORMATION

According to announcement by the Department of Agriculture, since 1920, the net loss in farm population, due to migration into the cities, is approximately 2,000,000.

In this fact is discovered a danger that the sacrifices of the American farmer (peasant) to the capitalistic industrial policy may go a little too far—and result in farming going out of fashion.

The same department also reports statistics indicating that in the last three years, farmers to the number of nearly 3,000,000 have lost their homes on farms, either thru foreclosure of mortgage or by voluntary abandonment of their property to creditors.

The sharp drop in the demand for agricultural implements in 1922 and 1923, as compared with pre-war years, presents striking evidence of the low purchasing power of farmers since their deflation by banking interests in 1920. According to government figures the production of farm implements in 1922 amounted to less than 30 per cent of the 1914 volume. Official reports from the industry show that during the last months of 1923, farm implement makers were using only about one-third of the capacity of their plants.

### No Aid to Farmers.

While a slight decline in wholesale prices between April, 1923, and April, 1924, is reported by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the agricultural producer has derived little if any benefit from the decrease.

The story told by these statistical facts is the same that they have been telling for three years. The Republican tariff has "protected" everything the farmers of the country have had to buy but has added nothing to the prices of what they have had to sell.

### Extracts From Department of Commerce Report.

"The last three months of the calendar year 1923, with their large exports of grain, definitely turned the balance of Soviet Russia's foreign trade in its own favor . . . The heavy increase in exports during the last quarter, together with a systematic restriction of imports, left a substantial favorable balance of trade—whether valued at pre-war or at current prices.

"The main cause of the favorable trade balance in 1923 was the resumption of grain exports, which had practically stopped since the outbreak of the World War, and which the satisfactory crops of 1922 and 1923 made possible.

"Total export sales of grain and fodder of the 1923 crop amounted to 1,598,766 long tons . . . Of this total, 813,460 tons were of rye; 382,134 tons of wheat; 136,452 tons barley, and 48,643 tons oats—the rest being represented by oil-cake, corn and other cereals.

"Exports of rye represented an increase of 20 per cent over their pre-war average; while those of wheat amounted to but 9 per cent. Sales were distributed among fifteen European countries.

"The government monopoly of foreign trade was firmly maintained during the year. According to data for its operating year 1922-23, Soviet State institutions—including government organizations and mixed companies controlled by the soviet government—accounted for 96.7 per cent of all exports, and for 97.3 per cent of all imports. The rest represented the part played by private initiative in the foreign trade of Russia.

"The tracing of imports from the United States—except as to cotton—presents many difficulties, because most of the purchasers . . . were financed in England or Germany."

### A CLUBBING RATE!

By an arrangement with The Western Progressive Farmer, we are now enabled to offer our readers a year's subscription to Farmer-Labor Voice and a year's subscription to the former named publication, at \$1.50 for the two newspapers. The regular rate for each is \$1.00 per year—and each is well worth several times that price, to the farmers and industrial workers who wish to have the latest news of the great progressive political movement that has recently been inaugurated for their benefit. The time to subscribe is NOW, while this rate is in effect.

## "DISTANCE LENDS ENCHANTMENT"

By J. E. SNYDER

In North Dakota the bankrupt wheat-farmer was told that co-operative marketing is the great idea and the cure for his many ailments. To him is exhibited a great example of successful co-operative marketing. Mr. Sapiro from California, through the "Country Gentleman," recites the glory and success of the California Raisin Growers' Association and urges the wheat-farmers to pattern after this great organization.

Since I have always believed in looking into a thing first hand, I visited the best raisin district in California, which is located in and around Biola, some ten miles northwest of Fresno.

What a shock! I had heard the story of the busted wheat-farmer, the cotton-grower and other producers of raw material. But never did I meet up with such a calamity as has overtaken the raisin-grower.

### Raisin-Growers Discouraged.

A year ago one could not touch a raisin ranch for less than a thousand dollars an acre. And today Well, they just can't wish them on anybody at any price. Interest and taxes remain unpaid, and hundreds are turning the contracts back to the bank and moving to town, the same as millions of other farmers are doing throughout the nation.

Two cents is the first payment made by the association to the grower. That means that for the four pounds of grapes that it takes to make a pound of raisins, the rancher gets one-half of a cent per pound—after he has added the expense of drying and carting to the packing house.

In talking with the growers, there seemed to be little hope that more profit would come to them. And even if they do get a cent or two more, it will not save the situation. Because raisins cannot be produced at even four cents a pound, without incurring a heavy loss. For besides the cost of producing, nearly every rancher carries a mortgage running on the average of about twenty thousand dollars, with a high rate of interest and a corresponding high rates of taxes.

### Prunes and Apricots Fail.

Then I visited an apricot grower. Calamity again! Tons and tons of apricots rotted on the trees this year. Some growers who dried them and sent them to the packing house, are patiently waiting their first returns—which they fear may never come. The prune grower, although short-cropped this year, got nothing for his product. And men who shipped beans to market got a red-ink return of from four hundred to seven hundred dollars for freight.

Isolated co-operative marketing through detached associations, with the market place run and owned by private speculators, is a failure. Wheat growers, cotton growers, fruit growers, wool growers, are all interdependent. Around each group lurks the horde of stock and produce gamblers. The money lord takes his dip into the returns. And the insurance company, the machinery trust, the fertilizer trust, the lumber trust, the oil trust, and the prepared food trust all lie in wait for Mr. Producer when he delivers his crop on the market which he does not control.

### Association Fails

Eighty-five per cent of the raisin growers are in the association. I found quite a decided discontent with the association and its lack of guaranteed protection for the grower, in that no sinking fund had been created and therefore an added interest burden through the privately owned banks, is placed upon the already bankrupt growers. Because nothing has been set aside for just such a "rainy day" as has come upon them now. And, over all, there is now the market quarantine, on account of the dread foot-and-mouth disease epidemic.

### International Co-operation.

I found a hearty response to the idea that markets are not even limited to national borders. The growers saw the point when I showed that the headquarters of the world wheat market is in Liverpool, and that its exchanges are in every country in the world. They are beginning to see that an association located practically all in one county—like Fresno county, for instance, which has the major production of raisin in America, cannot hope to beat the game. With Armenia, South Russia, Turkey, Portugal, Spain, Italy and many islands of the sea

producing raisins, it is hard to reason that the independent packer is a mighty lever to pry them loose from their moorings; and that unless the growers seek international unity, they will be pried loose and their co-operative marketing will "go glimmering," along with all other Populist schemes offered these many years, to save the American farmer.

Much interest was shown when I told them about the bid that Russia is making for an international farmers' marketing association; and in the fact that such an organization has already been launched, with Wm. H. Green, of Omaha, on the international committee.

A year ago no one dreamed that five hundred raisin growers could be got together, as often as twice a month to listen to discussions on the way out of the calamity that has overtaken them. No one even tried it, and would have laughed at such a suggestion. But now the growers come and listen earnestly to men from their own ranks, who have given much thought to the inter-related markets. And even the subject of their political problems is not now taboo.

### Need for Political Action

When we got to the question of politics, we took it up as a science and not merely as a ballot box stuffing, for "good men," once every two or four years. For an hour we talked back and forth with the men in the audience. And we showed that the great statistical bureau of the government is part of marketing, and that such is national politics. That railroad transportation, sea transportation, and the exchange of commodities, are all part of the science of government; and that speculators use the government agencies to find out the weather forecast, the amount of bugs infecting the crops, the acreage planted, the amount held over, the condition of the labor market, the possible foreign exchange of commodities, the money market situation of the entire earth, the military movements of nations, general labor unrest, and a thousand and one other problems that make politics a great part of an association's necessary knowledge before it can do successful co-operative marketing.

We called attention to the sending out of certain individuals, by the government, among the wheat farmers of the Northwest, and to political moves now pending in Congress. Also to the fact that the Stock Exchange, the Board of Trade, and the Chambers of Commerce everywhere, have come forward to "help" the farmer save himself by organizing "co-operative marketing institutions," and the fact that these gentlemen of the market place and gambling pit always charge eight dollars out of every ten for their services.

### Protest Fast Growing

In my travels, from North Dakota to California, I found nothing but discouragement among the farmers and growers. There is a mighty movement of protest now on foot. And they are fast coming to understand that the only way out of their difficulties is through a united front, with international relationship. They know that a scientific understanding of their situation requires deep study, sincere discussion and honest investigation. Our discussion on the inter-relationship of the industrial worker and the farmer, and their present great movement to get together, was well received everywhere. They are looking for real help, and they are ready for action to attain it.

## Every Day in Every Way

Investigations into the management of the country's natural resources show better and better the degradation among our public officials. And just as long as we send men to Washington with authority to trade off these national resources to private individuals, for patronage or pelf, just that long will there be bribery of dishonest politicians.

## He Came—He Saw—He "Or 18

The politician who was elected called at the home of the constituent and asked for appearing on "Have a seat, and in the same as thee," responded the politician when your subscription expires with your husband failed to pay your subscription. No other notice

Collette, whom it styles

# The American Peasant

(By JOSEPH MANLEY)

The average American worker, when thinking of the farmer—for whose products he must pay such high prices in the city markets—pictures a prosperous and well-fed person who lives in a comfortable country home fitted with all the conveniences of electric installation, modern plumbing improvements, etc. Those who accept the impression created by false "movie" propaganda, or who judge agricultural conditions from the railroad car-window viewpoint, imagine that the farmer today spends most of his time riding about in his automobile—"leading the life of Reilly."

But in reality, the same capitalist system of exploitation which has made of the industrial worker a veritable wage slave is fast reducing the farmer to a condition very much on a par. Just as there are many kinds of workers, so there are different varieties of farmers. The latter may be roughly classified in the several categories in which world capitalism has placed them.

## Tenant Farmers—and Land-owners

Lowest in the scale is the agricultural worker—who is, in most cases, an itinerant wage slave, without home, family or social life, and is a prey to the most ruthless exploitation. Next comes the renter-farmer, whose number is increasing continually—composing in the Northwestern States more than 50 per cent of the farmers. Following in order are the bankrupt farm-owners, also on the increase everywhere—in the Northwest probably 35 per cent of the owning farmers being bankrupt. Then come the farmers who are not yet bankrupt but are so heavily in debt that no relief measure likely to be granted under capitalism could permanently help them. Above these stand the prosperous farmers—whose number is continually decreasing. And high above all of these classifications, comes the rich land owner. These are few in number, but all-powerful—as the main pillars upon which rests the whole system of agricultural exploitation by capitalism.

## Landlordism Among Farmers

As an example of this sort, may be cited "Lord" Scully, the owner of 58,000 acres of the finest farm land in Kansas. Scully came to this country from Ireland many years ago—his "absentee landlord" methods against a rebellious Irish peasantry causing him to leave there and invade this "land of the free and home of the brave." He paid very little for the immense tracts of land which he now owns, and the ruthless methods by which he exploits the labor of his tenants would not be tolerated even in Ireland today. His principal agent, John Powers, is guilty of crimes against the Scully tenants that are almost unbelievable.

These tenants are mostly "German-Russian"—the Germans who under Bismarck were so oppressed that they fled to Russia and took up land under the Czar—whose landlordism they found to be no less oppressive than that of the Kaiser. So they left the autocracy of Czar Nicholas, for the "democracy" of our Wall Street sovereignty. And now their labor on the land owned by Scully enables him to pay an income tax of \$240,000 annually.

Recently these tenants of "Lord" Scully formed an organization which dared to agitate for some minor reforms—such as abolition of the fee (ranging as high as \$150.00) for the transfer of a lease to a new tenant. The land itself is all that is leased—building, fences and all improvements being made by the tenant. That these workers and their families are but enslaved peasants, can be well judged by the following illustration:

## Organization Attacked

A tenant for many years—one Godfrey became active in the new organization workers. Presently Scully's appeared at the farm rented accompanied by an "officer of the law" and the Burke family to the farm. Burke protested. But, notwithstanding sympathetic interference from the neighbors, Burke's household goods, implements and tools were taken away from the roadside, and his

out of the house built by her husband; while the other child—a small boy—was carried out and thrown on the roadside, along with the household goods. And but for the cash collection taken up among the sympathetic neighbors, to cover the cost of this eviction, the renter would have suffered the additional hardship of being imprisoned for debt. The crops which he had sown and cultivated, he was not allowed to harvest. Some of the neighbors voiced their indignation by saying, "There is one law for the rich and another for the poor." But they had been so cowed by long years of landlord Scully's rule that their protest went no further.

And this is not an isolated case. The secretary of the tenants' organization—a worker named Shields—suffered the same sort of brutal eviction from his home, where he had lived and improved the land for 37 years and had paid to Scully's agent more than \$16,000 in rent and taxes.

## Peonage of Tenant Farmer

The case of Scully's tenants is typical of thousands of tenant-farmer throughout the Northwest. They wear the poorest clothing imaginable, and their shoes barely hold to their feet—their general appearance denoting a continuous losing struggle to keep body and soul together. They call themselves "diversified farmers." When their diversified crops are gathered in the fall, they manure, through the winter; and in the spring they disc the ground, to sow corn and oats, which they must cultivate three or four times during the summer—when they are busy with cutting and hauling alfalfa feed, and a dozen other jobs. As one of these "diversified farmers" put it: "We have nothing to do but work, 365 days a year—for Scully!"

## An Awakened Peasant

Of these "American peasants"—whose number is ever on the increase—will be formed the backbone of the Farmer-Labor movement. And the unity of this sort, with the industrial workers in the cities, is Labor's hope of the future. In the St. Paul convention will be seen the greatest gathering of this peasant-farmer element that has ever taken place in America—along with the rank and file from the mills, mines and factories.

## THE FARM CRISIS.

By HAROLD M. WARE.

(The concluding instalment of this comprehensive article by "Hal" Ware will appear in next issue of Farmer-Labor Voice. ND.)

"Democrats' frame income tax plan," says a news headline. "Frame" is right.

## Against Prison Made Goods

(By Federated Press)

SAN FRANCISCO.—Garment Workers' Local 131 is leading a drive against prison made goods, especially clothing, made in connection with free workers and sold in the open market. Shirts made by prison contract labor are said to be flooding the market here at prices with which union labor cannot compete.

The laws of California forbid contract labor in prisons, but the sacks made in the jute mill at San Quentin, largely by criminal syndicalism victims, are sold to farmers throughout the country. These sacks, piled for weeks in bales in the open air, are said to accumulate the germs of hoof and mouth disease, carried in the air, which is unusually dry because of the long drought in California this winter.

As long as the farmers are compelled to pay rent or toll before they can use the land or the markets; as long as the industrial workers are forced to pay rent or toll before they can touch the socialized machinery of production and distribution; and as long as both are held up for usury before they can exchange their products with each other, just so long will the farmers meet bankruptcy and the workers face readlines.

# TOM AYRES TELLS OF DAKOTA CATTLEMEN

ST. PAUL, May 15.—(The following statement was given to our reporter by Tom Ayres, one of the delegates from South Dakota. Ayres is an "old-settler" cattleman of that section, and here are related some of his experiences. He is at this time one of the most popular leaders in the farmer-labor movement, and is candidate for United States Senator on the Farmer-Labor ticket.)

"The cattlemen in South Dakota are all broke. And this includes many of the richest and most experienced among the lot. The war-time prices helped some. But that was only a 'jag.' We made no money. We just thought we did, because we were handling a lot of checks. I kept my books as carefully as does any bank; but we always showed a loss, although we managed well. You cannot beat the packers; nor can you beat the railroads, or the manufacturers of fence wire. I tried it—and got beat.

## The Drive to Market

"The break began in 1919. That year the winter came early—in October. I trailed my beef cattle fifty miles across country, driving a four-horse team through crusted snow a foot and a half deep all of the way. We carried hay enough on the wagon to feed—whenever we could get the hay—and fought two days of frightful blizzard. But that is a regular part of ranching on the Dakota plains.

## Railroad-Packer Combination

"When we got to the railroad station there were no cars. We fed forty-dollar hay, for three days. And then the train got away. An official of the South St. Paul Live Stock National Bank had a bunch of cattle that he wanted to get to market—to save them from perishing in the blizzard. And that is the reason we got the cars. The railroads had already begun "co-operating" with the packers in holding back shipments. Because the packers knew what was in store for the following year. They had been "tipped off" on the deflation of the Wilson administration.

## "Scalped" in Sioux City

"When I got to Sioux City with my steers—all beautiful cattle and fat—I sold them for \$9.50 per hundredweight. A "scalper" got them. He was buying for the packers—who were conveniently "off the market" that day.

Then I went down to "clean up," and was fortunate to meet a friend who invited me to dinner. That friend paid 35 cents a pound for poor beefsteak, at a restaurant not two miles from the packing house. There was a "spread" of more than 25 cents a pound between my good steers "on the hoof" and the flabby beef we ate for our dinner.

## All Profits to the System

"When the workers in the cities understand these conditions, they will not call the farmers and ranchers so many hard names. The system gets them both—at every point—remorselessly, and with a smile.

"I concluded that I had had enough, and quit the ranch. Came to the conclusion that a game with loaded dice or crooked wheel-of-fortune has nothing on the banking and marketing system which has wrecked the agricultural part of the nation—and threatens the nation itself. And my case was not an exceptional one. Most of the cattle-ranchers have fared worse, because they did not get out in time.

## The Farmer Awakens

"Farmers and ranchers who have been through the Wilson-Harding-Coolidge deflation period—and as a result are unable to pay their debts—quite naturally have come to feel that they are entitled to a five-year rest from debt burdens. So it is not difficult to convince them that since they have been plunged into debt by crooked measures, and fleeced of all they had earned during a lifetime of hard labor, they have earned a respite. And no matter what Congress may do in this connection, the agricultural population will take that rest. For people who cannot pay—are not going to even try to pay. Many of them are now politely telling the bankers to take the mortgaged stuff—and pitch hay. At last the farmers are becoming rational."

## CLASS WAR VICTIMS AIDED BY WORKERS' RELIEF COMMITTEE

The Committee for International Workers' Aid, which is in the midst of a campaign to get relief for the striking miners in Germany, is extending the scope of its activity to include help for all victims of the class war—especially the class war prisoners and their destitute families. That this added activity has become a absolute necessity is evident from the frightful situation existent in many European countries.

The radicals who are about to take charge of the French government, and a number of well-known men of letters and politics in France, have published a proclamation which—although in reality intended for currying favor with the workers and getting their votes—has served to expose the horrible crimes perpetrated by the ruling class of Poland, upon the workers in that country. Though the French radicals, upon entering into office, will promptly forget their own manifesto in this relation, the workers and peasants of France will remember it and will not fail to denounce the conspiratory alliance between imperialist France and Poland, its accomplice in crime.

## "TAX REDUCTION" WON'T HELP WORKERS

What do we think of the late proposed reduction of income tax? Before answering the question, let us state a few facts:

First, there are only about four millions of America's population who pay any income tax. Second, of that number, 83 per cent pay on incomes of less than \$5,000, about 300 on incomes of more than \$300,000 and 21 on a yearly income of over \$1,000,000.

Third, more than 19,000,000 families are living on incomes of less than \$2,000 per year. According to statistics it takes a minimum of \$1,980 to support a family of five in modest comfort. That means that the great majority of our people are always living on the borderline of pauperism.

Now then, what do we think of the proposed reduction on income tax?

Nothing—considerably less than nothing.

## Reasons for Birth Control

Margaret Sanger, the fearless birth-control advocate, expresses "the very worth-while thoughts in the 'Woman Citizen.'" It won't hurt anyone to study her expressions, even though some folks have a keen objection to the advocacy of birth control. Following are some of the very effective sentences taken from her article:

"Everywhere we look we see poverty and large families going hand in hand."

"It is generally conceded by sociologists and scientists that a nation cannot go on indefinitely multiplying without eventually reaching the point when population presses upon means of subsistence."

"A woman should not bear children when exhausted from labor. This especially applies to women who marry after spending several years in industrial or commercial work."

"Thousands of young people enter marriage without the faintest idea of what marriage involves. They do not know its spiritual responsibilities. If children are born quickly and plentifully, people consider the marriage justified. I claim that it is barbaric and wrong. It is wrong for the wife, for the man, for the children."

"The man who cannot support three children should not be the father of ten, notwithstanding the exhortations of militarists."

Statistics show that 2497 children between 14 and 16 years of age were obliged during the past year in California to apply for working permits. These permits are granted only where the parents are unable to provide for the children without their assistance.

## Beefsteak!

(Advertisement from Willits County Farmers' Press.

ESTRAYED—One black mare, five years old, weight 1300; one iron-gray mare, five years old; one black gelding, five years old, branded A. V. Reward for information leading to return.

City Meat Market, Williston.

## FOOLING THE FARMER

By SENATOR J. W. ANDERSON.

We have become so accustomed to schemes for fooling the farmers, that we have got to a point where we take them as a matter of course and rather look forward from year to year with some degree of curious anticipation as to what new scheme will be propounded by that class of men who derive their livelihood as professional farmer saviors.

The latest, and by far the most amusing of them all, which strikes us in such a peculiar manner that it is with some difficulty we restrain ourselves from laughing and swearing at the same time, is the Montana Export Commission plan,—purely political, conceived in Washington, D. C., born in Montana and now supported by the Montana Bankers Association, the Retail Merchants Association, the Farm Bureau, the Farmers Union, and such men as E. Cressap; Prof. M. L. Wilson, expert on farm economics; Hon. Chester Davis, Commissioner of Agriculture—and President Calvin Coolidge. Now, such an array of endorsers of the plan should disarm suspicion, but in many quarters it appears to have quite a contrary effect.

### Will Tax Wheat.

The plan is to tax farm products and create a fund for paying a bonus to the exporter,—thus raising the domestic price level. It is claimed that a 7 cent tax on wheat will raise the price of wheat 60 cents or more per bushel. It is also claimed that this tax will discourage over-production. But any sane man must know that if the tax raises the domestic price level, it will not discourage production.

This measure does not correct our fake tariff on wheat—most people think the American farmers is protested by a 30 cent tariff against Canadian wheat.—As a matter of fact the big mills import all the Canadian wheat they want and by adding 30 per cent of American wheat to 79 per cent of Canadian wheat they get a rebate of over 99 per cent of the tariff when they export the flour ground from this mixture. This completely destroys all protection to the American farmer.—As a result of this the price of wheat last year in Chicago was only 7 cents above Winnipeg price when, if it was not for this joker in the wheat tariff, the price in Chicago should have been the Winnipeg price plus the tariff plus the freight to at least Minneapolis.

### "Regulate" Production.

Why don't our agricultural experts attempt to correct this injustice to American farmers, even though it would make the Milling trust howl? To ask this question is to answer it.

But far more damning than all of this is the fact that this plan would prevent the President from correcting this fake tariff in such a way as to bring the price of farm products above the average of the 10 year period prior to the world war, notwithstanding the fact that the pre-war price will not save the farmers now who are mortgaged about 300 per cent above the pre-war price. The bill provides that the President may place an embargo on farm products and regulate the tariff upon the recommendation of the Department of Agriculture and the expert commission, but at the same time ties his hands so that the benefit can come to the farmers from the law. Upon the above recommendation, the president "May by proclamation order an embargo against the importation of the same or similar crops and products from foreign countries or may proclaim such increase or decrease in rates of duty as will protect the affected farm industries of the United States by maintaining a relative price substantially equal to but not higher than the ten year average price per unit which prevailed during the period from 1905 to 1914 inclusive."

### A Vicious Bill.

The bill pretends to be for the farmer but in reality it is one of the most vicious and deceitful pieces of farm legislation ever framed by the enemies and traitors of the farmers.

The publicity given to this plan and the large number of men who have traveled all over the state advocating it must have cost thousands of dollars and it is certain this money did not come from the farmers. The Milling Trust and Bankers Trust could well afford to finance this movement, just as they financed the organization of the Farm Bureau, for both these movements are in their interests and not for the benefit of the farmer. If in doubt read the testimony of Mr. Grey Silver, the legislative representative of the Farm Bureau in Washington on the Ladd and Norris Farm Relief measures, also the testimony favoring the milling and packers trusts, the railroads and big business in general.

All this is in perfect harmony with the fixed policy of the money trust of America to dominate the farm papers, organizations and the farm leaders of the country.

### Investigation Needed.

What has become of the farmers wheat pool? Just when it was reaching a position where it might be strong enough to benefit the farmers, it is practically dropped and we see little about it in the papers while the leaders of the wheat growers have run off after this will-of-the-wisp—Why?

In all fairness it should be remembered that many honest men are supporting this measure but they have been misled and deceived and do not understand the real purpose of the movement. When such men investigate and find out that this movement is to protect the Millers and Packers and perpetuate our present fake tariff, it is reasonable to suppose that they will publicly denounce it, together with its traitorous leaders who have practically abandoned the farmers wheat pool just as it was coming to a position of power and influence.

## World Farmer Co-operation

By LELAND OLDS

(Federated Press Industrial Editor)

A living wage for the farmer, the possession of the land by those who actually till it and freedom to organize for economic, social and political ends are among the principles of the World Agriculture society now in conference in Rome. This organization with representatives from more than 50 nations emphasizes the importance of the farmer in world economy.

The World Agriculture society came into being as the result of a conference in France, in 1919, which met to consider voluntary co-operation by producers and consumers in the study of world problems of food supply and the welfare of rural populations. It differs from David Lubin's International Institute of Agriculture, which is a governmental body for compiling and disseminating reports, in that it aims to represent voluntary organizations of farmers—to become in a sense a farmers' international.

The principles on which the organization rests as stated by Laurence H. Parker, its executive secretary, include:

1. An adequate supply of food for all people is essential to permanent world peace. A hungry world means chaos.
2. This food supply must be furnished by the farmers of the world.
3. The conservation and improvement of the soil should be one of the chief concerns of world statesmanship. But no government decree nor resolutions of conferences can insure proper use of the soil: that is up to each individual farmer.
4. The working farmer must have a living wage. A meagre sustenance with a scant surplus to sell does not meet permanent social justice.
5. The land should be controlled by those who use it.
6. International co-operation in agriculture will gather and interpret facts, spread popular education in farming and country life, seek legislation in the interest of the farmer as a producer and to simplify and cheapen distribution of soil-grown products.
7. No cooperation on an international basis will suffice unless it encourages free organization of the farmers.

## Optimistic

The Presidential balloon of "Hi" Johnson, recently set afloat in North Dakota, didn't get up very high.

But Hiram is a very optimistic person, it would seem. And, like Pollyanna, he can say: "Well, anyway, I am glad that it didn't have far to fall."

## This Is Issue Number 18

LOOK AT YOUR ADDRESS LABEL! If the number appearing on your address label is the same as above, your subscription expires with this issue. Watch your expiration number. RENEW your subscription before it expires. No other notice

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"the" "alist par"

des wher

# LA FOLLETTE CRIES FOR HIS MAMA



Robert Minor

He Cries and He Scolds, But He Doesn't Leave His Mama.

## Farmer-Labor Forum

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

Contributions to this Forum should usually be of not more than three 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 Editor:

Am enclosing my check for a year's subscription to the Farmer-Labor Voice.

This newspaper certainly "hits the right spot," and every farmer or other laboring man in the United States should be a subscriber to it. You are doing a great work for the Farmer-Labor cause, and the paper should have the largest circulation of any publication in this country.

Trusting that you will continue the good work, and that your Farmer-Labor Voice will become a national power in politics, I am,

Very sincerely,

F. W. FITSOR, Redelm, So. Dak.

### To Farmer-Labor Voice:

I am sending with this, my subscription, and will be a booster for this newspaper, as it seems to be the only paper in the United States that prints the truth about the farmers' situation.

For many years I have been seeking a farmers' newspaper of this sort; and also for a square farmers' political party. It is high time for an affiliated farmer and labor political party, with a newspaper of its own. But we must keep out of it the politicians from the Democratic and Republican parties—who are only renegade capitalist agents and not representatives of the workers.

With my best wishes for the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, and for the great St. Paul convention on June 17th, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

J. M. Walentschak, Vero, Fla.

Memory is indeed a wonderful thing. It is all that now stands between Egypt and America.

## "Control of Industry"

Capitalist control was not established by any propaganda advocating capitalist control. It was established by deep thinking about how prices could be manipulated, how industry could be organized, how machinery and men could be exploited and how the products of industry could be put on the market.

And capitalist control will never be displaced by workers' control, until the workers interest themselves in just such problems. They must deeply consider how the machinery of industry is controlled; how agriculture and the crafts can best be operated; and what kinds of things it is most desirable to produce. Because this into existence a type of industry to workers' control.

The workers could never run capitalist industry—because that is the creation of the capitalist mind (or "psychology"), and will respond only to capitalist influence. Capitalism will remain quite secure, so long as the workers dream of assuming such control under the present social and industrial system.

It is said that, "Right thinking will create new ideals, improve character, and take the thinker, in his views of life, to higher levels." Which will be very nice, of course.

But in these great revolutionary days, let us be quite practical—and acquire the habit of right-thinking because it will result in adding to the material possessions of those who have too little, rather than of those who have too much.

This year's crop of woman candidates for Congress is an unusually large one, in both the old political parties. The St. Paul convention will please take notice that there is better Congressional timber among the women in the Farmer-Labor movement than anywhere else.

## FEDERATED PRESS JINGLES

By BILL LLOYD.

Low-brows are writing to beseech that I prepare my keynote speech, since this is now the open season when tongues run loose without much reason, and lies and perjury is rife, to bolster up the party's life, when mantle, halo, wings and crown are stuck upon some party clown and folks near faint a-readin' papers with long reports of keynote capers.

Since I'm as honest as my face and suffer from a chronic case of spilling out the darned truth, I'll have to write without no ruth. Now those what don't like the truth at all, can take their cap and leave the hall.

Since now the platform I have gotten, I'll say the G. O. P. is rotten, and Democrats is just the same, since only difference is the name. The only difference (who can doubt?) is one is in; the other out. The "outs" are never any slacker in charging that the "ins" is blacker. So pot and kettle each charge smut, until the voter most goes nut,—like monkeys in the zoo one sees, each hunting of the other's fleas. When they throw mud it is, in sooth, the one rare time they tell the truth.

In place of these sham battle shows, the kinda party I propose is one that works for workers' good and treats the farmer as it should, a party that ain't lost its soul by catering to Wall Street's goal, a party that ain't soaked in oil, but understands the shop and soil, and don't love those who've got by stealth full measure of the nation's wealth, a party that don't wear silk socks nor serenade deposit boxes.

## NEW YORK TRIBUNE NOW BECOMES "PACIFIST"

Following is an item, and its heading, reprinted verbatim, from New York Tribune.

"Let us visualize a march of the British dead down Fifth Avenue. At daybreak they start, twenty abreast. Until sundown they march . . . and the next day, and the next, and the next. For ten days the British dead pass in review. For eleven days more the French dead pass 'the Avenue of the Allies.' For the Russians it would require the daylight of five more weeks. Two months and a half would be required for the Allied dead to pass a given point. The enemy dead would require more than six weeks. For four months men actually killed in the war, passing steadily, twenty abreast—"



# LA FOLLETTE CRIES FOR HIS MAMA



He Cries and He Scolds, But He Doesn't Leave His Mama.