

Next Week:  
ROAD TO BETTER  
AMERICA  
By Bertram D. Wolfe

# Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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## Behind the Headlines:

### Looking Forward

By JAY LOVESTONE

THE death-knell of 1939 marks more than the end of a year. It signals the finish of a decade—marred by the world's longest breadlines and most tortuous trench-lines. In short, none should regret to ring down the curtain on the Thirties—ten years of misery, oppression and war, a decade replete with too many hours that appeared longer than years. Here we bid good-bye to years overcrowded with events, experiences and experiments that are both humiliating and encouraging in that they show what we are ready to take and stand for so long as barest life is left to us.

According to an old Russian superstition, imbeciles are supposed to be equipped with a gift of miraculous foresight. On this basis, we hasten to emphasize our being disqualified to prophesy much for the year or even the months ahead. The temptation is great, but we have learned not to yield to it. Yet, we do not hesitate to underline the fact that some retrospection can help our prospecting and lend some clarity to perspective.

The static warfare of today is full of explosions for tomorrow. There could be no more crass folly than to believe that humane feelings have delayed the infernal fury. The very contrary is the case. All general staffs—economic as well as military—are calculating lightning attacks of even more hellish dimensions. Last August, none would have dared prophesy that the world war could have been anything but a Blitzkrieg from the start. Today, however, all must discard such estimates and conclude that the strategy is to prepare the ground for the coup de grace by first sapping the economic vitality of the other side to a point making the enemy more vulnerable to a lightning blow. The shadows of the bombers are going to be much, very much blacker. Blitzkrieg? Yes! But many economic clouds will have to break and much financial thunder is ahead before the lightning military finish is attempted by either side. Still, let no one exclude the possibility of a protracted armistice—too often misnamed peace. Hitler's facing stagnation and stalemate in the West and "Stalinization" in the East breeds such possibilities. I would not be surprised at their turning into probabilities sooner than is usually expected.

The months ahead will reveal a speeding-up of the totalitarian trend in world economy. More and more, the Allies will place their business under "unified" totalitarian control in order to win the preliminary battles, the war on the economic front. Military strategy and organization will dominate producing, buying and selling. It would be sheerest idiocy to slip into an illusion, comforting even for a split second, that the totalitarian reorganization of capitalist economy can be socially progressive. Such reorganization is a bane and not a boon; it underpins the foundations of reaction. Sinister ideological reflections of this trend are unavoidable.

It is particularly under such circumstances that Stalin's foreign policy plays into the hands of imperialist gangsters everywhere. One need not utter a syllable in defense of Finnish domestic or foreign policy and yet rightfully condemn Stalin's onslaught as a costly blow to international socialism and a mighty boost to world reaction. Here is a source of further disintegration and chaos in the ranks of labor and progressive forces.

In our own country, no immediate war boom is in sight. The European powers have for years been expanding their capacities for armament production. Fighting has been to-date and may well be for some time of a nature not exhausting armaments produced at home, let alone demanding importing anything else but airplanes. Besides, American heavy industrial capacities are already overexpanded and plagued with acute problems of readjustment. Hence, there is much hesitation to get the wheels of industry humming in anticipation of possible war orders from abroad. Furthermore, the destruction of world commerce by the powers in conflict has put a blight on exporting. Hence, uncertainty and unsteadiness rather than a boom or collapse await the country in the months before us. The pernicious anemia into which American economy has fallen is plainly revealed in the realm of governmental budgets. The decisive import of our mounting budgetary deficits is to be found rather in the potential disastrous consequences of their discontinuance than in the effects of their continuation.

The political labels of yesterday tend to be evermore meaningless or misleading. That's why it's sillier than ever to play with words like "right" and "left." Nevertheless, there is piling up evidence of ugly reaction

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## Behind the New Imperialism Of Stalinist Russia

Military Factors and Crisis of Regime Are Main Elements

By WILL HERBERG

THE policy of aggression and foreign conquest which Stalin initiated some months ago with the overthrowing of Poland and which has since extended to Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland and may tomorrow spread to the Scandinavian and Balkan countries, is essentially an expression of Russian power-politics as molded by the Stalin-Hitler alliance.

### POWER-POLITICS WITH A DIFFERENCE

In the past, Russian foreign policy also operated in terms of power-politics, but it was power-politics with a difference. Up to 1934, the main strategy of Russian diplomacy was to divide the imperialist powers confronting it, to play off one group against the other, to support every movement against imperialism, militarism and war, to appeal to the masses of western Europe and America for peace and disarmament. The trump card in its hands was its emphatic renunciation of all thought of foreign conquest and imperialistic aggression. In other words, it was hard-boiled power-politics all right, but power-politics rooted in a keen recognition that a clean record, freedom from suspicion of imperialistic designs and a genuine idealistic appeal to the masses really constitute an enormous source of power in international politics.

In 1934, there was the first sharp change. In the period of Popular Frontism, Russian foreign policy became power-politics within the framework of the "status-quo" front of the "sated" powers. It abandoned its internationalism, its idealism, its anti-imperialism, its opposition to war and armaments. In fact, Stalin emphatically endorsed Anglo-French imperialism and militarism. But Moscow could exhibit no aggressive trends in this period because it was

playing the part of a "sated" power in a so-called "peace front" presumably dedicated to "stopping aggressors" intent on disturbing the post-war status-quo. And the abandonment of the earlier idealism and internationalism was largely hidden by the deceptive appeal of the Popular Front.

Last August there came another sharp turn. With the Stalin-Hitler pact, Russia left the "status-quo" front of the "sated" powers and joined the "smash-the-status-quo" front of the "hungry" powers. The Russian Foreign Office now began playing power-politics in terms of its new alignment, and that meant as an "aggressor" power. It was thus the integration of Soviet Russia into the Hitler front of "hungry" powers that made possible the outcropping and open expression of the predatory impulses of the new Stalin imperialism. The Stalin-Hitler pact gave the "go-ahead" signal, so to speak.

But what converted the possibility into an actuality? What are the active driving forces of the new policy of aggression and armed conquest? Here we face a problem not only difficult in itself but one to which no serious study has yet been given, because of the recency and suddenness of the manifestation. There is little that is puzzling in the expansionism of powers like Great Britain or Germany; the imperialistic pressures generated by the economic system of finance capitalism are fairly well understood. But these economic pressures can hardly be said to exist in Russia. What then is behind the drive to expansion?

1. No better indication of the merely relative validity of the concept of "sated" and "hungry" powers is needed than that Russia could turn from one into the other in the twinkling of an eye.

## FDR's 'Peace' Letters Stir Speculation

President Not Likely To Make Any Definite Move Without British Approval

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C. President Roosevelt's letters to the Pope, the titular head of the Jewish religious community in the United States and the president of the Protestant Federal Council of Churches is causing considerable speculation here. It is generally considered a magnificent publicity stunt, if nothing else. It is known that the Moral Re-orientation movement (Buchman's Oxford Group) has been pulling all kinds of strings for the President to support the Queen of Holland and the King of Belgium, who are said to be Oxford Groupers, in their peace proposal. Secretary of War Woodring has been the outstanding advocate here of this "peace-at-any-price" position. This has not improved his standing with the pro-British crowd. It can be asserted with certainty that F.D.R., despite Woodring and other advisers, will not move for peace until and unless Britain gives the signal. The Administration is committed to a British victory over Germany and any conclusions based on another premise are sure to be false.

### DUBINSKY BOOM

The December 25, 1939 issue of Look boosts David Dubinsky for leader of the new united labor movement. Stanley High, who was once close to F.D.R., wrote the article. There are rumors here that the article was not displeasing to the White House. The publishers of Look are staunch Rooseveltians.

### VANDENBERG TO THE FORE

Senator Vandenberg's article in the current issue of the American Mercury is being acclaimed by all anti-New Dealers here. One of them said yesterday: "Can you imagine Tom Dewey doing this kind of thinking?" This old Republican war-horse is willing to bet any amount that Vandenberg will be the G.O.P. choice. He and Vandenberg hope that F.D.R. will be the Democratic nominee. Thus, they say, will give them a chance to "fight out the real issues" involved in New Dealism.

The New Deal which asks for your vote in 1940 will be a much weaker and milder New Deal than the one which startled the country in 1932 and 1936. The President is taking the lead in cutting the budget to the bone—for social services. Military appropriations will get whatever money is available.

## What's Going On Behind the Scenes?

"A SECRET emissary from Germany has been in England for the past two weeks and while his presence is known, the object of his visit is not, but it is known to have some tie-up with Prime Minister Chamberlain's recent 'good-will' visit to France."—Danton Walker, in the New York Daily News, Dec. 25, 1939.

## Green Says Arnold Sets Up "Gestapo"

Declares Justice Department Encourages Espionage Against Labor

Washington, D. C.

Assistant Attorney-General Thurman Arnold was accused last week by President William Green of the A. F. of L. of seeking to set up a Gestapo system in the United States to spy on organized labor and to persecute unions under the Sherman Act and other anti-trust legislation.

Green issued a declaration saying: "In his statement before the Temporary Economic Committee, Mr. Arnold proposed to set up a federal police system with agents of his department in all of the principal cities of the United States to check on what he considers violations of the Sherman Act and to receive complaints from those suffering annoyance or disturbance at the hands of labor organizations.

"By the use of such a 'Gestapo' system, labor would soon find itself tied hand and foot, if not by actual criminal prosecutions at least by threats of them."

Green said the recent action of the Justice Department represented the first attempt by any administration, let alone one friendly toward labor, to invoke the provisions of the Sherman Act against labor. He charged

"Arnold is seeking to establish federal regulations of labor unions under laws never intended to establish such an un-American and undemocratic system.

"Every true friend of labor has opposed the use of anti-trust laws against labor. From 1880 on, the voice of every dispassionate commentator has rung out in protest against the crucifixion of the working man by suit, prosecution and injunction under these laws."

Green analyzed the five types of "criminal" practices encouraged by some unions, and argued adequate legal machinery already exists to curb these abuses without recourse to the Sherman Act.

Green said the A. F. of L. would "be the last to raise its voice in protest against the use of existing federal and state anti-racketeering laws against such activity." He argued, however, that bringing allegedly "unfair" labor acts under prosecution of the Sherman Act would be merely a disguise for a widespread anti-labor program on the part of union-haters.

is the pressure of the desperate political crisis of the Stalin regime at home. I think there is enough evidence to indicate that the Stalin regime finds itself in a most difficult position today. There is no longer any real prospect of great successes on the economic front at home; indeed, the Stalinist press has virtually stopped boasting of economic triumphs. Instead, the effects of accumulating difficulties and failures are beginning to tell. Purges and repressions have multiplied discontent and created an explosive atmosphere of tension and uncertainty that bodes ill for the regime.

Nor has the undeniable fiasco of yesterday's "democratic" foreign policy failed to leave its effects, to confusion and perplexity that the sudden Hitler alliance has brought. All in all, a situation charged with dangerous possibilities for the powers-that-be in the Kremlin!

### SALVATION THRU FOREIGN ADVENTURE

Now it has always been the favorite device of despotic regimes in difficulties to seek a way out in foreign adventures. "Foreign quarrels" divert "giddy minds" from looking "too near unto my state," as Shakespeare puts it, has ever been the favorite resort of governments as far back as recorded history goes. In Stalin's case, the compulsions towards such a policy as well as its advantages from the point of view of the regime are not very difficult to see.

Foreign adventures, if successful, enable the regime to consolidate army support. Nothing so feeds the loyalty of armies toward their leaders and the government as the glory of victory, the glory of military achievement. Popular support,

## Board Allows Transfer of U. S. Ships

Maritime Commission Sanctions Scheme To Evade Neutrality Legislation

Washington, D. C.

The Maritime Commission announced last week that it had approved the application of the United States Lines for transfer to the Norwegian flag of eight of its ships in the North European transatlantic service. Under the new flag, the statement said, the ships would re-enter the service to England, operating between New York and Liverpool and New York and London.

The transfer of flag, to be brought about by sale to a Norwegian corporation, will permit the ships to evade the restrictions of the Neutrality Act. Forty percent of the stock of the purchasing company will be owned by the present American owners of the vessels so that any "incidents" in which the vessels may become involved will have di-

## Finns Repel Foes Along Three Fronts

Russia Sends Veteran Troops Under New Head; Allies Gain in Trade Pacts

Russian armies continued to suffer serious reverses in Finland last week, the fourth week of the invasion. The Soviet forces, were driven back on three fronts and a whole division was almost annihilated in Lake Mianta region in Finland's mid-section. After a month's hard fighting,

with heavy casualties, the invading armies held only small strips of territory, less than had been seized in the first week of hostilities. The Finns appeared to have taken up the counter-offensive on most fronts.

The four weeks of fighting revealed the greatest weaknesses of the Russian war machine to be the incompetence of its military organization, its lack of capable officer personnel, and the confusion of its service of supply. In an effort to bring about a drastic change, the Moscow authorities were understood to have initiated a "purge" in the armies, which tended to spread their demoralization. General Meretskov, removed the week before as chief of staff of the Leningrad military district in charge of the invasion, was replaced by General Stern, outstanding figure in the 1938 Russo-Japanese fighting. Crack troops from the Far Eastern armies were also said to have been transferred to the Finnish front, but so far without appreciable results.

As for the larger European war, last week, the seventeenth week after the outbreak of hostilities, was largely a week of continued diplomatic maneuvering, especially on the economic front. Practically all of the prizes went to the Allies. Great Britain succeeded in concluding a war-trade treaty with Sweden, in which it made considerable concessions in order to obtain Swedish support. It was rumored that the Allies would shortly announce a guarantee of help to Sweden should German attack it. Whether the guarantee would also cover attack by Russia was not known.

In London it was learned that Britain had virtually concluded trade treaties with Turkey, Yugoslavia and Spain, assuring vital war materials to the Allies and seriously cutting Germany's supply.

Russia's diplomatic position grew markedly worse in the course of the week. There were rumors that the British Foreign Office intended to issue a White Paper on Anglo-Russian relations, foreshadowing the possibility of a break with Moscow. A similar break was being discussed in Rome, it was said. Signs were multiplying that in various directions the groundwork was being laid for an anti-Russian coalition. The Vatican was apparently very active in promoting this scheme, working hand in glove with Mussolini and the Italian Foreign Office.

In Berlin, the New Year was marked by proclamations issued by outstanding leaders of the Nazi regime. The proclamation that gave rise to greatest speculation was the proclamation issued by Chancellor Hitler himself. The Reichsheer told the German people that they were engaged in a war for their very existence against the western powers dominated by "Jewish international capitalism and social reactionary classes." It was a "war of liberation," he said, for both Germany and Europe, a war aiming to set up a "new Europe." The controlled German press amplified and expanded this message. It was no longer merely a German struggle against the "Versailles system," but a great "international revolution" destined to make an end both to capitalist society and the western idea of the sovereign national state in favor of a "socialist millennium" which would usher in "socialist planning" within and among nations. It was the mission of Germany, the Nazis stressed, to lead in this "revolution" under leaders who must be "hard and ice-cold."

In terms of power-politics, this line of propaganda meant essentially reiteration of the old Nazi idea of the "Grossraumwirtschaft," with the German Reich dominating the economic life of a large section of Europe thru a system of economic and political satellites. The significant thing, however, was the pseudo-"socialistic" pseudo-"radical" form in which this program was cast, in marked contrast to the language that Germany had been using in recent years. Russo-German collaboration and increasing tension at home were believed responsible for this sudden change in the type of official camouflage of German imperialist power-politics.

## "Cemented With Blood..."

"THE friendship between Germany and the Soviet Union," Stalin wrote to Nazi Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop last week in reply to the latter's congratulatory message on the occasion of the Russian dictator's sixtieth birthday, "the friendship between Germany and the Soviet Union, cemented by blood, will be lasting and firm."

"Cemented by blood," indeed! But whose blood? The blood of thousands of Russian revolutionists, assassinated in the "purges" or groaning in the dungeons of the G.P.U. on framed-up charges or being "agents of fascism."

The blood of thousands of German communists who have gone down to death or the torture of the concentration camp for resisting Hitlerism and trying to save Germany from the Nazi plague.

The blood of thousands of Spanish anti-fascists who fought with such heroic courage against the hordes of Franco's fascists and their Italo-German auxiliaries.

The blood of thousands of Poles and Finns butchered by Nazi and Stalin imperialism run amuck in the madness of predatory conquest.

Yes, rivers, oceans of blood! But the same blood that has thus "cemented" the friendship between Hitler and Stalin has also formed an unbridgeable gulf between Stalin and everything in the world that is decent, democratic and socialist.

## Employers Map Program Against Wagner Act

Strive to Force Strike Ban Upon Labor

The National Association of Manufacturers, speaking for the employing class of this country, recently laid down a program of twelve amendments to the Wagner Act, the net effect of which would

be not only to destroy the efficacy of that act but to deprive labor of rights possessed for decades. The program includes six restrictions on the right to strike.

The proposals were made by the N.A.M.'s Committee on Employment Relations. This group, consisting of about a hundred leading industrialists, listed eleven complaints against the Wagner Act and the N.L.R.B. which thrills the heart of every patriotic citizen, in Russia as in Germany, Hitler's favorite title is said to be "Reichsheer." "Enlarger of the Realm," and we may be quite sure that Stalin is being hailed with his Russian equivalent in the controlled Soviet press. Foreign adventures stimulate as nothing else can the wild emotions of chauvinism, nationalism, even racialism (remember Molotov's "blood-brothers"), which effectively drown out domestic discontent—for the time being. Yes, there is nothing quite like foreign conquest and military glory for a despotic regime that is striving to maintain itself against the threat of accumulating internal crises!

In a word, the resort to predatory foreign adventures on the part of the Stalin regime is the clearest proof that this regime has already exhausted the tremendous social resources left to it by the Russian Revolution.

A policy of aggression and foreign conquest is never pursued in its naked form; it is always swathed in ideological camouflage appropriate to the social character of the regime that is pursuing it. In the case of the new Stalin imperialism, this ideological camouflage takes on three forms. There are, first of all, the usual governmental propaganda lies, a grotesque parody of the kind of stuff that is issued by Herr Goebbels's office. Then there are the appeals to nationalistic and racialistic emotions (again remember Molotov's "blood-brothers"). Finally, there is a type

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2 Of course, all this amounts to a rather sad commentary on the quality of the two decades of "socialist education" to which the Russian masses have been exposed. The fine flower of the last stages of this "education" is perhaps the following speech delivered by the Stakhanovist Nefedov at the Kirov dynamo plant in Moscow, and proudly featured in the entire Russian press: "We will punch them so hard in the teeth that not one gentleman ruling Finland will be able to gather them together again. Long live the peace policy of the Soviet government!"

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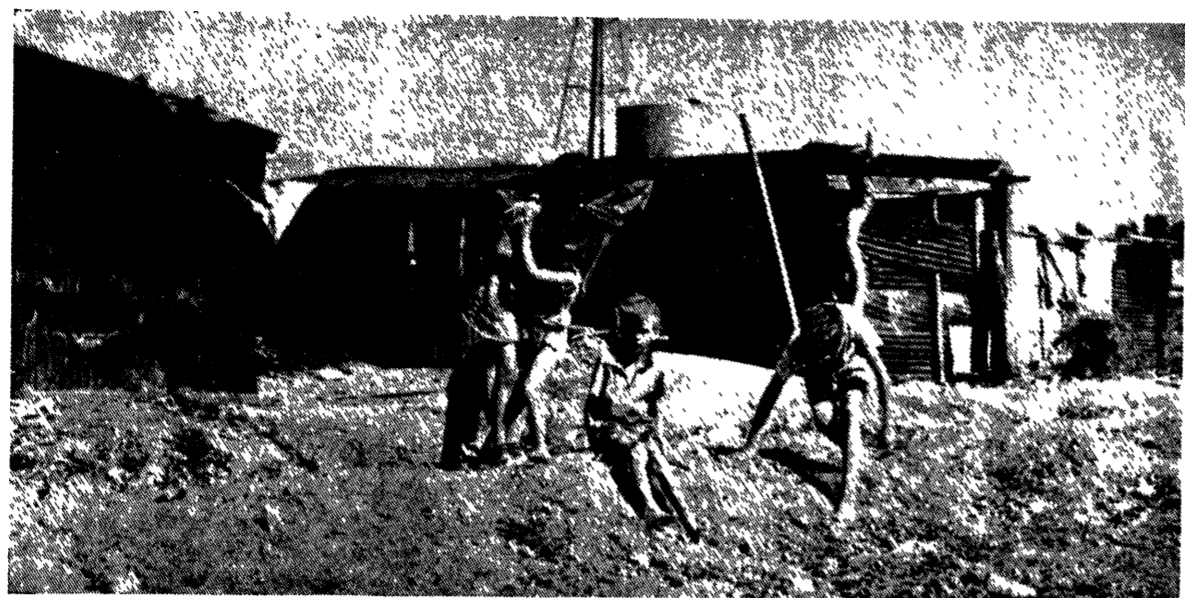
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## British Anti-War Movement Holds Convention

London, England. An anti-war conference, attended by over a hundred delegates from trade unions, Labor Parties, cooperative groups, peace societies and socialist organizations, was held recently in Glasgow, Scotland. A resolution was adopted approving the challenging of Arthur Woodburne, Labor Party candidate, in the Clackmannan by-election. Another resolution condemned the political truce which the Labor Party had made with the National government for the duration of the war. A program of anti-war activity was adopted.

# Migrant Cotton Pickers in Southwest "Forgotten Men"

It has been estimated that out of the 37,000 workers employed in cotton picking in Arizona during the height of the 1937-38 season, only about 6,000 to 7,000 were permanent residents of the state. The remainder of the cotton pickers were recruited from other states. The recruiting was carried out by means of extensive and often misleading newspaper and radio advertising, specially prepared handbills distributed in large quantities on the roads frequented by migratory workers, and by other such methods.



Where the Migrant Cotton Pickers of Arizona Live

Unlike the workers who harvested Arizona cotton in past years, today's migrants consist almost altogether of native-born white families. Drought, agricultural depression, and the mechanization of cotton farming in Oklahoma and Texas have made the importation of Mexican and Puerto Rican labor no longer necessary. Among the migrants employed in the 1937-38 picking season, about 85% came from Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri. Very few of these workers were "habitual" migrants; the great majority of those picking at the end of 1937 had left their home states for the first time during the fall of 1937.

The vast amount of advertising used by the Arizona cotton growers is attributed largely to the fact that the rate of wages paid for cotton picking in Arizona was considerably lower than in the neighboring states of California and Texas, where the cotton-picking season overlaps the cotton-picking season in Arizona. In 1937, the cotton growers in Arizona announced that they would pay 75 cents per hundred pounds of cotton picked, but in spite of the excessive advertising and propaganda, the number of workers willing to accept this wage proved so small that the rate was raised to 85 cents. However, some cotton growers continued to pay the 75-cent minimum announced originally.

## ABSENTEE OWNERSHIP

The 1937-38 cotton crop in Arizona was the largest in the state's thirty-year history of cotton growing, covering 282,000 acres. This rise in the cotton acreage of Arizona was the logical result of the recently accelerated tendency towards industrialized farming under the cash-lease system. Most of the land recovered by irrigation in Arizona is owned by absentee landowners, who usually find it more profitable to lease the land to a few large-scale operators than to break it up into a great number of family-sized farms. Largely in order to obtain a quick return on their investment, these large-scale operators prefer to cultivate cotton rather than any other agricultural product.

Large-scale cotton farms in Arizona employ very few workers throughout the year. Those so employed are engaged principally in irrigation and in machine cultivation. They are paid between 20 cents and 31 cents an hour for unskilled work and between \$2 and \$3 per day for tractor driving and constitute the "aristocracy" of cotton labor in Arizona.

For each worker permanently employed, large-scale cotton farms need an additional three or four workers during the chopping season, from May to July. At picking time, from September to February, they must find ten to fifteen times as many workers as they employ permanently.

## STARVATION EARNINGS

Altho it has been extensively advertised that individual pickers in Arizona could average from \$14 to \$19 a week and that some families might thus run up an income of \$150 or more per month, the actual earnings of the pickers fall much below these figures. A study by the W.P.A. for 1937-38 revealed that individual cotton pickers averaged \$7.95 per week. While 3 out of every 100 of these workers made from \$16 to \$20 a week, 24 out of every 100 earned less than \$6. The majority of the individual workers (63%) made between \$11 and \$15. This included their income in cash as well as the part of their earnings which they received in the form of shelter, firewood and light. Their cash income was therefore somewhat smaller than the earnings indicated above.

The weekly earnings of families with two or more workers in the field were naturally larger than those of the individual cotton pickers. Families in which two persons (usually husband and wife) were working averaged \$11.75, as compared with \$7.95 for the individual cotton pickers. More than 40% of these two-person families earned \$21 or less per week, and 4% earned \$21 or more. Among the families with 4 or more workers on the job, 17% earned \$10 or less per week, altho 20% made \$26 or more. The average for these largest families was \$18.38. This average is for the family as a whole, with 4 or more people working to earn it!

## MISERABLE HOUSING

Migratory cotton pickers are generally housed in camps during the picking season. Even in the best-equipped cotton camps, living conditions for the workers leave much to be desired. A few good private camps and those managed by the Farm Security Administration are equipped with showers, laundries and electric street lights. But a good camp is a rare exception in Arizona. The

typical camp for cotton pickers is crowded, unequipped and unsanitary. Some of the poorer camps are so bad that the State Board of Health has recommended that they be outlawed in the interest of public health.

A typical large camp in Arizona may be described as consisting of more than 200 shacks built closely together, each about the size of a small one-car garage. Altho the shacks are crowded when occupied by three or four persons, some housed as many as ten during the 1937 season. The shacks are without floors, without glass windows, and without furniture, stoves, or equipment of any sort. There is one segregated privy for each four shacks. The average camp has no electric lights, no screening, and only a few shade trees.

The greatest discomforts to the cotton pickers result from overcrowding, from flies, and from the absence of wooden floors and even most rudimentary living equipment. Some of the pickers, after long experience with dirt floors, have resorted to carrying with them a few boards or a piece of linoleum when they move from job to job! While most of the pickers carry their own bedding and stoves, others have to sleep on the ground and prepare their food in salvaged cans.

## ROTTEN FOOD LEADS TO ILLNESS

The food used by the pickers and their families generally corresponds closely to the typical poverty levels. The diet consists almost entirely of cheap, starchy foods. Meat, except for an occasional chunk of "fat back," and vegetables are rarely seen. Greens are almost universally absent.

The lack of milk for the children of the cotton pickers is particularly striking. Even canned milk is rarely found in the diet of the average cotton picker's family in camp. Butter and coffee are luxuries reserved for the able-bodied men or for the individual pickers who batch together.

Illness and mortality among migratory cotton pickers are exceedingly high during the picking season. According to the Arizona State Board of Health, communicable diseases are common among the cotton pickers. Poverty precludes the luxury of medical care. Therefore, the presence of such diseases is discovered only by accident by health officials attending a sick patient. The high illness rate was attributed to malnutrition and living in shelters that cannot be kept sanitary because of dirt floors. In one district, a school nurse reported that practically all of the cotton pickers children were

## Bad Housing Menaces Over Ten Million U.S. Families

Washington, D. C. ABOUT ten million families need decent homes. The National Resources Committee said about as much in its latest report to the President.

Actually, the report tackled the housing problem from another angle. It showed that one-third of the nation's 29,000,000 families receive an annual income of less than \$860. Families with such low incomes, those who study the matter say, can afford to pay only from \$10 to \$15 a month rent. On the other hand, no privately constructed dwellings, except slum housing, rent as cheaply as that.

The conclusion is very simple. The ten million families receiving less than \$860 a year in income must live in slum areas if they are to have any kind of a roof, even such as it is, over their heads.

Thru the United States Housing Authority, a government organization which loans money to communities to build decent homes for poorer people at rentals they can afford to pay, efforts to resettle the slum populations have been started. The 1937 Congress authorized the expenditure of \$800,000,000 with which to begin a slum-clearance program. But even when all this money shall have been spent and all the housing projects erected which this sum makes possible, only 160,000 low-income families will be benefited. This means that only 1.6% of the families now in slum areas will be living in fairly decent homes at the completion of the program. It can be seen that this start is only a drop in the slum bucket.

## A Vicious Proposal

JOHN P. FREY did the labor movement and the American people a distinct disservice when, in testifying before the Smith Committee investigating the National Labor Relations Board, he urged that legislation be passed forbidding trade unions to make contributions to political parties or campaigns.

Presumably, Mr. Frey was out to put a spoke in the wheel of John L. Lewis whose big political contributions to the Democratic party are alleged to have predisposed the Roosevelt Administration in favor of the C.I.O. as against the A. F. of L. We are as little pleased with Lewis's donations to the Democratic party as Mr. Frey is, altho for quite different reasons. We think that no labor organization should under any circumstances contribute its money to political organizations outside the labor movement, certainly not to employing-class parties. But the remedy is most emphatically not legislation that would bar political contributions altogether.

The hope of the workers and farmers of this country in developing political power commensurate with their needs lies in the formation of an independent political party of labor in factory, office and farm. Without such a party of their own, the masses of the people are bound to remain in a condition of political dependence, with the privilege of voting for one or another of the old-party candidates, the best of whom are necessarily alien to their real problems and interests. What better lesson have the seven years of the New Deal taught than that in the last resort, labor can rely only on its own collective power, organized independently on the political as well as the economic field?

Mr. Frey's little scheme of barring political contributions by unions would make the development of such a labor party impossible, for a genuine labor party must necessarily be founded on the trade unions and draw its organizational and financial strength from them. Mr. Frey may be opposed to the idea of an independent party of labor; that is his own affair. But it is certainly intolerable that he should attempt to legislate his reactionary prejudices on this question into law by having the government forbid unions that think otherwise to use their funds for political purposes.

Under Mr. Frey's law, the American Labor Party of New York State would not be able to continue its existence for it depends almost entirely for its resources and maintenance upon its affiliated unions. Under Mr. Frey's law, the American Federation of Labor would be unable to support financially a third-party ticket of its own choosing or representing its own interests, as it did in 1924 in backing LaFollette and Wheeler. Under Mr. Frey's law, organized labor would be virtually compelled to confine in political servitude to old-party politics and old-party politicians.

Mr. Frey is by no means original in his project of restrictive legislation. What he is urging here was actually put thru by an ultra-reactionary Tory government in England immediately after the general strike of 1926 in order to penalize the labor movement and to cripple it politically. In England, the ban on political contributions is bitterly resented by all sections of the labor movement; fortunately, because the Labor Party was already firmly established, it was able to survive this blow, but only at great sacrifice. What Tory reaction forced on the labor movement in Britain amidst universal protest, John P. Frey, a spokesman of labor, urges here!

undernourished, resulting in a substantial number of infant deaths.

Migratory cotton pickers in Arizona are looked upon as social outcasts in the communities where they make their brief stay. The appearance of cotton pickers children in school is bitterly resented. In the cotton towns where the pickers do

their marketing, the permanent residents regard them as "undesirable" people. The cotton growers are frequently charged with "ruining the community" by importing migratory workers.

The pickers share in none of the elementary social activities of the community. They cannot vote, of course, since they have no residence status. Local programs of public assistance exclude them for the same reason. Even direct relief is confined to "emergency" care, that is, arrangement to transport the applicants back to their legal residence outside the state. Only rarely are the pickers able to engage in such forms of social life as "going to meeting." For the great majority, there are no dances, music, churches, or movies during the five-month season.

Because of their low earnings, the end of the picking season frequently finds large numbers of pickers stranded in Arizona, unable to buy gasoline to take them to another job and without sufficient savings to carry them thru the long period of waiting until cotton employment opens up again in the late summer. At the end of the 1937-38 season, about 12,000 persons were stranded in this way in Salt River Valley near Phoenix. Ordinarily, however, the migrants drift into California, where they join the stream of wanderers moving up and down the California valleys in search of short-time farm jobs.

Few migrants return to the Arizona cotton fields. Those who move on to California find no advantage in making the long trip from the coast back to Phoenix, particularly since the Arizona wage is usually no higher than the California wage. Each year, therefore, growers are compelled to advertise for fresh recruits from the drought states, and to add thousands of new workers to the migratory labor market of the Southwest, which is already glutted with surplus workers during the greater part of each year.

Similar conditions are rampant thruout the Southwest but so far very little has been done about them either by the state or by the federal government at Washington.

## Social Security Prospects for Coming Year

By ARTHUR J. ALTMAYER

(Arthur J. Altmeyer is chairman of the Social Security Board. He issued this statement on the occasion of the new year—Editor)

Washington, D. C. THE close of this year marks the fourth year of operation of the national social-security program and brings us to the new year with a substantial record of accomplishment.

In January 1940, monthly benefits became payable under the old-age and survivors insurance program. These monthly benefits will go to retired wage earners 65 or over, their aged wives and dependent children and to the survivors of insured wage earners who die after 1939—their aged widows, dependent children, widows with such children in their care or, in some cases, their aged, dependent parents.

We now have more than 47,500,000 old-age-insurance accounts on our books, representing an average gain of nearly half a million a month during 1939. Amendments by Congress during this past year substantially liberalized and extended the protection available under this program. Security for the family unit, rather than for individual alone, became the major objective of the program, and more adequate benefit payments were provided.

We have at least one federal-state program of public assistance to the needy in every state and territory of the United States. The federal government, by grants of money, helps the participating states to provide cash payments monthly to needy old people, the needy blind and for dependent children. All the states are taking part in the program for needy old people.

Forty-two states are taking part in the program for the needy blind and the same number in that for dependent children.

All told, more than 2,500,000 men,

## Labor and the Law

by Joseph Elwood

### LIEBERMAN'S "COLLECTIVE LABOR AGREEMENT"

AT a time when the labor spotlight is turned on the investigation of the National Labor Relations Board by the Smith Committee of the House of Representatives, the recently published study by Elias Lieberman, "The Collective Labor Agreement," assumes particularly great importance.

Mr. Lieberman's work is divided into two parts. The first part skillfully describes the evolution of labor relations from the 14th century up to the present time. In limited space, he shows that the American workers did not always have the legal right to organize into trade unions for the advancement of their welfare. The right of workers to join together for mutual protection and economic betterment is truly a right which has been won thru a number of hard-fought struggles in relatively recent times.

This part of Mr. Lieberman's book begins with the "Ordinance of Laborers," promulgated by Edward III of England, and concludes with a chapter on "Negotiating the Labor Contract." The historical portion of the treatise, according to the author, women and children are being directly aided thru these monthly cash allowances from federal, state and local funds. A total from all these sources of \$550,000,000 has been paid to beneficiaries under these assistance programs during the past year.

We now have every state and territory paying unemployment-insurance benefits to jobless workers. During 1939, an estimated 4,500,000 unemployed workers have received benefits amounting to over \$425,000,000.

Both the need for and the effectiveness of the Social Security Act have already been demonstrated beyond question. In terms of people served and future work forestalled, its record to date is one of real and enduring progress.

Thru the changes made in the Social Security Act at the last session of Congress, the new year will bring further expansion and development of the social-security program.

"is meant to place the labor agreement in its total setting, social, economic and legal. Only thru knowledge of the background of labor history can one properly understand the motives for certain demands of labor which find expression in current labor agreements."

Altho this reviewer has nothing but praise for the fine summary of legal history given to us by Mr. Lieberman, we must point out that the paragraph on the anti-trust acts is not clear and, in fact, misleading. From this book, it would seem that Mr. Lieberman believes that the Clayton Act eliminated the "threat to the . . . labor movement" from the Sherman Act as interpreted by the U. S. Supreme Court in the Danbury Hatters case. Thus, as our readers know, is entirely erroneous. In fact, the recent statements of Thurman Arnold and Frank Murphy of the Justice Department regarding the types of "restraint" on interstate commerce by labor unions which the government considers illegal has aroused organized labor to renew its battle of twenty-five years ago to exempt unions from the effect of the anti-trust acts.

Part II of the book, and that is the major part, consists of contract clauses classified according to the subject with which they deal. Under each topic appears a statement of the problem explaining the issue and the purpose of the particular clause. This, in turn, is followed by a summary of the legality of the clauses on the many items contained in contracts, including check-off, closed shop, open shop, lockout, seniority, hiring and discharge of workers, and a hundred other issues which are likely to come up in the drafting of an employer-employee contract.

Because of the great experience that the author possesses, thru his past work as a direct representative of labor unions and now as an attorney for a number of labor organizations, including the I.L.G.W.U., the factual material and suggested rules for negotiating labor-employer contracts are certain to engage the interest of all those concerned with collective bargaining, and they merit such consideration.

Mr. Lieberman correctly points to the year 1921 as the focal date in the history of collective contracts; in that year a labor union, the I.L.G.W.U., which had been in the forefront of the development of the labor agreement, for the first time secured an injunction for the performance of a collective contract by an employer. That decision was upheld by the highest court of the state of New York (Schlesinger v. Quinto). The decision laid the basis for the present status of collective contracts as binding on both parties—the employers and employ—

This book will be of great assistance to all those who are concerned with collective bargaining or who are in any way engaged in the drawing up of labor agreements.

\* THE COLLECTIVE LABOR AGREEMENT How to Negotiate and Draft the Contract, by Elias Lieberman Harper and Bios, New York, 1939 \$3

Group, to those who are not satisfied with the conduct or progress of our union, to come forward and assert themselves. The Independent Group stands ready to cooperate with all constructive and progressive forces to restore our union to a sound condition. It is not seeking control of the union. It envisages a new type of leadership. It pledges to work for a broad non-partisan administration drawing in new forces and representing the membership of the union.

A representative union having the mass support of teachers and labor would be in a better position to meet the attacks of reactionary forces, such as the Dies Committee. We are opposed to any government interference with the life and functioning of the trade-union movement. Membership in the union must be open to all teachers, irrespective of political affiliation.

(Continued on Page 3)

## Teachers Union Group Maps Independent Stand

### Demands End to Political Domination

(We publish below the program recently issued by the Independent Group in New York Teachers Union, Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers—Editor.)

New York City THE Independent Group, in its program for the union, emphasizes those issues of vital and immediate importance to all teachers. Outstanding among these are:

1. Restoration of full state aid. A deficiency appropriation to make up the present deficit.
2. Restoration of \$5,000,000 to the city educational budget.
3. Restoration of school services that have been discontinued or curtailed, such as recreation and community services. Continuation of all kindergarten classes.
4. Establishment of a full-time, independent evening school system. This will also help the unappointed and substitute teachers.
5. Reduction of overcrowding and the teaching load, and the rescinding of class consolidations.
6. Resumption of appointments in all divisions of the school system.
7. Elimination of unfair practices inimical to the welfare of child and teacher, such as the four-day rule.
8. Opposition to any discrimination against married teachers.
9. Liberalization of sabbaticals, restoration of full absence refunds, and the abolition of alertness courses as a prerequisite for salary increment.
10. Abolition of the rating system. Substitution of a democratic, cooperative system for improvement of teaching.
11. Extension and improvement of educational services for all the children. Equalization of educational opportunities. Opposition to all tendencies toward undemocratic administration of education. Opposition to militarization of the schools and religious instruction during school hours.
12. An elected Board of Education

## KIND OF UNION TEACHERS NEED

These ends cannot be realized, however, without a much stronger union, without a union

1. containing many thousands more in its membership
2. having the support of the mass of teachers in the city
3. able to secure the cooperation of other bona-fide teacher organizations and of the U.P.A.
4. able to secure the strong support of organized labor.

With proper leadership, we should be able to equal the record of the Chicago local in the following respects:

1. a broad, representative union.
2. one that has 75% of the teachers enrolled in its ranks.
3. one that is recognized by the

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Towards A Better America:

America and World Crisis

By LUIGI ANTONINI

(We publish below sections of the address delivered by Luigi Antonini, first vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U., at the symposium, "Towards A Better America," held recently in New York under the auspices of the Independent Labor Institute—Editor)

THE problem of how to pave the way to a better America is today closely tied to the international situation. Any assertion that we can preserve our democratic institutions, increase labor's chances for a greater share in economic opportunities and guarantee our national independence by shutting the United States off from every contact with Europe or the rest of the world, or by washing our hands of what might happen to democracy abroad, rests upon an insufficient realization of how much the welfare of one country is today dependent on the welfare of the rest of the world.

It is my firm belief that the preservation of political democracy and freedom in Western Europe is essential to effectively insulate America from the infiltration of totalitarian ideologies. Should that barrier fall, our task here would certainly be extremely difficult.

Just imagine what our position would be should the democratic powers of Europe be defeated. This country—the last important nation still outside the totalitarian orbit—would be confronted with dangers on every side.

Commercially, it would be put on the defensive in every world market and labor standards would almost certainly be lowered in order to enable our exporters to meet the low-cost goods which would come out of fascist Europe.

Gigantic military expansion forced on us by the threat of aggression from the victorious fascist nations, driven by their totalitarian conception of world domination, would require that unprecedented expenditures be met thru sky-high taxation.

All social-security budgets which America has inaugurated in these last years of New Deal regime would be wiped out and shifted to guns and airplanes.

More than that; victorious dictatorship would become the world's pet social system. It would have proven its worth in the face of decadent, defeated democracy. In a short while, it might conquer certain unenlightened sections of the American masses and be seized upon by adventurous business interests and exploiters as an attractive opportunity to crush labor and all that labor stands for. Democracy might be in such circumstances really extinguished for generations.

What is the use then of talking about preserving democracy in America as an oasis, as a sort of last refuge in the midst of an insane world? An oasis, surrounded by the desert, is of very little value in any large sense. As soon as the dry wind blows it, too, becomes covered with dry, hot sand and, quite often, its green vegetation remains covered by sand dunes forever.

Our beautiful garden can grow and continue to give the beautiful fruits of life only if it is surrounded by a life-bringing environment, not if it is surrounded by the poisonous air of dictatorship.

Shall we join the war? Shall we stay neutral? Those are not the issues confronting America today. The real issue is to find the safest course, short of war, to help the peoples who are threatened by Nazi-fascist-communist aggression and to aid them preserve their liberties, thus lessening the dangers of tomorrow's totalitarian challenge to America.

I believe that the policy of genuine neutrality advocated by President Roosevelt and by the apparent majority of Congress is safe and wise and that those who are vitally and sincerely concerned with the preservation of democracy here, today and in the future, must support it to the limit.

Organized labor and the consumers must ask for

guarantees that no profiteering be permitted. Organized labor and the consumers must protect themselves against being forced to bear more than their just share of the burdens caused by the war abroad and the requirements of national preparedness at home. But organized labor is rendering a great service to its membership—to the nation as a whole, to peace in America today and to the preservation of our free mode of life in the future, by giving the full measure of its support to the President's policy.

It is being said, also, in some strange quarters by elements who only yesterday used to attack each other and now have become comrades and bed-fellows, that this conflict in Europe is nothing more than a conflict between rival imperialism and that our lot will be a little affected by the victory of one side or another.

We all remember the vilification and abuse directed against England and France by these same groups for having failed to take military measures against Italy during the Ethiopian invasion, or against Germany when Czecho-Slovakia was dismembered. They did not hesitate to call them betrayers of democracy and international morality for not having taken up the challenge.

Now that England and France have finally reached such a point of military preparation that they can successfully challenge Germany's methods of aggression and domination, their gesture is called by them imperialistic, unworthy even of the small support they can derive from the repeal of the arms embargo. Traitors yesterday because they refused to fight; imperialists today because they have finally shouldered their guns.

No, anybody who takes that attitude is not rendering good service to the cause of democracy here, no matter how noble his motives or sincere his actions.

We all agree, however, that it is highly advisable for America to stay out of this war as long as her national interests or the freedom of her people are not in real jeopardy. But democracy in America will not be saved or even strengthened by the mere fact of staying out of war. The time has come to launch a vigorous, militant campaign not only to dramatize life under democracy, but to arouse the enthusiasm of the people for it. And the people will get excited and enthusiastic about democracy not as an abstract thing or as an empty principle but as a system of living that gives them an opportunity to reach a higher standard of living.

The prerequisite for a better America is, in my opinion, the preservation of democracy. But democracy can only be successfully preserved if it is protected fully and conscientiously by the masses of the people. Where they have failed to rise in its defense, democracy perished, where they have remained alert, vigilant and ready to fight in its defense, democracy has survived the attacks of its enemies. The so-called "Rexists" in Belgium and the "Croix de Feu" in France failed. The assault of dictatorship on the liberties of Spain would also have failed had it not had the aid of foreign armies.

All this leads, therefore, to the necessity of having a strong labor movement, united, intelligently led, conscious of its power in the economic and political fields, ready to act as the guardian and best example of democracy in action, a labor movement alive to the needs of international cooperation, to the necessity of reestablishing the rule of international morality, justice and good-will; a labor movement intelligent enough to command the confidence of the people and bold enough to bid for the leadership of the nation on behalf of the great masses of producers and consumers; in short, a labor movement conscious of its ultimate mission to establish a better social order where liberty and political democracy will be implemented by industrial democracy, with the right for all to work and to share in just measure in the resources of our economic system and its rewards. Such a labor movement will lead us toward a better America.

A TIMELY REMINDER



Teachers Union Group Issues Full Program

Calls for an End to Political Domination

(Continued from Page 1)

Every teacher, regardless of his own criticism of the union administration, must defend the union against any attack and interference by the Dies Committee. We regret, however, that the administration has so conducted the affairs of the union that it has unnecessarily exposed the union to such an attack.

As humanitarians, as part of the labor movement, as human beings faced with the question of American involvement in war, we have a duty to cooperate with labor in the struggle against war and the totalitarian regime that accompanies modern war. We must press for the adoption of the war referendum idea as a method of democratic resistance against the war-mongers and those that already have M-Day plans on hand. We reaffirm this general approach to a problem second to none in importance in the modern world (it was defeated by the administration in June at the time of the A.F.T. convention)—with the earnest hope that the membership will see to its adoption this time.

We are opposed to totalitarianism wherever it appears. Our opposition to war is not motivated by the desire to give tacit approval to the territory grabbing of Hitler and Stalin, just as we are not interested in justifying British and French imperialism and their exploitation. We are opposed to U. S. involvement in the war. We must recognize that definite economic forces in this country are leading in that direction. The huge military budget, the increase of militarism and militarist propaganda have definite implications for us as teachers. Under these conditions, academic-freedom cases for students and teachers will arise; appropriations for social services, including

education, will be cut.

Our union is compelled by the very nature of the teacher's problems and the teacher's position in the community to concern itself with political and social developments. Taxation, the budget, the free public-school system, preservation of civil liberties and democratic rights, labor's political development are problems that have real and definite significance for us. The most effective way in which our union can aid in tackling these problems is thru cooperation with other unions and organized labor in the development of independent political action by labor. In New York City, the union should continue its support of the American Labor Party which, in spite of definite shortcomings, represents beginnings in the proper direction. However, our union must adopt a more critical attitude with regard to policies of the A.L.P., especially those touching the questions of education, peace and the character of candidates (failure to run only independent labor candidates).

The administration of Local 5, with its reliance so often on "progressive" politicians, its fear often to take issue sharply with Mayor La Guardia, and its recent attitude of opposition to the A.L.P. (Quill candidacy), is leading our union away from effective, broad and progressive political action by labor. It would isolate the Teachers Union from labor in the political field (A.L.P.) as it has already isolated us from labor in the economic field (suspension from the Central Trades and Labor Council).

More than ever it is necessary to unite teachers in defense of their interests. This holds especially for those who agree on the importance of teacher tie-up with labor. For this reason, unity of the Teachers Guild (composed of teachers with a trade-union background and trade-union sympathy) must be put on the order of the day. The attainment of this goal is rendered doubly difficult by the policies and methods of our leadership. Such unification would not only make for a bigger, broader and more effective union, but would have a tremendous effect upon the other teachers of the city and upon labor. All the more reason for the membership to effect fundamental changes in our union!

For a broad, representative, effective union, free from any political domination!

For a union and union leadership that can win the thousands of teachers rather than antagonize them.

For a democratic union where proposals will be considered on their merits in an atmosphere free from intolerance.

For reunification of the teachers-union movement of New York.

For new methods, new policies, and new leadership that will reflect the entire membership and will enable the union to defend teachers' interests effectively.

movement on a world scale. Here, the bona-fide socialist forces in America must give a lead, just as all American labor must lend a helping hand to the harassed and outlawed labor movements thru the world. I raise the question of social unity as a very urgent and wholly practical proposition and not in a spirit of pious yearning or vain aspiration. Sober reflection can lead only to a fuller recognition of this most vital need. Our socialist and labor ranks cannot afford today such degrading luxuries as mutual recriminations, incontinent blame, remonstrances eyes fixed over our shoulder, or any nostalgic attitude. Many illusions have already been shattered. In recent years, too many ideals have been turned to dust or else have been wantonly thrown into the dust.

We have left a fateful decade behind us. An even more fateful one is being ushered in by 1940. The coming years will not find humanity in the doldrums. Very active hours and days are ahead for all of us.

War Rule Plan Perils Rights of People

Deepest Secrecy Maintained on New I.M.P.

By MATTHEW WOLL

(We continue below publication of the most important sections of the address delivered on December 1, 1939 by Matthew Woll, vice-president of the A. F. of L., before the Trenton, N. J., Central Labor Union—Editor)

WHAT then are the laws now jeopardizing our rights and liberties, and what is the Industrial Mobilization Plan? How did it come into being? What does it embrace? What are its immediate purposes and what are its likely results?

At present, there is a law upon our federal statute books which confers authority upon the Chief Executive of our government which goes far beyond that given to the executive of any other parliamentary government in the world. The act of 1916 granting certain authority to the President of the United States, in the event of a national emergency, was succeeded in 1921 by the National Defense Act. Under these combined acts, the Chief Executive of our nation is not only authorized to make certain pronouncements—the result of his own study and conclusions—but he is likewise empowered to act upon such declarations.

The President, already has made pronouncements under authority of these acts, first in notifying the country at large that a condition of "limited emergency" existed and that, in view of that fact, there were certain steps he was taking. Then later, in his message to the special session of Congress, he advised that the "limited emergency" has developed into a "national emergency."

The laws to which I have referred confer upon the President the authority to declare when in his judgment there exists an "imminence of war." In that event, the President is authorized immediately to place contracts for national defense and to appoint such civilian agencies as he alone may deem proper to direct our activities as wage earners, as well as the activities of business men during the period of that "imminence." That means, that even preceding a period of war, the whole of our industrial and commercial life may be placed under such federal regulations as the Chief Executive alone may deem essential. It must be self-apparent the conditions that will follow should the "imminence of war" develop into an actuality of war. And here we are not to be left to chance or deliberation for already plans have been made to meet this acute of progressive emergencies. Under this plan, indeed, series of plans, known as the Industrial Mobilization Plan, the working men of America will not only lose their collective rights but also their rights as free citizens in a free country.

Note the progressive emergencies that have followed one another. First, we have a "limited emergency"; then, a "national emergency." The next pronouncement may be an "imminence of war"; and, when the President so declares an "imminence of war" and exercises the powers already delegated to him, you may rest assured a declaration of "actual war" can hardly be disapproved by the Congress. When, and if, this takes place, ample plans have been provided to put into effect the measures already designed to make this nation the greatest of all military machines.

WHY THIS SECRECY

That it was in no way the original intention of the authors of the Industrial Mobilization Plan to keep its provisions a secret from the public, there has been recently an apparent attempt on the part of the War Department or the present Administration to draw attention from, rather than to, a plan which vitally affects the lives of every citizen.

First, let me give you the background of the Industrial Mobilization Plan. After the last World War had ended, studies of its history were made. . . . The Industrial Mobilization Plan was the result of those studies. Its genesis goes back to 1924, when there was a widespread demand for what was generally termed "universal mobilization for war purposes."

This agitation for a universal draft law bore fruit in 1931. In the 71st Congress, second session, H. J. Res. 251 resulted in the appointment of a War Policies Commission, by

authority of Public Resolution No. 98, from which I quote: "Joint Resolution to promote peace and to equalize the burdens and to minimize the profit of war."

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That a commission is hereby created to study and consider amending the Constitution of the United States to regulate and control property taken by Congress for public use during war and methods of equalizing the burdens and to remove profits of war, together with a study of policies to be pursued in event of war. The commission shall report definite recommendations to the President of the United States to be by him transmitted to the Congress not later than the first Monday in December 1931, together with copies of its proceedings and hearings and to report if in their opinion, any constitutional amendment is necessary to accomplish the purposes desired. Provided, that said commission shall not consider and shall not report upon the conscription of labor."

You will note the specific provision denying authority to this commission to consider and report on the conscription of labor. Yet, despite this specific prohibition, subsequent bodies have ignored this Congressional direction, as will be made evident later in this address. You will also note the purpose intended by the Congress—to determine if constitutional amendments are essential to regulate and control property and property rights, and not to deny personal rights. Yet, as will be seen later, constitutional safeguards have been completely waived aside, evidently under the assumption that in time of war our constitutional liberties are but "mere scraps of paper."

The commission began extensive hearings on March 5, 1931, and invited to appear before it, among others, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, and Arthur L. Lovell, vice-president and national legislative representative of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers. . . . Tho, as you have seen, the commission was not empowered to consider the conscription of labor in war time, both Mr. Lovell and Mr. Green were asked specifically whether they would approve the conscription of labor in time of war and both stated emphatically they would not. . . .

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The commission began extensive hearings on March 5, 1931, and invited to appear before it, among others, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, and Arthur L. Lovell, vice-president and national legislative representative of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers. . . . Tho, as you have seen, the commission was not empowered to consider the conscription of labor in war time, both Mr. Lovell and Mr. Green were asked specifically whether they would approve the conscription of labor in time of war and both stated emphatically they would not. . . .

BIG CHANGES SINCE 1931

I am alarmed at the changes which have taken place between the 1931 and 1936 plan, when the second revision of the Industrial Mobilization Plan was printed, and between the 1936 and 1939 revisions, the date of the most recent Industrial Mobilization Plan. The metamorphosis into a secret document of the original Industrial Mobilization Plan has been a singular evolution. What has happened to the War Department's motive, as expressed by General MacArthur, of giving wide publicity to the provisions of the Industrial Mobilization Plan? Why were members of the Naval and Military Affairs Committees of Congress unable to secure copies of the 1936 and 1939 revisions of the Industrial Mobilization Plans? Why, as was reported in the press on October 30, were only twenty-five copies of the 1939 Industrial Mobilization Plan mimeographed but not printed? Why, on September 30 last, was the President reported in the press as saying that there would be no advantage in publishing the report of the War Resources Board or in publishing plans that have been discussed for coordinating and making use of the nation's resources in case of future emergency? Remember that at this time the President had declared a state of emergency to exist. What was behind this sudden veil of secrecy concerning a document, which, tho it affects the lives of every man, woman, and child in the nation, I venture to say, not one in ten thousand knows anything about?

It might logically be supposed that there are details in the most recent drafts of the Industrial Mobilization Plan which the War Department or the Administration does not wish the general public to know. This would be understandable were the details in the nature of military or naval secrets; but, as the Industrial Mobilization Plan deals entirely with the controls which would be exercised over the civilian population, such an explanation is not valid.

Let us now turn to the recent plans themselves. As I have indicated the first Industrial Mobilization Plan was made public in 1931. It was revised again in 1933 and in 1936. All three of these plans are written in great detail and explain fully the composition, scope of operation and powers of the several boards, bureaus and commissions to be set up during an emergency due to the "imminence of war" or in time of war. All three print, as appendices, the bills to be passed by Congress which would put the Industrial Mobilization Plan in motion. The Industrial Mobilization Plan of 1939, however, is not a revision. It is a general summary in five mimeographed pages of the much longer and more detailed plan of 1936. It is a carefully worded cover-up for the more detailed plan of 1936, and to anyone not familiar with the earlier plan on which it is based, it would arouse little interest or alarm.

(Continued in the next issue)

Books of the Age

by Jim Cork

THE TRAGEDY OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, by Harold Isaacs. Secker and Warburg, London, 1938.

In the opinion of the reviewer, this is the best Marxist analysis in the English language of the failure of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-28. With another change of Stalin's line for China obviously on the way, the lessons offered by this book have a strictly contemporaneous validity. For that reason, altho it was published quite some time ago, the reviewer hastens to complete a task he neglected to do upon the book's appearance.

The basic problem of the Chinese revolution was one of determining the proper role to be played by a Communist Party in a revolution that was bourgeois-democratic in its early stages, that was developing in a colonial country, and therefore assuming a national anti-imperialist character. In the early stages of such a revolution, it is quite possible for a revolutionary party to enter into a common broad national revolutionary block, inclusive even of the national bourgeoisie. The revolutionary party, however, must at all costs maintain from the beginning its complete independence in agitation and action, must seek to extend its influence inside the broad national block and thruout the country at every stage of the developing movement, realistically adapting its tactics to the ever changing needs of the situation. Only thus can it be in a position to prevent the national bourgeoisie from utilizing the national revolutionary movement for its own class purposes at the time when the inevitable disruption of the broad national block takes place. In

other words, the central problem is one of who shall win thru to leadership in the national revolutionary movement against imperialism. Wedded to western imperialism and organically tied to its own feudalism, the native bourgeoisie cannot even carry thru to completion the democratic tasks in its own country. That is why Lenin since 1905 insisted that the bourgeois-democratic stage of the revolution could be completed only under the leadership of the working class drawing behind it the oppressed masses of peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie. Such a leadership guaranteed the possibility of continuing the revolution to a socialist stage, once the power of both the native bourgeoisie and western imperialism was destroyed.

The mistake of the Communist International in 1925-28 was not in joining the broad national revolutionary block around the Kuomintang but in the disastrous policy it pursued within that block. This policy was essentially one of class capitulation to the bourgeoisie at the decisive stage of the fight. Instead of fighting for leadership, it allowed itself to become a tail to the national bourgeoisie under the slogan

"STALIN"

By Boris Souvarine (A Critical Survey of Bolshevism)

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Looking Forward

(Continued from page 1)

being in the ascendancy. Certain features of the National Labor Relations Board investigation, Roosevelt's foreign-policy trend, witch-hunting and anti-foreign-born manifestations, the attempt to revive the political corpse of Hoover thru a Finnish relief pulmotor, the increasing talk about "democratizing" the tax base (soaking the poor still more) to meet the skyward armament budget, are but a few of the dirty straws in the ill winds. There are now at least fourteen active and retired army officers in key positions in the W.P.A. At the moment, it is A. F. of L. leaders who are being persecuted under the so-called anti-trust laws. Tomorrow, Roosevelt's "folklore liberals," like Thurman Arnold, will turn on C.I.O. leaders as well. Perhaps such dastardly acts will be perpetrated in the name of "pressure" on labor leaders to hasten trade-union unity! We cannot emphasize sufficiently that such "unity" would be as fruitful and wholesome as an unsuccessful Caesarian operation. We say this with a full realization of the immeasurable urgency of labor itself uniting its ranks. The reunification of the C.I.O. with the A. F. of L. is the one source of hope for stemming the heavy tides of reaction.

Despite all denials, there are reasons aplenty for concluding that there is great likelihood that Roosevelt will seek a third term. This probability with all the demagoguery and hypocrisy it will bring in its train only makes more imperative the needs for a labor party in the coming Presidential elections. However, the emergence of such a party on a national scale in 1940 is not a practical possibility. Hence, the progressive labor ranks must immediately give most serious consideration to ways and means of utilizing

the Presidential campaign for the enhancement of independent labor political action and the advancement of the forces genuinely fighting to keep America out of war.

Obviously, the question of peace terms will assume an increasingly more practical character in the weeks ahead. Our general approach towards this problem needs neither reaffirmation nor elaboration on this occasion. Yet, we cannot underline too heavily the fact that universal complete application of the principle of self-determination for all the colonial peoples and smaller nations rather than diminish social improvements in all countries are the first prerequisites for a lasting peace. Here, of course, international working-class solidarity is decisive.

So far, I have not offered a rosy background for the New Year. However, it would be fatally false to see all doors to hope and a better day barred. This changing world of ours is in no small measure what we make it. That's the why and wherefore of our untiring efforts to arouse labor to play its rightful historically progressive role in behalf of all humanity. That's the reason for our saying over and over again that you cannot defeat economic chaos, social disintegration, political reaction, poverty, totalitarianism and war in your spare time. It is this apathy and lethargy even in the ranks of class-conscious labor that have too often helped put us in situations in which there was nothing but our ideas, convictions and devotion separating us from the destruction of all that we have cherished as socially progressive.

It is in this light that we put forward as our first hope and task for the coming months the attainment of a far greater degree of regeneration and reconstruction of the socialist

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WILL HERBERG, Editor  
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## MR. DIES RUNS AMUCK

ACCORDING to the press, Representative Martin Dies, chairman of the House committee investigating "un-American activities," recently declared that if Congress permitted his committee to continue its probe, the investigation would result in the "deportation of no less than seven million aliens employed in American industry while Americans go without employment."

The revolting inhumanity of such a program of mass deportations is matched only by its economic senselessness and its practical impossibility. And it is on this basis that Martin Dies appeals for a continuation of his committee!

What business has Mr. Dies or his committee to sponsor a campaign of wholesale persecution directed against millions of inhabitants of the United States? Are all non-citizens in this country, simply by the fact that they are non-citizens, implicated in "subversive" or "un-American" activities? Or are non-citizens just fair game for any Congressional demagogue with an axe to grind?

The great masses of the American people, who, according to recent surveys, want the Dies Committee continued, surely do not share Mr. Dies's inhuman cruelty or his unscrupulous political ambitions. They approve of his committee because they dislike communists and fascists and want them to be thoroughly exposed. They do not see that Dies and his ilk are taking advantage of this sentiment of theirs to feed the fires of their own reactionary hatreds.

We have been assured repeatedly in the past year that Mr. Dies has "reformed," that he has abandoned the grotesque demagoguery of former days, that he has now become a sober, serious statesman sincerely devoted to protecting American democracy from the insidious activities of foreign agents, particularly of the totalitarian states. Mr. Dies's own words belie these assurances. From his own words, it should be clear that whatever benefit has resulted from his committee's exposure of Stalinist and Nazi ramifications in this country is outweighed by a thousandfold by the menace of Mr. Dies's activities to the civil liberties and democratic rights of the American people.

## LABOR AND FINNISH RELIEF

SEVERAL inquiries have reached us as to our attitude on the Hoover Finnish Relief Fund and we take this occasion to make our position clear.

It is obvious, of course, that we unreservedly condemn the brutal imperialist assault of the Stalin dictatorship on Finland and that we stand with the Finnish masses in their heroic fight to beat back the invader. We favor giving the Finns relief and assistance in every manner that will not operate to involve America in the European war. This was our position in regard to Ethiopia when it was under attack from Italy and in regard to Loyalist Spain when it was under attack from Italo-German auxiliaries of Franco fascism; it is now our position in regard to Finland under attack from Stalinist Russia.

We cannot, however, support the Hoover Fund and we do not think any labor organization should. We seriously question the political motives of many of those who are behind this group, or rather we are quite convinced that Finnish relief is being exploited by many of these people for their own political ends in relation both to domestic and foreign affairs. Looking over the list of personages and institutions that have "relieved" to the Finnish cause, any wide-awake labor leader would have good reason indeed for reluctance to cooperate with them.

Yes, labor should aid the Finnish people in this desperate emergency, but it should do so independently. Let independent labor committees be set up if necessary, as was done during the Spanish civil war. Let labor make its own campaign, its own appeal, under its own slogans. Above all, let labor contribution to Finnish relief go either directly to the Finnish socialist and labor movement or else, as was the case with Spain, to the International Federation of Trade Unions for proper transmission. We say frankly that we do not trust the present Finnish government; we do not regard it as a reliable, steadfast champion of Finnish independence. The present ruling elements in Finland are bound very closely to the British Foreign Office, and to the British Foreign Office Finland is simply a pawn in the game of imperialist diplomacy. British diplomacy sacrificed Czechoslovakia to Hitler; a few weeks ago, it offered to make a deal with Stalin at the expense of half of Poland. Who knows what intrigues are now being carried on by the agents of Downing Street at the expense of the Finns. No group in Finland that is so closely linked up with the British Foreign Office as are the bourgeois ruling circles of that country can be fully trusted to defend Finnish independence to the last. And American labor, certainly, cannot afford to make such elements the recipients of any assistance it may give to the Finnish people.

Our position therefore is: Labor in this country should aid the Finnish struggle but it should do so independently, as an independent force and thru independent channels that would transmit this assistance direct to the Finnish trade-union, cooperative and socialist organizations.

## KERENSKY'S RECORD

AMONG those who are trying to capitalize on Stalin's shameful crime against the Finnish people is Alexander Kerensky, the head of the short-lived government that was overthrown by the Bolshevik revolution in November 1917.

Mr. Kerensky, who is in this country at the present time, vociferously denounces Stalin—which is easy enough these days—and poses as a devoted friend of Finnish independence. He evidently speculates on the ignorance or the short memory of those upon whom he is trying to impose. For Mr. Kerensky's record on the subject of Finnish independence will hardly bear close scrutiny.

We are indebted to the Socialist Call for a very appropriate quotation from Morris Hillquit's pamphlet, "The Practical Accomplishments of Socialism," that casts curious light on Mr. Kerensky's alleged devotion to Finnish freedom:

"Finland was the first and only country to show a clear socialist majority of all votes. That happened in the election of 1917. The socialist government established as a result of that election was overthrown by the combined forces of the Finnish capitalists and the provisional government of Russia under Alexander Kerensky."

The truth of the matter is, of course, that the Kerensky government, dominated by Russian nationalists, was opposed in word and deed to granting the full right of self-determination to the subject nationalities within the old Czarist empire, including the Finns. It was the Soviet government headed by Lenin that voluntarily recognized the independence of Finland in a famous declaration issued on December 31, 1917 and reiterated on several occasions in the year that followed. And the Finland the independence of which Lenin recognized as a matter of principle was a Finland ruled by Svinhuvud, a Finland utterly out of sympathy with the new Soviet regime.

That is the truth of the matter. Kerensky, despite all his posing and pretense today, belongs with Stalin; he wanted to keep Finland within the Russian empire by force if necessary. Stalin is now trying to reconquer that country and to reincorporate it into his new Russian empire. To both, national self-determination is merely a phrase to be exploited for political purposes.

At a private, unreported meeting of F. D. R.'s cabinet held recently, the future of the Communist Party was discussed. Participants agreed that the party's suppression was desirable but divided on the method. Some were for direct White House leadership of the move, while others urged that it originate "spontaneously" in Congress. The latter view won. Watch for fireworks in January.—"In the Wind" column, Nation, December 9, 1939.

By Rosa Luxemburg:

# The Bolshevik Land Policy

(The paragraphs below discussing the Bolshevik land policy constitute the third chapter of Rosa Luxemburg's work, "The Russian Revolution," written in 1918 and published a few years later, now for the first time translated into the English in full by Bertram D. Wolfe, who will also contribute a critical introduction.)

(The first two chapters of this work appeared in previous issues of this paper. The succeeding chapters, dealing with the Bolshevik nationalities policy, democracy, etc., will appear in subsequent issues.—Editor.)

THE Bolsheviks are the historic heirs of the English Levellers and the French Jacobins. But the concrete task which faced them after the seizure of power was incomparably more difficult than that of their historical predecessors. (Importance of the agrarian question. Even in 1905. Then, in the Third Duma, the right-wing peasants! The peasant question and defense, the army.)

Surely the solution of the problem by the direct, immediate seizure and distribution of the land by the peasants was the shortest, simplest, most clean-cut formula to achieve two diverse things: to break down large land-ownership, and immediately to bind the peasants to the revolutionary government. As a political measure to fortify the proletarian socialist government, it was an excellent tactical move. Unfortunately, however, it had two sides to it; and the reverse side consisted in the fact that the direct seizure of the land by the peasants has in general nothing at all in common with socialist economy.

## Large Estates Form the Basis of Socialism

A socialist transformation of economic relationships presupposes two things so far as agrarian relationships are concerned:

In the first place, only the nationalization of the large landed estates, as the technically most advanced and most concentrated means and methods of agrarian production, can serve as the point of departure for the socialist mode of production on the land. Of course, it is not necessary to take away from the small peasant his parcel of land, and we can with confidence leave him to be won over voluntarily by the superior advantages of social production and to be persuaded of the advantages first of union in cooperatives and then finally of inclusion in the general socialized economy as a whole. Still, every socialist economic reform on the land must obviously begin with large and medium land-ownership. Here the property right must first of all be turned over to the nation, or to the state, which, with a socialist government, amounts to the same thing; for it is this alone which affords the possibility of organizing agricultural production in accord with the requirements of interrelated, large-scale socialist production.

Moreover, in the second place, it is one of the prerequisites of this transformation, that the separation between rural economy and industry which is so characteristic of bourgeois society, should be ended in such a way as to bring about a mutual interpenetration and fusion of both, to clear the way for the planning of both agrarian and industrial production according to a unified point of view. Whatever individual form the practical economic arrangements may take—whether through urban communes, as some propose, or directed from a governmental center—in any event, it must be preceded by a reform introduced from the center, and that in turn must be preceded by the nationalization of the land. The nationalization of the large and middle-sized estates and the union of industry and agriculture—these are two fundamental requirements of any socialist economic reform, without which there is no socialism.

That the Soviet government in Russia has not carried through these mighty reforms—who can reproach them for that! It would be a sorry sight indeed to demand or expect of Lenin and his comrades that, in the brief period of their rule, in the center of the gripping whirlpool of domestic and foreign struggles, ringed about by countless foes and opponents—to expect that under such circumstances they should already have solved, or even tackled, one of the most difficult tasks, indeed, we can safely say, the most difficult task of the socialist transformation of society! Even in the West, under the most favorable conditions, once we have come to power, we too will break many a tooth on this hard nut before we are out of the worst of the thousands of complicated difficulties of this gigantic task!

A socialist government which has come to power must in any event do one thing: it must take measures which lead in the direction of that fundamental prerequisite for a later socialist reform of agriculture; it must at least avoid everything which may bar the way to those measures.

## A Step Away From Socialism

Now the slogan launched by the Bolsheviks, immediate seizure and distribution of the land by the peasants, necessarily tended in the opposite direction. Not only is it not a socialist measure; it even cuts off the

way to such measures; it piles up insurmountable obstacles to the socialist transformation of agrarian relations.

The seizure of the landed estates by the peasants according to the short and precise slogan of Lenin and his friends—"Go and take the land for yourselves"—simply led to the sudden, chaotic conversion of large land-ownership into peasant land-ownership. What was created is not social property but a new form of private property, namely, the breaking up of large estates into medium and small estates, or relatively advanced large units of production into primitive small units which operate with technical means from the time of the Pharaohs.

Nor is that all! Through these measures and the chaotic and purely arbitrary manner of their execution, differentiation in landed property, far from being eliminated, was even further sharpened. Although the Bolsheviks called upon the peasantry to form peasant committees so that the seizure of the nobles' estates might, in some fashion, be made into a collective act, yet it is clear that this general advice could not change anything in the real practice and real relations of power on the land. With or without committees, it was the rich peasants and usurers who made up the village bourgeoisie possessing the actual power in their hands in every Russian village, that surely became the chief beneficiaries of the agrarian revolution. Without being there to see, any one can figure out for himself that in the course of the distribution of the land, social and economic inequality among the peasants was not eliminated but rather increased, and that class antagonisms were further sharpened. This shift of power, however, took place to the disadvantage of the interests of the proletariat and of socialism. Formerly, there was only a small caste of noble and capitalist landed proprietors and a small minority of rich village bourgeoisie to oppose a socialist reform on the land. And their expropriation by a revolutionary mass movement of the people is mere child's play. But now, after the "seizure," as an opponent of any attempt at socialization of agrarian production, there is an enormous, newly developed and powerful mass of owning peasants who will defend their newly won property with tooth and nail against every socialist attack. The question of the future socialization of agrarian economy—that is, any socialization of production in general in Russia—has now become a question of opposition and of struggle between the urban proletariat and the mass of the peasantry. How sharp this antagonism has already become is shown by the peasant boycott of the cities, in which they withhold the means of existence to carry on speculation in them, in quite the same way as the Prussian Junker does.

The French small peasant became the boldest defender of the Great French Revolution which had given him land confiscated from the emigrants. As Napoleonic soldier, he carried the banner of France to victory, crossed all Europe and smashed feudalism to pieces in one land after another. Lenin and his friends might have expected a similar result from their agrarian slogan. However, now that the Russian peasant has seized the land with his own fist, he does not even dream of defending Russia and the revolution to which he owes the land. He has dug obstinately into his new possessions and abandoned the revolution to his enemies, the state to decay, the urban population to famine.

(Lenin's speech on the necessity of centralization in industry, nationalization of banks, of trade and of industry. Why not of the land? Here, on the contrary, decentralization and private property.)

(Lenin's own agrarian program before the revolution was different. The slogan taken over from the much condemned Socialist-Revolutionaries, or rather, from the spontaneous peasant movement.)

(In order to introduce socialist principles into agrarian relations, the Soviet government now seeks to create agrarian communes out of proletarians, mostly city unemployed. But it is easy to see in advance that the results of these efforts must remain so insignificant as to disappear when measured against the whole scope of agrarian relations. After the most appropriate starting points for socialist economy, the large estates, have been broken up into small units, now they are trying to build up communist model production units out of petty beginnings. Under the circumstances these communes can claim to be considered only as experiments and not as a general social reform. Grain monopoly with bounties. Now, post-festum, they want to introduce the class war into the village!)

The Leninist agrarian reform has created a new and powerful layer of popular enemies of socialism on the countryside, enemies whose resistance will be much more dangerous and stubborn than that of the noble large land-owners.

6 Here, as in a number of other places, the manuscript consists only of rough notes which Rosa Luxemburg intended to expand later. As the meaning of these passages is in general clear, I have preferred to translate them literally, just as the author left them.

7 Here again the matter in parenthesis was to have been expanded by the author in completing the pamphlet.

## Books of the Age

(Continued on page 3)

that the latter must not be "antagonized" lest the anti-imperialist block be broken. So it undermined its independence at the very time when the bourgeoisie was becoming ever more aggressive in its class demands.

The tragic result was inevitable. The national bourgeoisie had their way. The Chinese revolution was destroyed. Chiang Kai-shek butchered the flower of revolutionary China. The military cliques once more began their devastation. The capitalists and landlords were free once more to exploit the Chinese workers and peasants. The inevitable compromise with imperialism guaranteed the further dismember-

ment of China because the only force that could prevent that was now disarmed and shattered.

Isaacs supports the above general analysis with a wealth of first-hand documentation covering every stage of the revolution, documentation that is absolutely irrefutable. For instance, on April 4, 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek had already begun to show his hand, Bucharin at a meeting of Moscow functionaries said: "The Kuomintang is a cross between party and Soviets," and Stalin at the same meeting, said: "The Kuomintang is a sort of revolutionary parliament with its presidium the central committee." Such an evaluation of the Kuomintang precisely at the time when the bour-

geoisie was preparing thru it to drown the revolution in blood—a disastrous error quite typical of the Comintern line thruout—dramatizes the decisive reason for the defeat of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-28—the failure of the Comintern to live up to its mission and tasks.

Today, the events in the Far East present a somewhat confused pattern, especially as regards the role of Russia. It is difficult to predict just what Stalin will do. A break between the Chinese Communist Party and Chiang Kai-shek seems to be coming. Stalin is holding over Chiang Kai-shek the threat of an agreement with Japan. In the meantime, Soviet troops seem to be gathering in Sinkiang. Whether Stalin really means to carve out another piece of China, using the Mongolian outpost as a base (as he is doing in the West), or is merely

# "When It Comes Down to Cold-Hearted Murder...."

NO cause has been so quickly or disastrously lost as that of communism in literary America. Thru Spain and up to the time of the Ribbentrop agreement, it had its celebrated and often fashionable defenders. Heywood Brown was for it, if not exactly of it; Ernest Hemingway spoke lovingly of it, with tough majesty; Dorothy Parker, Donald Ogden Stewart, Sheean, Gunther, Odets, Steinbeck—all these bright eyes, and many more, were fixed romantically on the Kremlin. They were a minority, but they were picturesque and quick on their feet and they somehow established a spiritual ascendancy over the rest of the community. It was bad taste to criticize the party and a symptom of illiteracy to ask questions about it. . . . A man in a New York restaurant, especially an expensive one, who made jokes about communism was likely to get a garland rammed down his throat, and it was generally admitted that this served him right. The Russo-German alliance, of course, changed that, but the change wasn't deep at first. The little reactionaries, who had put up with a lot of bullying, were just pleased to see somebody else embarrassed for a while. The attack on Finland, however, as calculated and bloody as anything that happened in Spain or Poland or Czechoslovakia, will probably temper the general amusement. It is easy to laugh at a man whose religion merely turns out to be disreputable politics; it is something else when it comes down to cold-hearted murder.—From an editorial in the New Yorker.

# The New Imperialism Of Stalinist Russia

Military Factor, Regime Are Main Elements

(Continued from page 1)  
of camouflage for obvious reasons particularly characteristic of the Stalin imperialism—the sham-"revolutionary" appeal. This type of appeal, in the form in which it is presented by the Trotskyist advocates of Stalinism, I have already examined at some length in the first article of this series.

## BLESSINGS AT THE POINT OF THE BAYONET

What is Stalinist aggression actually bringing to the conquered peoples, in Poland, in the Baltic states, in Finland? Certainly not socialism and freedom. These blessings cannot in the nature of the case be bestowed upon an unwilling people at the point of a foreign bayonet. And even if that were possible, socialism and freedom are not a commodity that Stalinist Russia has any to give away. Where would Stalin get it for export? Certainly there isn't any of it to be found in Russia. The very notion that the Stalinist counter-revolutionary dictatorship can possibly bring socialism and freedom to the peoples it conquers is surely too grotesque to require extended refutation.

To the degree that it serves Stalin's military-political purposes, certain changes in the economic structure and property relations of the conquered countries are brought about in adaptation to the Russian system, to some extent in Poland and Finland, to none at all in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. But everywhere conquest means national and political oppression under military-totalitarian rule from Moscow. Everywhere conquest means the repression of the genuine socialist and labor movements in the conquered countries. In short, the real boon that Stalinist conquest brings in its train are the G.P.U., "democracy" and a measure of the G.P.U., "socialism" that the Russian masses are blessed with at home.

Is the new Russian policy of aggression imperialism? If we use the term in its narrow, technical sense defined by Lenin, as an outcropping of monopoly-finance capital, obviously we cannot speak of imperialism here. But neither in this sense can we speak of Roman imperialism or the imperialism of Louis Napoleon. If, however, we use the term in its usual and more popular sense as predatory aggression, conquest and appropriation by military force or the threat of military force, there cannot be any reasonable doubt that the course upon which Stalin has launched the Soviet Union is a course of imperialism.

## PHASE OF THE EUROPEAN WAR

It would be a mistake to view the Stalinist drive of foreign conquest simply or even primarily from the localized angle of the Baltic or the Balkans. At bottom, it is manifestly an integral aspect of the larger Eu-

making a threatening gesture, later to be withdrawn, in order to insure a good bargain with Japan, or possibly means to worry England in India and the Near East, is hard to tell at the moment. Any or all of these variants are possible today to the Realpolitik of the Kremlin. One thing is probable: under the shadow of Soviet military might, an attempt to control more directly the activities of the C.P. of China behind the smokescreen of a new return to a "revolutionary" line. That way, just as in Spain, lies disaster. For the independent movement and tasks of the Chinese revolution would be sacrificed on the altar of the Kremlin's foreign policy, whatever it might turn out to be.

The lessons of Isaacs's splendid work are clear. Only the independent might of the Chinese workers and peasants, an inexhaustible and irresistible force when organized on a revolutionary basis, can hope to settle accounts with world imperialism and their own native exploiters, and now, in addition, the Kremlin. The introduction to the book by Leon Trotsky is a concise, brilliant statement of the problems of the Chinese Revolution.

Reviewed by J. CORK

ropean clash, of the unfolding second world war. In this larger context, Russia is playing the part of a "hungry" power, cooperating with and following the lead of, some even think outstripping, Nazi Germany in the imperialist game of predatory aggrandizement. But at the same time, Stalin's new imperialism is obviously preparing the way for a united capitalist attack on Russia, which is becoming increasingly possible every day. On the one hand, it greatly facilitates, practically invites, a rapprochement between Anglo-French and German imperialism for a joint assault upon the Soviet Union. On the other, it has already deprived Russia of its most reliable support, at least as vital for its defense as its armed forces, and far more vital than naval bases on the Baltic—the sympathy and good-will of the popular masses in western Europe and America. What saved Soviet Russia in the terrible days after the war—the active opposition of the great masses of the people in France and England to the interventionist plans of their governments—can obviously no longer be counted on. Less than a year ago, millions of people in these countries and in the United States were still saying: "Of course, Stalin's a dictator; the world's full of them. But at least nobody can charge him with coveting an inch of foreign territory." At least, no one can question Russia's desire for peace or its opposition to fascist aggression." Today, there is probably more active hostility towards Soviet Russia than even towards Nazi Germany. Stalin is now the prize devil, not Hitler. No war would be more popular with the masses of people in this country or in England and France than a crusade against the Russia of Stalin. Such is the pass to which Stalin's foreign policies have brought the unfortunate land that he holds in the grip of his dictatorship!

3 The following United Press dispatch dated October 20 speaks for itself

"HELSINGFORS, Oct 20—Reports from Tallin, Estonia, of wholesale arrests of Estonian communists were confirmed here today by reliable sources

"Reasons for the arrests were obscure, since Estonia is occupied by Soviet troops, but it was said that a full agreement had been reached by Estonian and Russian officials on a policy whereby any attempts by Estonian communists to create a new political crisis should be suppressed

"It was reported that many Estonian communists who had appealed a Russian army officers in behalf of their imprisoned friends had been given a stern refusal and the reply: 'In Russia, political agitators of that kind are shot'

What happens to "political agitators of that kind," that is, to independent communists, socialists and trade unionists, where the G.P.U. rules directly, as it does in eastern Poland and the conquered sections of Finland, may well be imagined

4 Time was when Stalin was never weary of repeating: "The Soviet Union does not covet an inch of soil of other states but will defend every inch of her own soil"

(This is the second article in a series on "The New Stalin Imperialism" by Will Herberg. The remaining articles will deal with the character of the Soviet state and the Stalin regime, the question of "defense of the Soviet Union," the tasks of the Finnish masses and of international socialism.—Editor)

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