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# FARMER LABOR VOICE

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Official Organ of Federated Farmer-Labor Party

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## Farmers! Workers! Organize Your Party!

## Coolidge "Aids" the Farmers!

(Statement by the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.)

### The Bismarck Convention

On May 30th there will be held in the Twin Cities a convention of farmers and industrial workers, for the purpose of nominating a farmer-labor presidential ticket and adopting a national platform. The Federated Farmer-Labor Party participated in the arrangements for this conviction and gives it unequalled endorsement.

On Feb. 6th, at Bismarck, N. D., the Non-Partisan League Convention will be the scene of a struggle for the formation of a real Farmer-Labor Party. In the former convention, this effort was defeated by the old Non-Partisan League machine, working in conjunction with the State Committee of the Republican Party. Endorsement of Coolidge for President, by that Committee, has alienated the North Dakota farmers and it is expected that a great majority of this convention's delegates will vote for independent political action.

We believe it is our duty, in entering into the campaign to make the May 30th convention a great gathering of representatives of industrial worker and farmers, to state clearly what the Farmers and Workers should seek to achieve in this convention and the principles which should guide them.

Because the North Dakota farmers now see that a political alliance between the rural and the city workers is the only real solution of the problems confronting them today.

**The Need of a Farmer-Labor Party.**  
That the city workers and the farmers must organize and enter the political arena through a party which will fight their political struggles, has become so clear in recent years, that it seems almost impossible that there is still a single industrial worker or farmer who does not know that the rotten, corrupt Republican and Democratic Parties will never do anything in their interest. Both old parties represent the interests of the big employers, the banks, the marketing organizations—in a word, the capitalists—who are robbing the industrial workers and farmers alike.

Joseph Manley, National Secretary of Federated Farmer-Labor Party and editor of Farmer-Labor Voice, will attend the Bismarck convention, and a full report of its doings will be published in next issue of this newspaper.

The two old parties use the government against the industrial workers, against the farmers, and for the capitalists.

From all indications, North Dakota will soon be among the states represented upon the political field by a class Farmer-Labor Party.

When the industrial workers strike for wages, the government helps the big employers to break down the strike through injunctions, courts and soldiers. In 1922 the mines and railroad centres were filled with soldiers by the government, to help the coal operators and railroad owners defeat the miners and railroad shopmen, who were striking for a decent standard of living. The government used its Railroad Board, against the railroad workers. It secured the Daugherty injunction, taking from the shopmen every right given them under the constitution, cancelling at one stroke of a pen the right to assemble, to speak freely, to write and publish their opinions, to organize, and to use their own money for strike purposes.

**The Movement for a Farmer-Labor Party.**  
It is the facts and experiences stated above which have developed the ever-growing movement for a farmer-labor political party, through which the farmers and city workers can fight their political battles against the capitalist parties.

The farmers felt the power of the government during the period of deflation, to such an extent that hundreds of thousands of farmers,—yes, millions—were driven from the land and into bankruptcy. The farmers know that all the laws passed by Congress about the railroads, marketing facilities and banking are drawn so as to help railroads, the grain elevator owners and other marketing organizations, and the bankers; but no help comes from the government for the millions of bankrupt farmers and those who are on the verge of bankruptcy.

This movement found its first great nationwide expression in the July 3d convention of last year, in which the Federated Farmer-Labor Party was organized. Since that time, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party has carried on a campaign for even a greater convention and a stronger party for the presidential election this year.

The capitalists not only use the government against the industrial workers and farmers, but use the government for themselves. Just now they are trying to escape the taxes on their big incomes and load these taxes onto the backs of the workers and farmers, thru the Mellon plan. The shocking, shameful exposure of the looting of the country through bribery of Republican and Democratic officeholders alike, by the big oil trusts, made public in the Teapot Dome case, show clearly what sort of use the capitalists make of the government.

There must be a farmer-labor ticket in the political field this year. The farmers and city workers must nominate candidates and adopt a platform representing their interests. There must be intensive campaigns against the old parties, against their policies and their candidates, and for the farmers and industrial workers.

In the endeavor to achieve this end the Federated Farmer-Labor Party has established connections with all the existing farmer-labor groups in an effort to bring them together into one great nation-wide farmer-labor organization. When the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party called a conference in November, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party immediately responded and entered into an agreement with the Farmer-Labor Party of Washington, The Farmer-Labor Party of Montana, the Farmer-Labor Party of South Dakota, the Committee of 48, the Progressive Party of Idaho and the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, to call the May 30th convention.

Plung into the middle of the United States Senate's discussion upon the Teapot Dome graft scandal, came the message of President Coolidge proposing help for the bankrupt farmers. And it caused but a harmless splash in that deep pool of political and economic ignorance.

The causes which led to the sending of this Presidential message to Congress, had no particular reference to the terrible financial situation which now confronts the American farmer—and the Northwestern grain-belt wheat-farmer especially. But it was the great number of recent bank failures in the agricultural sections of the country, and the growing revolt of the farmers everywhere, which brought forth this unusual exhibition of interest in the present farm mortgage crisis.

As an answer to the farmers' demands—voiced through the Federated Farmer-Labor Party—for "A five-year moratorium on farm-mortgage debts" and "Land for its users," the heart of the remedy proposed in President Coolidge's message is "diversified farming." As though it would make any great difference to the bankrupt one-crop wheat-farmer as to whether he might be robbed by the grain gamblers, the packers, the railroads, or any other exploiting capitalist interest.

**Admits Inadequacy.**  
Coolidge himself, in speaking of bills now pending, for Congressional help to the farmers, expresses his dubious opinion as follows: "I am heartily in favor of these bills; but they do not, and will not, compass the entire problem."

And continuing, he says: "Many of the farmers are, however, in such jeopardy from their creditors that even with this assistance there is no assurance that they would have a sufficient period in which to work out the necessary conversion of their methods; and it would be useless to give to this group such governmental assistance, if it is to be only for the purposes of immediate seizure by the creditors?"

These quotations from the Presidential message clearly indicate that Mr. Coolidge realizes the inadequacy of measures such as the one proposed by Senator Peter Norbeck, proposing the loan of \$50,000,000 to "worthy" farmers—to provide for farm-diversification.

And the next proposition of President Coolidge is that the large business concerns ("Big Business"), such as the transportation interests, the more stable of the banks, the manufacturers of agricultural implements, etc., might be expected to "in their own interest extend a very large measure of aid in remedy of this situation." Then he cheerily goes on to say: "The Government cannot supply banking capital—nor can it organize loan companies. But it can properly call upon those large business concerns, the railroads, the mercantile establishments, the agricultural implement supply houses, and all those large business establishments whose welfare is immediately connected with the welfare of the farmers. It can ask them, in their own interests, as well as in the interest of the country, to co-operate with Federal agencies in attacking the problems in a large way."

These are concretely the measures proposed in the Presidential message, for relief of the bankrupt farmers. He admits the clear inefficiency of the Norbeck plan and bill; he denies the possibility of large Government-

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# Organize Your Farmer-Labor Party

tal aid; and then he appeals to the very institutions that are directly responsible for the situation which is to be thus remedied.

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party believes that in the May 30th convention the farmers and industrial workers have an opportunity to bring together all the units of the farmer-labor party movement, in one great, nation-wide Farmer-Labor Party.

What kind of party is to be organized May 30th? This is an important question for the industrial workers and farmers. We believe that it is our duty to make clear the two forces which struggle for supremacy in the May 30th Convention.

Not only the workers in the industries and the exploited farmers are discontented with the rule of the capitalists, through the old political parties. The small business-men, professional men and the rich, well-to-do farmers are also dissatisfied with the way the government is used by the big capitalists. Every industrial worker and exploited farmer must understand that there is a difference between the movement against the old parties by the small business-men and well-to-do farmers and the movement for a party to represent the interests of the workers and the poorer farmers.

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party fights in the interest of the industrial workers and the poorer, exploited farmers. Magnus Johnson, Shipstead, Frazier, Brookhart, LaFollette and other so-called progressives, represent the small business-men and well-to-do farmers. The platform of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party stands for the interests of the industrial workers and the poorer, exploited farmers. The measures proposed by the so-called progressives are measures in the interests of the small business men and well-to-do farmers.

Both the "progressives," who want a Third Party, which will be a small businessmen's tentatives of the industrial workers and poorer, exploited farmers will come to and well-to-do farmers' party, and represent the May 30th convention. The Federated Farmer-Labor Party will stand for the interests of the industrial workers and exploited farmers in the convention. It will carry on a campaign to win support for the convention by the industrial workers and exploited farmers, so that the candidates and platform will represent the interests of this group and not of the small businessmen and well-to-do farmers.

## Are You a Subscriber and a Booster?

We are sure that these first two issues of Farmer-Labor Voice will convince all members of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party that their organization has in this newspaper a worthwhile official publicity medium. And it will not be necessary to reiterate that a wide-spread circulation of our propaganda and program principles is of supreme importance. All members, as well as affiliated unions and groups, should make it "the first order of business" to send in subscriptions and bundle orders for Farmer-Labor Voice, with that important purpose in mind.

The rates are as follows:  
Outside Chicago, one year ..... \$1.00  
In bundles, 2c per copy  
Inside Chicago, one year ..... \$1.25  
In bundles, 3c per copy.

Send Us the News—and We'll Print It!

Farmer-Labor Voice wants to publish all the most interesting news from everywhere, with regard to the great farmer-labor movement. To get this news promptly, local correspondents are needed in all sections of the country. Whether you are a "literary shark," or simply a worker who can write a letter, Farmer-Labor Voice would like to hear from you about any incident or any idea of interest to the movement. Send us the news!

### Attempt to Delay Convention.

A proposal has been made by Wm. Mahoney, Chairman of the Working People's Non-Partisan League of Minnesota, after conferences with LaFollette, Magnus Johnson, Shipstead and others of the "progressives," that the May 30th Convention be postponed until after the old party conventions.

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party is unalterably opposed to such a delay. The only purpose of such a delay is to give the LaFollette, Frazier, Brookhart, Magnus Johnson and Shipstead group an opportunity to see "which way the cat will jump" in the old political party conventions.

The industrial workers and exploited farmers have no interest in waiting for these old party conventions. No matter who is nominated in their conventions and what platforms are adopted, the candidates and platforms will be for the capitalists and against the workers and farmers.

If LaFollette and other so-called progressives are for the workers and farmers, let them prove it by cutting loose from the old parties and align themselves with the Farmer-Labor Party NOW. The workers and farmers have nothing to gain from backstairs political deals. The road lies clear before them—TO ORGANIZE A CLASS FARMER-LABOR PARTY.

### Forward—to the Class Farmer-Labor Party!

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party calls upon all industrial workers' organizations and all organizations of farmers, to join in the struggle for a Farmer-Labor Party representing the interests of the industrial workers and exploited farmers.

It urges that every organization of industrial workers and farmers now begin the work in support of the May 30th Convention, to make that convention a great gathering of the exploited groups who suffer under the rule of the big capitalists and the government controlled by them.

Forward to the May 30th Convention and a class Farmer-Labor Party! Forward, in the struggle which will bring the Workers and Farmers Government of the United States!

FEDERATED FARMER-LABOR PARTY,  
Joseph Manley, National Secretary.

# No Delay—No Retreat!

By WILLIAM EDWARD ZEUCH

Educational Director, Commonwealth College  
and  
Member National Executive Committee of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

The attempt of politicians to postpone the Farmer-Labor convention, to be held in St. Paul on May 30th, must not succeed. The politicians must realize once and for all that the farmer and labor forces are embarked on a nation-wide movement to free these workers from intolerable economic and social conditions. The Farmer-Labor groups must not avert from their purpose nor lessen their driving power, in order to promote the political fortunes of LaFollette or of any other politician.

Let Bob LaFollette make his choice between coming into the Farmer-Labor movement or remaining in the Republican ranks—along with Fall and Daugherty and Mitchell Palmer. Let him decide whether to step into the ranks with these workers who are striving to free themselves from intolerable conditions, or if he prefers to attempt the Herculean task of cleaning that Augean stable—the Republican party.

LaFollette must make his own choice. The Farmer-Labor movement will not become the tail of his political kite; a pawn in his personal political game. If Bob LaFollette shows vision and statesmanship, the Farmer-Labor movement will recognize it and make use of it. If he fails to show these needed qualities, let him gain but the reward of his own limitations.

The Farmer-Labor groups must keep in mind that they cannot accept the dictation of any individual. To do so would be to set back the progress of that movement. They must build up on the basis of their own program, and must refuse to capitalize the popularity of any one man—unless that popularity is based on economic and social purposes in line with the purpose of the Farmer-Labor movement.

In no case should the Farmer-Labor movement accept as a standard-bearer any individual who has been kicked out the back-door at the conventions of the dominant political parties. That can be avoided only by holding our convention prior to the conventions of the Wall Street Marionettes.

## Coolidge "Aids" the Farmers!

(Continued from Page One)

### Claims Crisis "Artificial"

All of this Presidential wisdom might be sized up in the one word—"Bunk." Neither the President or his advisers have any conception of the basic economic conditions underlying the present financial situation of the Northwestern farmer. In proof of this, a recent Washington dispatch runs as follows:

"It is the belief of the administration that the Northwestern financial plight is an artificial situation, that should be of short duration." And it continues: "President Coolidge was strengthened in this belief by a conference today with W. R. Ronald, publisher, of Mitchell, South Dakota. Conditions in the Northwest, Ronald stated, arose out of a technical banking situation, and could not be attributed to any general business condition. He reported that the people of South Dakota actually were in better financial condition now than at any time in the last three years."

Farmer-Labor Voice is sure that its readers in South Dakota will easily recognize the sheer nonsense of this statement. Because they know that the present deplorable situation of the South Dakota farmers is caused by the basic fact that the land is so heavily mortgaged to the banks, that the farmer has practically no equity left in it. With result that although the farmer works—himself and his family—from early morning until late at night, he gets no return upon the product of all this toil.

### The Real Remedy.

Thus it is seen that the capitalist system is in a state of utter collapse, and particularly in the Northwestern agricultural section of this country. The remedies suggested in President Coolidge's recent message to Congress not even begin to cope with the

And the only way to possibly halt a wholesale abandonment of land, in great areas of the now bankrupt and disheartened farmers to the five-year moratorium on mortgage debts—as proposed by the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. This measure would give the farmers a necessary breathing spell. But even that, would not solve the problem. And the state of actual bankruptcy in which the farmers now find themselves, growing out of the present farm-mortgage and loan situation, is fast driving them to the ultimate conclusion that the only remedial measure which will permanently solve their problem is expressed in the slogan, "Land for its users"—which is likewise embodied in the platform of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. And in its last analysis, that means getting rid of the entire capitalist system, together with all the exploiting interests which it represents. In the forefront of these, will be found "the railroads, the mercantile establishments, the agricultural implement supply houses, and all those large business establishments whose welfare is immediately connected with the welfare of the farmers!"

And the farmers seem to have at last grasped the idea that the government control of this country must be taken out of the hands of Wall Street and the non-producing class of which that designation is the symbol; and that it must be placed in the hands of those who feed the people and do the work of the country—the farmers and the industrial workers of the United States.

If President Coolidge or his advisers have any better plans to bring forth—of a more convincing sort than these fundamental proposals advanced by the Federated Farmer-Labor Party—it would seem to be his duty that they were trotting them out for the exercise.

# The "Dirt Farmer" of Teapot Dome

By JOSEPH MANLEY.

Albert B. Fall, late Secretary of the Interior, it seems is a "dirt-farmer" himself. And a part of his "dirt" consists of \$100,000 in cold cash, packed around in a suit-case for safe-keeping. Mr. Fall acquired this "dirt" by his efforts to serve Harry F. Sinclair and Edward L. Doheny through securing for them leases on the "conserved" naval oil lands of Wyoming and California.

And over the present tempest in Teapot Dome, there is a great display of highly moral indignation by some of the Democratic United States Senators—doubtless for the purpose of wrecking the Republican administration's hopes for re-election. In thus setting up this public exhibition of governmental official rottenness and capitalistic graft, they seem to be under illusion that the masses of American farmers and industrial workers have for gotten the anti-conservation policies of Lane and Palmer during the Wilson Democratic administration.

The Republicans are quick in their attempts to prevent this attempted Democratic lynching-bee. And President Coolidge himself has assisted them, with his statement that "members of both political parties are involved." In defending this malapropos statement of the President, Senator "Nick" Longworth inadvertently mentioned Edward L. Doheny as a Democrat. Whereupon Francis Byrnes, South Carolina's Senatorial adornment, vociferously shouted the glad tidings: "He gave \$25,000 to the last Republican campaign fund!" Which met with Longworth's canny counter: "And he gave \$200,000 to the Democratic campaign fund." (While Doheny has never made any such admission, it will be remembered that some time ago Sinclair stated that he had contributed to both of the old political party campaign funds.)

For many years—irrespective of whether the governmental administration was in the hands of the Republicans or of the Democrats—wholesale plundering of natural resources and looting of public lands, by the railroads and other exploiting agencies have led to recurrent public scandals like the present one. And as result, there was inaugurated the policy of "conservation of natural resources." But this came about only after most of the country's natural resources and public lands had already been stolen by capitalistic inter-

ference. The discovery of Teapot Dome is a sordid chronicle, that shows in all its naked rottenness the system of graft that permeates both the old political parties. And it dates back to 1920, when the plot was laid by the big oil interests to grab off these last of the country's natural resources, although they had been reserved for the special benefit of the United States Navy. This conspiracy, entered into by a group of "100 per cent. Americans" of the sort that so vociferously prate of their patriotism, was made broad enough to insure its success—no matter which of the two political parties might win the presidential election.

With the victory and accession of the Republicans, a tool had to be selected from among them, to put across the Teapot Dome steal. It seems that Mr. Fall was willing to be "the fall-guy." At the time of his appointment as Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Fall told his friends that he was "broke" and had not been able to pay taxes on his lands in New Mexico. Almost simultaneously with his officially announced policy of opposition to "conservation" of the naval oil lands, Fall became the owner of a ranch that cost \$91,500; also of farm-stock that was quoted at many thousands of dollars in value, and a big hydro-electric plant. Thus he was enabled to pay up his back taxes, to the extent of \$8,000.

Over the strenuous protests of naval officers, the administration of the naval oil reserve had been placed in the hands of the Secretary of the Navy. And their complaint against the change, when they learned of the political manipulations in this connection, were answered by Secretary Denby with the statement that "The President is not to be

all public lands should be administered by one Department of the Government," etc.

As soon as this transfer was completed, the leases—which really amounted to bills of sale for the oil lands—were duly made out to Sinclair and Doheny. And upon the signing of the leases, oil speculators in Wall Street "cleaned up" \$30,000,000. Sinclair himself has testified that he got \$106,000,000 worth of oil stock for the Teapot Dome lease when he transferred it to the Mammoth Oil Company. Sinclair and Doheny together figured on each making \$100,000,000 profit out of their respective leases.

Sinclair now cables from Paris, France, that his books are not to be turned over for investigation, "until he can return and testify concerning them;" and that this he will do "as soon as he can expedite his business matters." By which time the affair will doubtless have been settled without such enlightenment. Meanwhile, "the Fall-guy" is "sick," and thus unable to attend sessions of the Investigation Committee—the "bi-partisan council" of which includes Silas H. Strawn of Chicago, former president of the Chicago Bar Association—who claims to have "never received any oil retainers"—and Thomas W. Gregory, of Texas, who was Wilson's Attorney-General, from 1914 to 1919—and to whom Doheny admits having paid a large "retaining fee." The first is a Republican, and the latter a Democrat—a strictly "fifty-fifty" council of "bi-partisan counselors." Fair enough!

Into this mess, the Democrats are trying to drag many of the present Republican administration's cabinet leading lights including Secretary of the Navy Denby and Attorney-General Daugherty. In stentor tones, Secretary Denby shouts his own innocence of any wrong-doing; while Daugherty leaves this duty for his friends, one of whom (William of Ohio) vociferously proclaims that the Post-master General is "as clean as a hound's tooth"—(whatever that may approximate). Present indications are that the whole dirty game will be so clearly exposed, before the two factions get through with their mud-slinging contest, that Denby and Daugherty will both have to resign from the cabinet.

The two old political parties seem to be both pretty much "tarred with the same stick," dipped deeply into the crude-oil muck of the Teapot Dome reservation. And the farmers and industrial workers of the country are learning a tremendous lesson, through this stupendous muck-raking campaign of Democratic "outs" against Republican "ins." This oddly-shaped and curiously-named mountain in the Wyoming oil fields is likely to become a recording monument to the swiftly-growing farmer-labor movement.

## Weighed-- and Found Wanting!

According to the Crop Reporting Board of the United States Department of Agriculture, last year the farmers in this country planted 340 million acres of the fourteen principal crops. Maybe that's why they are now bankrupt.

The prices of dairy products (again quoting Department of Agriculture) did not suffer quite so much as did those of other farm products, during this general deflation period. So raise a cow!

And as this governmental Department avers that poultry and eggs "have also continued on a fairly profitable basis"—why not start a "henery"?

On the other hand—the Department of Agriculture says that there are now in the United States 33,000 herds of cattle, "fully accredited by the government as being free from tuberculosis." And Fifty Million Dollars would "Help the Farmers" to buy some more herds—but wouldn't guarantee their health.

And to show that the outlook is really "promising" for farmers, the Department of Agriculture also reports that farmers' marketing organizations last year transacted a business of Two Billion Dollars—about half of this being the accomplishment of 3,600 State ownership of

## Daugherty's Resignation Demanded

(By Federated Press.)

MINNEAPOLIS.—Immediate resignation of Atty. Gen. Harry M. Daugherty is asked by the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly. The resolution, which was passed without a dissenting vote, requests President Coolidge to ask for the immediate resignation of Daugherty. It recites the alleged connection the attorney general had with the Teapot Dome oil lease scandal, his failure to prosecute wartime profiteers, his disregard for constitutional guarantees of free speech and assembly during the 1922 railroad strike, and his appointment of William J. Burns to head the department of justice.

## Strawn Oil Tips Pay Well

(By Federated Press.)

CHICAGO.—For over a year the law office of Silas H. Strawn, appointed by President Coolidge as the Republican counsel in the bipartisan investigation of the Teapot Dome and Doheny oil scandal, has been the source of profitable tips to local oil gamblers, according to inside information obtained by the Federated Press. Employees in the Strawn office have been given tips that resulted in substantial winnings for those who took flyers on the Strawns whispers. Whether higher-ups in Chicago's business, professional and political world also profited from the oil tip dispensary in the Strawn office has not yet been ascertained.

## They Like It

The first issue of Farmer-Labor Voice met with a most enthusiastic reception. The progressive press everywhere has been liberal in its approval. And a great many subscriptions have already been raised from members and friends throughout the country—especially in the Northwestern grain-belt states. All agree that a national newspaper for the farmer-labor movement is very necessary—and that Farmer-Labor Voice well meets this necessity.

Two letters from our well-wishers are selected at random and published herewith.

February 1, 1924.

Joseph Manley,

Editor, Farmer-Labor Voice.

Dear Brother Manley:—

The new paper, Farmer-Labor Voice, for January 15th, is upon my desk. I have looked it over, read the editorials and some of the articles—and want to tell you at once what I think of it.

I think that Farmer-Labor Voice is a good name for the paper, because it so clearly voices the real sentiments of the people who are trying to deliver from political and financial bondage the farmers and industrial workers of this nation.

And the paper comes at the right time. It has the proper ring, and there is nothing lacking in its make-up. Also it contains no advertising of political propaganda, under the guise of financial boosting.

Farmer-Labor Voice will win its way, because it has at heart the interests of the working people and that class will recognize its value and rally to its support.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed:) JOEL SHOMAKER,

State Chairman, Farmer-Labor of Washington

Vermilion, S. Dak., Jan. 28, 1924.

Joseph Manley,

Editor, Farmer-Labor Voice,

Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir:—

A copy of Farmer-Labor Voice came to me this morning. It contains, without doubt, a great revelation of truth—truth that the masses of the people everywhere are hungry for.

With such able Associate Editors as Tom Ayres, Alfred Knutson, John C. Kennedy and W. H. Green, the success of the newspaper is well assured. Because these men understand and can teach the truth about economics, as well as the true fundamentals of the political government. Their writings should be of inestimable value to all who wish to keep well informed on the real situation today, both economic and political.

As the Farmer-Labor Party candidate for Congressional Representative, Third Congressional district of South Dakota, I plan to make a general speaking-tour over the Western part of this State. Wherever and whenever possible, I intend to help make your paper grow. My own subscription is enclosed—and here's hoping that many more will follow fast.

Very sincerely,

# FARMER LABOR VOICE

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JOSEPH MANLEY, Editor  
Associate Editors:  
TOM AYRES, South Dakota  
ALFRED KNUTSON, North Dakota  
JOHN C. KENNEDY, Washington  
W. H. GREEN, Nebraska

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## Ave---et Vale!

Nicolai Lenin, his work accomplished, has left this scene of Humanity's evolution. And the Russian Republic—the first actual Workers' Republic that the world has ever beheld, where the government of the people is really administered "by the people and for the people"—stands safely entrenched within the mighty bulwarks of the workers' political State which his long years of toil brought into being. Because the present emergency also—as in the case of so many before—had been foreseen and prepared for by Lenin. So that he had found and trained those who were to assume his great burden of responsibility to the people, when he had passed beyond this great work of his life. And thus the Proletarian State will be affected only spiritually by his passing. The accomplishment of his hand and brain will endure, as an exemplar for all the worker masses, in the world from which he now is gone.

And Nicolai Lenin was a true leader of the Russian masses, because he was himself born of the peasant class. He knew their needs, and their oppression. His father, a peasant farmer of the Volga district, became a teacher of children, in the primary schools. His elder brother, Alexander, as a revolutionary peasant youth, was executed by order of the Russian Czar. Lenin was then 19 years of age. And from that day, to the end of his life, his every effort was directed toward abolition of the caste or class which oppressed the workers, and inauguration of the Russian Proletarian State. In the 35 years of revolutionary activity which then followed, Lenin suffered endless persecution by the forces of the Russian capitalist government. But imprisonment and exile to a Siberian penal colony, with all its sufferings and deprivations, never for a moment caused his revolutionary spirit to falter, nor weakened to the least extent his faith in the working class and his belief in its power to gain freedom.

The monumental Pyramids of Egypt are today among the wonders of the world. And many a superb marble mausoleum still graces "the grandeur that was Rome." While the names of the "mighty men" whose memory they were erected to thus perpetuate are known only to the student of history. But the name of Nicolai Lenin, whose life gave economic freedom to all the workers of the world, will require for its perpetuity no pyramid of towering rock or marble mausoleum. In the great, throbbing proletarian heart, throughout the world, the name of Lenin, Emancipator of the International Working Class, shall be forever enshrined.

Hail—and farewell, great leader of the masses! Sleep ye now in peace beside the Kremlin Wall, in quiet fellowship with those kindred mighty spirits who were your companions in the struggle for liberty, and who passed on before you.

## An Apologetic Champion

Mr. Henry C. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture—the United States Senate's hand-picked representative of the American farmers—is confronted with the impossible task of serving in his present office, the interests of both the rich and the poor farmers. As to whom he really serves, this can be readily judged by the role he played in the Atlantic City convention of the American packers, last September.

Amid the balmy breezes of the blue At-

lantic, we find Mr. Wallace, valiant defender of the farmers' rights and interests, addressing his audience in these words:

"The other matter upon which we have not yet come to a complete agreement is that of putting auditors into your plants with a view of informing ourselves as to your accounting, and other various details of your business."

And then, after meekly apologizing for even suggesting the possibility of such a ticklish process as investigation of their accounts, he proceeds by assuring the assembled millionaires and their representatives that they have his sympathy; that he will fully respect their rights of appeal against the present laws that so oppress them; and that, "I do not want to do a thing which you believe to be an unwarranted intrusion on your business."

The farmers, whose cause he thus champions—and especially the bankrupt farmers of the grain-belt section—may appreciate the sympathy and interest displayed by their representative, Mr. Wallace, in the ravished rights of the big packers. There is hardly a doubt that they will question whether Mr. Wallace is quite so deeply concerned with the troublesome problems now confronting themselves. And anyway, it will direct them toward a line of thought which should result in their appointing for themselves a different sort of farmers' representative.

Thus the efforts of Mr. Wallace may be of value to the farmers, in spite of himself.

## "Pussyfooters" Preferred

The so-called "Farmers' National Council, during its annual meeting, held in Washington, D. C., on January 9th, dropped from its rolls as a member of that body, William Bouck, chairman of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. The stated reason for such action was the fact that this progressive farmer-labor leader stands firm in his alliance with the latter organization.

According to the minutes of the Council's meeting, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party is unacceptable to that body because they classify it as "a communistic organization"—though the true meaning of that term is evidently quite beyond their comprehension. The motion which resulted in the action taken was presented by John Tank, who is President of the Iowa Society of Equity.

But the action will not hurt either William Bouck or the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. Nor will it scare the American farmers, with any "red" bogey illusion. Because the farmers throughout the country have been learning just who are their friends—and who are not. They know that Bouck is a true representative of the farmers' interests, and they know that the Federated Farmer-Labor Party is the leading organization for the advancement of those interests. Also they have been learning a thing or two with regard to the "Farmers' National Council.

The farmers will not fail to properly interpret the fact that the same organization which thus drops from its rolls the name of William Bouck, enters thereon as members the names of D. C. Dorman, of Montana, and Ralph Ingerson, of North Dakota. Because they know these to be two old-time "pussyfooters" within the Non-Partisan League, an organization that is now losing all its former influence among the farmers of the Northwest.

## Another "Con" Conference?

On January 17th, in the Hamilton Hotel, of Washington, D. C.,—thus, "far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife"—was held a conference of delegates from Eastern political labor and so-called "progressive" organizations. The Federated Farmer-Labor Party was not invited—and the generally understood purpose of this conference, was to decide whether or not the organizations there represented were really progressive enough to attend the Farmer-Labor Convention which is scheduled to meet in St. Paul on May 30th.

As this "progressive" conference was called together by William V. Mahoney, of Washington, D. C., who is neither a farmer nor a laborer—but who impartially exploits

the farmers' rights and interests, addressing his audience in these words: "The other matter upon which we have not yet come to a complete agreement is that of putting auditors into your plants with a view of informing ourselves as to your accounting, and other various details of your business."

And then, after meekly apologizing for even suggesting the possibility of such a ticklish process as investigation of their accounts, he proceeds by assuring the assembled millionaires and their representatives that they have his sympathy; that he will fully respect their rights of appeal against the present laws that so oppress them; and that, "I do not want to do a thing which you believe to be an unwarranted intrusion on your business."

The farmers, whose cause he thus champions—and especially the bankrupt farmers of the grain-belt section—may appreciate the sympathy and interest displayed by their representative, Mr. Wallace, in the ravished rights of the big packers. There is hardly a doubt that they will question whether Mr. Wallace is quite so deeply concerned with the troublesome problems now confronting themselves. And anyway, it will direct them toward a line of thought which should result in their appointing for themselves a different sort of farmers' representative.

Thus the efforts of Mr. Wallace may be of value to the farmers, in spite of himself.

## THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATION OF THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY.

(Note.—The following is a leading editorial taken from the "Minnesota Union Advocate," official organ of the trade union movement of Minnesota. Its editor is William Mahoney, a leading figure in the Farmer-Labor movement.—ED.)

The question has been raised about the relations of the economic elements of farmer and worker and their respective organizations to the Farmer-Labor Party. It is contended that the new party should not bear a vital connection with any economic class, but should be founded on the broad and vague basis of sentimental "justice."

It sounds good and has a strong appeal to the latent emotions of mankind to build on the foundation of universal brotherhood and justice, but in so doing the principles and purposes of political parties are disregarded. Government itself is a reflex of the ruling economic interests.

Of course it is the vogue among politicians to claim that their respective parties represent "all the people," and it will be vigorously denied by them that economic interests are potent factors in the control of political movements.

The Farmer-Labor Party, as its name indicates, came into existence in response to the economic demands of the farmer and labor elements. It became a recognized fact that both the Republican and Democratic parties are dominated by and serve the interests of the propertied class and not those who derive their income from their labor.

It seems strange now that the working people after bringing the new movement into existence for the purpose of securing legislation which will protect those who derive their living from their labor and not from investments should feel that it can be abandoned to the same forces that have appropriated and corrupted the other political parties.

The political struggle of the workers and farmers is a tremendous one and necessitates the establishment and control by the workers of an agency through which they must emancipate themselves. If this course is not followed, they might just as well abandon their efforts along present lines and go back to the capitalist-controlled parties, and try to secure "justice" through them.

We have been educated by the politicians and the schools to frown on class government, and a class can come completely hypnotized with the idea that it is un-American to sanction the organization of a political party with an avowed class character. Even those who have been foremost in helping to organize and nourish the Farmer-Labor Party now seem ready to deny its character and purpose.

Now what is the nature of this new political movement? It aims to secure for those who derive their living from their exertions of a physical or mental character, opportunity to work and full protection in the proceeds of their labor.

Under existing conditions when the means of production and exchange are monopolized by a comparatively few great corporations, which dominate government, and use it to further promote propertied interests, the mass of the individuals are helpless. It is to break through this rule of plutocracy and give freedom to the producing class that the Farmer-Labor Party is organized and sustained.

Many of those in the new party are obsessed with the erroneous idea that it may function successfully as a loose aggregation of well-meaning idealists who are striving for some vague reform and economic interests of the great toiling masses may be placed in the background.

The political movement of the farmers and workers must be organized along closer lines and with a larger field of action than the Republican and Democratic parties, as a continuous campaign of education and organization is necessary to its ultimate success.

As the movement had its origin in the economic problems of the producing elements of society, the party should always seek to meet the demands of these elements and should be controlled by them.

To Our South Dakota Readers:  
We are mailing to you this second issue of Farmer-Labor Voice, so that in case your subscription is received before publication of the February 15th issue you can have a complete file of the paper during its first year. But no more can be sent out, except to the names enrolled upon our subscription list.

# The Conference in Denver

DENVER, Col., Feb. 1.—Special correspondence: The Farmer-Labor forces of Colorado are struggling to find themselves. The conference, of the Colorado Farmer-Labor Party, which was held in Denver the last of January and was attended by members of the party from several of the Mountain and Missouri River states, acted as the opening wedge toward the formation of a real Farmer-Labor Party in this state. This conference was called by the officials of the old Farmer-Labor Party. And there was evident intention to bring on a controversy over the matter of admitting to the national convention, called for May 30th, some of the elements composing the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

Witchburners and heresy hunters held the stage but a short time, however. The common sense of those present quickly asserted itself, and when the convention made its final decision, it endorsed the United Front of all progressive forces, made no distinction as to those to be included, and decisively repudiated any effort to delay the holding of the convention called for on May 30th in St. Paul. A delegation of seventeen was chosen to attend this convention. And there is every reason to believe that most of those selected will be on hand when the convention opens.

### Conference Meets.

At the same time that the Farmer-Labor Party conference was in session, the Conference for Progressive Political Action held a meeting. This was quite largely attended, because it had been managed locally by H. L. Evans, manager of the Non-Partisan League, and his co-worker, Vance Monroe, editor of the League paper—the Colorado Leader—and also editor of the Farmers' Union publication. The Conference for Progressive Political Action was made up of the heads of the farm organizations in the state. And while this organization has heretofore been making itself felt through the Democratic Party, it has a strong inclination to go Farmer-Labor. Out of the two hundred delegates present at this meeting a very large majority favored a national Farmer-Labor Party.

### Farmers Angry Over Taxes.

The Colorado farmers, like those of other states, are being exploited without mercy. They are either broke flat, or can clearly see

that state of affairs in prospect. To add to their wrath over conditions imposed upon them by the deflation policy and the monopoly control of the grain and live-stock markets, the Western Sugar Company gouges them at every turn. Its last statement showed that it had a twelve million dollar fund for dividends on its watered stock, while the farmers, who produced the beets, are going broke. On top of this, land valuations were boosted, and taxes enormously increased, on farm lands. For this the governor is getting no end of criticism.

### Politicians Must Go Down.

Probably no state in the union has so mixed and so corrupt a political history as Colorado—unless it be Pennsylvania. Special interests have corruptly governed, at all times. The only period in its history, when these capitalistic interests were completely out of the saddle, was in 1894, when Waite, the Populist, was Governor. At this time there is a very large majority which might be merged into a class-conscious farmer-labor movement, if it were not for the intervention of crooked labor and farmer politicians, in the pay of the capitalistic plunderbund. As yet there is not much class-consciousness among the workers and farmers of their real position and their mutual interest. There are groups, here and there, who may yet be fused into a mass movement. But the work of doing this, remains for the future. The material is on the ground in abundance. The urge for action is present, but there has been so much misrule, so many broken promises, and so much money expended in the elections, that the process of cleansing is going to be a tedious one.

### Strong Spirit of Protest.

A temporary victory of the protest element may be achieved this fall, if the contending forces within this protest action can be successfully amalgamated. This is not going to be an easy task, for the reasons stated. There is too much "easy money." Those who have a little power are too poor to stand the pressure, when money is offered. But in spite of all this there is a strong vein of true protest, and a desire for fundamental change, which may make its will felt, if the situation is well handled by those who have a vision reaching beyond a temporary political victory.

The almost universal selfish desire to "get ahead in the world"—ahead of one's fellows—is the greatest obstacle with which the progressive labor movement has to contend. Capitalism fosters and depends upon it.

"The Associate Industriés"—New York State's "Big Business" combine—demands an investigation of the State Labor Department. If the labor union interests will now return the compliment, there should be some investigation—and considerable odor.

The Sinclair-Norris government marketing corporation bill is now expected to meet with favorable legislative consideration within a month. And the credit for this situation must be given to the progressive farmers' organizations. Organized labor generally will share in the benefits to be thus gained.

### Workers' Bank "Sitting Pretty."

Despite persistent reports in the American kept press, that "the Industrial Bank of Moscow has finally closed its doors," that financial institution of the Russian workers insists upon continuing "business as usual."

The result of its operations during the past year, amounting to \$85,000,000, will be a 100 per cent increase in the banks' paid-up capital. In that period it has organized, and is now operating, forty branch banks throughout Russia with successful results that are surpassing all expectations.

## Farmer-Labor Forum

The 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 hundred words. With these, pen-names only will be published if requested. But name and address of writer must accompany each contribution.

The Farmer-Labor Voice assumes no responsibility for the opinions expressed in this manner.—ED.)

Our readers have not, as yet, accepted this invitation—first extended in the previous issue of Farmer-Labor Voice. And we cannot very well proceed any farther with the Farmer-Labor Forum in this issue. We expect that our friend, the postman, will soon "register extreme weariness" (eimatographically speaking) over the loads of such letters which he will be called upon to bring into this office. "Get in the game"—and "Let's go!"

### The General Weeps.

Gen'l Henry T. Allen, former Commander of American expeditionary forces in Germany, now announces that "America never made war upon children." And then proceeds to express his bourgeois sentimentality by quoting as follows, from the American Relief Report:

"A recent survey shows that two million undernourished German children are in immediate need of food, and there will be many more before this 'Winter' is over—which promises to be the worst in Germany's history?"

"Shall Two Million Children Suffer?"—Is the question which this doughty military hero poses, as title of his article contributed to the Locomotive Engineers' Journal. But his benevolence entirely overlooks the fact that in the United States of America, right now—when the American farmers have no market for their products—there are millions of undernourished children attending the public schools, and "in immediate need of food." And also that there are many more, in this "land of the free," who are forced to work, at miserable wages, in order that they may not starve.

We are for the starving German children, of course. And we are for the more than half-starved American child wage-slaves. But we cannot stomach these tearful appeals handed out by capitalist-class military leaders. Because it was their own late activities in behalf of the world's market-proteeters, which brought about the present conditions of dire want—in Germany, as elsewhere. And "general weeps"—by Brig. Generals, or by anyone else—are not going to permanently remedy any such situation.

### New Contributors:

WILLIAM H. GREEN of Omaha, Neb. is first vice-chairman of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and a prominent national figure in the farmer-labor movement.

John C. Kennedy is state secretary for the Farmer-Labor Party of Washington, and was long an active and dependable worker in the Chicago progressive labor movement.

William E. Zouch, educational director of Commonwealth School (New-Haven, Ia.), is a member of the National Executive Committee of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

## Subscription Blank

Federated Farmer-Labor Party,  
800 N. Clark St.,  
Chicago, Ill.

JOSEPH MANEY, National Secretary:

Enclosed find \$ \_\_\_\_\_, for which you will send to below address, Farmer-Labor Voice, for a period of \_\_\_\_\_ months.

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### CO-OPERATIVE GARAGE.

Finnish Co-operators in Brooklyn, New York, have a co-operative garage. A news release issued by the Co-operative League, reports the organization of the "Sunset Co-operative Garage." The organizers have had experience with other forms of Co-operation. They are all members of co-operative housing societies, they buy their bread from their own co-operative bakery, their meat from their co-operative butcher shop, and their groceries from their own grocery store. Now they are preparing to save money by running their own garage.

The new company is organized with a capital stock of \$20,000. There are twenty-four members, each being required to buy 75 shares of stock at \$5 bought for the society. A first mortgage and a bond bought for the society. A first mortgage and a bond issue will furnish the additional capital required for building operations.

The private cars belonging to the members will be stored in their own garage. A man will be employed to look after the cars and do repair work. Members expect to make considerable savings on storage and repairs.

The success of other co-operatives organized by these members seems to assure the prosperity of this new and unusual venture for a co-operative society.

### FAKE CO-OPERATIVE DISSOLVED.

The Consumers Association of America, a fake "co-operative" of Philadelphia, has been ordered out of business, by the courts. An opinion by the Court of Common Pleas reports the capital of the concern "greatly impaired" and orders the sale of stock stopped, a receiver appointed, and assets distributed among creditors and stockholders. This means the final chapter in the history of an organization characterized by The Co-operative League as a spurious co-operative.

To prevent losses through fake concerns, The Co-operative League, the national headquarters of the Co-operative Movement, maintains a free information service. Inquiries as to the genuineness of any business calling themselves co-operative should be sent to the Co-operative League, 100 West 42nd Street, New York City.

Private ownership of \_\_\_\_\_

# Birth of the Federated Party

By JOSEPH MANLEY.

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party was organized in the historic July 3-5 convention, at Chicago. To this gathering had come hundreds of delegates from the farms and workshops of the country. They came in response to a call which was sent out by the old Farmer-Labor Party. This call was addressed to "all labor, farm and political groups" and urged attendance for the purpose of organizing a great mass political party of the farmers and industrial workers. The action of that convention has been duly chronicled.

And since that date, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party has gone forward as a great national unifying force among the industrial and political elements which that convention of delegates represented. The purpose has been, and will continue to be, that of uniting against the capitalist political parties all farmers' and workers' organizations into an opposition class party of these elements.

### Unification and Strength

Upon this course the new party has advanced irresistibly and with an ever-increasing momentum. Its affiliated membership at this date totals more than 200,000. These include farmers' organizations, industrial and trades unions, political parties, and co-operative and fraternal organizations throughout the country. And there are also many other organizations, not directly affiliated, but with which the Federated Farmer-Labor Party is in a most cordial relationship. Among these, for instance, are the Farmer-Labor Party of Montana, the Buffalo Labor Party, the Progressive Party of Nebraska, and others too numerous to mention within the scope of this article. Conservatively stated, the membership of such organization may be stated as more than 100,000.

Thus it may be confidently said that the Federated Farmer-Labor Party has already developed a very strong organization, and is rapidly sinking its roots into the sub-soil of the farmers' and industrial workers' economic and political consciousness. Its latest and greatest effort toward quick development is the publication of The Farmer-Labor Voice, as the official organ of this movement.

### Five Fields of Effort

What might be called a cross-section view of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, will show that it contains five basic divisions within the bounds of its organizational activities. And these we will describe as follows:

#### 1. The Farmers.

Among the farmers—and more especially the bankrupt farmers of this country's great Western, and Northwestern grain belts—this organization is bringing renewed hope and confidence. And of greatest interest to the farmer, are its program demands of "Land for Users of the Land" and "A Five-Year Moratorium on Farm Mortgage Debts." With particular reference to these planks of our program, The Western Progressive Farmers (an organization containing many thousands of class-conscious farmers), with headquarters in the great agricultural state of Washington, has recently announced its full affiliation with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

#### 2. The Industrial Workers.

In Washington County, Pa., this organization sustains a most militant branch. Pennsylvania is the greatest industrial state in the Union—and in this "workshop of the world" the workers are among the most ruthlessly exploited—as in the coal and the steel industries. Affiliated with this branch of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party are many local unions of miners and steel-workers. And elsewhere, throughout the country, such branches and affiliations are existent or in the process of organization.

#### 3. The Foreign-born Workers.

With the various organizations, groups or societies of foreign-born workers, it is an old trick of the capitalist political henchmen to swing the voting-power of this element toward one or other of the two dominant capitalist class political parties. And it goes without saying, that the foreign-born worker gains nothing of real value by supporting either one of those political parties. They are learning this truth—and the latest group of these workers to align their forces with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party is the American-Lithuanian Workers' Literary Association, with a membership of 7,000 and militant branches in all principal cities of the country.

#### 4. The State Labor Parties.

These are learning that separate State Farmer-Labor Parties cannot operate successfully along such lines. The Federated Farmer-Labor Party has inaugurated a nation-wide drive for a United Front, with all of these various forces welded together in a great national organization. As an indication of the progress already made toward this goal, we will only say that the Farmer-Labor parties of South Dakota, Montana and Washington have already adopted the platform of the Federated Party and are working in co-operation with each other for greater unifying accomplishments. The news!

### 5. The May 30th Convention.

As a driving force on a national scale, the Federated Farmer-Labor Party is aligning its entire strength in support of the call for the great national nominating convention of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party. This gathering will be held in St. Paul, Minn., on Memorial Day (May 30th), and will decide upon the farmers' and industrial workers' political activities in the 1924 presidential campaign. That convention should mark a memorable day in the history of the Farmer-Labor movement.

### Our Double Task.

Thus it will be seen that the Federated Farmer-Labor Party has undertaken a two-fold task; on the one hand, it is organizing the farmers and industrial workers, in a class-conscious Farmer-Labor Party; and upon the other, it is affiliating various farmers' and workers' organizations, both political and industrial, for a United Front of the working class in opposition to the capitalist class—for national and international action.

In this two-fold task, there are many obstacles to be overcome. And these may be summarized as follows:

In the first place, there are so many farm organizations, and of so many different sorts, that it is necessary to reconcile their differences of opinion with regard to tactics. But the ultimate goal of all is the same—freedom from exploitation. And this is our basic fundamental.

For instances, there is the progressive "Farm Labor Union"; and then there is "The Farmers' Union"—which is not so progressive—its leaders being mostly reactionary. There are the various "Producers' Associations"—each particularly interested in a different product of the farm. And there is "The Farm Bureau Federation," in spite of complete opposition, because it is the tool of the bankers and other exploiters of labor.

The Farmers' Union has been teaching that co-operation among its membership is the solution of the farmers' problems. And this is, of course, no solution, so far as the working farmers are concerned.

The Farm-Labor Union—a later and more militant organization—advocates elimination of the middleman in farm production. But, much more to the point, it advocates eliminating the causes of the great farm problem by organizing political conferences with the industrial workers.

### Rank and File is Ready.

The saving fact in this situation is the almost unanimous rank and file sentiment toward not only independent political action, but all the other things which are advocated by the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. And this despite the fact that most of their leaders are quite frankly in favor of co-operation with the various political parties of capitalism.

Secondly, as to the industrial workers' organizations, most of these in the American Federation of Labor line up with one or other of the dominant capitalist parties—along with their leaders, whose autocratic control few dare to question, as yet.

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party is bringing together those elements which do dare to question such control of political power by the misleaders of organized labor. The May 30th convention will hear of them.

### From Our Program.

After this short synopsis of past accomplishments and future purposes, a part of the program of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party is printed herewith, in further explanation of what the new organization proposes shall be done toward the building of a great national Farmer-Labor class movement.

### Public Ownership.

There can be no genuine Public Ownership of industry until the workers and farmers control the government. But in order to make more clear the conflict of interests between the employing class and the working and farming classes, and thus aid the masses in their struggle against exploitation and oppression, we propose an immediate program of public ownership of all public utilities. It must at all times be remembered that only to the extent that there is a strong workers' and farmers' representation in the government, and only to the extent that the control of operation is in the hands of workers and farmers, can even this partial nationalization be realized today. The F. F. L. P. therefore proposes the following program:

- (1) We stand for the nationalization of all public utilities and all social means of communication and transportation.
- (2) Industries must be run on the basis of the workers and farmers steadily increasing their control of the management and operation through their own economic organizations.
- (3) Industries must be operated in such a manner as to afford the working and farming masses the maximum security against destitution, unemployment, sickness and high prices.

### Program for Social Legislation.

- (1) That the Federal Government enact a maximum 8-hour work-day in industry, making any violation of the same by any employer a criminal offense, punishable by imprisonment.

# The Farm Crisis

(This is the second instalment of "Hal" Ware's study of the present agricultural situation. A part of this will be published, as space permits, in each issue of our paper. When finished, it will be issued in pamphlet form.—ED.)

### Statistical Aspects of the Farmers' Problem.

An old farmer once said to me, "You know, there are three kinds of liars—plain liars, damn liars, and statistical liars." In trying to give a statistical view of the Farm Crisis I have purposely avoided falling into the class of "liars" considered to be the worst, by "passing the buck" to official sources.

In America we have the most efficient system of production, measured on the basis of product per man. And yet, parallel to this increasing efficiency, there is a decreasing income per farmer and an exploitation of the farmer so severe that he is forced to employ as assistants his entire family.

The production of all cereals, for the 5-year period of 1907-1911, was 114,410,734 tons; while for the 5-year period of 1917-1921, it was 133,919,830 tons. The American farmer had become more efficient. In other words, he had reached the peak in production per man.

In the American Economic Association Review, Stuart & Day report: That the agricultural output over the period of 1900 to 1904, measured in terms of physical units, increased 40 per cent; whereas the number of people who produced this, increased only ten per cent. The increase in output per person was then 25 per cent greater than two decades before.

Secretary of Agriculture Wallace says in the Year Book for Agriculture, 1921: "This increase in efficiency was achieved by using more machinery, more fertilizer and other forms of capital; in other words, through bigger farms and better farming."

"This increase in production and efficiency was achieved during a period of 'high prices,' at a time when the farmers were receiving and using this credit to increase the machinery and other equipment of their farms. But the net income of the farmer during this period was not higher than in the period of lower production and less efficiency. This was because the exploiting industrial magnates have the power of monopoly and constantly keep the prices of goods, transportation and capital parallel with the income of the farmer's, so that his net income is constantly too low."

The Joint Commission of Agricultural Inquiry,\* of which Sydney Anderson is chairman, reported:

"In the rise and fall of commodity prices during the cycle through which we have just passed, the farmers profited but little in a few years and lost heavily in recent months. The profits made by the farmer during the war were only slightly greater than those of 1913, and were swept away by the decline in prices in 1920 and 1921."

Approximately forty million of the total population of a hundred and five million, live outside of town and are directly dependent upon farms. Of this number 10,659,000 are listed as gainfully employed in agriculture, a decrease of 1,727,000 since 1910. In the same census period the number of farms increased from 6,361,502 to 6,448,343, and the average size increased from 138.1 to 148.2 acres; while the number of farm laborers was reduced from 6,003,831 to 4,210,933. This decline, therefore, in those gainfully employed directly in agriculture is thus taken from those employed as farm laborers.

\*The Joint Commission on Agricultural Inquiry was formed by a concurrent vote of the House and Senate, to investigate and report to Congress upon the conditions which cause and affect the present agricultural crisis. This action was the result of an imperative demand upon Congress that something be done to solve the farm crisis. This committee made a thorough and authoritative investigation and while it admittedly has no specific remedy, its data and findings form an authentic and reliable source from which we shall quote (Continued in Next Issue)

## Wide Awake, in Washington!

By JOHN C. KENNEDY.

State Secretary, Farmer-Labor Party  
of Washington.

The liveliest organization of farmers in the Pacific Northwest, The Western Progressive Farmers, have voted unanimously in their Washington-State Unit to affiliate with The Federated Farmer-Labor Party. This action was not taken hastily, nor was it "put over" by a few leaders. The Western Progressive Farmers know very well what the Federated Farmer-Labor Party stands for, and they have gone into the new organization fully aware of its composition and purposes.

The farmers of the Northwest have obtained their education in the hard school of experience, and they are not to be frightened by such terms as "radical," "bolshevik," "red," "communist," etc. They are not so much interested in names as they are in realities, and they are ready to support any movement that promises economic security and justice to the working farmers.

### "How to Get Rich!"

A few years ago they were told by railroad magnates, bankers, and the "experts" at the experiment stations and agricultural colleges, that they should become "scientific." They should study soils, and seeds and breeds, etc., etc. Then if they would work hard they could raise fine large crops and become exceedingly prosperous. Millions of farmers have become "scientific," so scientific in fact that they produce far more wheat and fruit and milk and other good things than can possibly be sold on a profitable basis. And now what do you suppose the politicians, and bankers and big business men are telling the farmers. They say—"You have produced too much. That is the reason you don't get anything for your crops." So the poor farmer is damned if he does—and damned if he doesn't produce.

Now the bankers and wise men are singing a new song to the farmer.

"You must diversify your crops. Then you can keep busy more of the year." (Isn't it fine to have the bankers, parasites and coupon clippers telling the farmers how to WORK more days in the year!) "And if the market on one crop is bad, you will probably make up the deficit on another." So the pass-word to prosperity now is DIVERSIFICATION.

Another group of business men are telling the farmers that they should "co-operate" and form marketing associations. "Put farming on a business basis," say they; keep strict accounts; do as we have done, and you will succeed just as we succeeded." Many of the farmers have acted upon this advice and formed wheat-growers associations, apple-growers associations, potato-growers associations, milk-producers association, etc., etc. So far, so good,—but the majority of farmers still find that they are not exactly living in heaven. So what next?

### Getting At Fundamentals.

The progressive farmers of the Northwest have listened to all the suggestions and explanations of the agricultural experts, the banks and the railroad magnates. They have tried out their programs—and they find that year by year their position becomes more precarious. For millions life on the farm has become impossible, and they have abandoned their ranches and gone to take their chances with the army of unemployed in great industrial centers. The progressive farmers see now that it is not a question of more production, or diversified crops, or even co-operative marketing. But that it is a question of abolishing an entire economic system that robs the farmer, just as it does the wage-earner, of the major part of the wealth he creates.

The farmer cannot be free so long as the banking and monetary system of the nation controlled by Wall Street bankers!

Of what avail is it to raise crops if the profits are taken by the extortionate rates of railroad corporations and by speculators and middle-men?

Corporations control the banks, corporations control the railroads, corporations control the markets and corporations control the government.

If the farmer has anything left after marketing his products he is robbed by the harvester trust, the steel trust, the woolen trust, the sugar trust and all the other trusts, when he goes into the market to buy his necessities.

Then a corporation-controlled government shifts the chief burdens of taxation on to the farmer's back—on the theory that his back is broad (and his head is thick), so he will willingly stagger along under any burden he can carry.

Moreover, when Big Business decides to plunge the nation into war to fight for foreign resources and foreign markets the farmer is not consulted—all they ask is for his sons to fight the battles, and his labor to pay the war debts of capitalism.

Thus it comes about that the Western Progressive Farmers are organized on a NEW BASIS. They are non-capitalistic organizations of farmers who believe that the power of capitalism must be broken before the producers—the wage-earners and farmers alike—can be free.

The Western Progressive Farmers very logically affiliated with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, because that party is the political expression of all producers who realize that CAPITALISM MUST GO.

All wide-awake progressive farmers throughout America should get in touch with this young, virile farmers organization. Industrially and politically its program meets the issues of the day.

An inquiry to the National Chairman, William Bouck, Sedro-Woolley, Wash., will bring full information.

## What Hit the Farmer.

By W. H. GREEN.

The present financial crisis of the American farmer has been approaching for thirty years. If a careful analysis of the facts is made, it will be discovered that from sixty to eighty per cent. of the American farmers have never been able to make a dollar, except through the natural increase in the value of their land. Of course, there have been families—mostly of foreign nationalities—who have eaten what they could not sell of the farm produce. Then they harnessed the baby, as soon as he was able to walk and put him to work in the fields. And thus they have gained a little benefit from their farms, and possibly accumulated a little property.

The progressive-farmer movement which began away back in the Eastern States, was not long-lived. When the Eastern farm-mortgage debt became too heavy to carry, then the equity was sold by the farmer to some more prosperous member of the community and he moved his family to the West. First came Illinois, then it was Iowa, next came Nebraska—and on Westward until the Rocky Mountains hove in sight.

The day finally arrived when there was no more free land, and a final settlement had to be made. At almost every street-crossing in the European cities, travelers are told that the American publicists are the greatest liars in the world. It is a notorious fact that mis-statements of official figures bring the greatest financial reward of any class of capitalist: news-matter. And the more correct statements receive little consideration, because of that fact. Nothing could prove this more conclusively than the way in which the heralds of the grain manipulators ignore the Sidney Anderson Congressional Committee Report on Agricultural Conditions. This report emphasized the fact that under-consumption of wheat has been a greater adverse economic factor than any so-called over-production. It shows that the consumption of wheat dropped from 6.9 in 1919 to 4.6 in 1922.

The commercial tragedy inflicted upon the agricultural interests during the past four years was hand-made to order. Foolishly trusting to tricky politicians and crooked lawyers, the American people put their scale-beams and yard-sticks into the hands of the financial speculators and political fakery. The interests of the farm-exploiters demanded that the yard-stick and scale-beam be as short and light-weight as possible—until the speculators had sold heavily. Then, by decreasing the money in the banks, and through other commercial exchange measures, they automatically increased the measurement of yard-stick and scale-beam so that it took a third more products of every description to repay the loans upon farm production. Thus both ends were played against the middle—with the farmer in the middle of it.

How the Federal Reserve Bank gamblers manipulated this artificial stringency of the grain market, and the terrible pressure they applied upon the farmer will be discussed in another issue of this paper.

## Birth of Federated Party

(Continued from Page Six)

(2) That the Federal Government enact a law that will make the Federal Reserve Bank System serve the farmers and workers.

Industry should be encouraged to discontinue its reckless "hiring" and "firing" practices by compensating the unemployed worker temporarily when he is thrown out of employment through no fault of his own.

(3) That the Federal Government enact a Child Labor Law, prohibiting the employment of children under eighteen, and making the violation of this law a crime, punishable by imprisonment.

(4) That the Federal Government enact a law providing for a minimum living wage for all workers—the wages to be fixed in co-operation with the representatives of the trade unions.

(5) That the Federal Government enact a law providing for the compulsory education of all under eighteen. Special attention must be paid to the erection of new and adequate schools in the rural districts.

(6) That the Federal Government enact a law providing for the adequate compensation of ex-soldiers—a soldier bonus—funds for same to be obtained through levying of inheritance taxes, excess profit taxes, surtaxes and taxes on unearned incomes.

(7) That the Federal Government enact a Social Insurance law, provid-

quate sick, accident, and death insurance for all city and rural workers. Funds for the same to be secured through the taxation on incomes, excess profits, surtaxes and inheritance taxes and taxes from unearned incomes.

(8) That the Federal Government enact a National Maternity Insurance law providing for full union wage compensation to all prospective mothers for the period covering one month prior and one month after child birth.

### Farmers' Program.

(1) Land was created for all the people, and we demand a system of land tenure that will eliminate landlordism and tenantry, and will secure the land to the users of the land.

(2) Public ownership of all means of transportation, communication, natural resources and public utilities, to be operated by and for the people.

(3) The issue and control of all money and credit by the government, for service instead of profit.

(4) All war debts to be paid by a tax on excess profits.

(5) A moratorium on all working farmers on their farm mortgage debts for a period of five years.

### COST OF LIVING CLIMBS STEADILY.

A perusal of the latest figures issued by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, on the cost of living; will quickly dispell whatever illusions anyone might have had with regard to the direction in which the

This report shows that from October 15 to November 15, 1923, there was an increase in the cost of living, in 22 out of the 28 cities that were investigated; and that in certain localities the rise was as high as three per cent.

For the year ending November 15, 1923, the investigations by this governmental bureau found an increase in living costs in all of the 28 cities covered; and in the city of Chicago during that year the prices of food-stuffs show an increase of eight per cent. The rise in rent averages, and many other items, is shown to have been even more rapid.

Meanwhile, wage-cuts are becoming more and more prevalent—and right at present seem to be the order of the day. As an instance, just recently the shoe manufacturers in Lynn, Mass., have forced their workers to accept a wage-cut of fifteen per cent.

As the cost of living mounts steadily upward, the workers are faced with the threat of unemployment or lowered wages, and the farmers find themselves deeper and deeper in the slough of depression.

The result is, that there is a general inclination to ask a very pertinent question—and this question is: who are reaping the benefit from these fast-increasing profits on the products of the farmer and the industrial worker?

Where the bankers, the railway kings, the coal

### Sheep Dope, the New Hope Dope

Now the economic ills of the farmers are to be cured—for sure—with sheep—"dope." Everything else having failed, it has finally been discovered by the Agricultural Colleges and the Chambers of Commerce that the final cure—all will be found in the organization of Boys and Girls Sheep Clubs. "Buy a lamb—raise a lamb—it will make you rich!"

For years there have been Men's Sheep Clubs, all over the west. Fighting coyotes, braving blizzards, quarreling with the Cattle Mens' Clubs over range, shooting each other over water-holes and pasturage privileges, these Mens' Sheep Clubs have all gone broke in a life battle between themselves, for the profit of the banks, and the railroad and woolen trusts. And this, despite the fact that the United States does not raise enough wool for its own needs, and that our clothing is composed principally of "shoddy."

#### A Raw Hog Game.

Three years ago, when the bottom dropped out of corn prices all over the corn states, as the result of Mr. Harding's deflation project, then began the organization of "Boys and Girls Pig Clubs" by the agricultural colleges, the Chambers of Commerce—the preachers—the editors—the bankers—the lawyers—the school teachers—merchants—all those who belong to upper class society. Hogs were to be the Savior of agriculture—and everybody went into hogs. The yards of the farmers swarmed with pigs—pigs to the right of you, pigs to the left of you, pigs in the rear, pigs in front and behind—pigs, pigs, pigs, everywhere you went. Result: Too many pigs—no price for hogs. The packers' campaign to assure themselves a plentiful supply of raw material had succeeded beyond their fondest hopes.

That illusion has passed. The woolen trust will now take its turn. Another dose of "hope dope" is being administered: Raise more sheep. Increase the wool output. That will solve the problem—FOR THE WOOLEN TRUST.

#### The Real Solution.

Some day the pig- and cattle raisers, the wheat raisers, and the corn and cotton raisers, will discover how they have been manipulated to their own destruction.

Finally they will see that there is no illusion about the fact that a few men own the machinery, the transportation, the banking power and the distributive agencies.

And in order to secure what is coming to him, the farmer must join hands with the city worker and gain possession of these agencies, before he can get what belongs to him.

Thus, slowly but surely, the day is dawn-



#### PRIMA FACIE.

The situation shown in above cartoon requires no explanatory comment. But the way to provide a more fair allotment of comfort to the farmers and industrial workers—in the street-cars and elsewhere—seems to necessitate quite a lot of explanation. Farmer-Labor Voice proposes to furnish eight pages of such medicinal information twice a month. Here's the second dose. How do you like it?

#### WORKERS' LULLABY (From Producer's Call)

Hush-a-bye, baby, on the tree top,  
When you grow up you can work in a shop,  
When you are married your wife can work, too;  
So that the rich will have nothing to do.

Hush-a-bye, baby, on the tree top,  
When you are old your wages will stop,  
And when you have spent what little you save,  
It's rock-a-bye, baby, off to the grave!

ing when the farmers and workers will take possession of the political power, to secure for themselves some of the comforts that are now being enjoyed by those who fool and befuddle them in order to rob them.

### Labor Defense Council Hampered for Funds

The Labor Defense Council, which for fifteen months has conducted the fight against prosecutions under the "criminal syndicalism" statute, now finds itself in serious financial straits. Receipts have fallen off steadily during the past few months—and precisely at the time when increased efforts are needed, to permit the winning of appeal proceedings in the Ruthenberg case, now pending.

The Defense Council's remarkable victory in the case of William Z. Foster will be endangered, unless it is made secure by a precedent of outright acquittal under the Michigan Criminal Syndicalist statute. The fight must be carried on to complete and final victory, through the winning of this appeal to United States Supreme Court. If the appeal is not won, then Foster will almost certainly be brought to trial again—along with Rose Pastor Stokes, William F. Dunne, Robert Minor, and the twenty-seven other defendants whose cases are still pending in the Michigan courts.

Between now and March 1st, the Labor Defense Council must raise \$15,000. This is the minimum required to meet current bills and expenses. More than 90 per cent of the funds already raised by the Defense Council, came in small amounts through contributions by working men and women. It was the class conscious response of the workers, in defense of union labor organization. And it was this whole-hearted support that made possible the engagement of Frank P. Walsh, as chief counsel for the defense.

Thus far it has been possible to save from prison all of these thirty-two staunch fighters for the working class. And a line of defense has been carried on which was at the same time an attack, by making use of the Michigan Criminal Syndicalism cases to create a united front of labor, against those vicious agents of the employing class—William J. Burns and his "Department of Justice," so-called. And up to this point has been defeated the avowed purpose of the enemies of organized labor. But the fruits of past triumphs may be lost, and the militant left wing of the labor movement destroyed, unless there is a more general realization of the present great emergency. The Ruthenberg appeal proceedings must be won, to assure a final victory for the working class against the machinations of the Burns-Daugherty capitalist class combination.

The secretary of the Labor Defense Council declares that its work is greatly hampered by a present lack of funds with which to carry on this fight. And it is the duty of all militant unionists, and all friends of the progressive labor movement, to at this time put forth every possible effort in support of the Labor Defense Council. They should write immediately, and co-operate directly with the secretary of that organization.

LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL,  
(Room 307, Federation of Labor Bldg.)  
166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

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