

industry. Failure to get this viewpoint postpones the day of genuine prosperity in the nation.

If such failure is the result of shortsightedness or of blindness, it is not the less deplorable. What is needed is a spirit of co-operation and broad understanding in which all these national problems must be approached for proper solution.

I devoutly believe the outstanding policy of this nation for the next quarter century should be the evolution and putting into effect of a great constructive program for the encouragement and rebuilding of the farm and live-stock industry. Such a program will lay a broad foundation upon which may be erected the world's best and most enduring system of agriculture. In building upon such a foundation we build the most enduring, all-embracing, and the only genuine national prosperity.

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## WHAT THE PROGRESSIVE FARMER WANTS

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD

*THE progressive American farmer is a fundamentalist, says the Farmer-Labor Senator from Minnesota. National ownership, a scientific system of marketing, lower freight rates, stable currency, lower taxes, and La Follette as President,—these are listed as some of his immediate demands. He believes his troubles are due not to the fact that he has been receiving so little from the government but that special privilege has been receiving from the government its present power to exploit him.*

THE Editor of THE FORUM has divided the American farmers into two classes,—the conservative and the progressive. He has asked me to explain what the progressive American farmer wants. The progressive American farmer is a fundamentalist and believes in solving his economic and political problems by attacking the root of the evil. The progressive American farmer has been accused of wanting everything from the Government. As a matter of fact, he wants very little but fair play from the Government. He believes his troubles are due not to the fact that he has been receiving so little from the Government but to the fact that special privilege has been receiving so much. It has received from the Government its present power to exploit the farmer. The progressive farmer believes that if the Government revokes the powers granted to the special privileges in financial legislation, trans-

portation legislation, tariff laws, and laws looking to the protection of monopolies, he can take care of himself. Congress having shown very little disposition to deprive special privilege of its power, the progressive farmer is determined to change the personnel of Congress.

The progressive farmer wants public ownership of the Government and the conservation of public resources for the people.

The progressive farmer wants good wages for the laboring man to insure a stabilized market for his own products.

The progressive farmer wants a scientific and efficient system of marketing. Few people are cognizant of the fact that of every dollar expended by the ultimate consumer for food, only thirty-seven cents is returned to the farmer.

The progressive farmer wants lower freight rates. He realizes that lower freight rates alone will not save him. He has a suspicion that the ownership of transportation is connected with the control of coal and iron and that the Government's attempt at regulations, covering a period of thirty years, has been a failure. He believes the situation to be rather that the railroads have "regulated" the Government.

The progressive farmer wants stable currency, instead of the fluctuating dollars now issued by, and whose value is determined from time to time by the Federal Reserve Banks through their control of money and their creation and annihilation of credit.

To show the effect of the unstable American dollar upon agriculture, I would direct your attention to the condition of the farmers who were encouraged to go into debt at a time when pork was 18 cents a pound on the hoof and the value of the dollar had been depreciated by the increase of credit necessary for the transaction of the expanded business incidental to the war. His debt becomes due at a time when the dollar has been made dear by decreasing the supply of the circulating medium. I made a loan of \$4,000 upon a piece of land for the purpose of raising wheat during the war. At the time the debt was incurred, I could pay one dollar of the debt with one-third of a bushel of wheat. Now when the mortgage is due and must be paid, it takes three times more farm produce to pay the debt than it would have taken at the time the debt was incurred. On account of the juggling of the value of the dollar, my debt, for practical

purposes of payment, has been increased from \$4,000 to \$12,000, because I must furnish three times as much farm produce to obtain a dollar as was necessary at the time the debt was incurred.

The progressive farmer wants lower taxes, but he knows that interesting experiments such as going to war to save the world for democracy must be paid for. He has no delusion about any tax reduction plan until the war debt is paid; and he has no delusion about receiving a lower tax rate without eliminating waste and reducing expenditures for government purposes. Instead of voting for the Mellon tax plan, which would relieve those best able to pay their just taxes, the progressive farmer believes he can reduce taxes by sending men to Congress who will stop the Hog Island scandals, the aeroplane scandals, the Alien Property Custodian scandals, and the Federal Reserve Bank deflation scandals, committed under the last Democratic Administration, and the Tea-Pot Dome scandals and the Veterans Bureau scandals of the present Republican Administration.

The progressive farmer wants LaFollette for President.

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## COOPERATE WITH THE FARMER

WILLIAM SWEET

*THE remedy for bad farming conditions lies in a long-time credit system and a more equitable method of distribution. The Federal Farm Loan system is working very well and various co-operative movements among the farmers have brought them a fairer share of profits. The sugar beet farmers of Colorado are successfully employing these methods to fight the exploitation of the large sugar companies. This will place that industry on a sound basis, says the Governor of that State.*

G. K. CHESTERTON was supremely right when he said: "We cannot, in the end, rejoice in anything less than the whole scheme of things." Each economic group is dependent on the success of the others. When capital is timid and cannot be profitably employed, business suffers stagnation. When labor is idle or compelled to work for less than a living wage, the resultant lack of purchasing power is immediately felt in all lines of business. And when farming shows continued losses, every line of business will eventually suffer. The economic condition of the farmer vitally affects the