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Mary Marcy

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Price, Ten Cents

How the Farmer Can Get His



By
**Mary
Marcy**

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HOW THE FARMER CAN GET HIS

WHAT'S WRONG.

In order to know what is wrong in the world to-day and how to right those wrongs, you have to know something about how things are produced and distributed. You have to know something about *making* things and what they will exchange for.

You have to understand just what the workers who *make* things get in exchange for their products, and just what they *ought* to receive. And so, first of all, we have to know what determines the *value* of commodities. We need to know this before we can intelligently consider what men ought to receive for so many pairs of shoes, or so many yards of cloth, or so many bushels of wheat, or machinery, etc. etc.

Now a commodity is a product of human labor made to satisfy some human need or want, and made for sale or exchange. When a shoemaker makes a pair of shoes to wear himself, these shoes are not a commodity. When a farmer raises young onions to be eaten at his own table, these onions are not commodities. They are made for your own use and not for sale. It does not matter how you raised these onions or made those shoes so long as you intend to eat the onions and to wear

2 HOW THE FARMER CAN GET HIS

the shoes yourself. But it is a different matter when you come to sell things to somebody else.

Then people will always consider the *value* of your products and so it is very important that we should understand what determines the *value* of a commodity. Why, for example, a garden rake may sell for \$1.00 and a suit of clothes sell (or exchange) for \$25.00. Before we can really understand what is wrong in society, why the people who produce all the commodities in the whole world are usually poor people, while the people who own the factories, the mines, the railroads, the land, etc., etc., are usually rich people—we have to understand the *value* of commodities.

We think you farmers, who work for a living, could give a better idea of what makes value than almost any other class of useful workers. Water is useful and uncleared land is useful and virgin forests are useful, but the only reason that owners of land or water rights can sell them is because they possess a monopoly of something the people have to use in order to sustain life. These are not commodities and they do not contain any real exchange value—because, as I suspect you have already guessed, they do *not represent any necessary human labor*.

Commodities have value because they are the product of human labor and because they satisfy some human need or want.

But there is one particular point in discussing the subject of *value* with you farmers, that we

shall need to make clear. The value of a bushel of wheat from "your" farm is not determined by the *individual* labor you spent in producing it, nor is the value of the wheat produced on a capitalistic 10,000 acre farm determined by the labor spent in raising it. Value is not determined by the *individual* labor but by the necessary *social* labor represented in a commodity. If you think this over you will see that.

For example, if one of your neighbors asked you to pay \$1.00 for a pound of sausage just because he and his wife had spent two or three hours making it in their own kitchen, you would laugh at him. You would probably see at once that he was asking you more than the value of the sausage.

You would tell your neighbor that you couldn't afford to pay a double or treble price for sausage just to give work to him and his wife when you could buy the same sausage, or just as good sausage, at 25 cents a pound which had been ground up and mixed up and stuffed by a man operating a machine.

If a one-horse tailor drove up to your door and tried to sell you a suit of clothing for fifty dollars, that you could duplicate at the store for thirty dollars, just because he had to make the whole thing by hand because he didn't have any sewing machine, you would probably tell him you couldn't afford to pay more than a suit was worth just because he happened to be broke.

4 HOW THE FARMER CAN GET HIS

The same conditions apply to all other branches of industry. In most fields there are thousands of people, companies and corporations, making the same things to sell. The people who make them by hand, or by small, old-fashioned machine methods, put a lot more labor into every commodity than the workers for the big companies do, because the big companies can afford to install giant machines which cut down the necessary labor in a commodity.

The suit of clothing, the sausage, the wheat, produced by large capitalist enterprises, represent very little human labor. These great packing plants, and factories and capitalist farmers thus sell commodities containing very little value (or labor) when compared to the same product made *by hand or by small farm methods, or even with the use of old-fashioned machinery.*

Things are produced to-day not *by* an individual for an individual, but by great social groups for a whole nation, and even for the world. Individual production has given place to social production. So that it is the *socially necessary* human labor which determines the *value* of wheat, or cloth, or machinery, or flour. The value of shoes is the *average* human labor it takes to produce shoes in a given state of society.

You can easily see to what a disadvantage this puts the small working-farmer, without modern machinery, or the small shoe-maker, or the trying-to-be-independent sausage-maker or pack-

er. You can see how this handicaps *you* and yet this is a condition that the small farmer can never escape in a capitalist society. Only Socialism, or the collective ownership of the tools of production and distribution, can place him on the economic level of every other man and woman.

We shall take up this most important subject of Value again later on. Just here we want to show what machinery has done to the farm and is doing to the small farmers all over the world.

ADVENT OF MACHINERY.

Only a few score years ago the farm was the real workshop of the world. In America, especially, everybody worked from early morning till late at night producing the things the family needed and exchanging some of these products for the few things not produced on the farm. I remember reading a letter my grandmother had which was written by her father in which he said that he and his family were producing everything used by them except tea, sugar and nails.

In those days there were no machines, no railroads and unless men and their wives and their children worked constantly, they found themselves without the things they needed to live on.

Women spun and weaved and made the clothing for the entire family from wool or cotton or flax raised on the farm. Soap, candles, furniture and even shoes were sometimes made by the farmers,

6 HOW THE FARMER CAN GET HIS

and the wives of farmers. There was little *division* of labor, so far as the men were concerned. Women were expected to raise the children, cook, wash, make the clothes and generally take care of things used in the home, while the men gave their attention to the land and stock.

Nearly everything was made by *hand*. The necessities of life meant putting in so much human labor that few people were able to live by merely owning things. Nearly everybody had to work.

Wheat was much more valuable in 1820 than it is to-day because it represented so much more human labor. And gold, which is also a commodity, was also much more valuable, because it, too, meant much more labor to discover and mine it than it does to-day. This is why, wheat did not bring more gold (or a higher price) in those days.

Without the aid of machinery farmers were unable to cultivate large areas of land, were unable to harvest big crops. But with the coming of the reaper, the binder, the thresher and other farm machines, one farmer was able to cultivate twice as much land, and then three times as much land, as two and three men had cultivated formerly.

Sons of farmers began to migrate toward the towns where small factories, cotton and woolen mills were springing up. The railroads facilitated this movement.

Machines had entered many other fields of production and the seeds of the present factory system were sown. More and more farmers turned

toward the towns and cities; better and bigger machines were used, larger factories sprung up.

And everything that was made by the new factory method represented less and less human labor than the old hand method of making things. It required an appalling amount of hand labor, for instance, to spin and weave cloth and make it up into clothing. The worker in the factory, using machinery, was able to produce this same cloth, in an incredibly short period of time.

And the commodities produced by workers operating machines in the factories brought down their *value* (the necessary social labor in them). The machine-made article always sold for a little less than the hand-made article, until by and by the hand-weavers and spinners found that they could not make enough to live on. The old system failed before the new one. Hand labor was starved out by the machine, just as the small machine user is being squeezed out to-day by the capitalist who uses Mogul tractors and 55-Bottom engine Gangs, and automatic machinery.

Year by year, with the improvement in the tools of production, commodities decreased in value, and in price. For as Karl Marx, the great socialist economist, explains in his volumes on Capital, commodities tend to exchange (or sell) at their value. There are notable exceptions to this general rule, which we shall discuss later.

The point we are trying to make clear here is that with improved methods of production the

value (or necessary social labor) in all commodities, so produced, steadily decreases. Every new machine employed in the bigger plant or on the capitalist farms reduces the value of commodities so produced until, in the past, the small manufacturer, the hand-weaver, the man using antiquated productive methods, have been inevitably pushed to the wall. It became the story of the home sausage-maker trying to compete with the Armour Packing Company.

Because commodities tend to exchange (or sell) at their value or for other commodities representing an equal necessary amount of social labor, the farmer using old fashioned machinery, or working his farm without the necessary machines, has been compelled to sell all his farm products *below* their *individual value*, while the capitalist farmer has always sold the products of his farm *above* their *individual value*.

The mill man who buys from both and pays the same price for oats or wheat or corn to both, usually buys these commodities at their value. But, especially in America, the farmer very rarely sells his products direct to the consuming miller, who manufactures flour or breakfast foods, etc. etc.

You do not ask how the chair was made, or how the cloth you are going to purchase, was woven. You ask the price of these commodities. The same applies to the mill man or to the association buying farm products. They do not ask how many hours of labor you put into the crops. They don't

expect to pay, and they don't need to pay, any more for products from "hand" worked farms, or from farms equipped with poor machinery, than they do for crops from farms worked almost entirely by men operating machines.

So that, even when "free competition" prevailed in the sale of farm products, as it still prevails in many countries, the machineless farmer was forced, *is* forced, to work harder and longer hours for less reward than the farmer who possessed or possesses capital to buy machines.

This is true to-day and will be true to-morrow and as long as capitalist society endures. There is neither equality of opportunity nor equality of *reward* when some men work to produce the necessary things of life without access to the best and most modern tools of production.

A "low price" will unlock any door and open any market.

To repeat: Production by the use of more and more improved machinery, means less and less value contained in commodities so produced. Machine spinning and machine weaving drove the hand weavers out of their jobs for the simple reason that the machine-made products became *general*, and because they represented less social labor, less value, they sold for a lower price.

The machine-made products so far reduced the price in this, and many other industries, that the hand-weavers, the hand producer and the user of

10 HOW THE FARMER CAN GET HIS

the poor machine have found they could not sell their products for enough to live on.

Some of our readers have had an opportunity to visit the great stock yards and packing plants at Omaha, Kansas City or Chicago. After you have walked miles and miles thru these gigantic buildings; the ice-making plants, the butter factories, the killing, cutting and curing plants and have seen the wonderfully scientific methods employed in preparing the world's meat supplies, after you have looked over the wonderful and expensive machinery used in these plants, you will realize just about how much chance you would have of going into the packing business with two or three thousand dollars capital, and successfully competing with this enormous millionaire packing trust.

Because you would be unable to buy these ten thousand dollar machines, every piece of beef you sold, every pound of sausage you disposed of, would represent much more human labor than beef sold or sausage bought from the packing trust. You would have to sell your products at the same price and on the same market as this organization.

The organization with big capital, though not one of its members may ever perform a stroke of useful work, cannot lose. The man without land or the machinery of production cannot last; never has lasted.

The small farmer gets less and less return for

his labor because he is competing with capitalist farmers with *increasing* capital and improving machinery. By the time you are able to think about the machine of to-day, they will install the machinery of to-morrow. And these machines constantly reduce the value of farm products.

GOLD.

We may as well again mention here, that gold (the basis or money standard of the civilized world to-day) is also a commodity exactly like wheat or corn or stoves. It represents so much necessary social labor. Sometimes gold increases in value and then a five dollar gold piece will buy more cloth than it would before the increase.

During the last ten years modern machinery has been introduced in the great gold mines of the world. This machinery has reduced the human labor required for the production of gold (or our money) and so gold has greatly fallen in value. It represents less human labor. And everybody has noticed how the value of the dollar has fallen lower and lower, year after year. Money has purchased less. In other words prices have risen in general.

When gold decreases in value it exchanges for, or *buys*, fewer commodities, (they rise in price) unless they also have decreased in value (necessary labor) just as has the gold.

The great socialist economist, Karl Marx, ex-

12 HOW THE FARMER CAN GET HIS

plains all this very clearly in his famous volumes on capitalist production and distribution; his theories we are discussing all thru these talks with you. The more we study and understand economics, the more we are able to explain what makes prices rise and fall, the more we can understand just what is likely to happen to the wage workers, the farmers, the brokers, wholesale men and owners of large capital.

VALUE FOR VALUE.

Now the aim of all socialists is access to the means of production and distribution for all workers and the *value* of their products for those who work.

In brief we demand value for value, service for service, labor for labor.

We believe it will be a simple matter to explain to you farmers just where and why you do not receive value for value, and labor for labor, when you take your own products to the mill or elevator to sell them. There are more ways than one whereby you are not only handicapped in your struggle to make a living but wherein you sell your wheat *below its actual social value*, where even capitalist farmers sell the products of their bonanza farms below their value.

We think that many of you could make a very good guess that you who are working without machinery, or using antiquated machinery, sell com-

modities representing 1,500 hours of labor, for money with which you can buy things representing only five or six or seven hundred hours of necessary social labor. We will elaborate on these additional points later on.

But in order to make them clear we will have to discuss conditions in which the farmer comes into contact with the factory owners, mine owners, mills and railroad companies, etc. etc., who are employers of labor.

The things which we all need and which are produced by working men and women, are being bought and sold (or exchanged) every day. You farmers will need to know something of the value of other men's products and the status of the great owners of private capital. You will want to know what other workers, and capitalists, receive to-day. You will want to know what we socialists think the working class ought to receive.

You will want to know not only what socialists believe you ought to receive for your labor, but what other men ought to receive. You will want to know how much you are going to *pay* for the other fellow's products.

Some of you may never have worked for wages and may never have hired any wage earners. But since socialism proposes to abolish all profit, whether it be called profit, rent or interest, we all want to know what will be the basis of exchange.

Now the factory owner, the capitalist farmer, the mill owner, anybody who hires men or women

14 HOW THE FARMER CAN GET HIS

for wages, buys their strength or brains as a *commodity*. They regard the laboring power and the brains of the wage worker as they regard horses or sheep, or stoves, or clothing, or lumber. And they buy this workingman's laboring power in just the same way, at the lowest possible price, for the longest possible time.

The wage workers, having neither land, tools, nor money, are compelled to run around the country competing with others to get jobs—or to *sell* their laboring power, by the day or by the week. Because there are so many unemployed men the employers are usually able to buy this laboring power, or strength, at just about what is the value of *any other* commodity, namely the social labor necessary to reproduce, or produce it. And so they pay wages which are just about high enough to feed and clothe and shelter the man and his family and enable him to get back on the job the next week.

Now it only takes about two or three hours of social labor to produce enough to support a workingman and he gets this in wages. But he gives his employer eight, nine or ten hours of labor. He receives wages and his boss appropriates his *product*. His wages represent two or three hours of social labor (value) and his products represent nine or ten hours of labor.

But all intelligent workers resent their laboring-power and brain-power being bought and sold like hogs and gasoline and tea kettles. They demand

the social *value* of their *products*, just as you farmers do.

And when you stop to think of it—the working class has produced every useful and beautiful thing in the world that possesses any real exchange value. . . .

The factory or mill owner, buys the worker's laboring strength at—say \$3.00 a day, while this worker produces chairs, hats, tables or tools worth ten or twelve dollars each day.

Now you can readily see that if the factory owner, or the mill owner, pays his wage worker three dollars a day and the wage worker makes a commodity representing *eight* hours of necessary social labor, or, say, \$12.00, this factory owner could sell the product of his worker to the consumer for \$12.00, at its *value*, and make a big profit.

As Karl Marx says the tendency is for these commodities to sell to the consumer at their value. This does not mean monopolies, nor highly centralized industries where millions of dollars are invested in *fixed* capital or machinery. Such industries are either out of the range of competition among capitalists or so inaccessible (because of the enormous amount of capital required) that their owners may be able to sell their commodities above their value.

But to return to the factory owner who pays his wage worker \$3.00 a day and who keeps his \$12.00 product. As stated above, this product may

16 HOW THE FARMER CAN GET HIS

sell to the consumer at its value. But the employer is not able to put the whole \$9.00 profits in his own pocket.

For instance: he may be a small silk manufacturer (originally) with little capital. Perhaps he had, when he started in business, just enough to buy his machines and to hire a few wage earners. He did not have enough to carry his silks in stock for long periods of time. But the wholesale silk merchant *did* have this capital. So the little silk manufacturer would sell his factory product to this wholesaler *below* the value of the silk—say at \$6.00.

The retail merchant would have to get the average rate of profit on his money for carrying his stock; so the wholesale man would sell to him at \$9.00 and the retailer would dispose of the silk to his customers at \$12.00—the *value* of the silk (produced by the wage worker for which he received only \$3.00).

During these processes the wholesale merchant and the retail merchant and perhaps the factory owner might also have to pay out of this appropriated value, interest to the banker, rent, etc. etc.

Marx explains how the tendency is toward an average rate of profit, an average rate on the capital invested. Men having capital to invest seek those fields in which the rate of profit is *above* the average. Competition among these capitalists in the same fields reduces the rate until the average profit prevails.

Where one manufacturer is also a wholesale merchant who, in addition, maintains retail stores, he has a far greater capital invested than the man who manufactures only, and he expects to receive the average rate of profit on his money in every sphere. Otherwise he invests his money elsewhere.

The farmer is in the same position as the silk manufacturer. Unless he possesses sufficient capital to hold his crops, or merchant capital in *addition* to capital for working the farm, he is compelled to *divide* the value *he* produces (or his employees produce) with the buying associations or merchants. He is compelled to sell the products of his farm *below their social value*.

We shall devote a chapter to explaining how these organizations have been able to fasten themselves upon the farmer so that they are able to wrest a portion of the value he produces from him.

LAND AND MONOPOLIES.

Karl Marx discusses the land question at great length and we believe every reader of this booklet would find most stimulating thought in his works. But we are here only trying to give a sketch of the processes thru which the farmer is exploited and to show how socialism is ultimately his only hope, because it means collective ownership of the means of production and distribution.

18 HOW THE FARMER CAN GET HIS

If you understand Marxian economics, you will realize how helpless the small individual farmer is and how much more helpless and exploited he is bound to become. You will realize how futile mere reforms must be against a system of society based on the private ownership of the tools of production and distribution.

The price of land is determined by the rent it will bring.

Improved land has value in proportion to the necessary labor spent upon it. Uncleared land, because it represents no human labor, has no real exchange value. It is monopoly, or private ownership alone, that enables the owner to secure a price for it.

The railroads, by reason of their monopolistic character, are very often able to sell the service of their employees, their wage workers, above its value. Nearly all monopolies are able to sell commodities above their value.

These "high prices" do not greatly affect the wage workers because their wages are chiefly determined by the cost of living. The boss has to pay his men enough to keep them going or he will have no workers next week or next month.

But the farmer who sells most of his own products to a *buying* monopoly, is affected by monopoly prices. The things he sells represent much labor and the things he buys mean less and less labor.

If there is only one grain elevator in your neigh-

borhood and you are compelled to sell to, or store your grain in it, the monopolistic character of the elevator may force you to sell grain at a lower price, or pay a higher rate of storage, than you would if there had been five independent elevators.

But where the storage of grain or cotton, or any other commodity, is necessary to preserve it, the workers who do the necessary work in the elevator, *add value* to the cotton or grain. They make the stored grain more valuable. The elevator workers, like other wage workers, get just about enough to live on. The owners pocket the rest.

Socialists would say that the elevator workers ought to receive the value of their useful service, which is equal to the value of every other necessary service performed by men and women.

We used to say that one man's product was more valuable than the product of another man. There was the product of skilled labor and the product of the unskilled laborer. But the improvement in machinery is banishing this difference more and more, faster and faster every day.

Look at Europe and the war for example. Suddenly, about twenty per cent of the most skilled population of France and Germany was removed from the sphere of industry and thrown into war and making the munitions of war.

Weak men, boys, women, unskilled people nearly all were compelled to take hold and feed, clothe

and house—run the nations in fact. They could not have done this twenty years ago. In those days we had simpler tools. The skill was in the hand and the brain of the workingman. Now the skill is put into the machine and almost anybody can operate it as well as the skilled worker.

Since the beginning of the war some of the skilled workers in England have been complaining because inexperienced youths and young girls and feeble women have been placed in machine shops, have taken the places formerly occupied by skilled men. And the unskilled crews are getting away with the job because the hard work, the skilled labor, is performed by the *machine*.

All the talk of machine manufacturers to-day is for making the machines "fool-proof." They are making them so that they may be operated by *anybody*.

Glass is blown to-day, automatically, pies are made by machinery (sixty a minute), type is melted, molded, set, the stamps sorted and returned to the cases, the casts used, remelted and sent back to the pots—all by machinery to-day. More and more all labor is becoming simple labor and is bound to become just useful necessary labor. And all useful labor deserves the same reward.

The men who get down and dig great ditches to drain a swamp and make it habitable and healthful for people to live on, perform labor which is quite as valuable as the physician who comes

along and cures the farmer who gets typhoid fever because he lives on undrained land. One useful sort of labor is just as valuable as another.

Karl Marx explains very clearly how an ordinary employer of wage laborers may pay them \$2.00 a day in wages for which they may produce commodities representing eight hours of labor, or, say \$8.00. After adding the cost of the raw material and selling these commodities to the wholesale man, who in turn sells to the retail merchants, these commodities may be sold to the consumer for their *value* and the various employers who have handled the products still make about the average rate of profit.

But in any field where a group of men possess a monopoly of some natural resource, like the coal mines, the oil fields, or the railroads, the monopolists, by reason of this monopoly, often sell the commodities produced by their wage laborers, or sell the service of their wage laborers—for more than its value. By abolishing the *privatè* ownership of these necessary means of production and distribution, the productive workers may demand value for value when they go to exchange (or sell and buy) commodities.

AGAIN YOU ARE ROBBED.

When Karl Marx said commodities as a rule exchange at their value, he did not, by any means, mean that when you sell a thousand bushels of wheat to one man, who in turn sells to a customer,

22 HOW THE FARMER CAN GET HIS

who resells to some one else, who finally sells out to a third or fourth buyer—Marx did not mean that all these perfectly useless individuals *added any value to that wheat*. But they sell it at a profit.

Now since these speculating purchasers have not added any value to the farmer's wheat, either the first purchaser bought the wheat from the farmer *below* its value or the final purchaser paid for it at *more* than its value.

Now, unless they stored it in order to preserve it, or shipped it, these speculating purchasers have not added any value to the wheat. Take a case where the wheat is neither stored nor shipped. Then the man who originally bought the wheat from the farmer added no value to the wheat, nor did his customer, nor his customer's customer, etc., etc., add any value to the wheat.

But the wheat may have sold finally at fifty cents a bushel more than the original purchaser paid for it. Now price and value are not the same. A sudden war-demand for a thing may cause it to sell (or exchange) far above its value. Or a sudden unexpected over-supply of a commodity or a sudden decrease in a demand, may cause it to sell below its value. To-day this condition prevails in every field of industry.

But we are discussing the difference between the price the farmer sells his wheat for—to the buying associations—and the price at which they sell to the mill-consumers. There is a big difference.

We tried to explain to you a few pages back how brokers, wholesale merchants, middlemen, etc., etc., being, on the whole utterly unnecessary in society to-day, produce neither *commodities* nor any *value*.

But, where there are neither monopolies nor monopolistic tendencies, commodities, on the average, exchange at their value. That is, the consumer nearly always buys commodities at their value. He nearly always receives the value he pays for; he gives gold, or its equivalent, representing so many hours of necessary social labor, in exchange for commodities representing an equal amount of necessary social labor.

Wheat brokers and wheat and other grain speculators get their profits out of value either produced by the farmer who works his farm, or from value produced by farm tenants or farm laborers, because these products are *sold to these speculators below their value*.

One speculator buys corn from a group of farmers at 40 cents and re-sells to another speculator at 48 cents, who disposes of it to a third for 55 cents, who finally sells it to the mill men (who use it as raw material from which, say, corn flakes are manufactured) at 60 cents.

On the average, these mill men buy the corn at its value; the various speculators, or associations, have never seen the corn, never moved the corn, have added not one hour of value to the corn.

The first speculator in this case, bought the

corn from the producing farmers at something like twenty cents *below* its value. This 20 cents of which the producing farmers were exploited, is divided among the three speculators. Nobody is robbed but the actual producers of the corn.

Among capitalist farmers the same conditions prevail as in other fields of investment. In England the great land-owners, or landlords, do not farm their own land nor superintend its cultivation. They rent their acres to capitalist farmers. Unless these capitalist farmers are able to make their capital yield them the average rate of profit *and the sum they pay the landlord in rent*, they seek other fields in which to put their money.

Capitalist farmers hire farm overseers, and buy farm laboring power, to work their lands. Like the capitalist, who, for instance, invests his money in a packing house or a woolen mill, these capitalist farmers have to divide the value appropriated from the labor of the workers *with the middlemen*. The capitalist farmer pays his workers the value of the commodity they have to sell—strength, but he keeps their much more valuable *products*. On the average, these products are sold to the final buyer at their value. The capitalist farmer divides the surplus value, produced by the farm tenants or laborers, with the broker, the speculator, the storage companies and—perhaps—the banker.

The small farm owner, who works in the field beside his hired "hands" is an exploiting capitalist as far as he pays his workers wages and appro-

priates their products. The surplus value or profits he is able to extract are represented by the difference between what he pays for labor power, the cost of machinery maintenance, repairs, taxes, etc., and the price he gets for the products of his laborers.

In America buyers' associations are sometimes so powerful and so completely organized that they demand so great a share of the surplus value produced by the farm workers that the farm owner, or renter, or fruit grower, or truck gardener, is unable to appropriate any of this surplus value produced by his laborers and he ceases to use his land in raising that particular product. There is *nothing left to pay for his own labor.*

This has been true in the case of many small capitalist fruit raisers. Apples rot upon the ground in Michigan and in many other states because the commission houses are so organized that the fruit farmers have no other market, and the price they are offered for apples or peaches is so low that, after the farm owner has paid the laborers to pick, sort and pack the fruit, there is no surplus value and no recompense left for himself.

FARMERS IN DIFFERENT CLASSES.

Farmers cannot be lumped into one class as politicians are so fond of doing in this country. To speak of "the farmer" means nothing definite to-day. We read about the brother of ex-president Taft being a "farmer." But we are informed

that this wealthy capitalist does not even superintend the work on his great capitalistic farm. Mr. Taft is an exploiting capitalist who appropriates the surplus value produced by his laborers and tenants.

As the industrial capitalist who employs workers to make furniture, cloth, machinery, is compelled to *divide* the surplus value (or profits) with the wholesale merchant, the jobber and retailer, so even a capitalist farmer may have to sell many of the farm products expropriated from his farm laborers, *below* their value. Both classes of capitalists have to *divide* the surplus value with other groups of capitalists.

Socialists are not in the least concerned with helping the industrial or agricultural capitalists, neither the mighty Taft's nor the farmer-who-lives-in-town and hires two or three men who run his farm by the aid of additional men in harvest time. This small town farmer also sells the products of his farm workers *below* their value. We do not grieve to see the expropriator expropriated—the robber robbed. We are concerned only with seeing to it that all the productive workers, the workers who perform a useful and necessary function in society, receive the value of their products and the value of this service.

The small farmer who owns, or is paying on a farm, who *works* his farm himself, ought to be interested in the revolutionary movement. He exploits no one and sells his products below their

value. He often buys commodities or service (railroad service, for example) above their value.

On the other hand, we hear a great deal from the farm owner who works a little and hires two or three men. His complaints fill the country newspapers from Maine to California. It is true that he sells the products of his farm below their value. But his only concern may be to secure higher prices for these products, not the payment to his wage-workers of the value of the things they produce, the wheat they grow or the fruit they raise. But the buying associations have him in their grasp. He is pinched by them and in turn pinches his wage-workers. He sometimes desires to make more money from the labor of others. Socialism will not help him to secure it.

If the workers received the value of their social products, the question of land ownership would become a minor one. Ownership could not then mean any opportunity for exploitation and nobody would care to own land so long as he possessed an opportunity to produce and to exchange his products at their value.

INFERIOR LAND.

In an industrial Democracy it need not be a matter of serious moment that one group of workers finds it necessary to labor upon inferior land. We cannot all sow and reap of the best. Men and women will be recompensed according to the

necessary number of hours they work, using modern machinery, and not upon the amount of wheat they raise upon a certain piece of land. For the same labor will produce twice the crop of wheat on rich land as upon poor land.

Every group will, of course, be advised by national experts as to the best crops to plant, the fertilizer needed, and on the thousand and one questions that are constantly increasing as farming is being reduced to a scientific basis.

If a group spends a certain amount of necessary labor on a piece of land according to advice of expert agronomists and the crop is entirely lost because of frost, floods or drought, this farming group will not be forced to beg for a living the remainder of the year.

The local loss will be born by the whole nation and every bushel of wheat will represent a little more *social* labor than it would have meant without the failure of local crops.

The whole wheat product will represent *all* the necessary social labor expended in producing it, using the best machinery. Every year there will be failures of farm crops for one unavoidable cause or another, but the hours spent in farm work by the group of workers whose labors have proved fruitless will, without doubt, be included in the total number of hours spent in farm production by all the workers. The labor of *all* will represent the socially necessary labor embodied in the wheat crop, potato crop or corn crop.

In this way the farmers who work poor land will receive the same payment, per hour of labor, as the groups which work the most fertile land. The total product will represent the total number of hours necessarily expended in the production of a commodity, and men and women will be paid according to their labors.

In this way groups of farmers will be practically insured against crop failures. Modern machinery will abolish all farm drudgery. The income of farm workers will be assured, as will the income of all other necessary workers.

Equal necessary effort, equal labor, will mean a like recompense in every branch of industry. Exchange will be based upon labor for labor; service for service.

This means Socialism or industrial democracy. It is the only kind of democracy there ever can be. If you are interested, study Socialism and help to educate your neighbors in the only real movement *of and for* the working class.

And if this booklet has helped and interested you, order a bundle to give your friends. Write to the publishers and give us your ideas. If we fight together, we can take the world for the workers in it!

AGAINST WAR



The largest, oldest, illustrated Socialist magazine in the world is carrying on a great campaign against militarism in America. The urgent need of such a campaign is proved by the following quotation from a recent speech by General John O’Ryan, commander of the New York National Guard:

“We must get our men so that they are machines, and

this can only be done as the result of a process of training.

“When the feeling of fear—the natural instinct of self-preservation—comes over a man, there must be something to hold him to his duty. We have to have our men trained so that the influence of fear is overpowered by the peril of an uncompromising military system often backed up by a pistol in the hands of an officer. We must make the men unconsciously forget their fear. All these matters of standing at attention and ‘Sir, I have the honor to report,’ are valuable to put him through the biological and social process by which he becomes a soldier.

“The recruits have got to put their heads into the military noose. They have got to be ‘jacked up’—they have got to be ‘bawled out.’ ”

This is the sort of a noose the capitalist class is going to put around the throats of our sons and around our own throats if we do not make it understood in no uncertain terms that the producing classes in America will not submit to such a slavery.

The Review will enlighten you and your friends on just what they are planning to "put over" in this country and how and why we must prevent the blight of Prussianism from spreading.

POPULAR SCIENCE

Most scientific monthlies describe the advance in the machinery of DESTRUCTION; submarine warfare, aeronautics, battleships, etc., along with a smattering of information on industrial processes and machinery.

But the REVIEW specializes on constructive scientific news—on new machinery of production, and industrial invention and the new processes for making things which are constantly revolutionizing society.

Every month we publish articles on Biology, which is the science of life, on Sociology, which is the science of history or peoples, or on Psychology which deals with how people THINK and FEEL.

How will men act under changing economic and industrial conditions? Biology and sociology and psychology help us to answer these problems.

WHERE WERE THE PHILOSOPHERS?

The Economic Interpretation of History has proved that the tool or machine is the world's one great History-maker. Intelligent people no longer believe in the Great Man Theory, which contends that all social progress has been the result of a few inspired individuals who pointed the way.

As a matter of fact, the Great Men, the philosophers, have never solved any of the great problems of the human race. They talked and dreamed and speculated while other men worked. They counselled the people to live on potatoes when there was not bread enough. They advised men to develop their minds when they were hungry.

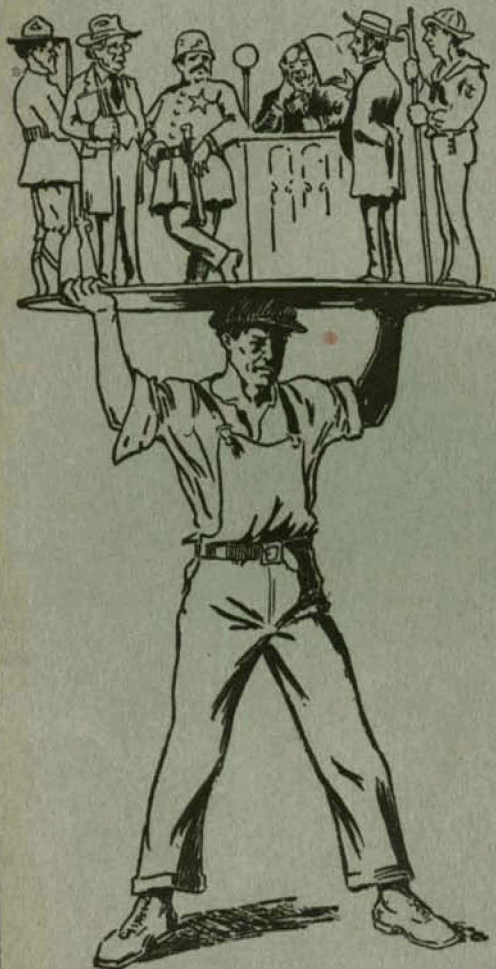
It was the common reaper and binder that made it possible for men to cultivate and reap great areas of land so that the necessity of famine was forever banished. The Machine freed man from hand labor and bound him to the Machine. It liberated him from the soil and sent him to the factory. Not the philosopher but the tool or the Machine.

Neither was it Plato or Aristotle, nor Nietzsche, who opened and made accessible new lands and the Great West, but the compass, which enabled men to sail the seas, and steam, the steam engine and the railroads. Again the Machine.

Read about the new machines described in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, with illustrations, and observe how they change laws, wars, religions, governments and other "sacred" institutions.

The regular subscription price of the REVIEW is \$1.00 a year, but if you write us that you saw this announcement in "How the Farmer Can Get His," we will enter your subscription for six months on receipt of a silver quarter or 25 cents in postage stamps. Or for 10 cents we will mail you the current number and a book catalog. Address Charles H. Kerr & Company, 341-349 East Ohio Street, Chicago.

Is This You?



THIS picture shows how the productive workers support the idlers and their servants today. The war in Europe could not last six months if men still made things by the old hand method instead of by machine, because the soldiers would all starve to death. But factory and machine production make it possible for one hard-working man or woman to support half a dozen people.

But we productive workers believe in DIVIDING UP the work with the people who are riding on our backs. If every healthy adult worked four hours a day and stopped making profits for the OWNING class, all could enjoy the comforts and luxuries of life. If you farmers join in, the thing can be done.

ARE YOU WITH US?