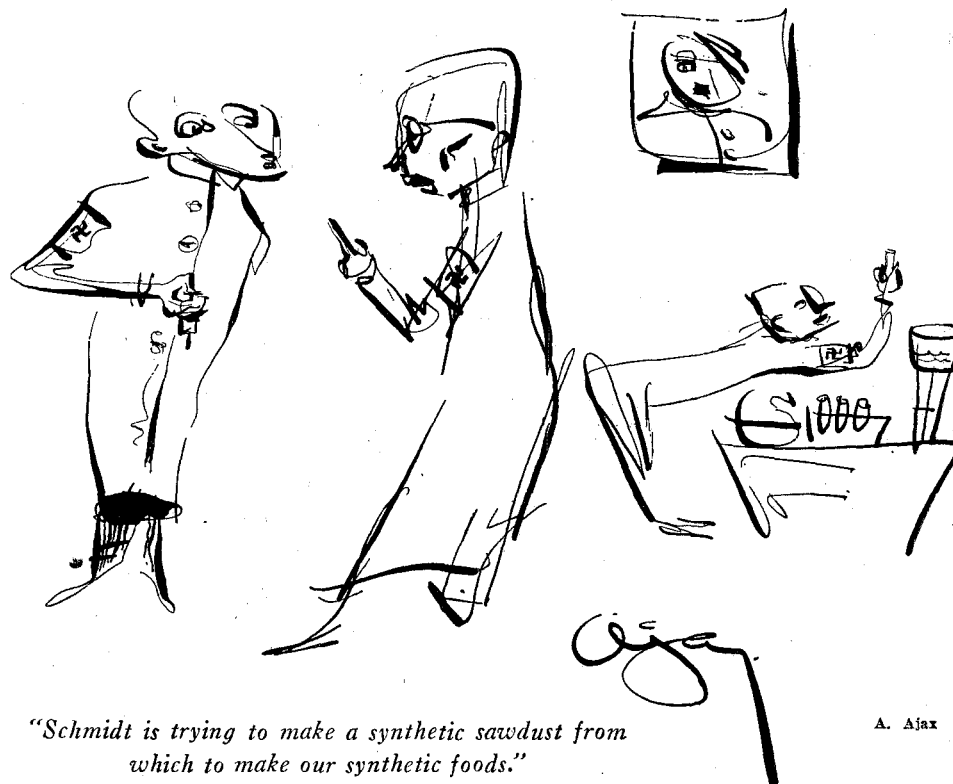


called that the United States gained the upper hand in Latin America after the World War only after dislodging British imperialism, and subsequently the victor has endeavored to press his gains while the loser has resisted tenaciously and sought a comeback. During the crisis years, the contending imperialist powers found local ruling groups in the respective Latin American countries especially well disposed to the idea of launching wars in behalf of one or another imperialist group, hoping thereby to salvage their own interests as exploiters. Thus the shadow of Wall Street hovered over Bolivia's militarists in the Chaco War, while London's "City," operating principally through the government of Argentina, definitely sided with Paraguay. And today, though hostilities between Bolivia and Paraguay have been suspended, the two countries continue at swords' points. After deliberating for an entire year, the Chaco peace conference continues its sessions in an atmosphere of utter futility. Formulæ for settlement are rejected first by one party and then by the other, and the specter of renewed warfare remains at the doorstep of the conference. At the bottom of the impasse lies the reluctance of U.S. financial groups which backed Bolivia, as well as of Bolivian exploiters who stood to



"Schmidt is trying to make a synthetic sawdust from which to make our synthetic foods."

A. Ajax

★

## Modern Heroes

WILLIAM GREEN

You are tired, Father William,  
Your hair is askew,  
You are scarred by the fiercest of fights.  
Were you battling employers  
And union destroyers,  
Defending the working man's rights?

With employers and firms  
I'm on excellent terms,  
And with them I've nought to complain.  
But with labor and Reds  
And their militant heads  
I've been fighting again and again.

MATTHEW WOLL

The lips which kiss the Blarney Stone  
Gain eloquence and wit;  
But what strange object must one kiss  
To make one's language fit  
The tangled wilderness of lies  
Which fascist doctrines teach,  
That translate dung heaps into sound  
and garbage into speech?  
Please tell us, Mr. Matthew Woll,  
What prompted you to drench  
The public with the bile of your  
Red-baiting verbal stench?

To gain the frenzied raver's skill  
In which my pen is versed,  
One need but kiss the fascist foot  
Of William Randolph Hearst.

MICHAEL QUIN.

win from a successful war, to resign themselves to military defeat, and their attempt to gain through diplomatic means what armed warfare failed to yield them.

And the ingredients of warfare exist beyond the limits of the Chaco. As a matter of fact, Argentina and Chile have been arming in great haste with a view to possible mutual aggression, not without the knowledge and consent of Great Britain and the United States, which dominate these respective countries. Only last year, the Pacific Coast countries of South America, under the influence of United States imperialism, formed the so-called Pacific Bloc against the Atlantic countries, which are in the main still under British domination. Chile and Argentina, the most active powers in these respective blocs, have border disputes of long standing which have brought them to the point of armed conflict on more than one occasion. Though many of these disputes have been "solved" in their time, they have never been completely eliminated and ownership over several small islands in the Tierra del Fuego is still a bone of contention. In 1935, President Allessandri of Chile, in violent statements to the press, raised the issue of these islands anew; and, during the same year, the appearance of an Argentinian Alpinist army, in its first winter maneuvers in the Andes, as well as the initial maneuvers of Chile's air fleet, revealed the tension between the two countries in its true proportions.

From our vantage point in Buenos Aires, it seems apparent that the following are among the aims which predatory financial interests in the United States expect to achieve through the Buenos Aires Inter-American Conference:

(1) To speed the coördination of efforts to suppress the democratic and national liberation move-

ments of the peoples of South America and the Caribbean.

(2) To gain further trade advantages, mainly through the lowering of tariff barriers for their exports, at the expense, naturally, of rival foreign exporters and of native industry in our countries.

(3) To divorce South America further from Great Britain—it is to be noted, in this connection, that Buenos Aires, the center of British influence on the continent, has been chosen as the seat of the conference.

And the absence of sovereign governments in most of our republics makes it altogether unlikely that Yankee imperialism will encounter much opposition to this program from the delegates at the Conference. But the voice of the growing peoples' movements in our subjugated countries, as well as that of enlightened opinion in the United States, can make known its own concept of "good neighborism" outside, if not from within the salons of the Buenos Aires conference. Such a concept of good neighborism would include recognition by all of the right of Latin American peoples to set up such governments as would guarantee ordinary democratic liberties. It would preclude unequal trade agreements such as those which have been reached in Brazil and Cuba under the guise of commercial reciprocity. It would insist on closer coöperation with the peace-loving countries of the entire world with a view to curbing the world's principal aggressive powers, Germany, Italy, and Japan, by means of an all-embracing system of collective security. And it would demand above all that the United States be forced to comply with the pledge it made at the last Pan-American Conference at Montevideo, not to intervene in the internal affairs of the other American Republics—a pledge so flagrantly violated by Mr. Sumner Welles himself during his tenure as United States Ambassador in Cuba.

# Property in the U.S.S.R.

*In his second article concerning the draft constitution, the author discusses some fundamental problems relating to the class question*

By Joshua Kunitz

ONE either sees the Soviet Union in its dynamics, or one does not see it at all. This is true whether we study the status of Soviet women, or education, or social insurance, or democracy, or collectivization. A snapshot of two moving bodies reveals nothing about the relation between the two bodies, except the distance between them when the photograph was snapped. It in no way helps the observer to determine where the two bodies might be the next second, whether nearer to, or farther from, each other. Similarly, a glance at the Soviet Union at any particular moment is bound to reveal a very complex but apparently congealed pattern, and not unless one realizes that there is terrific movement there, not unless one can distinguish between the receding and the emergent forces, not unless one knows the approximate rates of speed with which the receding forces recede and the emergent forces emerge, can one have the slightest notion of what the Soviet Union is like at present or what it is bound to be in the near future.

Consider this: in the incredibly brief period of seven years 90 percent of the Soviet peasantry have joined in collectives. Already 96.7 percent of all the arable land in the country is socialized. Only 3.3 percent remains in the possession of individual small farmers. The draft constitution (Article 8) declares unequivocally that "the land occupied by collective farms is secured to them for perpetual use, that is, forever." It obviously follows that the land available for individual farming is strictly and permanently limited to 3.3 percent or less—it cannot possibly be more—of the total arable area. Under the present constitution individual farming cannot grow at the expense of collective farming—the process is all the other way. Surely, even the learned capitalist gentlemen will have to agree that in view of all these facts the victory of socialist property in Soviet agriculture is to all intents and purposes final and complete.

It is important to note, however, that not all socialist property in the Soviet Union is as yet possessed of identically the same characteristics. The draft constitution draws a clear line of demarcation between property owned by separate collective farms and co-operative associations and that owned by the state. In contradistinction to the former, which in Soviet political and economic writing is usually referred to as just "socialist" property (owned *individually* by co-operatives and collectives), the latter is always charac-



terized as "consistently socialist" property, that is, property owned *in common* by the whole people.

This distinction is not accidental; it is historically conditioned and is of much deeper significance than may appear at first glance, having a direct bearing on the whole moot question of the existence or non-existence of economic classes in the Soviet Union. I say "moot" since the question is in some quarters still under discussion. Despite the common practice of referring to Soviet society as "a classless socialist society," the draft constitution, by flatly announcing that the Soviet Union is a "state of workers and peasants," seems to suggest something entirely different. The learned critics chuckle: "Workers and peasants . . . so there are distinctions, classes!" And even friends of the Soviets, when they do not think dialectically, are embarrassed on attempting to answer this question with a direct, unqualified *yes* or *no*. No such answer is possible. The truth as regards classes in the Soviet Union is both that they *do* and *do not* exist, but with the stress most vigorously placed on the negative.

An apparently complicated answer! But it grows much less complicated if one studies the changed and progressively changing relations of each of the classes under discussion to the special types of property with which each has been historically associated, and the differences and similarities between the relation of the Soviet proletariat to the mines, mills, and factories and that of the peasants to the land and implements of production.

As regards the Soviet proletariat, the prime mover in the socialist revolution, it must be remembered that while it had never, under capitalism, owned or controlled the implements of production, it was none the less, by the logic of capitalist development, by the ever-growing socialization of technical processes which that development involved, prepared, socially and psychologically, for the communally coöperative production of a socialist order. In the revolution, having organized itself as the ruling class, the Soviet proletariat swept aside capitalism's contradiction between socialized operation and individual ownership of the means of production and vested the ownership and control of all industrial enterprises in the collective expression of itself, in the proletarian-socialist state. Such is the origin of state property, of "consistently socialist" property, in the Soviet Union. It was created by the proletariat, taken from the capitalists by the proletariat, and increased by it six-fold since the revolution for the benefit of the whole people and the further development of socialism.

The history of socialist property in Soviet agriculture was quite different. Agriculture under the czars prepared the peasantry neither economically nor psychologically for pooling its resources—lands, livestock, and implements of production—into genuinely collective, genuinely socialist enterprises. As the first twelve years of the revolution had proved, the tendency was in quite the opposite direction. Indeed, the eight million small individual peasant economies which were in the Soviet Union shortly after the revolution had by 1927 multiplied to twenty-five million! The real stimulus to scale, mechanized, collective farming came from the village from the Communist urban proletariat, the Soviet. It was they who had created the conditions favorable to collectivization, combine harvesters, automobiles, roads, chemical fertilizer, state credit, guidance, favorable taxation, even so, the poor and, especially, the peasants had to be admonished, and encouraged before they finally timidly and provisionally at first, to the kulaks as a class and organized. From the standpoint of ownership, the essential difference between, say, a state farm (sovkhoz) and a collective (kolkhoz) is that the first are owned by the state and operated by the workers for the benefit of the entire population v