The Growth of Tenancy In Agriculture

(Continued from Page 3)

The statistics of acreage prove the contrary what is assumed by the "pauperization theory"; Tenant farms are growing not only in numbers but in sizes as well they exceed the growth of owner farms and in considerable parts of the country they are bigger than owner farms:

Let us look what changes have been made in distribution of farm property among the tenure groups:

The total farm property estimated in 1910 in 41 billion dollars and in 1920 in 78 billion dollars was distributed as follows in per cents of the totals of each year:

	1910	1920
In owner farms	65.1	61.1
In manager farms	4.1	4.0
In tenant farms	30.8	34.9

The tenant farms appear here as the only group where the increased farm property was accumulated relatively more at the end of the decade than that was at the beginning. Owner farms and farms operated by managers had smaller part of farm property in 1920 than they had in 1910.

Property Subdivision.

The total property in its subdivisions was distributed among the main groups of farms (in per cents of each year's total amount) as follows:

	In owner farms. 1910.	In owner farms. 1920.	In manager farms. 1910.	In manager farms. 1920.	In tenant farms. 1910.	In tenant farms. 1920.
Value of land	62.5	58.4	4.3	4.0	33.2	37.6
Value of buildings	72.1	68.6	3.8	4.0	24.1	27.4
Machinery and implements	71.1	68.1	3.4	2.9	25.4	29.0
Value of live stock	69.1	66.1	4.1	4.5	26.8	29.3

Owner farms still had in 1920 more "land values" and held more of the values of buildings, machinery and live stock than both the other groups. But comparing the figures for owner farms of 1920 with those of 1910 we have to note that their relative economic force is vanishing: in "value" of land and capital—buildings, machinery and live stock—they had smaller share in 1920 than they had in 1910.

The strength of tenant farms increased. Their share in "value of land" and in capital was considerably bigger at the end of the decade.

Tenant Farms Advance First.

Very small changes we can find in the position of manager farms. They had turned more to live stock raising. It is impossible to find any confirmation of the assertions of pauperization theory in the census statistics. Tenant farms do not appear as pauperized, weak, economically exhausted establishments. In intensification of agriculture tenant farms are advanced before owner farms. Average values per acre of live stock, farm implements and machinery are higher and had increased more in tenant farms than in owner farms.

The 1920 census report does not give any direct information about changes in types of farms by tenure. We cannot trace directly in which groups of farms simple commercial farming is developed more in capitalistic farming with hired labor. But the statistics of farm property indicate that in this respect exactly tenant farms are breaking the way: intensification of agriculture, in which tenant farms are the leaders, demands more labor than extensive farming of owners.

When the backward progressives or liberals denounce tenancy then they always speak not about one but about two things: tenants and hired labor. Thus the "Report of the Commission on Land Colonization and Rural Credits of the State of California," of Nov. 29, 1916, complains:

Great properties, owned by nonresidents are being cultivated by tenants or by nomadic and unsatisfactory hired labor" (page 7, Black mine. O. P.).

This same danger was noted by the "Report of the Public Land's Commission, 1905," which announced:

"There exists and is spreading in the West a tenant of hired labor system (black mine. O. P.), which not only represents a relatively low industrial development, but whose further extension carries with it a THE GROWTH OF TENANCY IN most serious threat. Politically, socially and economically this system is indefensible." Page xxiv.)

Yes, tenants and hired labor come together and can remain together in the "most serious threat."

Difference In Systems.

The characterization of new tenant farms by the above report in substance as capitalistic farms, the definition of the new tenancy as a tenant or hired labor system, it seems, is correct. This feature of the tenant farms is vital and deserves attention.

Tenancy, as established at present in the United States, is created by different forces and in different conditions than tenant systems came into existence in other countries and in this same United States in previous times not so very long ago. Its development does not depend from individually accumulated capital of tenants, as that was the case for a very long time with tenancy in England and in other countries. In considerable extent tenancy is created here directly by the initiative and means of financial capital. Bonded tenants, hired tenants, are here among the different tenant groups.

Financial capital develops in tenancy not only a system but a new mechanism of exploitation.

The historical duty of the new tenants before their creator, financial capital, is to produce more values and more rent and profits than independent farmers were able to do even when their farms were in full order and they were not economically weak and pauperized. Together with this tenants are doing a work on which account the "economics of transition period" will be here simpler.

Financial Capital—Its Influence.

Pauperization of farmers owners do not stay in direct connections with establishment of tenancy. Direct transformation of owners in tenants, it seems, did not contribute much to the increase of number of tenants. In acquisition of farmers' land by financial capital pauperization plays decisive role. For enlarging and concentration of land holdings dispossession of farmers is enforced by "economic means" of financial capital as effectively as that was done by fire, swords and scaffolds in "glorious revolutions" in Europe. In the battles with independency of farmers, financial capital does not look for captives. When a farm is foreclosed or purchased by a land company that does not mean an immediate addition of a new tenant. It means only an increase of territory for tenancy.

Financial capital separates land ownership from its cultivation and dispossession of farmers often is carried thru or supervised by another set of offices or agents from that which takes care about exploitation of acquired lands. These are separate processes and require seperate consideration. If we mix them up then it is impossible to recognize their true features. A cruel attack of financial capital on land holdings of independent farmers in some sections can look then as an expression of crisis in agricultural production; a victory of financial capital we may accept then as a sign of decay of capitalism; confiscation of farmers' savings in imposed forms of bankruptcy can appear then as another sign of crisis in production.

Creation of New Farmers Movement.

Acquiring ownership of land as means to exempt and to appropriate in the form of land rent the values produced in agricultural financial capital produces the basis for tenancy and creates on this basis capitalistic tenancy as the typical form of relations which insure unceasing direct flow of land rent and profits in the vaults of banks.

As by the means in acquisition of land ownership—mortgages, taxes, manipulated freight rates, etc.—so by increased skinning of people in the tenant system financial capital creates a new farmers' movement which can be ended only with the end of the system of exploitation in all its forms. It is impossible for this new farmers' movement to dissolve itself on individually owned farms, as that happened with previous farmers' movements. This new farmers' movement has neither the old traditional economic foundations, nor traditional armies of prospective settlers. It cannot have their traditional end.

"The Story of John Brown"

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The Arsenal Is Captured.

EVENTS flashed sharp and terrible and swift as lightning after this sombre opening of the storm. The telegraph wires were cut, the watchman at the bridge captured, guards were placed at the two bridges leading out of the town, and many citizens were taken from the streets and held as prisoners in the Arsenal.

Perhaps the most distinguished prisoner was Colonel Lewis W. Washington, a great-grandnephew of the first President, and like him, a gentleman farmer and slave owner. He lived five miles from the Ferry, and with the instinct of a dramatist, John Brown seized him and freed his slaves as a means of impressing on the American imagination that a new revolution for human rights was being ushered in.

Brown's Heroic Struggle.

The little town was peaceful and unprepared for this sudden attack, as unprepared as it would be today for a similar raid. By morning, however, the alarm had been spread; the church bells rang, military companies from Charlestown and other neighboring towns began pouring in, the saloons were crowded with nervous and hard-drinking men, and there was the clamor and furor of thousands of awe-struck Southerners. No one knew how many men were in the Arsenal. No one knew whether the whole South was not being attacked by Abolitionists, or whether or not all the slaves had armed and risen against their masters, as they had attempted to years before in Nat Turner's and other rebellions.

By noon the Southerners had begun the attack. They killed or drove out all the guards John Brown had stationed at various strategic points in the town; they murdered two of Brown's men they had taken prisoners, and tortured another. They managed to cut off all of Brown's paths of retreat, and by nightfall, he and the few survivors of his men were in a trap.

Robert E. Lee Takes Fort.

His young son, Oliver, only twenty years old, and recently married, died in the night. He had been painfully wounded, and begged, in his agony, that his father shoot him and relieve him from pain. But the old Spartan held his boy's hand and told him to be calm and to die like a man. Another young son, Watson, had been killed earlier in the fighting. John Brown had now given three sons to freedom, and was soon himself to be a sacrifice.

There were left alive and unwounded but five of Brown's men. The Virginia militia, numbering, with the civilians in the town, up to the thousands, seemed afraid to attack this little group of desperate men. In the dawn of the next morning, however, United States marines, under the famous commander, Robert E. Lee then a Colonel in the Federal forces, attacked the arsenal and captured it easily. John Brown refused to surrender to the last; and he stood waiting proudly for the marines when they broke down the door and came raging like tigers at him.

Brown Beaten Mercilessly.

A fierce young Southern officer rah at him with a sword, that bent double as it pierced to the old man's breast bone. The young Southerner then took the bent weapon in his hands and beat Brown's head unmercifully with the hilt, bringing the blood, and knocking senseless the old unselfish and tender champion of poor Negro men and women. Those near him thought John Brown was dead; but he was still alive; he had still his greatest work to do.

(To Be Continued Monday.)

(John Brown's Men.)

Labor Limericks

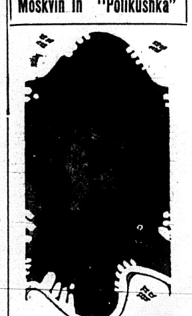
By CHARLES ASHLEIGH

An earnest young curate, named Flynn,
Said the workers were living in sin.
So he chased and he harried
Both single and married—
Then died from devotion to gin.

A stout pompous person, named Bleeder,—
A prominent union leader,—
Said: "You ask why I dine
With the boss?—I like wine;
And, then, I'm a vigorous feeder."

A learned professor, named Bray,
Said: "I really can't make teaching pay!"
So he lectures on Russia,
And says we must crush 'er,
And guzzles champagne every day.

Moskvin In "Polikushka"



Ivan Moskvin, the star in the great photoplay, "Polikushka." Moskvin plays the character of a ragged, ill-kempt stableman and makes an appealing tho tragically futile figure out of him. The picture was shown in Orchestra Hall, recently by the Friends of Soviet Russia and Workers Germany. It will be shown over the nation by the Friends of Soviet Russia and Workers' Germany during the weeks ahead.

"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses."
—Karl Marx.

Special Magazine Supplement

THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION

April 5th. 1924. This magazine supplement will appear every Saturday in The Daily Worker.

Opposition Camouflaged As Friendship

By ALEXANDER BITTELMAN.

THE Communist International has become more sensible and therefore more acceptable—is the historical dictum of J. B. S. Hardman in the March issue of the "American Labor Monthly."

Now, there are many ways in which history can be written. But there is only one good way, the correct and scientific way, whose first prerequisite is: **searching after facts.** First get your facts and then build your theory. Our estimable J. B. S. Hardman has gone about the matter the other way round. He first invented a theory (a philosophy of history, if you please), and then proceeded to fashion the facts to fit his theory. The result is a historical analysis which "proves" a case—his own case against the Communist International and its American section.

But let us take up his history first. J. B. S. finds that within the Communist International, altho dominated by Lenin and guided by the spirit of Marxian philosophy, "traces of former leaders and thinkers are clearly discernible." A very innocent and harmless statement, indeed. Surely the Communist International is not the beginning of all beginnings, neither is Lenin, nor is Marx for that matter. Into the making of the Communist International have gone the tested and proven ideas and experiences of generations of proletarian struggle. History—any kind of history—means first of all continuity of development. But what does this prove?

Well, J. B. S. Hardman has not made the above statement for nothing. It was done for a purpose, which becomes apparent immediately upon learning that "perhaps . . . (the trace) . . . of Blanqui is one of the most conspicuous influences in the Communist world organization, and it may do to enter into an analysis of the Communist International with a glimpse into this particular social philosophy."

So, there you are. The philosophy of Blanqui was one of the most conspicuous influences in the Communist International. Well, that is not new. Read the literature of the social-patriots and betrayers of the working class the world over and you will find there not merely traces of what J. B. S. says now, but the very same thing verbatim. Our good, old friend J. B. S. is here merely repeating Kautsky, Scheidemann, MacDonald and all the rest of the noble knights of the 2nd International. And if we would care to go a little deeper into history, we could remind our friend J. B. S. that **Blanquism** was the first big charge against the Bolsheviks preferred by the Menshevik Brotherhood as far back as the year 1903-1904. Lenin, according to his menshevik opponents in the old Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, was the father of the Blanquist Revival in Russia. So that's that.

It is apparent that J. B. S. is not exactly in love with the Communist International. He simply does not like it. He never did. The reason? Well, the Communist International is not precisely what he would like it to be. It does not come up to his conception of taste, yes, "revolutionary" taste, for our imaginative historian of the "American Labor Monthly" is a man of taste and what he terms, culture.

However, this is beside the point. Elaborating further on his charge against the Communist International, J. B. S. Hardman defines Blanquism as a belief in "permanent proletarian insurrection." And after having satisfied himself that this definition offers a suitable weapon of attack, he proceeds to deliver himself of the following "historical truth":

"In the first year or two of its life, the Communist International came very near satisfying the above cited ideal of the Blanquists: it had too much of the tendency to become a permanent organization of proletarian insurrection."

Proletarian insurrection! What a contemptible thing, particularly **permanent** insurrection. How dare they, anyway? And to think of it, that even the Communist International has been catering to it!

It looks very terrible, indeed, but it is not. What J. B. S. Hardman means to say is merely this: that in the first two years of its life the Communist International was basing its policies and strategy on the immediate approach of a direct proletarian struggle for power.

To a very large extent this is so. But what of it? What's wrong about it? It is here, at this point, that J. B. S. has unwittingly touched the very crux of the problem.

Yes, the policy and strategy of the Communist International, not only in the first two years of its existence, but up till this very moment, are based **on a revolutionary orientation.** The theory of it is that since the beginning of the last war capitalism has entered into the last phase of its development. It is approaching its end. No one can foretell with absolute certainty how soon the end will come. But it is sufficient to know that the entire world, with the possible exception of America, is passing thru a revolutionary crisis.

This theory is based on facts. And if our imaginative historian of the "American Labor Monthly" has any taste at all for economics, we might take up the details of it at some future date. For the present sufficient to say that the broad lines of strategy of the Communist International today as well as three years ago are based on this theory.

This does not mean that every country in the world is **on the verge** of a revolution. Some countries are closer to it than others. And then again, it is also a matter of tempo, of rate of development. At one time, particularly during 1919-1920, this tempo of revolutionary development was very quick, so much so that the proletarian seizure of power was the question of the day in Central Europe, the Balkans and Italy. During the years of 1920-23 the rate of revolutionary development slackened down, but at the end of 1923 and beginning of 1924 the world situation has become extremely critical again. These changes of tempo necessitate of course, changes in Communist tactics, but the general strategy remains the same.

The inconsistency of some "centrist" minds is really peculiar. In his historical review of the Communist International J. B. S. quotes a passage from a resolution adopted at the 3rd congress of the Communist International. It reads:

"The distinction (between Communists and Social-Democrats—A. B.) is in the fact that Social-Democrats hinder the actual development of the revolution by rendering all possible assistance in the way of restoring the equilibrium of the bourgeois state while the Communists, on the other hand, are trying to take advantage of all means and methods for the purpose of overthrowing and destroying the capitalist government and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat."

J. B. S. quotes this passage approvingly, which would seem to indicate that he agrees with it. Then why in the name of logic, is he raving against the first two years of the Communist International? Was not the Communist International doing precisely what the quoted passage calls for, that is, taking advantage of all means and methods for the purpose of overthrowing . . . etc.? And the only thing that can be said in addition is that the efforts of the Social-Democrats to hinder the development of the revolution and to restore the equilibrium of the capitalist state were in some instances more successful than the revolutionary efforts of the Communists. But what has Blanqui got to do with it? Well, he has something to do with it. Just read what's coming:

"There followed in rapid succession prescriptions of war measures. Parliamentary action for political (?) purposes was thrown into discard. ... The trade union movement... was to be scrapped ... new purist unions were to be built...the revolution was to be the task of small minorities...revolutionary organizations centralized and secret... etc., etc."

Horrible, horrible. It looked like a veritable nightmare. But now—now, thank God, things do look different. The Communist International had finally seen the light (emanating from J. B. S.) and has turned from "Romantic Insurrectionism to Revolutionary Realism," all in capital letters.

It may be useless perhaps to refer a historian of an imaginative turn of mind **to facts.** What are facts to him and what is he to facts? Nevertheless an attempt must be made to instruct our over-imaginative writer of the "American Labor Monthly" in a few elementary principles.

The doings of the Communist International lie within the age of history, i. e., they are embodied in books, resolutions, theses and statements by responsible and recognized leaders of the Communist International. Why not refer to official documents? Is not that the natural course? Of course, it is, but not for J. B. S. For him and his cause it was so much more convenient to ignore official documents. Why? Because mere reference to them and to the actual history of the Communist International would instantaneously explode to shreds all the foolish and ridiculous charges brought forth with so much pomp and ceremony.

"The Communist International discarded praliamentary action." Nonsense. Read the proceedings of its congresses. Study the life-history of the various Communist groups and parties even of the year of 1919-1920' and you will see how ridiculous this assertion is.

Of course, there were anti-parliamentarian groups and tendencies in certain sections of the Communist International. In some sections these tendencies were more pronounced than in others. But here is the important thing to be borne inmind, that the Communist International **always and consistently** opposed these tendencies, trying to educate and convince the workers of the necessity of parliamentary action for revolutionary purposes.

"The trade union movement was to be scrapped and new purist unions formed over night." Nonsense again. The policy of the Communist International, as embodied in its official decisions and literature, was from the very beginning directed towards one end: **to win the trades unions over to the revolutionary class struggle.**

To be sure, in the practical application of this policy many difficulties were encountered. In a few sections of the Communist International some serious deviations from this policy occurred at one time or another. But here again it must be remembered that the instructive and guiding assistance of the Communist International was always and immediately at hand to correct these mistakes and deviations.

"The revolution was to be the task of small minorities." Here's where Comrade Blanqui's ghost appears again. But that's nothing. It does not frighten any one. Communists can sit with Blanqui even bodily in one room and not become contaminated. The revolutionary strategy of the Communist International is by now so well established in our minds that this talk about "minorities" sounds to us like pre-ancient history. We simply don't take it seriously.

"Revolutionary organizations centralized and secret." Well, well, this is some charge. To which we reply: Centralized? Sure, always, the degree and form of centralization to be determined by the actual conditions of the class struggle. Anything wrong in that? Nothing that we can see, and this is and has been the position of the Communist International.

Secret? No, not always. As conditions demand. But always remember that legality with the Communist International is not a fetish. Nor is illegality for that matter, It is a form of organizational existence which our enemies succeed at times in imposing upon us. When they do, we take it, and proceed further along the road of revolutionary struggle. This is and has been the position of the Communist International.

In concluding his excursion into the history of the Communist International, J. B. S. attempts to take a fling also at the Workers Party of America. In order to make it more effective, we presume, he makes use of a statement published editorially by "Die New Yorker Volkszeitung" to the effect that Comrade Zinoviev was not justified in expecting "desirable surprises in the American Labor Movement." The **"Volkszeitung"** does not believe that our movement is advancing fast enough to warrant such expectations.

Well, we are compelled to say that Comrade Zinoviev, altho not residing in America and therefore not in possession of first hand knowledge about American affairs, has in this case better and truer gauged the present situation in the American labor movement than has the "Folkszeutung." The Workers Party seems to be in complete, agreement with the Communist International and with Comrade Zinoviev that we are perfectly justified in expecting such agreeable surprises in the American labor movement. The recent developments in the movement for a mass farmer-labor party is proof sufficient.

J. B. S. is fully entitled to enjoy whatever little comfort he can derive from the fact that the "Volkszeitung" believes in this case as it does. But this is neither here nor there. His case against the Communist International has not been strengthened at all. He will have to look for other means—more effective than this.

We are sorry to say that the Communist International is today just as "bad" as it was three years ago. The same revolutionary philosophy and strategy. The same determination to fight capitalism to a finish, and even the same youthful bouyancy. Only it has grown—considerably grown—in power and influence. For the rest, the same old boy, and for that we love it.

Watch For Our "May Day Special"

MAY DAY is only a few weeks off. The class-conscious workers all over the world are already preparing to celebrate the day by proletarian solidarity and revolutionary working class power.

The "May Day Special" of THE DAILY WORKER to be dated Saturday, April 26, 1924, will contain a rich and interesting selection of articles and cartoons prepared especially for the occasion.

Watch for "The May Day Special".

A COMRADE - - - - By N. BUCHARIN

LENIN is dead. Never more will we see this powerful forehead, this marvelous head radiating revolutionary power; these gleaming, penetrating, attentive eyes; these energetic and vigorous hands; never more will we see this human statue molded out of one block on the frontier of two epochs of human evolution.

The peak of thought, of feeling, of the will of the proletariat has collapsed. His energy flowed up in invisible currents to wherever the heart of workers beat, to where the conscience of a powerful class is formed, to where the weapon of the battle of liberation is being forged. Across the centuries Lenin has been and will remain unique, without equal.

Lenin—The Leader.

Comrade Lenin was above all a leader, a leader whom nature gives to humanity but once in a century. His is of those who give their name to their epoch. He was one of the greatest organizers of the masses; like a giant, he advanced at the head of a human wave, organizing the innumerable human units into an army of disciplined work, crushing the adversary; he dominated the elements in throwing the light of his powerful mind upon the straight roads as well as upon the obscure alleys where resounds the rhythmic step of workers' columns following the red standards of revolt.

What is it that made of Lenin so inspired an expression of millions of beings?

It was above all his extraordinary understanding of the needs of the masses; he possessed a myterious sense which enabled him to perceive in the masses the movements, the thoughts which were most imperceptible to all others.

No one could listen as he. He listened with patience and attention to an old soldier, a peasant from some far away place, a worker.

It was enough for him to exchange some words with a humble peasant woman to determine the pulse-beats of the life of the country places; one word caught from a worker during a meeting was enough for him to feel the road taken by workers' thought. He disentangled the complexity of social relations, and before the eyes there arose the picture of the life of millions of beings.

Simplicity in Bearing.

Lenin had a singular talent for talking with people; he got so intimately near them that they confided to him all their doubts, their desires, their questions.

For every one Lenin found a simple language. Hating the enemies of the working class with all the force of his mighty soul, breaking with them brutally, definitely, categorically, Lenin knew how to convince; he dissipated all the doubts of those men who did the militant work. It is for this reason that Lenin possessed a marvelous attraction; he charmed people; they came to him (not as to a chief, but as to the best friend and comrade, the most experienced, the wisest; and he bound all these people to himself by means of a cement which no force could have loosened.

Never more will there be found in history a leader so much loved by those near him. Everyone had a special feeling for Lenin. It was not for his vigorous intelligence and for his iron fist that he was loved. No, he was simply loved. He bound people to himself by intimate bonds. He was a comrade in the real sense of the word, this great word to which the future belongs. Such will be in the future the relations between people.

The greatest simplicity was the essential trait of his policy; it was not the simplicity of naive people; it was the simplicity of genius. He found simple words, clear slogans, easy solution of the most complicated problem. Nothing was more foreign to him that sinuosity, pose, sophism; he hated all that. He ridiculed this cursed heritage of the old order.

Enemy of Sterile Verbiage.

He knew the value of action and was the most implacable enemy of all sterile verbiage, and at the same time he guided his Party in a masterly way and he swept along all the workers. He was a dictator in the best sense of the word: Absorbing all the asps of life, he made the experiment with thousands of men in his marvelous spiritual laboratory and directed with his audacious hand as a powerful chief.

He never adapted himself to the backward ones; he never passively noted down events; he knew to march against the current with his whole aroused ardor; so ought a chief to be.

Comrade Lenin has left us; he has gone away forever. Let us dedicate all our forces to his heir, our Party. May this Party be animated by his spirit, his will, his illimitable daring, his devotion to the working class.

Let us all know how to listen to the mass as did Lenin, our common chief, our great master, our immortal comrade.

Vladimir Ilyitch Ulianov--Nicolai Lenin

By MAX BARTHEL (Berlin).

In the workers' quarters of Prague and Berlin,
London, Paris and Copenhagen
A clanging hammer struck crashing:
"Lenin is dead, Comrade Lenin!"

An outcry from the cities of Moscow and Vienna,
Bombay and Cape Town with frantic heart,
A wailing arises from depths of grief:
"Lenin is dead, Comrade Lenin!"

Odessa bends in sorrow to Moscow:
"There lies our father at our feet,
He whom earth's disinherited greet,
Leader of the poor, Comrade Lenin!"

Paris is in tears, Vienna wails,
Rome and Athens are struck down.
The other cities come and ask:
"Comrades, what is it?"—"Lenin died, Lenin!"

Chinese coolies, despised, spat upon,
The yellow stokers of pitching ships,
They shudder and imagine dreadful cracks:
"Lenin is dead, Comrade Lenin!"

And all the slaves of the colonies,
Negroes, Mulattos, and slender Malays,
Arise like lightning and say and cry:
"Lenin is dead, Comrade Lenin!"

Then silent are the cities of Moscow and Berlin,
Rome, Prague and London devoured with bitterness—
Hereupon a voice speaks clearly thru sorrow:
"Lenin is dead? Long live Lenin!"

AS WE SEE IT

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY.

It would be interesting to read the reports in the Moscow papers of the manner in which election campaigns are waged in Cicero, Illinois. They may say, "Well what can you expect in a capitalist country where the only incentive in public life is not service to the community as in our Soviet Republic but the accumulation of wealth, and as the shortest road to wealth is via the graft route, why graft is the rule and not the exception. When graft begins to thin out the grafters begin to shoot." That is about the size of it.

* * * *

Oswald Mosely, M. P. son-in-law of Lord Curzon has joined the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain. Mosely married Lady Cynthia Curzon, Lord Curzon's daughter in 1920.

His wife is a generous contributor to the Labor Party's campaign funds. There is a wild rush on the part of the nobility for membership in the Independent Labor Party. The society columns of the London papers are filled with stories of dinners and afternoon teas at which the King and Queen rub shoulders with trade union leaders and "intellectual" members of MacDonald's cabinet. This state of affairs is not universally popular.

* * * *

Thomas Johnston, editor of the Glasgow "Forward" comments with his customary incisiveness on this tendency to kiss the royal foot that is still massaging the neck of the British working class. Tom Griffith is Labor Treasurer of the Royal Household. Says Johnston, "Tommy, it seems had a great time with the King. 'If you had seen us there, chatting informally with the King, you would have thought this sort of thing had gone on for centuries. A more delightful half-hour I have never spent. The King gripped my hand.' "

* * * *

"Note it wasn't his throat or his ankle that was gripped, just his hand, the hand of an honest son of toil—but more, there was a feeling of constraint. He obviously looked on us as friends." "Not as snobs, but as friends. Chums in fact." "Oh, brothers," moans Johnston, who is an M. P. himself, "give us air and loosen our collars; for we are like to choke! It may be that certain ceremonials have to be undertaken; but surely there is no excuse for those public exhibitions of snobbery!" No doubt Jim Oneal will make a vicious attack on Thomas Johnston for his undignified criticism of His Majesty's Labor Socialist (yellow) Government.

The Italian Elections Under Fascism

By GIOVANNI GIGLIO.

THE ITALIAN electoral campaign is in full swing. But the opposition parties have not been able to hold a single meeting as yet, not only because of the fact that open air meeting are, as a rule, never allowed by the police, but also because the fascist volence makes it impossible for the candidates of the opposition parties to return to their constituencies, from which they have been driven or compelled to escape. Here are two or three examples:

Signor Salvatore di Fausto, ex-M. P. and a prominent member of the Partito Popolare, sends to his Vicovaro constituency, a small town within the Rome province, his private secretary with instructions to do some canvass work. At the small railway station of the constituency the private secretary is soon noticed on his arrival by three fascisti and followed at a close distance on his track. The secretary gets aware that he is being closely followed by the three fascisti and therefore tries to elude their pursuit by entering swiftly into a church. But the three fascisti notice his move and follow him inside the church. Perceiving the impossibility of getting rid of his spies, the secretary very wisely, as you will see, tries to approach them.

So, with the most fascinating smile on his lips, he ventures to ask the three "gentlemen" to be so kind as to tell him what they wanted. "Your d——d skin," answered in a wild chorus the three "gentlemen." The secretary was shocked. Then, one of the fascisti continued: "We know that you are the secretary of Mr. So and So and we also know the purpose of your coming here. Now, the best you can do is to follow us back to the railway station." The secretary attempted to make a timid protest, but he soon repented for having made the attempt.

When he, in company of his three guides, reached the railway station, the fascisti requested him to telephone his candidate in Rome. And he was compelled to warn by phone his candidate not to think any more of his constituency. Three days later the candidates went to his constituency and under the protection of strong police forces was able to hold a meeting. But the day after the meeting the fascisti had their terrible revenge, by murdering three of the candidate's friends in the constituency.

Here Is Another Example.

The province of Bari gave, in the last election (1921), heaps of votes to the socialist ticket. A few days ago, Signor Vella, a socialist M. P. for Bari, tried to get in touch with his constituency and, as the local branch of the fascist party had warned him beforehand "not to show his face in the streets of Bari," before leaving Rome for Bari, he wanted to make sure that the government would protect him. The government let him know that instructions had been given providing for his personal security at Bari. But when Signor Vella reached Bari he was received by such a hostile demonstration from the fascisti that he deemed it prudent to take shelter inside the perfect's house.

The prefect received him very kindly, but seemed helpless. "How," exclaimed the socialist candidate, "I was given the assurance by the government that I would be enabled to make my electoral campaign here, and you do nothing to prevent the fascisti from organizing their attacks upon me " "Sir, answered the prefect, "you are quite right, but you see that I am helpless. These devils * * * you know * * * and I * * * am helpless. Take my friendly advice; go back to Rome, and I'll see that you get safe back to the railway station." And the socialist candidate had to take the prefect's friendly advice and accept also the offer of a strong police escort on his way back to the station.

Fascist Intimidation.

In the face of this kind about one hundred of the late M. P.s have informed their constituencies that they perfer to retire of their own will, and it is expected that the opposition parties may at the eleventh hour abandon completely the arena. They are already wondering what is the use of participating in the election when it is already known beforehand what the result of the election is going to be. The fact is that Mussolini has already ensured for the morrow a meek and obedient parliament. He is already sure that he will have 356 faithful followers in the future "Camera dei Deputati" out of a total of 535 M. P.s.

The result of this election will be to throw the crowds of laborers and farmers outside parliamentary life and deprive them, as a matter of fact, of the universal suffrage. In fact, for them it is almost impossible even the total conquest of the places officially reserved by the electoral law to the minority. If to this is added the preoccupation of the fascist electoral methods, one will get a clear insight of the meaning of this election which is aiming at vanishing with lawfulness and democracy an oligarchical regime resting on a daily and systematic violence. (Election, Sunday, April 6.)

Youth Views

By HARRY GANNES

IS COMMUNIST THEORY IMPORTANT?

SOME of the younger comrades think Communist theory unimportant. Lately the idea has grown up that a knowledge of tactics and current events is enough. This is a sad mistake.

Trotzky has said we shall conquer thru our knowledge of Communist theory. Theory is our guide to correct action.

On what is our theory based? First, on the works of Marx, Engels and the host of other proletarian writers who have understood and accepted the materialist conception of history, the class struggle, and the Marxian theory of surplus value; secondly, on the experience of the working class struggles and the recent development of capitalism, mainly as pointed out by Lenin in his works.

Importance of Study.

The past five years have been replete with rapid revolutionary developments. The youth of today have been maturing in an age of strife and struggle with but little time for reflection and less for study. Especially is this true of those in the revolutionary workers movement. The result is that many entirely overlook the need for detailed study of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Karl Radek had amply pointed out the weaknesses of the European revolutionary youth in the matter of solid theoretical education. Most of the organized youth, he pointed out, were brought up at a time when Europe was in the throes of a bitter world war, followed by repeated revolutions and continuing economic and political crises.

The great theoreticians of the social-democrat and the present Communist parties were developed during the so-called periods of peaceful development of capitalism, as for example, Lenin, Zetkin, Luxembourg, Trotzky, Bucharin, Thalheimer, for the Communists; Bernstein and Kautsky, for the socialist traitors.

The life of every one of the leaders of the Communist International is the life of an avid student of Marxian theory and the development of capitalism, economicaly and politically. The danger in these times of action is for the youth to overlook such study.

Participation Not Sufficient.

It is true that the mass of workers, young and old, will learn thru active participation in the class struggle; but we cannot forget the fact that the backbone and brains of the Russian Communist Party is still the old Bolsheviks whose theoretical education at no time was neglected even during periods of intensive action.

A Communist party and a Young Communist League without a complete leadership versed in the theories of Marxism and Leninism is worse than a ship without a rudder; for the driving force of our enemies, the capitalists is more deadly than the rigors of the sea and of the wind.

For information concerning the Young Workers League of America, address Y. W. L., 1009 N. State St., Chicago, Ill.

ON JUNE 17 IN THE TWIN CITIES.

It is then and there the Farmer-Labor movement of the United States will mobilize its forces for a political struggle against Teapot Dome Capitalism. Boost the convention of June 17th.

COMMUNIST·CHILDREN'S·COLUMN

The Adventure of Johnny Smart Or A Lad in the Russian Revolution

Johnny Smart was a carpenter's apprentice. He was a husky young boy, with a sharp prominent nose, and lively blue eyes. He had the reputation of being the greatest mischief maker of all the boys in the factory.

Today Johnny was excited. It seemed as if the fear which hovered over the city, this foreboding of something evil and inevitable, had crept into Johnny's blood.

Since early morning, streams of people were leaving the city; an unexpected advane of White Guards had forced the Reds to abandon the city. Long trains of wagons, piled up high with furniture, boxes of all sorts, with food and ammunition, passed continuously thru the streets. Anxious drivers, their faces covered with sweat, kept whipping the horses to a faster pace. Here and there could be seen a Red Guard hurrying on some duty. Wounded were already being carried into the city; the sick and crippled dragged themselves painfully after the departing wagons. The street was a confused medley of rattling wheels and groaning wounded. Here and there a driver lost his head and began cursing his horse and his carriage and pitilessly beat his poor animal.

Volunteers For Secret Work.

Johnny had wanted to leave the city together with the other workers of the factory, but their leaders had ordered him to remain.

"Hey, where are you going, you young scamp? Don't you think we've got enough without being bothered with you. You don't have to be scared of the Whites. They won't hurt you. So you remain here."

Johnny saw that neither tears nor prayers would help. So he ran to the headquarters of the Young Communist League. He was a member of one of the Communist Children's Groups.

But there also they were too busy to be able to help him. The committee was standing in the corner, discussing excitedly and in low voices. Three young men were piling all the documents on the table, and burning them as fast as they could in the glowing stove.

"We can't trust the tobacco girls for our secret service work yet," Gregory was saying.

Johnny picked up his ears. Secret service work! He had already heard a great deal about it. It means something terrible and mysterious; one dared not sleep at home, and the White Guards burned the houses and hung the workers.

His older brother was caught in this work, and was now lying in prison—maybe they would let him try his hand at it.

"Comrades, can't I do something, too " Gregory looked at the little figure before him. "What, then," he asked.

"Can't I do secret work?"

The Whites Attack Village.

The young people burst into laughter.

"You! You're much too young. Why, you're still at your mother's apron strings."

Johnny felt hurt. He turned his back upon them sadly, and and sat down on the window sill, pressed his face against the pane and fell into suffering silence.

In the street, the tumult had somewhat decreased; the crowd had grown less dense. There were fewer wagons. From the station little groups of Red Guards kept coming all the time, and a mounted officer would now and then rush down the street, with sparks flying from his horse's hoofs.

Beyond the city, the Reds and Whites were fighting. He could distinctly hear the guns and the loud thunder of the cannon. Now the cars passed by, followed by a few soldiers.

Suddenly, the first shell exploded in the street. The troops quickened their pace. Then a second shot. Now, the commands could be heard quite clearly. From many windows faces peeped in the direction from which they expected the Whites to be coming. On the outskirts of the city a bright flame sprang up suddenly.

"A shell must have hit its goal," thought Johnny, and he directed his entire attention to the fire.

After the Hand Grenades.

All the papers have been burned, and now the committee was preparing to leave the room, but Gregory stopped suddenly. He seemed to have remembered something.

"Boys! The hand grenades! We've forgotten to remove the hand grenades."

"Which hand grenades?"

"Those which were in Frederick's house."

"Well, it's too late now," Mark said despondently. "Frederick has left the city; and we can't take the chance of going to his house. Every one knows that he was a Communist and we would surely be recognized. The capitalist soldiers are already searching the streets for our comrades."

What could they do? The hand grenades had to be gotten at any price.

"Comrades, let me go. I am small and no one will think of stopping me. And I will bring you the hand grenades."

Gregory and Mark looked at little Johnny. "Well, all right. They are in Kronstad Street. The number, 27, first floor, to the right, under the bed. You bring them here."

(To Be Continued Monday)

Proletarian Song.

I'm a worker—and you're a worker—
We have our life—'tis without delight,
For ev'ry day the old world about us
Seems nothing but changing black and white.

And thru the monotony of our day
We've work and worry—no more have we.
The weeks come on and are gone away,
We seek for something but naught we see.

The years go by, and youth goes too,
We have suffered want and have naught to show.
I'm a worker and you're a worker—
We are building the Future, 'tis all we know.

Translated from the German of Julius Zerfass by Henry Roenne.

OUR BOOK REVIEWS

Y'eave Ho! My lads—For a Sailor's Life.
Reviewing "The Sailor's Union of the Pacific," by Paul S. Taylor, Ph. D. Ronald Press Co., N. Y., $2.50.

To land lubbers, a sailor is a strange being. If we are romantic, the sailor becomes the embodiment of the spirit of adventure, romance and freedom. There is about him the tang of exotic lands, the fulfillment of many unfulfilled desires. If, however, we be prosaic, then the sailor is a drunken, good-for-nothing creature often seen hanging around wharves or lounging in dark hallways with some girl he has been fortunate enough to pick up. Strange, isn't it, how our conceptions of certain legitimate occupations have developed?

Seamanship is an occupation steeped in tradition, and seamen have for years been the sufferers of great economic and social oppression by virtue of that tradition. Dr. Taylor has presented to us in an exceedingly readable form a "dramatic account of the rise of American seamen to freedom and self respect." It is the story of a trade union in what would seem to be a distinctly unorganized industry, and the fight for a code of laws that would guarantee to the sailor, who for years has been bonded to his vessel in the name of ship discipline, the minimum of economic freedom—guaranteed to every worker—the right to leave his job.

"At best the old-time sailor's lot was a hard one. Sleeping and eating in a little black, ill-ventilated, poorly lighted, unfurnished hole called a forecastle, with a hard board bunk and a bit of straw or a cheap mattress, if he provided it himself, he lived a life of great physical discomfort." This sort of physical life at sea coupled with an unsavory life ashore at the mercy of "crimps" and scavenger boarding houses, and ending in being shanghaied back to the vessels—to start the vicious circle all over again—has been only one phase of the life of the sailor. The lack of economic freedom, the lack of protective legislation for the hazards of the industry, and the social stigma attached to the job—were all forces which finally made for organization on the part of the seamen of the Pacific Coast.

The recitation of the repeated attempts to organize, the destruction of these organizations by ship owners, crimps and even other unions in the course of jurisdictional disputes, reveal the natural process out of which trade consciousness develops.

The Sailor's Union of the Pacific came into being, however, and began its fight for the seamen of the Coast.

The culmination of the struggle for legal rights came only in March, 1915, with the passage of the Seamen's Act, which abolishes arrest and imprisonment as a penalty for desertion, created provisions for decent living conditions on the boat, and provided for some definite safety measures.—T. W.

JOIN THE JUNIOR SECTION
For Information
1009 N. State St., Rm. 214
Chicago, Ill.

KICK 'EM OUT!

That's what you should do to the servants of the bankers and oil magnates in President's Cal's cabinet. Show them the way out.

UNCLE WIGGLY'S TRICKS — **A LAUGH FOR THE CHILDREN**

Objective Conditions and Shop Nuclei

By HARRY GANNES

EXPERIENCE and history proves that the strength of a Communist organization lies in the predominance of the proletarian members within its ranks. There is abundant proof of this. Has not the Communist International time and again rebuked the weakness of the Italian and Bulgarian Communist Parties because of the preponderance of peasant elements? Zinoviev has more than once indicated the advantage that the German Communist party has in the vast number of proletarians within its ranks, even tho that party has been criticized for not developing its shop nuclei activities more rapidly.

The Grave Digger of Capitalism.

But this is no argument against the most intensive campaigns and activities among the peasant masses—in the United States the oppressed tenant and dirt farmers. Comrade John Pepper and others have shown the necessity of the work of the American party in the agrarian sections of the country. In a country that is half industrial and half agrarian in its population, facing realities, there is no doubt where the activities of the Communists must be directed. Yet the work among the industrial workers must predominate.

The grave diggers of capitalist society will be the proletariat, the unskilled workers created by the capitalist mode of production. Marx did not quibble about that. It is true that the peasantry and the aristocracy of labor (the skilled workers) might act as the pall bearers and the undertaker, but the most important function belongs to the lowest stratum of exploited workers, the proletariat, those who in the United States work in the basic industries.

This is nothing new for the Communist movement in the United States. For more than once has the slogan been issued, to the masses of workers! But the party has been laboring under handicaps imposed by an antiquated organizational structure that has prevented it from reaching the very section of the working class that must be relied upon as the motive force of revolution. Why? Because of the inherent development of capitalist society, the massing of large numbers of workers in industry and the disfranchisement of a vast number of these workers. Then, too, these unorganized workers have been forbidden the right and the means to organize in defensive economic organizations, trade and industrial unions.

Shop Nuclei Necessary.

John Edwards, in his article on "Shop Nuclei—The Only Road to a Mass Communist Organization." shows how the present structure of the party is incapable of enlisting the great number of unorganized workers and why the major part of our work reaches those organized into trade unions, for the most part the better skilled workers.

It would be well to direct our attentions to objective conditions in the United States so far as shop nuclei or organization is concerned. Heretofore, discussion has been on the conditions within the party; a necessary discussion.

The problem of shop nuclei deals mainly with the basic industries and the factories. There are according to the latest census some 12,000,000 factory workers (men and women engaged in manufacture). There is a total of 290,105 manufacturing establishments, divided as follows, outside of 179,676, which employ very few or no workers:

No. of Workers	No. of Factories
6 to 20 workers	56,208
21 to 50 workers	25,379
51 to 100 workers	12,405
101 to 250 workers	10,068
251 to 500 workers	3,599
501 to 1,000 workers	1,749
1,000 to 50,000 workers or more workers	1,021

The number of factories employing over 1,000 workers has nearly double since 1914. Except Germany, there is not a capitalist country in the world that has so propitious a background in industry for the formation of shop nuclei as the United States. It is conceded that there are difficulties in the matter of foreign born workers. But that will be taken up later.

The industrial development of the United States shows that the basic industries have been the magnets for the concentration of workers within particular sections of the country. However, politically, the workers have been divorced from their natural industrial concentration, and as a result some have lost sight of the shop as the basis for agitation.

Party Must Be Mobile Force.

A Communist Party must be a mobile force. It must be quick to act in emergencies; and its campaigns, based on the immediate as well as the ultimate needs of the working class, must be pushed with the speed that is commensurate with the change and crises of the daily struggles. History has developed that type of organization as a result of:

1. The industrial development of the capitalist system and the tendency to employ more and more workers under one roof or in one group, and,

2. The political formations assumed by working class power, typified by the shop councils (soviets).

It is impossible to conceive of the ultimate success of the Communist program, or even of lasting continued favor with the masses of the workers in the matters of every day campaigns, without some form of mass political organization with its basic units in the shop.

A Communist party based on the shop nuclei principle particularly has the advantage, among other things, of the facility with which decisions from the central executive committee are passed down to the basic organizational units which are in constant touch with the masses of workers—limited only by the size of our organization. Decisions and instructions, in this way, are transmitted with effect.

Within the American party we face a big question when discussing shop nuclei—our language federations. But when the shop nuclei question is understood in relation to the subjective conditions of the party and the objective facts of our industrial and political situation, we find that the formation of shop nuclei is the greatest help for the attainment of the ends sought by our federations in harmony with the central executive committee of the party.

Foreign Workers Predominate.

Let us see how the facts bear out the above statements. Fifty-eight per cent of the total number of workers are employed in American industries. Of the workers employed in the basic industries such as mining, iron and steel, meat packing and clothing, 60 to 70 per cent are foreign born. It can be said unequivocably that the protection of the foreign born workers in the United States is a problem of more than immediate importance for the Communist movement. How can our party best meet this duty?

What does our present form or organization mean to the foreign born comrades within our ranks and those who are not in our organization but who are miserably exploited on the job?

The foreign born section of our population cast 11 per cent of the total vote in the last national election, which means 89 per cent of them are disfranchised. Any organization based, as the Communist International says, on the "organization of the voters" is prevented from carrying on real Communist activities. And the foreign born workers suffer mostly thru the ineffectiveness of our present organization structure. Our foreign born comrades, therefore, should be in the front rank in the demand for a sensible, yet rapid, organization and reorganization of the party on the basis outlined by the Communist International—the shop nuclei.

Unimpaired Language Groups.

Would the shop nuclei impair the necessary work among the language groups of workers within the industries? An examination of facts prompts an emphatic "No!" In the needle trades, for example, we find a preponderance of Jewish and Italian workers. The change would in no way interfere with better and more effective Communist language work within the needle industries. We find Poles and Negroes almost exclusively employed in the Chicago stock yards. How will this interfere with the aims of our present federations? Will it not be rather the best means of advancing these Communist aims? The steel industries and the mining camps are but a few other examples that carry out this idea.

The best interests of the foreign born workers can be protected on the job where they are bitterly exploited and where they completely lack direction and organization. It is for the Communists to give these real proletarians leadership; and that can best be done in a Communist manner by transforming our basic organization unit to the shop.

Summing up: We find that objective conditions in the United States offer monumental arguments for the shop nucleization of our party. How shall that be done? What shall be our first step? That requires a special article. First of all we must recognize our problem, accept and understand the principle. The working out of the details is not such a hard matter. If our comrades persist in offering objections to the shop nuclei organization no plan will work, for that plan will be directed to comrades who are not yet convinced of the feasibility and the superiority of the type of organization that made the Russian revolution successful and will be more than instrumental in assuring the permanency of the coming German revolution.

In its shop nuclei resolution, just adopted, the Communist International rightly states:

"Under the reformist policy of the social-democratic parties, which endeavored to exert an influence upon the bourgeois government by means of the ballot box, it was natural that attention should be chiefly directed to the organization of voters. The organization, therefore, was based upon electoral divisions and residential areas."

So far as organization structure is concerned our present party is a whole-cloth inheritance of the socialist party. Our only difference is district organizations based on geographical territorial divisions, which is a weak concession to the needed complete reorganization and organization on the shop nuclei basis.

"Charlie" Likes Movies Better

Hunger-Revolt

By OSKAR KANEHL

You risk to eat
when we are hungry?
Panes are clinking on the pavement,
Rashly pushed in by hunger-fists.
Cases are breaking. Boxes are flying.
Barrels are rolling. Bottles are flowing.
Bags are sheding.
Hunger-hands are raking in abundance.
Unfeeling fingers are grasping for things,
which else are only cautiously served
by silver-utensils.
Are throwing valuables pell-mell.
Are giving away. Are wasting Are flinging away,
what doesn't go into the hunger-mouths.
Are eating with eyes, hands and feet.
Only once without fear and without resistance.
Only for this once nothing to lack.
Only once to taste, once to bite.
Only once to take away,
what isn't allowed to belong for us.
And why not?
And why not? We are hungry.
Only once to ourselves fill!
In the burgher-throat the rich morsel sticks fast.
Before his window the revolt is breaking.
In the police—presidency assembles
the guardian of republic.
From street away! (Away from street!)
Who hungers—will be shot!

Translated By Paul Acel.

The Growth of Tenancy In Agriculture

By OSCAR PREEDIN

UP to the present agricultural crisis tenancy in the United States was considerd as a merely temporary condition of individuals on their way to ownership of farms which they toiled. Growth of tenancy was represented as growth of agriculture on account of new farmers who did not possess sufficient means for immediate purchase of land and therefore were compelled to "work up" thru tenancy.

This explanation of tenancy was generally accepted. It found recognition by leading members of the old socialist party and was one of the corner stones of socialist party "farmers' program." A. M. Simons, chairman for many years of the socialist party special "Commission of Farmers' Question," wrote in accord with all bourgeois economists:

Decline of Owners Relative.

"The increase in tenants is accounted for by the new persons who are going into agriculture, and there is no possible way in which the statistics can be interpreted to show that there is any general movement in the direction of a transformation of farm owners into tenants." ("The American Farmer," edition of 1908, page 114.)

This theory recognized the high prices of land as one of the main obstacles which did not permit people with small savings to become owners of farms as easy as that was possible some decades ago. But the prices of land appeared for adherents of this theory only as some hill on the way of tourists—new farmers. They declared the way to ownership as passable, especially with the help of mortgages.

"The mortgage is an advanced step from tenancy. . . . The bridge between tenancy and ownership is the farm mortgage," says Ivan Wright in his book, "Farm Mortgage Financing."

Such was the representation of the question of tenancy by the pleasing sweet "theory of expansion."

The summaries in statistics of agriculture of United States since 1880, when the first census of tenure was here taken, up to 1910 continued to record increasing numbers of owner farms among still more increased numbers of tenants. Decline of owners up to 1910 was only relative.

This was used by the "theory of expansion" to represent itself as founded on facts. It seemed possible that tenants were "working up" to the positions of owners, that to the increase of owners contributed previous tenants and that increase in tenants was possible to account for "by the new persons who are going into agriculture."

Census 1910-1920.

The last census decade 1910-1920 was very favorable for agriculture in United States. Thru all this decade prices of farm products were on high level. Therefore, according to the current explanation of tenancy, increased number of owners, should be produced on account of tenants.

But exactly the contrary was found by the agricultural census of 1920. The following changes in number of farms by tenure were recorded:

	1910 Number in 1,000	1910 P. C. of total	1920 Number in 1,000	1920 P. C. of total	Increase (+) or decrease (−) in numbers, 1910-1920 in 1,000
Owners	3,949	62.1	3,925	60.8	— 24
Managers	58	0.9	68	1.1	+ 10
Tenants	2,355	37.0	2,455	38.1	+100
TOTAL	6,362	100.0	6,448	100.0	+ 86

How the appearance of 100,000 new tenants can explain a temporary condition on their way to ownership if at this same time 24,000 owners disappeared?

"Theory of Pauperization."

These facts proved very convincingly that "theory of expansion in explanation of tenancy was only a romantic invention. Some other "scientific treatment" of the question was requested. Therefore for the explanation of growth of tenancy in the atmosphere of present agricultural calamity very wide circulation is given to assumptions that tenants are produced in pauperization of owner farmers.

This "theory of pauperization" contains all the metaphysical elements of "expansion theory." It considers tenancy as just this same condition of actual farmers somewhere below the standard of farmers owners. . . . The "theory of pauperization" is in reality only reversed "theory of expansion": Instead of representing tenancy as a condition of group of people who come from undefined places with unsufficient means and are on a temporary stage to the positions of owners the theory of pauperization represents tenancy as a station of "degraded" owners who are touring in contrary direction. Theory of expansion was built on pleasing conceptions of agricultural prosperity but theory of pauperization is constructed exclusively on conceptions of depression. They are two songs of one petty creed: the first looks like a wedding march for demonstrative procession to husbandry of a new farmer, the second has to serve for funeral purposes.

As every funeral song so the theory of pauperization expresses some hopes about the "life after death." It does not admit that tenancy will stay here permanently. It sticks fast to the belief that the system of independent owners is the American system of agriculture. It finds only one thing wrong: the prices, not the prices of land, but the prices of farm products. The ridiculous talks and demands for higher prices are very convenient for all bourgeois "scientists" because they carry away the attention of people from existing class relations in agriculture. It helps them to hide all the constructed system of exploitation in agriculture behind the big piles of agricultural products. From the mass of products on market nobody can tell under what conditions and in what relations they were produced. A bushel of wheat cannot tell how much rent or mortgage dues, taxes were paid for the land on which the wheat was raised. But the prices of agricultural products can inform landholders how much rent their tenants must pay the next year.

Enormous Profits For Landholders.

Agriculture of United States is a nest where enormous profits are hatched for the class of capitalists and landholders. The growth of tenancy is here an expression of progress in separation of land ownership from actual farmers for the sake to separate and to appropriate part of produced values on the land for title holders.

The theory of pauperization wants us to believe that tenancy is here limited only to weak and poor farmers, that it establishes itself in that part of agriculture which is sinking down in an economic mire.

Is this true? Are the collections of land rent limited only by the masses of pauperized farmers? Is it true that tenancy grows only in economically destroyed farms?

If tenancy is an expression of economic weakness, poverty and destruction, then its fate is sealed and final victory and survival of owner farms is assured.

If to find the true position of tenancy and if to give full account of the spreading of tenant relations in the agriculture of United States we have to consider carefully that statistical material which is supplied by the census of 1920.

This census allows us to follow the development of farms by their tenure only in respect to the number of farms, acreage of all land, acreage of improved land and farm property.

Gain By All Tenure Groups.

Considering the acreage of farms—total farm land and improved farm land—we can see that increases of land were gained by all tenure groups of farms. They were in thousands of acres:

	All land in farms. Increase 1910-1920. Amount in 1,000 acres	Percent of of 1910	Improved land in farms. Increase 1910-1920. Amount in 1,000 acres	Percent of of 1910
In all farms	77,085	8.8	24,621	5.1
In owner farms	38,220	6.4	4,257	1.4
In manager farms	398	0.7	897	7.3
In tenant farms	38.467	17.0	19,467	12.5

The shares of farm tenure groups in expansion of agriculture were here unequal. From the increase of all land in farms tenants had very little more than owners, but from the increase of improved land in tenant farms came about four-fifths. Land holdings of owners increased nearly as much as in tenant farms but in expansion of cultivation of farm lands owners succeeded to do less than one-fourth of that what was done by tenants.

Average Acreage.

(This does not give any justification to the "theory of expansion." Why? To explain this to A. M. Simons and to other bourgeois economists and historians is as hard a job as an Irishman in the city of New York had with statistical misconceptions of his devoted wife who expected her third child and was greatly excited just because "the statistics prove that in the city of New York every third child is a Jew.")

The average acreage of all land per farm was changed during 1910-1920 in the folowing way:

	Acres per farm 1910.	1920.	Increase or decrease in acres per farm
Owners	151.6	162.2	+ 10.6
Managers	924.7	790.8	—133.9
Tenants	96.2	107.9	+ 11.7

Of these were improved in average per farm:

Owners	78.5	80.0	+ 1.5
Managers	211.9	193.0	— 18.9
Tenants	66.4	71.6	+ 5.2

Only farms operated by managers were poorer in land in 1920 than they were in 1910.

Farms operated by owners and tenants increased in size. They both were richer in land in 1920 than they were in 1910 and with this expressed concentration of agriculture. To this tenant farms contributed more than owner farms. In these averages tenant farms still appear smaller than farms operated by owners. This difference is decreased: in total acreage it was 55.4 acres in 1910, but 54.3 in 1920; in improved land, 12.1 acres in 1910, but only 8.4 acres in 1920. This shows that in land holdings owner farms still keep advanced position but in cultivation of land they are nearly on this same level as tenant farms.

Tenant Farms Increasing in Size.

Tenant farms appear small in averages of U. S. mainly on account of cropper and share tenant parcels in the South. In New England, Middle Atlantic and East North Central divisions tenant farms even in averages of the divisions are larger than owner farms. The sizes of farms were here: in 1920:

	Owners.	Tenants.
New England	104.9	107.9
Middle Atlantic	88.7	109.2
E. N. Central	99.8	126.0

(Continued on Page 8.)

GERMAN SOCIALISTS SAVING FATHERLAND

CONDITIONS OF HEROISM

By STANLEY BOONE

THE bourgeois portions of France and the United States,—which create teachers, judges and journalists as well as a god in their own image, and which squeeze even out of the Twenty-third Psalm a little propaganda for their own perpetuity,—are strangely afraid of their heroes.

Today after 132 years bourgeois France dares not look Danton in the face.

It is 132 years since August 10, 1792, when the sections of Paris rose to put Louis XVI and his family in the tower of the Temple. And it is from that day that the present bourgeoisie of France date their fortune, whether millionaires or petty shopkeepers who hope to be millionaires. Yet recently there have appeared three new books by French bourgeois pseudo-historians or biographers which repudiate Danton and the other Eighteenth Century creators of French private property.

These books, only a part of the annual crop, condemn not merely the methods of the Jacobins but the public and private morals and purposes of the revolutionary creators of the French bourgeois state. To form a parallel in this country it would be necessary to denounce George Washington as an adventurer, the members of the Boston Tea Party as criminals "having no regard for law and order" and the "Sansculottes" of Valley Forge as hoodlums. And in the United States men have been shot for less.

Bourgeois History.

One of these three volumes is "The Dauphin", by George Lenotre, translated by Francis Lee Utley. Lees, according the "Who's Who, 1921", is an English journalist residing in Paris and Italy who has been made an "officier de l'instruction publique" by the French government, in recognition of his efforts in the furtherance of the Franco-British entente cordiale.

The two other volumes are "Danton", by Louis Madelin, and "Maxon Roland", by Mrs. Blashfield.

"To hold in their possession and molest at leisure the King descended from so many kings and the beautiful Queen of the Trianon, what a voluptuous and depraved godsend to men naturally hateful of all beauty and nobility," says Mr. Lenotre in "The Dauphin", referring to the French revolutionists and especially to the Paris members of the Left or Mountain Party.

Of course this volume is concerned primarily with the mystery of the disappearance of the executed king, while he was a prisoner in the Temple tower, but the story is exploited to the disadvantage of those who deprived him of the privileges of tyranny. Mr. Lenotre is the author of six other volumes dealing with similar details of history.

Royal Heroines and Heroes.

Referring to Marie Antoinette, in the chapter entitled "The Temple," Mr. Lenotre continues. "The repeated blows of relentless misfortune were necessary in order that dignity, resignation, greatness of soul should compose for the prisoner of the Temple an imperishable diadem more imposing than the crown she had just lost."

And perhaps the crowning example of Mr. Lenotre's point of view is in the following passage, referring to the captivity of the Dauphin himself: ". . . we shall recognise perhaps that it was not a simple episode of the great revolutionary drama but that it formed the basis and texture of it, unknown even to those to whom the parts were distributed."

It is unessential to quote from Madame Roland's memoirs. The memoirs and the letters are everywhere. She grew; had her home with her futile husband, who rose and fell early as an inconsequential minister pro tem; had her lover, Buzot; had her jealous quarrels with the great revolutionists, for whom her husband should have been chief clerk; and died, a counter-revolutionist. She was a counter-revolutionist not so much against what was accomplished as against only the men in France by whom accomplishment was possible. Of course Madame had a right to objections, which were especially directed at Danton, whom she is reported to have found, ". . . ferocious in face and probably in heart."

We may regret, in view of her intentions to be of use to her country, without sharing Carlyle's surprisingly naive enthusiasm for her, that she had to die on the guillotine. But the judgment of history is delivered against her contemporaries are not, therefore, sound or vitally interesting, especially since her favorite aversion, Jacques Danton, came nearer than anyone else to being personally as magnificent as the revolution itself. It is because such men live as product of social forces, even today, that revolutions are both probable and worth while. It is also because of the stubborn rancor of persons like Madame Roland that such men have sometimes to die. And it was so useless in her case, for Madame, since she died before Danton, and gained, therefore, only martyrdom when she would have preferred revenge.

The Eve of Action.

Danton spoke at the club of the Cordeliers the evening of August 9. When he finished speaking and went out into the night the great bell of that former Franciscan prayer hall began to toll. The signal was taken up by other bells. It was the tocsin of insurrection, the midnight summons to the insurgent population of a commune, an organization which in an inspiration that was largely Danton's, had been forming all that day in the forty-eight sections of Paris.

The City Hall was entered and occupied, the existing administration of Paris walking out with little resistance. The mayor alone was retained by the illegal representatives, then in power.

Doubtful of Danton.

Supporting this movement were armed troops, conspicuous among them being the contingent from Marseilles, which had marched to Paris on its mission unmolested. Non-committal as the Marseillaise declined an invitation to accept quarters with the conservative national guard and went instead to the Club of the Cordeliers.

On the tenth, the insurrectionary commune demanded and obtained from the astonished and vacillating Assembly the imprisonment of the king and queen. France, for a while at least, was a Republic, and thereafter the capitalists were free to exploit the proletariat which put them in power.

M. Madelin's study of Danton tells this story and the story of Danton's entire career in great length and in good style. M. Madelin is nearer an appreciation of his subject than either of the other two. He has written a book worth having, for both reference and pleasure. But even M. Madelin is inclined to doubt. He shrinks from wholly embracing this Danton whom he nevertheless admires. There is noticeable in his narrative the commonplace bourgeois fear that a contemporary proletariat and peasantry may assume from the past that for Danton, as for Washington in the United States, the path to his position of historic importance was the path of unmitigated revolution.

The French bourgeoisie thus do their best to make the heroes of their great revolution venal, insincere, brutal, or merely insignificant. If they do not make specific charges, the bourgeois authors resort to innuendo. Being certain they were not respectable men, the nearest approach, in works of this kind, to an acclamation of the forerunners of the present bourgeois society in France is a confession of an inability to decide whether the Jacobins were even honest men. That is the nearest these cowardly or sly moderns will permit themselves to approach to Danton, Robespierre, Marat, St. Just, Cornot, Desmoulins, several women revolutionists and the rest . . . the result of these cowardly and malicious tactics being in that case the unelectrifying elsewhere freely borrowed from the vindictive memoirs and embalmed gossip of Madame Roland, that parlor revolutionary of the Girondin, or as unpolitested in popular circles as if nothing at all in addition to them had ever been written.

France and America.

There is a curious contrast between these characterizations of the Jacobins and the distortions practised on the reputations of the heroes of the American Revolution. In this country the memories of Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin and others have been socially useful insofar as they could be employed by parents and teachers to assist in the discipline of children. In this country children have been grown up in the belief that George Washington became president chiefly because he would not tell a lie to his father. The implication of such myth, which is only recently begun to decline in favor, is that if George Washington had deceived his father in the matter of the cherry tree he would never have gotten very far in life. The myth of the cherry tree, in which little George confessed, "Yes, father, I cut it down with my little hatchet," was fortified by the stories of the crossing of the Delaware and the hardships of Valley Forge. Children must not be allowed to assume that Washington was a molly-coddle even if he did tell his father the truth!

Rebels of Their Day.

And yet the men of the American Revolution, no less than the French revolutionaries, were grimly militant rebels who overthrew their king, insofar as King George III had anything to do with their own lives. The Americans had no feudal aristocracy to disperse but they flew instead in the face of an empire tradition. It may be assumed that the American revolutionaries were potentially regicides. Even in revolutionary France the execution of the royal family was not originally a part of the Republican program. The French Republican program was not clarified until three years after the Bastile fell. Altogether the French Revolution was the younger European cousin of our own. On the site of the Bastile the French have dedicated a tablet to Thomas Paine.

Sorrow is not exactly what a man feels in contemplating the cowardice, the hypocrisy, the conceit, the senility and the intellectual torpor which gave rise to the making and perfecting of the myths and accessory falsifications, myths of other men calculated or vicious, in the shadow and venom of which the rising generations have to grow.

Useful Tradition.

It has taken less than 150 years in the United States for the increasingly parasitical bourgeoisie to appropriate their ancestral past to their own ends. But in all that time there has been no structural economic or political change in this country to influence the growth of these propaganda myths which we now have. The Civil War was a national upheaval but it was a bourgeois war, anachronistic in its abolition of slavery. And the contrast between the American and French propagandic biographies and historical studies is undoubtedly largely due to the changes which, on the contrary, have taken place in France since the work of the Jacobin revolutionists was done.

After the French Revolution came the Thermidorian reaction, followed by the Directory and the first Empire. Even after the first Empire state came the two later Empire states, one under Napoleon I and the second under Napoleon III, in addition to the three intervening restorations of the monarchy, under Louis XVIII, Charles X and Louis-Philippe. Each of these periods left its influence on the transmitted accounts of the revolution.

Falsifying the Record.

To escape political imprisonment at the hand of one or another of the succeeding emperors or monarchs, perjuries were committed by men and women who had reliable accounts to give, while the official revolutionary spokesmen, either in obedience to or in support of a government censorship, poured forth their speeches and their books in defamation of their great predecessors.

Napoleon I saved a part of the fruits of the revolution by organizing France against any permanent return of the Bourbons. Nevertheless, he seemed to find it to his advantage, as the imperial savior, to smother and bury away from the public gaze whatever was glorious in the events out of which, as a brilliant artilleryman, he grew. To the same end there was muckraking into the lives of the men and women of the Jacobin Club, many of whom as a consequence have had to stand or fall, in the estimation of posterity, in proportion to their reputed respective abilities to hold a cup of tea in a refined Girondian or royalist salon.

Betsy Ross, of the United States, is idealized. Whatever her character was in fact, her reputation today has been so manufactured that children may safely be allowed to love her. But Theroigne de Mericourt, a young Parisian Mother Jones of 1789, is held now to have been less patriotic, in the sense of that day, than "immoral." Thus in France the heroes are not preposterously made angels or saints, and claimed by the bourgeoisie as something far less than they really were. They are even more preposterously burned in adjectival effigy, by those who are afraid even of their ghosts, and are not claimed at all.

Tell It to the YOWLS.

First Society Woman—That's my baby that we just passed.

Second S. W.—How could you tell?

First S. W.—I recognized the nurse.

To Potash and Perlmutter

By MICHAEL GOLD.

Aha, Potash and Perlmutter, no we see you again,
This time in your real life, you cute comical partners in the cloak and suit trade!
No more pinochle playing, no more funny Yiddle talk, no more quaint business methods,
No more busting up the partnership and making up again ten times a day,
No more pathos, love, romance plotting,
OY, WEH IS MIR!
Can this be little fat soft-hearted Mawruss Perlmutter,
And is this the blaff, crude, good-hearted Abe Potash?
And is it a wintry Chicago street, and are the partners angry?
Are their quaint Hebrew faces mad with rage as they slug a little Jewish girl with blackjacks,
And help the Irish cop step on her face, and twist her arms, and knock her senseless?
Is it Abe who curses her as she is taken off in the patrol wagon?
Is it Mawruss, the tender husband and father, who pats the Irish policemen's shoulder and rewards him with a cigar?

* * *

Yes, it is you, Potash and Perlmutter.
Yes, you are here again, you have stepped from the stage, washed off your clown's masks, and revealed the wolfish fangs and murderous faces.
Yes, it is you speaking the lines of real life, confessing all that your author would not tell us,
Yes, we know you now, Potash and Perlmutter, and exactly how you run your quaint business.

* * *

Listen, Potash and Perlmutter, Dealers in Cloaks and Suits, and Sluggers of Girl Workers,
We will remember what we have seen, gentlemen.
We will yet redeem the proud race that brought forth Jeremiah, the people's prophet,
Moses, the leader of slaves, Jesus, the rebel, and Marx, Trotzky, Liebknecht and Heinrich Heine.
We will go back two thousand years and find the smooth pebble and sling of David,
The sword of Judas Maccabee, and Bar Cochba's martial wisdom,
We will remember you on that day, we other Jews,
We will remember all our dear blood brothers, Messrs. Potash and Perlmutter!

Education in Soviet Russia

By JULIET STUART POYNTZ

NOWHERE does the transforming effect of the proletarian revolution show itself more clearly than in Soviet Russia than in the field of education. The concentration of political power and economic control in the hands of the working class has brought about a complete change in the aims and methods and content of education.

Russian education has advanced with one bound from a pre-feudal condition to the very forefront of modern civilization. The new society of workers and peasants has developed a system and theory of education which uses the latest results of scientific research in every field and applies them without the trammels of commercialism and individualism which have held back bourgeois society. The spiritual revolution in Russia is no less remarkable than the economic and political revolution.

The first task of the young Soviet government when it came to power in October, 1917, was to remodel elementary education according to Socialist ideals and to attack the great social illiteracy which had been left as a legacy by the obscurantist Czarist regime. New schools were founded throughout the country and numberless "first-aid stations," libraries and reading rooms in the villages with teachers for adults, while in the towns cultural and educational clubs and classes for adult workers sprang up everywhere and flourished. This gigantic work of propaganda and enlightenment was undertaken by the Soviet government working in conjunction with the Communist Party, and its fruits are shown in the raising of the cultural level of the Red and Russian nation in the short space of seven years and in the face of the enormous difficulties created by the famine and the civil war.

Illiteracy on the Wane.

The progress of the struggle against illiteracy is shown by the figures published in a report on Education in Russia issued by the government in 1922 on the basis of the results of the census of 1920. An interesting comparison is made between the conditions in that year and in 1897, which may be taken as a typical year of the old regime when the educational efforts were practically stationary. The number of men who could read and write increased during this period from 318 per thousand to 409, of women from 131 to 244, and for every thousand of the whole population the number of literates rose from 229 to 319. In 1920 338 of every thousand of the population in the country below the age of 18 were able to read, in the cities, 603. In the next age class up to forty years, 425 per thousand of the country population and 791 of the city population were able to read. Between 40 and 45 the relative figures were 215 and 550 and over 45, 205 and 661. This is a remarkable record of enlightenment for the short period of existence of the Soviet government, but Lenin, who was never willing to let communism rest on its laurels or even pause to congratulate itself in the struggle upward, pointed out the enormous work that still remains to be done in a statement during the 1922 All-Russian Congress of Soviets. "We find as a consequence, as was to be expected that we are still very far from the time when illiteracy will have entirely disappeared in Russia. We see too what a gigantic work we must still carry out in order to build a real structure of culture on the basis of our proletarian conquests."

Care of Children.

While the Socialist program has always included an enlarged responsibility of the state for the children, the consequences of the war and famine in Russia involved the Soviet state more deeply in this problem than would ever have been the case under more normal conditions. In addition to the orphans there were made helpless by the terrific losses of Russia during the great war were added those whose parents perished in the civil struggle and the war against capitalist intervention. Then came the famine, and Soviet Russia had thrown upon her hands millions more of helpless and starving children whose parents had perished of starvation. It was a gigantic undertaking to provide not only education, but mere sustenance for these millions of hungry mouths. There was an enormous strain on the educational machinery of the Soviet Republic, and often the needs of education had to be sacrificed to those of life. Vast numbers of new institutions had to be brought into existence to care for the children of the state. These had to be provided first, with the necessities of life, food, clothing and shelter, and then with education.

Children's Initiative Developed.

The extraordinary results of these efforts form one of the greatest evidences of the power and desire of a proletarian government to meet a great social vision and a great social crisis. The thousands of children's homes and colonies that have sprung up all over Russia in spite of their poverty and lack of all means for educational work yet show a spirit and tendency in their life and in their loving care of the nation's children which is totally foreign to the capitalist states with all their means. In visiting those homes one feels that man does not live by bread alone nor does education flourish by means alone, but by the great social vision and passion for human brotherhood that animates all the educational activities of the Soviet government. The children of Soviet Russia are different from the poor warped products of capitalist civilization that are turned out by our schools. Discipline in the American sense of the word is unknown in the Russian children's homes and schools. When a foreign visitor enters the room the children cry out spontaneously and enthusiastically, "Sdrastvutye, Tovarish!" and run forward to meet and converse with the stranger who will have something to tell them about the outside world. I remember a beautiful scene in a home for small children in Ekaterinburg where the children were preparing a play to celebrate the birthday of the children's poet, Nekrasov. I came in with the local official of the Narkompros or Department of Education. The children ran forward with cries of joy and school our hands and kissed them without the slightest trace of bashfulness or self-consciousness. These were comrades from somewhere in the world to them and that was enough to make them akin to us their hearts. Many thoughts ran through my mind at this and countless similar experiences. In the spirit of the new collective homes for children in Russia a new race is being bred, a new type of human being who is adapted to the new social system, who owes his existence and his loyalty to society and not to the family. "You can't change human nature," said the conservatives. But human nature has been changed, and changed fundamentally in Soviet Russia.

Aims of Education—Social