The Communists and the Agrarian Crisis

(Continued from last issue)

country has taken on new dimensions. cape, not retreat, not to mention the The 1930 census reports a 68,954,823 ur- financial network that encompasses ban population and a 53,820,223 rural agriculture and ties it, binds it to the population. The majority are urban, the city. overwhelming majority are proletarian bourgeois economist presents the problem country, for "farmers and city people" and the average worker has accepted this trash. The farm population as 24.8% of the total population are by no means farmers. This means all persons living on farms without regard to oc-

Taking this 24.8% and seeing what makes it up we find it is further narrowed by analysis. Under occupations, gainfully employed, the census lists (1920) figures-the 1930 figures not available, are even more in our favor) as dairy farmers, farmers and stock raisers; 6,201,261, and for dairy farm, farm and stock, laborers; 3,041,627. This means 6 million farmers and 4 million as agricultural workers. But of these 6 million farmers we find (1920 figures) tries under developed capitalism, gives man pride and lulled in him the rebel-2,454,804 as tenant farmers, 1,461,306 as the American proletariat the advantage lion against the degrading conditions unmortgaged farmers and 2,074,325 as of the problem of revolution once this der which he is working. The sharpenfarmers owing their farms. However, I is concretely put on the agenda for the ing and protraction of the present crisis am sure the 1930 figures, when publish- seizure of power. The very relation of has dealt a shattering blow to his leged, will show even less farm owners forces with the overwhelming majority endary status and made him realize his

The big agricultural population in the last analysis boils down considerably, and the farmer as an ally does not lose any of his significance but he does lose much of his specific weight for America. The farm population as 24% of the toal (1920) is composed of about 40% agricultural workers, 25% tenant farmers, 15% mortgaged farmers and 20% farm owners. This does not settle the problem and does not prove that the majority are revolutionary. One knows the majority of the American industrial workers are not revolutionary. How ever, once we obtain a proper perspective it shows the relation of the workers and farmers in the coming revolution.

This block of agricultural workers on cattle raising and dairy farms are not approached as farmers, but are won as workers. They are not allies, they are ours as a class. The varied forms of cropper dirt farmer and tenant famer which make up the poor and middle farmer are our allies. As for the owners, yes even some of them will make good allies. As for the capitalist farmer-they are not allies, they are enemies and will be treated as such. ,We will waste no time in winning them over. Our allies lie in the percentage between the agrarian workers and the capitalist farmers. These must be won. Their relation to the workers in the problem of the American revolution is the most "insignificant" any proletariat in any advanced country has to contend with, maybe with the exception of England. In the Russian revolution, the minority, the proletariat, was the decisive force over the overwhelming majority of peasantry. In America, a revolution which will release the energies of the American proletariat, who stand as the vast majority will call forth proletarian energy unknown in the past.

America has developed its wheat belt, corn belt, cotton belt and has its agricultural states and its industrial states, but as its stands today, it is of no value for analysis of class forces in the revolution. The line of demarcation between industrial and agricultural states been built up sep by step by much sacri- tant gives credit for each unsold copy. is of little value, because the most important industrial states are also the firm foundation its distribution appar- clip the date line of each unsold copy ing of the Left wing? We called them, most important agricultural producers, atus. too. Agricultural states as such, only During the epriod of the present drive, the dealer on each copy is 2c. The pahave a meaning when the problem is con- March 1st to June 1st, this effort should per appears regularly. The posters we fined within the states, and we show take an intensive form. First of all we have prepared should help to sell the gusted with the International. Just as that the products from agriculture are must get new subs. Friends and sym- paper from the stand. of greater value than the products from pathizers must be canvassed. Wheremany cases are more productive in drive. agricultural products than the agricul- The literature premium announced in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio and the each one year \$2.00 sub (52 issues) a it is advisable to specify for what meetalso states producing more foodstuffs sky's the Permanent Revolution: with than the majority of the so-called agri- each half year \$1.00 sub (26 issues) a cultural states.

letariat, the decisive force of revolution, sues) any one of our 10c pamphlets. resides, also has in its immediate vic- This premium applies to renewals as inity the production of the food supply well as the new subs. During the perof first importance for short periods. It iod of the drive comrades may offer a is not an easy matter to bottle up a combined \$2.00 rate for a year's subproletariat in an industrial center if scription to The Militant and Young power is in their hands, with all the Spartacus. There is no literature premavenues of modern transportation to ium with combined subs. nearby food supplies. The agricultural worker will do his share and the poor subs we must see to the renewal of exand middle farmer must be won over.

and food storage plants for the products of these old ones. In the execution of of the country are controlled by the this task the national center is co-opcity and who controles the city controls erating by systematic notification of the this supply. American capitalism does subscriber. If these notices are acted not worry about peasant economy hold on promptly, the solution of the problem ing back on it as do some other capi- will be fairly easy. talist nations with carry overs of natural economy where the rural popula- and renewed subs are: New York-11; tion can hold without the city. The ma- Minneapolis-2; Chicago-1; St. Louischine development and its use on Am- 1; Miscellaneous-10. Tha increase in erican farms in a lesser or greater de- bundle orders stands at one in Chicago gree forces the agricultural economy to as reported in the last issue.

trial city to which it is bound and from In America the problem of city and which American agriculture cannot es-

In capitalist countries with feudal while, in the country where we seized carry-overs, with peasant economy still power first, the overwhelming majority lingering, we have a far more difficult were peasants. Rural, in 'no sense problem. Although at that level, capital means farmers. For example of the has already shown itself to be master rurals only 30,447,229 make up the farm of the house, it by no means has a free population. In other words the farm reign. The peasant economy weighs population is only 56% of the rural and heavy upon capital and its development, only 24.8% of the total population. The but nevertheless, capital, and in turn the proletarian class is the decisive force in as though it is about 50-50 for town and the relationship of the class struggle. dard of living of the drug clerks to the where the country can eke out an exist- Chinese coolie. ence even if the city goes to hell, but where in the city cannot continue without the country; is more so true, in developed capitalist countries like America. In fact, however, the problem is turned around. The city needs the country and has safe-guarded this need by a thousand and one ties that bind the country to the city, but the country on the other hand cannot exist without the city,-not in advanced America. Not on the present mode of production. That is only possible by stepping back a stage or two and this is not an overnight step but one. which would follow a chaos, when neither capitalist nor proletarian rules.

The very connections of city and counworkers, tenant farmer, mortgaged farmer and capitalist farmer, with a section of the owner-farmer as allies, makes the problem different and in our favor.

The Farmer-Labor Party is reactionary and will only lead the proletariat "Workers and Farmers Government" and labor camp. the slogan for it that Centrism still peddles, is just as reactionary, and can lead to nothing but national reformism.

The agrarian workers must be won as workers, the middle and poor farmers as allies according to the form of the problem. Negro and white, share cropper, contract farmer, dirt farmer, etc., and the capitalist farmer should not bother us. The agrarian crisis will not let up, even though there will be ebbs and flows, its basic effects will not be remedied through agrarian reforms. For the capitalist system, the remedy is greater concentration and pulling agriculture more into the orbit of capitalist production, putting agriculture more on the basis of an industry of capitalismbut this lets loose dynamite, which has its most deadly explosive effects not in the country but in the city. For the agrarian worker and our allies, the poor and middle farmers, the remedy is nothing short of the Proletarian Revolution and the establishment of the dirtatorship of the proletariat. This is the means of transforming of the negative base of the agriculture industry into an industry of the socialist mode of production, completing the cycle agriculture has passed through-and opening the door to a new

LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

Drug Clerks Organize

The present chaotic condition prevailing in the pharmaceutical industry, fully explains his idiotic appearance which is merely a photostatic copy of the and low cultural level. existing chaos in the decaying capitalist structure as a whole, and the intense, almost inhuman exploitation of the drug clerk by a degenerade middle class of independent drug shop retailers, by the ever growing chain store magnates and the rich independent "cut-rate" paras- a good fighting vitality, and urged them ites, are threatening to reduce the stan- to "hang on" and not to fight. What is true in these backard sections, lowest level of existence-to that of the

The incurable cancer of capitalismunemployment-has greatly augmented the misery of the drug clerks and turned two thousand licensed and junior pharmacists of this city into the streets. Some of them have already taken their places on the breadlines. Others are still clinging to the last line of defense, their savings, which they were able to build up during the so-called "prosperity" period thanks to the dreadfully long hours of work which made expenditures other

the pharmacist in our capitalist society has acted as an emollient to his sore huof the population being proletarian and true status, that of the wage earner, subthe "farmers" divided into agrarian ject to all the laws governing wage labor under this decaying capitalist system.

The drug clerk has arisen and begun to move. He is moving in the direction of the trade union front.

His vanguard, leaderless, without experience and program, but in excellent into the swamp of opportunism, this fighting morale, has been intercepted by even Centrism understands now after the A. F. of L. bureucracy and has deyears of blunders; but the idea of a finitely landed in the right flank of the

> Greater New York, Local 581 of the Retail Clerks International Protective Association.

meeting will sufficiently describe

The meeting was opened by Mr. Feinstone, president of the union, who introduced Dr. Linville, president of the Ceachers' Union. Dr. Linville spoke at formulate.

Next spoke president Feinstone, whose words, nine tenths of which he devoted to impress upon the members that he

NEW YORK .-

than the mere necessities-impossible.

The legendary professional status of

A brief account of the installation condition of this new-born babe.

Our Subscription Drive

positive cycle of its development.

-HUGO OEHLER.

copy of the Strategy of the World Rev-The industrial centers where the pro- olution; with each trial 50c sub (13 is-

At the same time we are getting new pired and expiring subs, or the gains The tremendous grain elevators, meat of new subs will be offset by the losses

At the present time the results in new

tion, selling, etc., all bring capitalist ing up its distribution is the expansion of Militant builders! Every comrade's back, we will report later.

After a long and hard struggle The Newsstands and bookstores which will Militant became a weekly. The appar- carry The Militant must be found. They atus of its production, so to speak, has exist. The terms are liberal. The Mili-

A second and auxiliary method of inindustry, etc. But when one compares ever possible whole days should be set creasing the circulation is the mass disthe amount and value of the products aside for the carrying out of this task. tribution of free copies at workers' meetfrom agriculture with the agricultural This drive for new subs must be geared ings, demonstrations, on the street, where products of the leading industrial states, to a high pitch. It must be sustainedd ever workers can be reached. We have one finds that the industrial states in at that pitch for the duration of the on hand a number of recent back issues. There are all stamped "sample copy". Upon request for them, we will mail tural states, and where there is a close recent issues should be utilized to their them free of charge. They are for dismargin the industrial states make a good full value. We give them again. For tribution. In ordering such bundles it showing for themselves. New York the period of the drive we will give with is necessary to specify the amount and other important industrial states are free paper bound copy of comrade Trot- ing or group they are intended, so that we can pick out appropriate issues. The number ordered should be limited what can actually be distributed.

These free distributions should be followed by up by sales of the current unity and we could expose them to the issues of The Militant. If this is done systematically the sale of The Militant can be increased. It is our experience that such free distributions of old copies on issues which interest workers do not diminish the sale of current issues of The Militant, but on the contrary inwill continue to be the case.

with the aim of crystalling a permanent, get something from the union. distribution apparatus. It is not enough to print The Militant. IT MUST BE agreements by just calling a stoppage maily expelled from the Yorkville Eng-CIRCULATED. What we want is a staff and giving the bosses all the concessions lish Branch of the I. L. D. The main of Militant builders. Beginning with for the privilege to collect dues. This charge was that I was a "Trotskyist" the next issue we will give a standing year there was not much to be given as and therefore my criticism of the soof subscription getters and continue it the bosses took everything anyway. Na- called "united front from below" policy from week to week. We will do the turally, the shops that were called out of the L. L. D. was incompatible with same with new bundle orders, and re- by the united front and the Industrial membership any longer. newals.

agricultural relations under the indus- and extension of "mass" distrubution. and symapthizer's shoulder to the wheel!

will not tolerate radicals in "his" union. Stalinist Flattery or This antiquated mass of stupidity in human form has spent over forty years of his life in the darkest corner of the world, the back of a drugstore, which

Last spoke Collins of the A. F. of L. This typical labor bureaucrat, in a typical A. F. of L. dialogue, as he himself termed his manner of speech, harangued the young recruits yet untainted by the A. F. of L. philosophy and manifesting

Here is one of his gems: "Folks, times are bad. Now is not the time to fight. Hang on to your job. Don't fight. Wait." Immediately after the close of the

meeting, the more articulate element came up to the secretary and voiced their disapproval with the president's attitude toward radicals and the "don't fight, wait" idea. . . .

"We came here to do work, not to wait", the cry of one of the militants resounded.

quently enacted in the labor movement. hour has not yet struck and thus break-

volves a great task and great responsibwing possible.

The Dress Strike in Boston

ditions.

great length of the trade union move ket line. The bitterness the workers let us say, Earl Browder, who appears to Yorkville English Branch knows that the ment, but as befits a president of an A. felt to each other for the past two or spend most of his time dining with Kuo reason for the failure to grow has been F. of L. local, he distorted the revolu- three years on account of the divided Min Tange generals and otherwise revtionary concept of trade unionism and restruggles disappeared from their faces. olutionizing the Far East, he knows ies. I fought continually for a systemduced it to the ideological level of his Right wing workers and Left wing workclass, namely the middle class. He fin- ers walked arme in arm, discussed plans ished his oration wishing them success of taking down shops and other plans. and rightly pointed out the need of a Every one looked brighter, had a smile program, which he, of course, hoped that on their face. The International was the leaders of the union, with the advice desperate to see such friendship among of the national office, will be able to the workers and looked for ways and more about its correctness than "some means to divide them. When the police! captain complained to Philip Kramer, to study it". We are not old, however, physiognomy is a true reflection of his the International business agent who intellect and vice versa. He delivered a came on the picket line with the police the correctness of this theory-nor how "speech" of about twenty to thirty captain, about too many pickets, he said, "What can I do? They are from the United Front" and promised that the next day there will be a distinction between our pickets and his pickets.

The next morning they wanted to put arm bands with the A. F. of L. initials ers, but to their great disappointment the workers refused to wear the bands and be divided. "Unity", Yes, unity! The desire to be united is felt by all fallacy of national Socialism inherent the workers. You can see it in their in it. fice. Now it is necessary to build on a All that the stand keeper has to do is eyes. Why didn't they come to the meetand sent it in for credit. The profit to we agitated them, we had conferences. and are not afraid to lose them are dismany workers are. The others did not come, they were afraid of losing their jobs. What was left for the Industrial Union to do to get these workers? We should have called the International leaders as well as the workers to unite on the basis of one united strike with one set of demands.

This should have been done at least a couple of months before the strike. So the workers of the International foolish-that is because they have would have had time to demand of their shrewdly observed the absurdities of present "democratic" regime of Greece leaders to have one united struggle for such a theory, because they have a real- while the other the "Atlantis" represents better conditions.

I feel quite sure the International that their leaders are not interested in root.

no retrieval of the slashed wages, no improvements, and the International had a hard time to get an agreement altogether because bosses are interested crease it. We have no doubt that this in signing agreements only on two oc- Another Expulsion casions: when they are forced by the All of this acivity should be conducted unity of the workers and when they can from the I. L. D.

For a larger Militant circulation! Get they control only a small minority and of the branch went to some length to form of the Left Opposition. The desubs for The Militant! Get renewals of those that went back did not get as much state my "disruptive" activities; i. e., I bate will take place Friday evening. rest upon the industrial city. The Another important method of raising expired subs! Get newsstand and book- are still out on strike I can not say had committed the audacious crime of March 25, at the Public Library, 14th

Marxist Education

NEW YORK .-

It is mildly entertaining to behold Sam Don, the well-known "anti-war expert" come out in the Daily Worker (Feb. 20, 1932) and say that "The Five Year Plan has demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt that Socialism can be built in one country", a statement which corresponds only too well with the utterings of his comrade-in-arms, the eminent Israel Amter, who only a week previous to that explained that same theory of Socialism in one country at an Open Forum of the new "Water Front Section of the C. P. U. S." in the following way:

"The average rank and file worker of the Soviet Union knows more about the theory of Socialism in one country than Trotsky or Cannon, for neither of these men has recently been there. Is it surprising that he should know more about Here we see a familiar scene, so fre- it than some expelled leaders who have even attemped to study the theory? The The rank and file seething with revolt, rank and file worker accepts nothing as ready to strike the enemy; the leaders final until it has been given actual trial. holding them back, telling them that the Trotsky rejects the theory without any effort to demonstrate it."

Now, let us grant that the "average Upon the revolutionary drug clerk de- rank andd file worker of the Soviet Union" knows more about the interior of ility. He must, in the words of Lenin, the new "Palace of Soviets" than Trotleaders" to gain an opportunity to come know more about it than Trotsky or which, we believe, will cause a differen- file worker of the U. S. party know tiation in the ranks and in this manner more about the revolutionary movement render the formation of a strong Left in America than Trotsky or Cannon? And what is there to indicate that an average member of the U.S. party knows more about the theory of Socialism in one country than Trotsky or Cannon? After all, the Sam Dons and the Amteres must admit that he U. S. party member generally has not seen the The cloakmakers under the leadership Soviet Union and has not lived in a Socof the "United Front Committee" went ialist commonwealth so that he can be On March 8, the Drug Clerks' Union back to work already in some cases un- said to have any special familiarity with was officially christened by Mr. Collins, der somewhat improved conditions. The the nature, the problems and the difnational officer of the A. F. of L. and clos Jakers under the leadership of the ficulties of such a commodity. The theory chartered as the Drug Clerks' Union of International went back to work with no of Socialism in one country is to the average worker only an idea, in the Wages were cut pleny in the past two U. S. or elsewhere-and certainly, leadyears. The International did not make ers who have given their lives to the an effort to get anything back. Now any study of scientific socialism are far more agreement is being made for the dress-1 capable of judging these ideas than the makers with no improved working con- glorified "average" worker. Amter's queer logic, to put it in another way, The desire for unity among the work- is equivilant to saying that because the ers was great. When we came on the janitor of the Daily Worker building is the failure of the branch to grow. Any picket line it was one united mass pic- more familiar with that structure than, comrade who is acquainted with the more about the American revolutionary atic plan of meetings, house to house movement than the latter. . . .

Again, Amter suggested that a rank and file worker in the Soviet Union has country and has learned a great deal expelled leaders who never attempted how the average rank and filer knows on the arms of the International work- Stalinist theory without much effort at critical thought, while the "expelled leaders"-who have given much thought to the question-have discovered the

Not long ago, an "average type" got up in our Open Forum and sprung a surprise by saying-quite innocently-Very few came. Those who have no jobs that the Communist International-if translated into plain American language, would mean-the Russian Patriotic the I. L. D. Itself. I sincerely hope the Society! We corrected him at that time by explaining clearly that this is not the case. But we do feel a little bit uncomfortable to have him come around the I. I. D. and put up such embarassing questions again.

If Trotsky and Cannon have never tried to demonstrate the theory of Socialism in one country-and we must give them credit for never having been so olutionary developments and because takes a pseudo-labor attitude. leaders would refuse such unity. Then they are not the least inclined to mumble we would be able to tell the workers nousense. I do not suppose that any of and they would see it clearly themselves. the leaders of the Left Opposition has ever carried a horse-shoe to bring him luck, but their commen sense has made Now the strike is at an end. The foolishness. One glance at Don's and istis" our Greek organ attacked this criworkers are coming back to work with Amter's logic is enough to show it is not worth trying.

-PAUL SCHWALBE.

Two years ago, the International got On Thursday, March 10th, I was for-

methods of farming, storing, transporta- the circulation of The Militant and build- store bundle orders! Crystallize a staff now. What they will get when they go speaking with members of the branch St., and Cass Ave. about the differences between the Left For the Left Opposition: John Scott -J. C. Opposition and the leadership of the offi- For the Communist Party: ?

cial Party, and criticized the policies of

the leadership. No attempt was made to center the charge on inactivity, as my activity in the branch will attest to the fact that I have always volunteered for work and accepted all the tasks assigned to me. It is interesing to note that previous to the horrible discovery that I was a "counter-revolutionary, enemy of the working class", my activity and membership had been considered wholly satisfactory. Comrade Hacker himself, personally asked me to preside as chairman at the second Scottsboro Conference held a few months ago at a large downtown hall. Evidently, the stamp of "renegade" had not yet materiatized before his eyes.

The chairman last night, a new member of the cranch and, I think, a party member purposely assigned to the branch -since he does not live in our districtrefused to permit me the final say. He insisted on his formal right as chairman to be the last speaker. He emitted a long harangue on Trotsky's "menshevism" of 1903, adding incidentally that Trotsky from the time of the revoltion until 1923. had done good work, "when he was under the thumb of Lenin" (!) A long attack on Trotsky, not permitting me to answer.

There were seven comrades present. The vote was called for. The chairman, organizer, and Labor Defender agent immediately responded. One young com-"brave all difficulties, attacks, insults sky or Gannon. But, does an average rade who works for the district and is and persecutions at the hands of the rank and file member of the U. S. party also a new member of our branch, also voted for my expulsion-because he conforward with a clear program of action Cannon? Or does an average rank and sidered Trotsky an enemy of the working class, although he admitted he had never read a single document of the Opposition! When I explained to him that it was the epolicy of the I. L. D. to permit workers of any organization to enter the I, L. D. and work for it, he appeared puzzled, but voted for the expulsion, nevertheless. My vote was the only recorded against, the two remaining comrades were for abstaining, admitting that they were not acquainted with the questions-but decided to vote for the expulsion provided that it was to come to the District Committee and that I would be given a chance to appear. Comrade Tschinder, Labor Defender agent, assured the comrades that I would be given a chance to appear. I hold him to his word, as he is a member of the Section Executive Committee, and am only afraid that his confidence in the "workers' democracy" of Hacker and company will not be substained. I was accused of being the cause of

> canvassing, educational lectures, distribution of Labor Defenders before unions, open air meetings, etc. I myself held several open air meetings alone when studied the theory of Socialism in one the district failed to supply speakers. I was suddenly thrown off the list of speakers, and since that time we never held them regularly. I advanced a plan for regular educational meetings every other week: it was accepted-I carried out my share of the work. In all activthe expelled leaders could attempt to ities, I can say that I did all required know it, save by comparing the assump- of any member of the organization. tion of the theory in question and the These things I state, not to gain reward fundamental principles of revolutionary for, but to outline for the comrades the internationalism, scientifically. The dif- only way that I see to build the branch. ference is that the "average rank and If they plan their work thus, the branch file party member" simply believe in a will grow-if not, it will remain stagnant as before.

> > The decision of expulsion is pending before the District Executive Committee. The policy of the I. L. D. is to admit all workers into its ranks, so long as they carry on the work of the organization under its discipline. I claim that I have provedthat I have done so and can continue to do so. The only charge is "Trotskyism", which is no valid charge according to the ruling of District Executive will reverse the obviously unfounded expulsion of myself from the Yorkville English Branch of

> > > -HERBERT CAPELLS

ATTENTION, GREEK WORKERS

In New York City two daily Greek bourgeois newspapers are published, the "National Herald" which supports the istic attitude toward the world's rev- the Royalist party of Greece and lately

The "Empres" undertook a one sided struggle against the National Herald overlooking any kind of attack against the "Atlantis" which is more dangerous because it appears with the cloak of it unnecessary for them to support such liberalism and therefore the "Communminal neglect of the Greek Stalinism vigorously.

> In the next issue of The Militant the Greek Bureau will write extensively upon this serious question which requires a correct and thorough discussion for the enlightment not only of the Greek speaking Communists but of all Communists as well.

ST. LOUIS WORKERS. ATTENTION!

At a recent Left Opposition forum meeting two members of the official Communist Party during the discussion ac-Union could not get much either because In opening the attack, the organizer cepted a challenge to debate the Plat-