

clarity! action! Young Spartacus

Published Monthly by the National Committee of the Spartacus Youth League of the United States

VOL. 4, NO. 1

NEW YORK, JANUARY 1935

PRICE 3 CENTS

Workers Die for War Profits

Soviet Executions Point to Dangers in Workers State

Since the assassination of Serge Kirov on December 1, over one hundred persons have been executed, and many more have been placed under arrest. Among those arrested are leaders of the Russian Revolution, outstanding among these being Zinoviev and Kamenev, one time chairman of the Communist International and chairman of the Political-Committee of the Russian Communist Party, respectively.

The conflicting stories that have come out of the Soviet Union in official explanation of the executions, and the summary and secret manner in which they were carried out have caused much consternation in the minds of the working class. Attributing the crime to enemies of the working class who had come in from foreign countries, hinting at a possible implication of a foreign government, Stalin proceeded against the opposition at home, arresting people whose names read like a roster of the leading revolutionists, and who could not, by any stretch of the imagination, be guilty of working against the workers' state or of the shooting of Kirov. To cap it all comrade Trotsky was introduced as the instigator of the plot.

Secrecy Breeds Suspicion

That is what has given rise to all the dismay and suspicion; that plus the secrecy with which the whole case has been shrouded. No worker can be opposed to taking

drastic measures against enemies of the workers state, so long as he is sure that these are really enemies, and not its staunchest defenders. That surety does not exist today. It is indeed necessary to take decisive steps against enemies. Inside and outside the Soviet Union there are White Guardists and capitalist elements whose sole concern is to undermine by sabotage, intervention and propaganda, the Soviet government. These have to be treated with harshly, before they will be in a position to treat with the workers harshly. However, when these are caught there is no reason to trial them in the dark. Every worker inside and outside of Russia has the right to, nay must, know the crimes with which they are charged, each detail of their actions, their connections and history.

That was the method pursued in the past. Recently, within the last few years, public trials were held in the Monkhouse and Ramsin cases. More famous than either of these two was the trial of the Social Revolutionists in 1922. A number of them were accused of planning the shooting of Lenin, murdering Voladarsky (not a Kirov!), dynamiting trains, and a host of other crimes. Special bulletins were published each day, so that

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Y.C.L.ers Join S. Y. L.

Discontent in the ranks of the Stalinists is manifested each day by new resignations and expulsions. Unable to withstand the stagnant inner-life that stifles all criticism and thought, unable to tolerate continued blunders in every field of work—blunders that cost the working class much—many of the best elements are leaving the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. In the past, many of those who were repelled by Stalinism were lost to the working class movement. However, with the formation of the Workers Party, these militant workers have found a revolutionary party they can go to, a party that has none of the sores of the Stalinist Party.

Recent weeks have seen leading figures of the C. P. joining the W. P., among them Joseph Zack, a founder of the C. P. and a former member of its National Committee. Since the Kirov shooting more rumblings of discontent have been heard in protest at the method pursued by Stalin. Now we announce the resignation of four Y.C.L.ers following the expulsion of another, active militants who join the only revolutionary youth organization, the Spartacus Youth League—the youth section of the Workers Party. We have information that others will follow. Their statement appears on page six.

Senate Investigation Reveals Huge Incomes In War Years

While millions of workers were dying on the battlefields of Europe, millions in profits were being pocketed by American capitalists. The Senate Munitions Committee, investigating the activities of the armament producers (after these had been exposed in a series of books published last year), unintentionally revealed the causes of war when it made known the incomes of ISI profiteers for the World War years. Each of these made a million dollars or more a year; among them being many so-called "dollar-a-year" men, who "sacrificed" all for their country.

The war that was supposed to have been fought by the United States to "make the world safe for democracy", now appears, for those who did not suspect it all along, as a war dictated by Morgan. It was necessary to throw the American people into the fight so that Great Britain might win the war—and pay her debts to American financiers. Britain found itself unable to make payments on the \$400,000,000 due the House of Morgan on loans to finance the purchase of war materials, much of them from Morgan controlled concerns. And so United States Ambassador to England, Walter Page, cabled to Woodrow Wilson on March 5, 1917:

"The pressure of the approaching crisis, I am certain, has gone beyond the ability of the Morgan

financial agency for the British and French governments. . . . It is not improbable that the only way of maintaining our present pre-eminent position and averting a panic is by declaring war on Germany."

Workers Die for Bosses' Profits

Nor was Morgan the only one to cash in. On December 14 the newspaper headlines read: "WAR PROFITS UP TO 800% SHOWN AT SENATE INQUIRY." The Calumet and Hecla Company, a copper concern, was the one to hit the top. But many industries took prizes, in fat dividends. Bethlehem Steel made \$61,800,000 profit in 1917 alone. In the case of the meat companies, the committee put into the record the following statement:

"An exposition of the excess profits of four of the big meat packers (Armour, Swift, Morris, Cudahy, omitting Wilson as not comparable) is given in the fact that their aggregate average war profit (1912, 1913 and 1914) was \$19,000,000; that in 1915 they earned \$17,000,000 excess profits over the pre-war period; in 1916 \$36,000,000 more profit than in the pre-war period, and in 1917 \$68,000,000 more profit than in the pre-war period."

Excluding those who made their dough while the "doughboys" died. In direct sales of munitions (their "earnings" are covered in another column), those who built their fortunes included the Astors, the Rockefeller, the Fords, Carnegie, Morgan, etc. Many of these rushed into print the next day denying that their profits were in any way connected with the war; that they, poor souls, gave their services freely and willingly. Who wouldn't give his services "freely" if he realized a million or more at the same time?

New Wars Brewing

The fact that these disclosures concern Democratic administrations primarily is one clue to the reason for the investigation conducted by Nye, a Republican. Not that the Republicans are any better—as references to the Coolidge and Hoover regimes showed. Roosevelt tried to halt the disclosures by declaring he would ask congress for legislation "to take the profit out of war". That too is the aim of Nye who, refusing to draw the implications provided by his records about the relation of the financiers and profiteers to the World War, proposes governmental control of the munitions industry. (To be shot by a government made bullet is, of course, more humane than to be shot by a Du Pont made bullet.)

What becomes particularly clear is that a new war is expected. Thus the investigation is also by way of preparing the industries for a war footing—plans for which have already been announced by the war department. Japanese trade aggression, for example, troubles the United States. Sales of munitions and armament plans to Japan are consequently disturbing (hence, another reason, perhaps a lesser one for the investigation.)

Six years before 1914 the munitions makers knew that was coming (testimony of Holder, counsel for the Colt company). They again see the prospect of millions of young people going to their death.

Unemployed Youth in Pa. Organize

ORMROD, Pa. — Seventy-five youths of the Ukrainian Youth Club of Ormrod, Pa., organized a branch of the Lehigh County Unemployed League and joined enmasse in order to fight for the right to work. Cement manufacturing is the only industry in this community. This business has been badly crippled by the depression. Most of the workers get but two days per week earning \$7.50—just enough to keep them off the relief rolls. On this meager amount they must support a family—and large families are common in this region.

For five years the youths of the community who have grown to maturity have been unable to find work. Many have graduated from high school expecting to find a place in the world, only to be disillusioned. When plans for state emergency relief projects were announced the young people were hopeful. They thought they would obtain jobs. Again they were disillusioned. Only individuals on relief rolls could obtain work on relief projects. Consequently the young people organized, together with their parents, to break this ruling.

An Unemployed League of more than 100 members has been formed. The League demands that a community house for workers be built with relief funds paying for labor, and that all local unemployed with income insufficient to provide a decent standard of living be employed on the project. "We can get what we want if we organize and fight for it," says John Mauser, 18 year old chairman of the League.

WE are on our way. On our way to the building of a gigantic movement that will penetrate every cranny of the United States. Those young militants who gathered at the first National Convention of the Spartacus Youth League were imbued with the slogans: CLARITY AND ACTION.

Not in many years has a convention of youth delegates displayed so thorough an understanding of the problems confronting the young workers. Not in many years has a greater conviction, born of intelligent discussion and ideological clarity, been manifested by a group of young workers and students. No stultifying, automatic sameness of thought. But a unity of ideas bred in common discussion and action, and comprehension of purpose.

That purpose is to go out among the masses of youth and training them in the duties of class struggle. To build an organization that can answer the needs of the young workers. An organization that has none of the bureaucratic confusion of the Young Communist League or the programmatic weakness and organizational flabbiness of the Young Peoples Socialist League.

If never before has there been a youth organization such as the delegates proposed to make of the Spartacus Youth League, never before has there been so great a need of one. Untold misery for the working class, in an economic system that only provides starvation for millions. Gathering war clouds that promise to sacrifice millions of youth to the money coffers of the rich. Growing fascism that challenges the working class in a contest for its freedom. In other words, an era which poses questions sharply, which shows boss rule in its most decadent form, which thrusts upon the working class the decision: FASCISM OR COMMUNISM, oppression in servitude or freedom in struggle.

Against capitalism it is necessary to mobilize the young workers and their allies from other classes who will constitute the most vigorous fighters in the proletarian army. Many are the organizations that propose to do this. Only the Spartacus Youth League can. One fact alone assures us of greater success than the others can possibly approach. They draw their guidance from bankrupt political organizations that have brought only defeat to the working class. Spartacus draws its fire and spirit, policy and deed from the WORKERS PARTY.

FOR CLARITY AND ACTION!

After years of splits and degeneration in the proletarian movement, the Workers Party steps forth as a unifying force—uniting in its ranks the leading cadres of the American working class. Fusing unshakable principle with revolutionary courage in the field of struggle, the Workers Party strides into the heat of battle. Already located in the important industrial sections of the United States, already having demonstrated its ability to lead the workers in action, the Workers Party claims its place as the center of revolutionary activity.

Ours is the program of the Workers Party, the Party of victory. Ours is the example of its deeds, as well as our own. Our past, narrow as it was, nevertheless records militancy, firmness, the capacity to lead in ACTION. In united fronts against fascism we gave leadership and direction. Whatever the field of action, our small forces could penetrate, ours was the front rank.

A young organization, we spent three years in preparation for our present tasks. In our ranks were trained young revolutionists who know their duties and how to perform them. CLARITY and EDUCATION was our first consideration. It remains that today. A CLARITY that can only gain meaning by ACTION. Through education, training in the nature of capitalism and how to fight it, we shall develop fighting revolutionists for the workers vanguard.

Whatever was narrow and undesirable in the past, the Convention left behind it. Whatever was correct, the Convention set out to magnify. Tackling each problem in its turn, the delegates hammered out a program of work in every field of activity—organizing the young workers, students, anti-militarist, cultural, social and so forth. Hours were spent discussing the character of our organization. A Program of Action was laid down. With it the delegates went home to make of the Spartacus Youth League the new organization of the militant youth.

From New York to California our comrades are active. They call upon the working and student youth to join with them, work with them, study with them. Join the Spartacus Youth League! Against capitalism, against reaction! For a workers world, for socialism!

FORWARD WITH CLARITY AND ACTION!

Student Notes

Fraction Work In Schools

A majority of the delegates present at the convention voted in favor of the resolution printed in the last issue of YOUNG SPARTACUS. This marks the first time that any working class youth organization in the United States, possibly in any country, has adopted an all inclusive resolution on the student question as a whole, defining it and developing a program. Right or wrong, and we believe it is right, though only experience can tell, the resolution is an important contribution to the program of revolutionary youth organizations.

Unlike any other youth organization we have an inclusive stand, that has been thoroughly discussed, on the student organizations and the problems of organizing the students. While this gives us decided advantages over any of the other organizations, it imposes a serious task upon all our comrades. Many of them have raised questions as to the nature of our work now. Shall we continue to work in the N.S.L. etc?

WORK IN N.S.L. AND S.L.I.D.

Yes, we continue to work in these organizations, though our activities are not centered in them. We work within them to the extent that they allow us freedom of action. Our purpose in the school is to bring the teachings of Marxism to the students. Our work, therefore, in the student organizations depends upon how well we can advance these ideas in them. At the same time, they make it possible for us to come in contact with student militants who are particularly susceptible to our influence. Naturally, our activity is not confined to general discussion. Where the situation presents itself our comrades are to make proposals concerning the fight on student issues, which will be quite necessary if the past history of the N.S.L. and S.L.I.D. is any indication. In these organizations we have no need to conceal our views on student organization, so long as we present them correctly and in the proper time. There is however no doubt that the leadership, of the N.S.L. at any rate, will attempt to oust or isolate us, even more than they have in the past. We state openly that we favor the gradual transference of N.S.L. and S.L.I.D. activity to the school discussion clubs.

STUDENT FRACTIONS

Our major activity is conducted through our own fractions. The function of these fractions will become more important as the suppression of student activity by reactionary authorities grows. Recent student struggles demonstrated the necessity of such groups. At the University of California, at Los Angeles, where five students were expelled for forming a student forum and later reinstated, the sentiment among the students was more radical than that of the N.S.L. which was afraid to show itself. The outcome was that student sentiment passed over the head of the N.S.L. and failed to crystallize. The S.Y.L. fraction which did exist at U.C.L.A. participated actively on the campus, and was the moving spirit in the fight against student scabbing in the great longshoremen's strike. Unfortunately it is yet too small to be decisively influential.

If we had had a fraction at City College of New York, where twenty-one students were expelled for engaging in an anti-fascist demonstration and not reinstated (the student council which was suspended has been reinstated), the outcome might have been far different. Neither the N.S.L. nor the S.L.I.D. knew how to involve the trade unions, or how to rally mass sentiment in decisive action (among students of other schools) that would have compelled the administration to take the expelled students back.

FIRST FRACTION PAPER

Our fraction in Franklin K. Lane High School, New York, is the first to issue a fraction paper. After

YIPSELS RELY ON LABOR REACTIONARIES. LEAD SHIPPING CLERKS UNION TO RUINS

The Ladies Garment Shipping Clerks Union exists no more. What is left of it is a typewriter and desk (which the Yipsels claim possession of). These will soon be moved to the headquarters of Local 102, the Truckdrivers Union of the dress trade. There is also a paper union set up by the Y.C.L. which is doomed to a brief existence if the C. P. really carries out its latest policy.

Only six months ago the union had a live membership of over two hundred shipping clerks participating in a general strike in the trade. There are said to be ten thousand shipping clerks in the trade, miserably underpaid and working twelve to sixteen hours a day during the season. Pay for overtime is unheard of. Wages are as low as ten dollars per week. There is no provision made for shipping clerks under the NRA.

Surely this is a fertile field for organization. Especially so when one can get the support of well established unions, such as the I.L.G.W.U., N.T.W.I.U., Local 102, Truckdrivers, who are organized in the very shops where the shipping clerks are working.

Rely on Dubinsky

In spite of all this and the advantages of a rising strike wave which was bringing all the unorganized into trade unions, the Yipsels failed miserably in their attempt to organize the shipping clerks. Their policies and actions were a miniature reflection of the milk sop policies of their parent organization.

From the beginning they pursued a policy of relying on Dubinsky for the building up of the shipping clerks union instead of actively demonstrating to the young workers the value of militancy in trade union struggles.

Democracy in the S. C. U. was distorted to mean: that the Yipsels could pack the meetings with their own members who were not in the trade in order to carry out their policy, could prevent the Y.C.L. ("rank and file group") and other members who opposed their policies from expressing their opinions in the union concerning union matters, by at one time threatening physical violence and at another time trying to expel them arbitrarily from the union without consulting the membership as a whole.

In June of last year, Bill Levine was delegated by the union to go to Chicago to the I.L.G.W.U. convention to ask a charter for the S.C.U. In order to give Bill Levine a free hand in negotiating for a charter, the Yipsel leadership managed to get the constitution suspended for a period of two weeks. In Chicago, Levine got promises from Dubinsky that should the union show any real signs of growth, Le (Dubinsky) would give them a charter. The constitution, however, was never again reinstated by the membership. During this time, the leadership took it into their own hands to raise the initiation fee from twenty-five cents to five dollars, with the excuse that since the union had gone through struggle and already had a membership of over two hundred, they felt they could justly demand that.

meeting for some months as a sub-fraction of the city-wide fraction our comrades, all of whom are active in the school, decided to issue a bulletin. And a swell job it is too—cartoons and all. It is called the "Lane Spark" and has many popular features: "The Inquisitive Reporter", "Have You Read It In the Papers", etc. A salute to the Brownsville comrades for their initiative.

If you want this to be a real student column, how about sending in regular reports about what is happening in your school? We have received some material which pressure of space compels us to omit until the next issue. We will then print an article on Corporate Education, as well as a comment on the N.S.L.-S.L.I.D. fusion proposals.

Did you know that every child above the fourth grade pays a tuition fee in Arkansas?

The union had no meetings at all for a period of five months. No meeting was ever called to draw the lessons of the general strike, or to hear a report of Bill Levine's trip to Chicago.

In the meantime, what happened was that the Yipsel Executive Committee arbitrarily removed Luxembourg and Levine, functionaries in the union, because internal squabbles brought out certain charges against these Yipsels. Charges of such a nature as involved misbandling of funds and attempting to introduce gangster methods into the union. The charges against these members were later whitewashed, because the investigation was carried out only as a formality and no real attempt was made to save the union.

After disregarding the rights of

Lets Go, Spartacans

We're off to a fresh start! New features and special articles will make YOUNG SPARTACUS the best paper for young people in America.

When I say a new start I mean it to show I'm not just blowing—all back debts to YOUNG SPARTACUS for bundle orders are cancelled! Is that a fresh start or is it a fresh start? (Don't get the idea this is to happen every month, from now on I.O.U.'s are not popular. We expect prompt settlement for bills.)

The first national convention laid out some beautiful plans for putting YOUNG SPARTACUS on the map. We plan to have it come out regularly now, at the same time building a fund to make it come out fort-nightly. Looks nice on paper, eh? But it doesn't mean a DAMN unless it is transferred from paper into action. That's up to YOU. That's your job!

Prizes for Subs

A sub drive from Jan. 1 to March 1. Here's our proposition to you. 1 sub per month per member would mean 500 subs. Looks easy doesn't it? Well it not only looks easy, but is easy. Why the Workers Party District Committee of New York assigned 100 subs to YOUNG SPARTACUS to its members. We mention this not only as an encouragement to Spartacus Youth but also as a very good example to the Party elsewhere! Everyone pitch in and make YOUNG SPARTACUS the most widely read youth paper in America!

We know our readers are anxious to start right in with a bang on this drive—but we want to show that we mean business—that we don't want something for nothing—no sir—we are offering prizes! Not red stars or little daisy chainless wonder. No, but something which you all would want and enjoy. To every person securing 10 subs, whether he or she is a Spartacan or not, we offer a copy of "The Workers in American History" by James O Neal, or "42nd Parallel" by John Dos Passos. Either one of these books is something everyone should own, and you have a choice of either; but if you want both, why simply get 20 subs. We also offer a prize to the branch getting the highest number of subs in relation to its size. This prize is to be announced in our next issue.

On Your Mark

The building of YOUNG SPARTACUS goes hand in hand with the building of the Spartacus Youth League. One cannot grow without the other. Get to work immediately if you want to come out first in this drive! Let's have a lot of that stuff called competition! Competition between members, between branches, between districts, we welcome it. Let's see what you're made of.

We sign off with the expectation that before the ink dries on this page the subs will come rushing in, swamping the post office, and ourselves. ON YOUR MARK. GET SET GO!

the membership for such a long period of time, as was to be expected, the membership forgot about the union. When, finally, after a lapse of five months, a membership meeting was called, only twenty-seven attended the meeting. A group of about twenty or more, who were suspected of being in sympathy with the Y.C.L. were kept out of the meeting on the technical charge of not having paid their dues for the past two months. In this manner the Yipsels managed to insure themselves of a narrow majority at the meeting.

The meeting ended by a walk out of the "rank and file group" and the threat of their expulsion by the tyro Yipsel functionaries. The Y.C.L. played a no more worthy role than their rivals. They, like them, also packed meetings with unemployed Y.C.L.ers. At the meetings instead of clarifying the issue, pointing out that democracy is the real base of a union, they confused the workers with cries of "We want a rank and file leadership. For a rank and file committee", etc. etc. Instead of trying to save the union, to force democracy into the union, they maneuvered either to capture control of the union or to wreck it and build one of their own on its ruins.

S.Y.L. Strives to Build Union

The Spartacus Youth League at every step tried to push the Yipsels into joint actions with the Y.C.L. on the basis of a clear trade-union policy. We pointed out to them that without internal democracy we could never hope to build a real union; that men like Dubinsky, who threatened to refuse them a charter, should they work together with the Y.C.L. would not be able to stand up under the demands of a militant shipping clerks' union. That it was to the interests of the shipping clerks to permit the freest and most open discussion on every question concerning the union, to take place within the union. That only in this manner, could the shipping clerks be knitted together in a solid organization, that would weld them as a force against the bosses.

The Yipsels, however, paid more attention to their banking on prominent individuals in the trade union movement and other forces outside the shipping clerks. Recent examples are their vain chase after the Elevator Union when the elevator operators were on strike. And now, their empty gesture to drag what are the thin strands (almost invisible) of an emptier apparatus into still another union, reveals them to be nothing more than petty careerists.

Members of the N.T.W.I.U., following the NFAW line of the C. P., are already applying for membership in the I.L.G.W.U. as individuals. The Stalinists are liquidating their "Red" unions everywhere. It is only a matter of days when they will declare their new shipping clerks union non-existent and walk back to the headquarters of the I.L.G. to begin the game all over again.

It is obvious that nothing can be gained by such playing around with the issue. The shipping clerks must be organized. This can not be left to labor reactionaries like Dubinsky and his ilk. This is the task of every youth organization that takes a serious attitude to the problems of the young workers and their solution. What is required and necessary now is that the various youth organizations shall come together and through joint discussion work out a plan whereby they can cooperate in organizing and building a strong shipping clerks' union. —K.D.

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Published Monthly by the National Committee, SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE 112 East 19th St., New York City Phone: ALgonquin 4-9058 MANNY GARRETT Editor JANE OGDEN... Business Manager Subscription rates: 25c per year; Canada and foreign 35c. Bundle orders, 2 cents per copy; single copies, 3 cents.

Org. Notes

Program of Action

April first must be uppermost in the minds of all our readers. On that date the Spartacus Youth League of America will have attained a membership of five hundred. On that date Detroit, Minneapolis, Columbus, Newcastle, Allentown, Cleveland and Berkeley will announce the organization of new branches. On that date Philadelphia will have reorganized its three branches of 10 members in each. On that date the Spartacus Youth League will have become an organization to be reckoned with.

April the first marks the termination of the three months program of action decided upon by the National Convention of the Spartacus Youth League. The realization of this program of action initiates a new period of life and progress for the Spartacus Youth League.

Seven days of the Program has been enough to convince us that our quotas for membership recruitment were far too modest.

- a. Newark reports . . . "Fulfilled quota."
b. Youngstown reports . . . "Fulfilled quota."
c. Philadelphia reports . . . "Organized branch of 10."
d. Detroit reports . . . "A group of 7 by Feb. 1st."
e. State College, Pa. reports . . . "SYL branch assured."

Excellent! Excellent! And the other cities? What progress? What plans? What reports? But the program is not limited to increase in membership alone. The program includes the publication of two pamphlets: one a popular pamphlet on "What is the Spartacus Youth League"; the other will contain the resolutions adopted at the National Convention. In addition there will be organizational bulletins for the membership, educational outlines, song books, book lists etc.

At the conclusion of the drive four regional conferences will be held. District committees will be established for the purpose of coordinating district work, for the purpose of strengthening our branches and building new ones. At the conclusion of the drive we will be large enough to make a substantial bid for the leadership of the working and student youth in the country. Therein lies the significance of the program of action. Therein lies the importance of its success. 500 dues paying members by April 1st will do the job.

And more. The National Committee is planning a national tour to close the drive, to open the regional conferences and to inaugurate regional training schools.

The national office is doing its part. The national office was never so busy. The remainder of the task falls now upon the branches. We await your response. We call you to action. We trust that your answer will be the answer of Newark, of Philadelphia, of Youngstown. "Quota fulfilled."

—NATHAN GOULD, National Secretary

ATTENTION

We were compelled to leave out a number of important articles; to make way for other material. For example, we have omitted an article on the American Youth Congress which is meeting in Washington as we go to press. In the next issue we will however carry a detailed account of the congress, our criticism and our proposals.

Other articles will include: an analysis of the situation in the Young Peoples Socialist League; the proposed Labor Youth Council of Action; the farming youth; a science column; etc., etc.

We want to make YOUNG SPARTACUS a really popular paper. We need stories, news—from you. Let us therefore have contributions and criticisms.

More Military Training

The Supreme Court has legalized compulsory military drill in the University of California and other land grant colleges.

Roosevelt Relief Plans Promise Mass Misery

The simplest, most appalling register of the collapse of American economy is the figures on unemployment. Even the most casual observer, who might be confused by higher finance, can appreciate the import of growing unemployment. Excluding the bank crash period, and using even the conservative figures of the American Federation of Labor, the high-mark of unemployment was 12 million (actually it was closer to 16 million). In early 1934 the figure dropped somewhat and continued down to some 10,500,000 in the summer. This fall, despite the frantic claims of industrialists, despite the much ballyhooed "Autumn upturn", and despite the "great Christmas boom" the number went up again. In October, the figure was 11,030,000; in November, although the newspapers overflowed with optimistic statements of so-called business, government, and civic "leaders", unemployment increased to 11,459,000, a rise of 420,000 in one month.

What is being done for the unemployed? Last spring President Roosevelt promised that the next congress would see a sweeping social security program. The American workers took him at his word, and waited with impatience for this "Roosevelt revolution". A few short weeks ago a group of economists and welfare workers gathered in Washington, ready to produce "a plan that would embrace all forms of social security," as Harry Hopkins, Federal Relief Administrator said in his address to them.

Expect Nothing from Government

This idea of a great social security program is just plain tomfoolery. The government has already spent more than it intended, much more than the bankers, who control government spending directly, by buying or refusing to buy government bonds, thought safe. With this in mind we expected nothing from the government. Our expectations have proved themselves.

A few hours after Harry Hopkins produced a sensation with his broad plan for social security, Roosevelt addressed the same congress, informed them that no plan was contemplated, and that they were to confine themselves to some small scheme for insuring workers at present employed against short seasonal employment.

The measures which are to be taken for real unemployment have not yet been decided. The government is caught. Unemployment relief was originally supported with the idea that it was a temporary measure. The expenses were charged to the future. As it becomes evident that unemployment is not temporary, that it is permanent, and will never disappear, the "future" on which government credit was based also disappears. Thus at the same moment that it becomes apparent that further and even larger expenditures are necessary, it also becomes apparent that even the expenditures already made were excessive, from the point of view of credit.

Plan Security for Bankers

In a capitalist state the vital concern of a government is not the welfare of its people, but the security of its bankers and businessmen. In a period of depression, when the industrial investments are considered insecure, bankers and business men invest in the government, they buy government bonds. Thus bankers and business men come to depend, especially in a period of depression, more directly on the government, and have even more interest in maintaining its credit.

It is for this reason that industrial leaders oppose the government expenditures, and would like to see unemployment relief cut to a very minimum. It is for this reason that the White Sulphur Springs congress of industrialists, for instance, recommended dole relief as cheaper than work relief.

There is a tendency in some quarters, because of the confusion that results from the democratic name of the government to imagine that the government will pass measures which are contrary to the

interests of the capitalist class, and whose only intention is the welfare of the workers. The government will not do this, it simply cannot do this (unless it is forced to by the actions of workers). The government is aware that it must maintain its credit in order to maintain the business structure. And it is further aware, that its credit depends on exactly the business men whom it supports, and who buy its bonds. To put it simply, the interests of business and government come to be more and more the same.

Roosevelt's and Bankers' Plans the Same

All the pretensions to "impartiality", to "democracy", to "representing the people" are so much nonsense; for the people, whether they know it or no, no longer have anything to gain by a capitalist system, or a government which supports one.

On the matter of unemployment relief there is much talk, especially from Roosevelt, of "doing something for the workers". After the congress on social security had fizzled, as we expected, the President began to show an interest in "work relief" as opposed to "dole relief". It might appear at first glance that he was here in opposition to the bankers and industrialists who advocated "dole relief", as cheaper.

There is no opposition, however, as the "work relief" which the President advocates is just as cheap as the dole relief which the industrialists want. The real question, in every situation, is not one name or another, but whether the government, and the capitalists whom it represents, are going to get off as cheaply as possible, and still avoid the active revolutionary resentment of the workers.

Relief Measures Promise Misery

What is the plan now advocated? First, that 4,000,000 of the present 19,000,000 on relief be completely returned as "unemployables" to state and private charity. At one stroke a tremendous economy is effected, by condemning some four million "aged, crippled, widows, insane and their dependents" to the hazards and starvation of a state relief system. (As Hopkins pointed out, state relief is already 30 percent greater for the first ten

months of 1934 than for the first ten months of 1933.)

And as for the remaining 15,000,000. First, Hopkins calculates that these fifteen million can be subdivided into four or five million heads of families, the remainder being dependents. Thus by giving work relief to four or five million, the whole fifteen million will be supported.

Second, Mr. Hopkins denies the statement of the White Sulphur Springs congress of industrialists (that dole relief is 50 percent cheaper than work relief. He says, "Work relief is more expensive by only an amount equal to what the materials of the projects cost."

From Hopkins' statement, that "work relief is more expensive only by the cost of materials," it is evident that the wages which will be paid on work relief will be no higher than the present dole relief. Wages will then vary between six and fifteen dollars a week. Worse yet, from the subdivision Hopkins makes into heads of families and dependents, and his statement that only the heads would work, we can only conclude that the beginning of "work relief" would mark the end of any provision for dependents, and that the scheme would simply put some four or five million families on an income of not more than fifteen a week (they'll be lucky to get that much. Ten a week is a better guess), or, at best, seven hundred and eighty dollars a year, way below the "subsistence" level.

Doubtless the scheme will be modified, there will be new blasts of ballyhoo, and "work relief" will be introduced as a great humanitarian step. Rest assured that behind any move the unalterable state remains. The government does and can only represent big business, and as such can only operate against the interests of the workers.

But the working class can act in its own interest! Against its will, capitalism can be made to yield—if the workers compel it to. Against the deceptive proposals of Roosevelt and Hopkins, the working class demands unemployment insurance provided by the bosses and the government, and not by contributions from the workers. Unemployment cannot be eradicated under capitalism. The working class class can, however, by fighting, make Roosevelt and those he acts for concede to its needs. To do that each unemployed worker should join the National Unemployed League.

News From the Three C's; Rumors of Militarization

(The following letter was written by a Spartacus sympathizer to a friend in the Spartacus Youth League. The writer entered the C.C.C. last summer, a few months after he left high school. The letter speaks for itself—Ed.)

December 10, 1934

Hello Bill,

How's tricks? Sorry I couldn't write for so long, but I was all taken up in transferring to my new camp, getting my outfit, etc. And I had to get my things straightened out, too. I'm still in Alabama, about 180 miles from the old camp; near Mobile (some town!) Pretty good location, too, right on the river—gee, there's so much to say, I don't know where to start; but I suppose you'll be most interested in what this place is like and what we do here, so I'll let the rest go for some other time.

They finally did transfer the whole 42 of us. I was telling you about—all New Yorkers—so I know quite a lot of the guys here. The camp's got about 200 all together, most of the rest come from Massachusetts. Tough bunch, too. They have two Y.C.L.ers and a Y.P.S.L.er in their bunch. (Everything's new and each state tends to hang around in its own group. A sort of sectional patriotism). One of the Y.C.L.ers is a pretty intelligent fellow, a M.I.T. man (what's he doing in the Y.C.L.—Ed), the other and the Y.P.S.L.er are the usual type—don't know anything and always talking about it. Anyway, we all argue, the funniest thing is that I defend "Trotskyism". (By the way, how about sending some literature? And what's all this about the Workers Party? None of us knows what it's all about—we don't get any kind of radical literature.)

Pretty Poor Grub

Well, the camp is about the same as all the others. They're all more or less alike. Some have somebody more or less decent in charge, others have a lousy rat like that "Looey" I used to have in the other camp. They all got Army and Navy officers and they're all run about the same way. Before, I used to do road work. Here we're clearing a park and pruning the trees. The grub's the same, too. Spuds,

beans; meat, sometimes, spuds all the time—it's always lousy but usually manages to avoid being so bad you can't eat it.

Last week they tried to get us to work overtime to make up for Thanksgiving, but we got together and put up such a squawk that the Sarge had to give it up.

The Sarge is a pretty nice guy. His name is John Waters, but we call him "Sarge" or, when he's in a good humor, "Walrus-face", because of his mustache. Of course, he takes orders like the rest of us, gives us hell every other day, cuts off the hot water when the officers want it, and other little things like that. Never sides with the boys when something comes up. He just knows what's good for him. If he tried to strike with us he'd simply be replaced by someone worse, that's all. That's how the whole camp is organized. Either you get everybody to stick together and put up a fight—get rid of the C.C.C. altogether—or you just take it on the chin.

He went into town with us Thanksgiving week-end and we made the rounds. Boy, five bucks a month can sure get up and take a walk when you set eyes on some of the Mobile skirts down here. . . .

Rumors About Army Training

Well, I seem to have wandered away from my subject of camp conditions, but what the hell! (One of the boys just asked me if I'm writing a book. They don't understand how anybody can write a letter of more than one page.)

By the way, Bill, do you know anything about this business of connecting up the C.C.C. with the Army? There are more rumors here than lice in the Mobile jail house, all kinds of wild and fantastic stories!

Some fellows say we're all going to be equipped with rifles and given military drill. Some maintain every C.C.C. man is going to be automatically signed up in the Army (whew!), the Sarge told us we'll be asked to join but don't have to, although it'll be pretty tough on anyone who doesn't.

There's more talk about war, army, drill, here in camp than there is in some of your mass meetings (you know where everybody does his level best to repeat what everybody else says).

But seriously, most of the fellows are almost panicky about it. We read "Happy Days" and it's worse than the "Young Worker" in the "Young Worker" when you read some of the horrible stories you wonder what keeps the poor guys alive. But the "Happy Days" makes you feel like a god-damn porker being fattened up for the market. Everything is so blissful, so ducky.

Boys Oppose Militarization

As it is, we have plenty of military life. We talk army talk; grub, barracks, march, work-details, mess, etc. We wear army clothes. Have army officers in charge and all that. Old Walrus-face blows the bugle to get us up in the morning, to call us to eat, to go to work, to come back, go to sleep, everything has to have a bugle call. Even when we take "Happy Days" with us to the toilet, Walrus blows the bugle.

But so far we haven't had any actual drill, no guns! Now they're talking of that! and of joining the Army!

Christ! the two Y.C.L.ers and the Y.P.S.L.er and I used to talk about militarization before, but do we get a hearing now! If they try to put over any of that stuff, they'll have one sweet time in this camp. Half the camp'll just go A.W.O.L. But we want something definite. Try to find out, will you?

Well, that's enough about the camp. . . .

You asked in your last letter if you could send my letters into the YOUNG SPARTACUS. If you think they're any good, it's O.K. with me, though I'm afraid you'll have to cut out most of it on account of the language. —EDDIE.

Scottsboro Boys Need Workers Support

The Scottsboro case, which involves the fate of the nine Negro boys who have been condemned by Southern capitalist justice on a framed-up charge, is quickly reaching a climax. On January 7th, the Supreme Court of the United States will meet again to decide whether or not these boys have been given a fair trial.

By itself, the Scottsboro case is merely another one of the many frame-ups used by the capitalists in the South to divide the ranks of the oppressed people, to oppose the Negroes to the whites. But, because this particular case has become the symbol of the entire struggle of the Negro masses against those who keep them down, its outcome is of great importance to us.

The case started back in March, 1931 with the arrest of nine Negro boys who were pulled off a freight car and charged with having attacked two white girls. Since then, indisputable proof has been produced to show that this charge is absolutely false, and further, that it was used merely to awaken a spirit of race hatred in Alabama. The charge of rape, which is used to sentence and kill so many innocent Negroes, is as old as the hills, and it is always dragged in by the bosses when they see the opportunity to divide the white workers and the Negro workers. In this particular case, one of the white girls who was supposed to have been a victim, confessed at the trial that the charge was not true, and that she herself had been compelled by the authorities to testify against the boys at a previous hearing.

From a small, insignificant case in an obscure town in Alabama, the Scottsboro case has become famous the world over. Workers throughout the country and throughout the world have marched in protest parades and demonstrations against the brutal conviction of these boys. The International Labor Defense (the defense organization which handled the case), however, relied too much upon legal technicalities and lawyers' advice, rather than upon the strength of the organized working class. Instead of organizing monster mass movements of workers, instead of appealing to and getting all working class organizations to join in a united front movement for the defense of the Scottsboro victims, the I.L.D. depended almost solely upon Samuel Liebowitz, a reactionary lawyer, to save the boys. Liebowitz' patriotic speeches in court, his contempt and later his complete renunciation of the working class movement, did more harm to the cause of the nine Negroes than any other single factor. Those who criticized the actions of Liebowitz and the action of the I.L.D. in hiring him and letting him have a free hand in the case, were denounced by the I.L.D. as traitors to the boys.

But it did not take long to find out who the real friends of the Scottsboro boys are. Liebowitz broke with the I.L.D., practically kicked them out, and took the case in order to gain some publicity and to advance his own position in the legal profession. The nine boys, who had been taught by the I.L.D. to trust this lawyer, have retained him as their defense attorney though

the I.L.D. still claims to represent them. Now that the hearing is coming up in the Supreme Court, it is obvious that what Liebowitz intends to do is to denounce all shades of radicalism, to denounce the working class for attempting to save the Scottsboro boys, to whitewash Southern justice and Southern race-hatred, and then to beg for a pardon for these boys.

This is wrong. Scottsboro stands for something more than the nine boys involved. It is a part of the struggle of the working class to unite itself against capitalism. Furthermore, we know that the capitalist courts cannot be relied upon, that they serve the rich against the poor. The fact that the Scottsboro boys are still alive today is due to the movement of workers who protested in their favor. Only the enlargement and intensification of this movement can finally get them out of jail and out of the shadow of the electric chair. The workingmen and workingwomen of his country and throughout the world, through their unions and mass organizations, through the united front of these organizations, through demonstrations and mass protests, can save the boys and prevent the repetition of other Scottsboro frame-ups. Only such a movement can turn the slogan: "The Scottsboro boys shall be free!" into a reality.

The New York Daily News has urged that the C.C.C. provide direct military training, instead of the simple training in patriotic allegiance which they now provide. Must be to prevent war.

Subscribe to THE YOUNG SPARTACUS

Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg Spartacans of 1918

On the night of January 15, 1919, uniformed thugs, representing the Ebert-Scheideman-Noske Social-Democratic government, murdered Karl Liebknecht in a suburban forest of Berlin. On that same night Rosa Luxemburg was beaten unconscious, her brains blown out by a creature called Vogel, and her body thrown into a swamp. Others died that same night, among them Leo Joisches (Tychko). Official explanation said Liebknecht had tried to escape, that Luxemburg was killed by a mob of infuriated people. Indignation among the working class, already tremendous, grew when they learned how barefaced a lie the official report was. When the funerals of these revolutionary heroes was held, Rosa's corpse not yet recovered from the swamp, it was the most impressive demonstration Berlin had ever seen. The workers of Germany loved their martyred leaders.

November 9 of the preceding year had seen the overthrow of the monarchy and the victory of the German proletariat, in response to a call issued by the Revolutionary Committee of the Independent Socialists and Spartacists. This committee had been in existence for a year, and consisted of representatives from the factories. Quickly sensing the direction of the wind, the Right Socialists, led by Scheideman, effected a coalition government with the Independents. The revolution liberated Liebknecht and Luxemburg from prison, but Liebknecht refused to enter a cabinet with those, the Eberts and the Scheidemans, who had led the German workers into the war, and who were on the day of the revolution planning new betrayals.

Lead German Masses in Revolt

Liebknecht and Luxemburg struggled against the illusions of the November revolution; they fought for the dictatorship of the proletariat. In January, 1919, the masses in Berlin revolted against the reactionary actions of the democratic government. The popular police president Emil Eichhorn, an Independent Socialist, had for example been removed by the government. With the Independent Socialist Party, the Communist Party, recently formed under the leadership of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, set the masses into motion. Realizing that the major section of the working class was not yet behind the Party, Rosa advised against revolutionary action at the moment. Her arguments not accepted, she took her position at the head of the fighting masses with Liebknecht. Troops were ordered out by the Socialist government to crush the movement of the masses forcibly. On January 15 the leaders of the movement were assassinated.

Both had devoted their lives to the working class and revolution. Born while his father, Wilhelm Liebknecht, was in jail for socialist activity, Karl was from his earliest days in an atmosphere of revolutionary activity. Among the first to recognize the necessity of organizing the youth for class struggle, he raised again and again at social-democratic party conventions, which had hitherto ignored the interests of the youth, proposals for a young socialist organization. His efforts resulted in the convocation of the first International Socialist Conference of Youth at Stuttgart in 1907. Here the International Association of Socialist Youth Organizations was founded. Karl Liebknecht was elected a member of the first Bureau of the Youth International. Rosa Luxemburg was a delegate from Poland, and participated actively.

Liebknecht Leads Youth Against Militarism

Throughout his life Liebknecht interested himself particularly in the struggle against militarism. His eyes on the European situation, seeing the war threats grow, he addressed himself specifically to the youth who were most effected by the militarization plans of the imperialist nations. At the Stuttgart Congress he exposed the nature of military propaganda and organiza-

tion, and stressed the importance of anti-militarist work and socialist education among the young workers. Pacifism cannot contest the armed machinery of capitalism. "Don't throw away your arms, but turn them against your oppressors!" For his speeches at this congress, and his opinions as expressed in "Militarism and Anti-Militarism", he was sent to prison for a year and a half.

Several years later, when the socialist jingoes were hastening to vote war credits "to save German culture", Liebknecht condemned their actions. On December 2, 1914, breaking the discipline of the Social-Democratic caucus with the advice of Luxemburg, he was the only member of the Reichstag to vote against the war credits. For him the Reichstag was a tribune from which to speak to the workers, as were the trial courts before which he was frequently brought. Conscripted into the army, he continued his agitation. May Day 1916 saw him leading a great revolutionary procession in Berlin. Arrested at the demonstration for an inflammatory speech, he pursued his work in jail, having first made another speech in the courtroom. With Luxemburg he gave direction to the Spartacusbund. Oppression only made his popularity among the workers increase. Every class-conscious worker knew who Liebknecht was, knew that it was Liebknecht who fought the war day-in and day-out.

Luxemburg Defends Marxism

Like Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg belongs in the galaxy of great revolutionary leaders. While still a young girl in Poland, her birthplace, she was compelled to flee to Switzerland, for her articles which brought her to the attention of the police. With Jogisches she organized the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Poland, on the basis of Marxian principle. Later, in Germany, she conducted a relentless struggle against the leadership of the German socialist party. Earlier than most others, she denounced this leadership, its conceptions, its reformism. She levelled the sharpest criticism at the revisionism of Edouard Bernstein, and all others who desired to dilute the content of Marx and Engels with ideological and practical capitulation to capitalism.

When the war broke out, Red Rosa, as she was known among the masses, organized with Liebknecht, Franz Mehring, Leo Jogisches, Klara Zetkin, the Spartacusbund (Spartacus League), and wrote its program. Imprisoned in 1915, Rosa used her caustic pen to castigate the social-democratic betrayers, to speak to the workers and soldiers. From jail she edited the first theoretical organ of her group, "The International". Though the magazine was confiscated, her group of internationalists, who took the name of their organ, spread their agitation over Germany. From her cell she wrote the "Letters from Spartacus", conducted a voluminous correspondence in which she displayed her keen interest in every subject. Under the pseudonym, "Junius", she wrote "The Crisis in the International German Social

Democracy", a pamphlet that became famous as an annihilating criticism of the social imperialists. More than a mere criticism, the pamphlet analyzed the causes of the war, and the road the working class would have to pursue to arrive at victory—revolutionary, international solidarity.

"This madness will not stop and this bloody nightmare of hell will not cease until the workers of Germany, of France, of Russia, and of England will wake up out of their drunken sleep; will clasp each other's hands in brotherhood and will drown the bestial chorus of war agitators and the hoarse cry of capitalist hyenas with the mighty cry of labor "Proletarians of all countries, unite!"

A Heritage of Struggle

Some errors she did make, and what revolutionist did not. In the light of her tremendous contributions to the revolutionary movement, these pale into insignificance. Lenin criticized her for failing to recognize the possibility of national wars under imperialism, and on other points. Lenin, however, did see in her "an eagle". But all the characteristics which endeared her to her co-workers, have lead only to distrust in the minds of the Stalinists. An internationalist, she supported the theory of permanent revolution as advanced by Trotsky. A revolutionist, she could not tolerate bureaucracy, revisionism, opportunism. Despite all the attention that the Stalinists pay to her amplified "mistakes", many of them distorted because Rosa dared arrive at ideas similar to those of Trotsky and Lenin, Rosa remains one of the greatest women and revolutionists the world has ever known. In the words of Klara Zetkin:

"Socialism was for Rosa Luxemburg a dominating passion which absorbed her whole life, a passion at once intellectual and ethical. This rare woman had but one ambition, one task in life—to prepare for the revolution with which to open the way to Socialism".

It is from these two leaders of the Spartacusbund, the Spartacans of 1918, that we draw our spirit. They considered the youth a mainstay of the proletarian revolution. They struggled to build an international revolutionary youth organization and an International of the working class. They fought against heavy odds. Fearless and incorruptible they are to us the embodiment of revolutionary will and determination. Those who feared the action of the masses hated them. Noske, who helped lead Germany to Hitler, jeered in fear:

"Five hundred corpses in a row, Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Radek, Co.:

Are they not there also?"

Yes, their corpses are there now. Not their spirit, their teachings, their encouragement. These live on. They cannot be destroyed. They belong to the working class. They belong to us, the Spartacans of 1935. Their lives point to the future, to victory. Their deaths to greater conviction, greater resolution. Ours are the traditions of their heroic battles. We carry on, along the trail blazed by the pioneers—Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

CRISIS

Little ounce of lead, iron and steel,
plunged softly—tearing the flesh, now it cannot feel;
see the blood stream and now drip from the reddened
head;

Big house of granite stone and timber wood,
the body falling down! down! up there
for a moment in eternity it stood;
now a mess below, torn limbs and brain;
pants and shirt, hash of flesh, a name that's slain.

Shining water of deeper brightness than a star,
unlike a swimmer's dive, the arms first then the feet;
the mirages that come and go, so fleet they are;
and the gluttoned guts, swollen lips and battered meat.

Dull rooms, dark as unlighted evenings and as sad;
the pipes wander from the ceiling down, and frown;
look at the frozen eyes, the awful terror and fright

of the lad,
aloft in the gaseous swirl—he breathed to drown.
Jovial anarchy of blood, you reign complete!
father of sorrows, mother and sire of death;
who's judgment is this act, this bloody feat?
who's the festive monarch, belching h's weary breath?
Who's is the hand—the trigger stems a mind?
who's the feet, the roof is slipping, he is not a bird;
and who's is the dive, the swimmer he is more than
blind?
and the nostril in the yellow air, it's deathful sing-
ing you have heard.

Who—tell me in the quiet, your eyes can talk?
there where the mouth is silent and dare not speak!
your eyes—the vision of pain, become white as chalk;
your pup'ls bridge the anger of the meek. . . .

—HARRY ROSKOLENKIER.

Book Review

Art and the Life of Action

ART AND THE LIFE OF ACTION.

With Other Essays. By Max Eastman. New York. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.00.

Would that this book had more essays like the one which rips the shirt off of Floyd Dell, more essays like the one which dissects the bull in Hemingway and a hell of a lot more like the piece "In A Spanish Dungeon". Then the task of recommending Max Eastman's latest book would have been a lot easier. For these and other essays making up the latter portion of the book are as fine as anything you can find in the way of honest-to-goodness, pure, if you please, prose written by anybody in these mucky days of literary Stalinism.

But unfortunately this is not the case. Max (if I may be permitted the intimacy) persists, like Mary, in being quite contrary. A marvelous writer of prose, he persists in courting the wraithlike muse of poetry. A scholar on the sense of humor, he persists in taking himself much too seriously in fields so humorless as mechanics and engineering. A hater of all philosophic pundits, he is ever ready to blurt the sharp points of his critical darts against the rock of a philosophic mechanism as dead as the petticoat—and as useless. And so the major portion of Eastman's book is devoted to the essay from which the book takes its title. With this major portion of the book the rest of this review shall deal.

The reviewers of even the "most revolutionary" periodicals have completely failed to grasp the underlying thesis of this essay—a fact which can be laid to Eastman rather than the reviewers, in view of his shadow boxing and obscurantism. In essence, his thesis is that in the past art needed or received certain sanctions. Sanctions such as magic, religion, craftsmanship, education which made art purposive — propagandistic. Why then, Eastman asks, must art in the future be fashioned after the dead and dying model of the past which, so far as Eastman is concerned, can remain dead.

One can find very little that one can differ with here. Stated more accurately what Eastman is saying is that in a society composed of classes art is not free of class sanctions. Eastman is therefore pleading for a rosy future in which sanctions shall be done away with and art be truly and literally free. And that, if one may be permitted a prophecy, it shall be.

Were Eastman not winded from chasing the "metaphysical dialectic" he could certainly reason with greater credibility upon the question of art—certainly he could breathe easier. For how does Eastman explain the fact that Trotsky whom Eastman certainly considers a Marxian dialectician, comes to almost parallel conclusions with him in the field of art. Yet Eastman would have us believe that Bukharin is cockeyed on art because of his belief in the dialectics of Marx! To quote Marx to refute the Stalinists, in art at least, and then to quote Stalinists to indict Marxism is too disingenuous to be taken seriously. The question is why does Eastman do it? And the answer undoubtedly forthcoming is that Eastman cannot distinguish

the Marxian woods from the Stalinist trees.

Because of the Stalinist cobwebs in which Eastman persists in enmeshing himself he at times gets unnecessarily bitter—and what is worse, unfair. Because Rivera demands of the artist now to become the propagandist of the revolution it is most unfair to attribute to him and others who hold the same point of view that they demand of art in the future that it "be crudely purposive" and "depend upon services to a social or political cause. Does Eastman fail to realize that in the classless future there will be no political causes?

"Art," concludes Eastman, "must become (in the future) either an adjunct, a servitor, a pedagogue and faithful servant, or assert with self dependent force its own sovereignty." Were Eastman not afraid of the dread dialectic and understand it with Marx and Lenin and Trotsky and not with Stalin or Bukharin he would not have to conclude his thought with an either-or proposition. He could then say clearly and boldly that art in the classless future will assert with self dependent force its own sovereignty—that art in the classless future will be truly free.

—GIMMEL.

MERCHANTS OF DEATH, by H. C. Engelbrecht and F. C. Hanighen.

"Maxim, it is all right and highly commendable for a man to be very patriotic and do all he can for his country; but you are one of the directors of an English company. We are neutral; we cannot take sides;"—a fellow director to Hiram Maxim, perfecter of the machine gun.

It was easy for Maxim to get out of his difficulty. He just sold munitions to all sides concerned. The story of Hiram Maxim is the story of Krupp the cannon-king, Zaharoff the super-salesman of death, Alfred Nobel, inventor of dynamite and endower of the Nobel Peace Prize, Schneider, Vickers—all the manufacturers of death—dealing in instruments by which millions of workers have slaughtered one another.

The story of each one of these blood-profiters is told in great detail by Engelbrecht and Hanighen. Written in a crisp, journalistic style and packed with facts and anecdotes regarding the leading death merchants, the book makes interesting reading. Its information is particularly interesting now, in view of the disclosures of the Nye Investigating Committee.

The book is only of minor political importance. It states one phase of capitalist imperialism, the sales and manufacture of munitions. It does not round out its discussions by enquiring deeper into the subject and by proposing any action against war. Within the limits the writers have imposed upon themselves they have put out an informative work.

How Zaharoff and the other salesmen of slaughter gained the audience of every prominent capitalist politician is skillfully told. But we are left in the air at the end of the chapters on these men. We are not told that war is an integral part of the capitalist system—that it is no wonder that the death vendors and their agents have permeated every sphere of capitalist politics. The authors would have us believe that it is due to their glibness and suavity that the latest and most efficient guns were used to quell native uprisings in the British colonial possessions.

Despite these deficiencies much information can be gathered from "Merchants of Death". There are also two interesting groups of photographs showing various phases of the manufacture and sale of munitions.

—Wm. D.

NOTE

All branches are to arrange meetings on Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg. The occasion is to be used to educate ourselves and our contacts to the importance of these great revolutionary leaders. Be sure to link the speeches with the current struggles of the working class. We must in particular remember comrade Bobzien.

Lenin and the Youth

The 11th anniversary of the death of Lenin great leader of the Russian Revolution, finds the working class youth of the world confronted with the vital issues of unemployment, war and fascism, arising out of the decline of capitalism. The triumphant advance of reaction has left in its wake a disoriented and defeated working class movement. In the light of this, the greatest honor we can pay to the memory of Lenin is to revive his ideas so as to bring clarity and direction into the ranks of the revolutionary youth.

Once again we must point out the significance of Lenin, leader and teacher of the international working class. Lenin is the chief historical figure of his time. His greatness lies in his profound understanding of the course of history and of the historic role of the working class. To attempt to separate the greatness of Lenin from the struggles of the Russian working class is impossible, for it was through the working class that he derived his towering strength and genius.

A main contribution of Lenin to the system of Marxist thought is the conception of the strongly centralized revolutionary party, the Bolshevik Party. This central idea predominates throughout all of his struggles to build a party in Russia based on the principles of Marx and Engels. The justification and the proof of the correctness of his position on this question are embodied in the living example of the October revolution and the establishment of workers' rule in Russia, the Soviet regime.

For Lenin the teachings of Marx were a guide to action. A strikingly characteristic act is told about Lenin by Trotsky in the "History of the Russian Revolution". "During the first months of his underground life Lenin wrote a book 'The State and Revolution', . . . With the same painstaking care which he dedicated to thinking out practical problems of the day, he here examines the theoretic problems of the state. . . His task, he says, is to revive the genuine teaching of Marx about the state'. With its meticulous selection of quotations, its detailed polemical interpretations, the book might seem pedantic—to actual pedants, incapable of feeling under the analysis of texts the mighty pulsation of the mind and will. By a mere re-establishment of the class theory of the state on a new and higher historical foundation, Lenin gives to the ideas of Marx a new concreteness and therewith a new significance. But this work on the state derives its immeasurable importance above all from the fact that it constituted the scientific introduction to the greatest revolution in history." A few months after Lenin finished his book, he came out of hiding to lead the first victorious overthrow of the capitalist state which he had so carefully analyzed.

Lenin understood the importance of the youth and their special tasks in the working class movement. Although his writings on this question are comparatively meagre, yet what he did say strikes at the core of the problems of the youth. In speaking to the Third All Russian Conference of the Russian League of Communist Youth, 1920, Lenin declared: "The tasks of the youth in general and the League of Communist Youth and all other organizations in particular can be explained in one word their task is—study." At the same time, he warned against the false capitalist idea that there is a "complete separation of books from practical life." He mocked the absurd boss theory that knowledge should be gained for knowledge's sake. As against this Lenin posed the organic connection between the pursuit of knowledge and the tasks of the every-day world, the steel band which exists between theory and practice. Communists could only earn their spurs by carrying ideas into practice.

In the same speech Lenin stressed the necessity for the youth to acquaint itself thoroughly with the ideas and culture of older civilizations so as to be able to proceed

with their work on a sound foundation. In illustration of this point, studied all of the main currents of bourgeois thought to lay the basis for his own system.

On every important issue which faces the working class and its youth section today, Lenin pointed the way out. The fight against fascism, war and unemployment can best be accomplished if we learn well the lessons of Leninism. But we can have only contempt for those youth organizations in the revolutionary movement which idolize and garb Lenin in the clothes of mythology, only in order to act counter to every principle of Lenin. If we are to accomplish our task of bringing the principle and practice of Leninism to the masses of politically unorganized youth of America, we can not construct for ourselves, as others have done, a fake Leninism made of the shoddy stuff of mere quotations. To us Leninism must have a meaning only in a living connection with the day-to-day struggles of the working class youth. The Spartacus Youth League working in this spirit of determination and loyalty will build a real monument to the teachings and practice of the great revolutionist, Nicolai Lenin.

The Negro Youth

According to the census of 1930 there are approximately 1,403,191 Negro youth between the ages of 18 and 24. The following table gives us an idea of the trend of their occupation (taken from U. S. census on occupation, 1930):

Agriculture	417,124
Forestry and Fishing	9,822
Extraction of Minerals	12,929
Manufacturing and	
Mechanical Industries	296,516
Transportation and	
Communication	77,378
Trade	37,502
Public Service	6,601
Domestic and Personal	
Service	325,943
Professional Service	30,116
Clerical Occupation	9,212

Even before the crisis the capitalist system had chained the Negro youth down to a miserable existence. His educational opportunities were curtailed. His schooling in the South was confined to an average of three months per year. Upon reaching 13 years his formal education came to an end, and he became a full fledged peon. In the days of relative prosperity the horizon was cloudy and rainy, and only the exceptional youth could break through to "sun-shine".

But how does the Negro youth fare in the midst of unprecedented world crisis? The professions are far too "overcrowded"; the doors of industry are swinging closed in his face; driven out of a livelihood on the farms by the three "A's" (Agriculture Adjustment Administration); thrown into jail and peonage farms when he takes to the highways and freights (Scottsboro); the C.C.C. of the South scorns him; the relief authorities through chicanery keep him off relief rolls, and when he does break through he secures only the minimum allowance. This is only a minute and meagre description of the cruel lot of the Negro youth in America in 1935, anno deruino.

The new generation of youth differs fundamentally from the older folks in that he is conscious of the pains, sufferings, and humiliation heaped upon his shoulders. More and still more he is displaying the spirit of resistance to the loaded wagon of injustices. Though at present the form of opposition is primitive and amateurish, it is nevertheless discernible by those who are interested in the problem.

The Negro youth is expressing his resentment to the capitalist system through a racial medium. This is the only channel he is familiar with. In my opinion, the general task of the S.Y.L. in this connection would be to cultivate, foster, encourage and give political guidance to this fruitful reservoir of revolutionary energy. In other words, the S.Y.L. must transform this resentment into class struggles.

—JAMES W. WATSON.

OVER DEFEATS TO COMING VICTORY

by
ROSA LUXEMBURG

What does the history of modern revolutions and Socialism show us? The first flaring of the class struggle in Europe, the uprising of the Lyons silk-weavers in 1831, ended in a severe defeat. The Chartist movement in England—in a defeat. The rising of the Paris proletariat in the June Days of 1848 ended in a crushing defeat. The Paris Commune ended in a frightful defeat. The entire road to Socialism—so far as revolutionary struggles are concerned—is strewn only with defeats. [This was written before 1917.]

And yet this same history leads step by step irresistibly to the final victory! Where would we be today without those "defeats", out of which we have drawn historical experience, knowledge, strength, idealism! We depend today, where we have come near to the final battle of the proletarian class struggle, directly upon those defeats, without one of which we could not do, each of which is a part of our strength and clarity of aim.

Here revolutionary struggles have experienced the direct contrast to parliamentary struggles. We had in Germany within four decades nothing but parliamentary "victories", we were stepping straight forward from victory to victory. And the final result was in the great historical test on August 4, 1914, a crushing political and moral defeat, an unprecedented collapse, an unexampled bankruptcy. The revolutions have until now brought us only defeats, but these unavoidable defeats straightway accumulate guarantee upon guarantee of the future final victory.

DESPITE ALL!

by
KARL LIEBKNECHT

"Spartacus overcome!"
Halt! We have not fled, we are not beaten. And if they throw us in chains—we are here. And victory will be ours.

For Spartacus means fire and spirit, means soul and heart, means will and deed for the proletarian revolution. And Spartacus—means all need and striving for happiness, all fighting determination of the class conscious proletariat for struggle. For Spartacus means—Socialism and world revolution.

The Golgotha road of the German working class is not yet ended—but the day of delivery draws near. The day of judgment for Ebert-Scheideman-Noske and for the capitalist lords who still hide behind them. Heaven high beat the waves of events—we are accustomed to be thrown down from the summit into the depths. But our ship moves along its direct course firmly and proudly to the goal.

And if we will live then, when it will be attained—our program will live; it will rule the world of emancipated mankind. Despite all!

Beyond the Barricades

On that day when man is master of the wheel
And not of another man
When the howitzers rust in museums
And only the painter will question the color of a face,
When all the cages are open
When men and birds and bars of gold
Do according to their nature
On that day
With all flags flying
Will God-in-Heaven melt as the mists of the mountain
With none to mark his going.
—FLORENCE BECKER.

I Cover the War Front

—BY SPARTACUS—

THE BOILING BALKANS

They call the Balkans the " tinder box of Europe", and its living up to its reputation. During the past months it has been threatening to flare up as it did in the days before 1914. It all began again when King Alexander of Yugoslavia was shot in Marseilles. The circumstances surrounding the shooting showed that it could not have been the work of a gang of amateur Croatian terrorists. Why was Alex so poorly guarded; why did the car have a running board when the car is supposed to have none in such cases?

The murder had all the earmarks of high official sanction somewhere. Fearing to make any open charges against France, Yugoslavia accused Hungary in the Council of the League of Nations of shielding the terrorists. Then came Hungary's turn to protest when the other country began expelling all Hungarian immigrants. War talk rattled European walls. Since then the heat seems to have cooled, the League advising Hungary to punish all plotters against Yugoslavia. But the Balkan business is far from settled. Behind this sort of conflict the various nations are lining up. All a new world war needs is a spark like this one. (For a detailed account, see the article in the November New International, "Storm Clouds Over Europe.")

GREASING the GRAFTERS

Elsewhere in this issue we refer to the disclosures at the Senate Munitions Investigation of Morgan's interest in the greatest war the world has known. However, the major testimony concerned the sale of arms and the methods used by the super-salesmen of capitalism in disposing of their stuff. Here's the testimony of Colonel Taylor:

"Let us take Vickers [an English armament firm] as an example. It is impossible for Vickers, with their English stockholders and their English business ethics (!), to play this game directly. [The Americans work "directly" in Latin America.] So they use the intermediary of a man like Sir Basil Zaharoff, who is the most important of his class [When necessary he also foments war between two countries and sells to both of them] who acts about as follows:

"He goes to the country and he says, 'you need so much material. I'll provide you with this whole lot and give you so much graft and I'll lend you the money to buy it with.'

"Then he will go to a local banker, or merchant and he will say, 'we will make a loan through Mr. So and So to the government and this loan will bring you a very large interest and we will give so much commission to the Minister of Finance and he will promise to collect enough taxes to pay this loan and he does not get the commission until the loan is paid back.'

"He gets the money from these various people. The government pays Vickers the full amount, less the discount which goes to some intermediary. In time the government collects taxes, pays back the people who made the loan, and all in the game pocket of profits." (All except the workers who pocket holes.)

And that, comrades, is only the half of it!

NAVAL NEGOTIATIONS SET PACE for ARMS RACE

While England, Japan and the United States were still negotiating for naval limitation, each of the countries was announcing further plans for increased armament. At the close Japan officially declared that it will withdraw from the Washington Treaty in 1936. (In 1922 an agreement was signed to last up to 1936, unless no country gave two years advance notice of its intention to withdraw, in which case it was to continue. It established a naval ratio of 5:5:3, for

Great Britain, United States and Japan, and 1 3-4 each for France and Italy.) Since then France, which voted a war budget, exclusive of appropriations for additional armaments, of 800,000 francs on December 18, has stated that had Japan failed to break the Treaty France would have done so.

In London the diplomats seemed to be engaged primarily in so ending the negotiations that the blame would fall on the others. Actually there was no chance of Japan and the United States patching things up. Japan has been steadily encroaching on U. S. business territory, at home and in Latin America. While its exports to these countries have been increasing, exports from the U. S. have been decreasing. Japan, moreover, casts a fond eye on the Philippines, which Uncle Sam is jealously guarding. Chromite deposits, valuable as war material, have recently been found in the Philippine Islands—making control over the territory all the more important. At the same time U. S. business greatly resents the restrictions placed on it by Japan in Manchukuo, on oil for example. (Britain's cotton trade and oil interests have been similarly effected by Japanese competitors.)

Meanwhile, in preparation for an armed contest to settle these conditions, both countries are arming (as well as all the others who have their particular conflicts, all of which together cross and criss-cross.) "RECORD ARMS FUND APPROVED IN TOKYO", says the New York Times on November 24—over 1,000,000 yen, or 46% of the total budget, including an air flotilla. Thus Japan is also preparing for attack on the Soviet Union, which is making ready its defense by building submarines at Vladivostok. U. S., in its turn, is not stinting itself on arms purchases, 312 military airplanes alone having been bought since June 29. For 1934-1935 the United States spent \$711,500,000 (while Great Britain spent approximately \$575,000,000 in 1934). Unemployed workers who are duly proud of their country's wealth may look at these sums with vast satisfaction—and empty stomachs. The Du Ponts and other sellers of arms certainly do—though with full stomachs.

SOMALILAND SIMMERS

Mussolini who recently decreed that all Italians are to be trained as soldiers from the day they are born (Honest, he did!), is also clearing the ground for the use of his from-milk-bottle-to-wine-bottle army. Crowded out of Europe, temporarily anyway, Il Duce has dedicated himself to extending his domain in Africa, keeping a firm finger and sharp eye on Austria and other nations in Europe at the same time. France, with its attention centered on central Europe—Germany and the Saar—has given Italy a freer hand in Africa. But Mussolini reckoned without England in his attack on the Abyssinian frontier.

That Italian and Abyssinian troops clashed on the Somaliland border is supposedly the result of a visit by an Abyssinian-English delegation into the undefined border territory, which Italy claims as her own, to inspect watering and grazing area. When the clash occurred Britain immediately insisted upon peace (far be it from her to let Italy interfere with her nice, profitable relations with the Ethiopian empire.) Now it appears, as Abyssinia charges further attacks, that oil is involved. France it is said doesn't want her own possessions in adjoining territory disturbed. The statesmen say that Italy will not tempt fate, when her troops are needed in Europe, after the terrible licking France received from Abd-el Krim some years ago, and after her own defeat thirty years back. However, the wise-men are saying in the newspapers that Italy will take a real crack at Abyssinia one of these days. And what will Britain do, if there is oil in sight?

YOU CAN TELL US

(We print below a letter sent to us by a member of the Workers Party who was formerly a leading member of the S.Y.L. He discusses: **What Must the Spartacus Youth League Do?** With this letter we hope to establish as a regular feature of the paper a correspondence column. Try to make your letters as brief as possible, else we shall only be able to print sections of them.—Ed.)

Dear Comrades:

The convention of the Spartacus Youth League as the youth organization of the Communist League of America is now over. The League decided to accept the Workers Party as its parent organization; to subordinate itself to it politically while retaining its organizational independence. In this sense the Spartacus youth finds itself in a period similar to 1922 when the Young Workers League was founded. This is a stage in the reorganization of the revolutionary movement in this country and the establishment of a new revolutionary party separated from the social reformists and the Stalinists. The new party is founded upon a revolutionary Marxist basis and this fact led the Spartacus youth to identify itself with the new party, to become the youth section of the party.

As the youth organization of the Communist League, we were bound by all the limitations of the League through its development from a faction organization of the Communist Party to an independent group. The youth organization always endeavored to conduct itself as independently as possible, with the aim of establishing the new revolutionary youth organization in this country. The issuance of YOUNG SPARTACUS by a group of youth comrades in New York at the end of 1931 really made possible and initiated the youth work of the Communist League. In a period of almost three years we succeeded in establishing an organizational basis for a national youth organization.

Spartacus Makes Gains

At this convention of the Spartacus youth, we found that branches were in existence in Chicago, New York, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Newark, New Haven, with nuclei for such clubs in Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Detroit, Kansas City, and in all cities and towns where branches of the Workers Party exist. In addition to the establishment of YOUNG SPARTACUS as the finest youth paper in the country, and of carrying on a revolutionary agitation in the ranks of the Young Communist League and the Young Peoples Socialist League, the S.Y.L., through a personal representative, played a leading role in the international conference of revolutionary youth organizations held the early part of 1934 in Luxemburg.

From an internal point of view, the Clubs succeeded in building up a core of comrades who are educated in revolutionary Marxism and who have obtained a substantial organizational experience which will have a positive result in the ensuing period. One can term the past as a preparatory stage, the training of cadres. Having built a foundation for the future through the creation of a paper and having adopted a clear program, the Spartacus Youth League is now in a position to plunge ahead with all its energies for the building of a mass revolutionary youth organization.

Tasks of League

In the sphere of immediate tasks, the League must strengthen and regularly issue YOUNG SPARTACUS. It must carry on a concerted agitational and organizational drive to build the League. This means developing a well-rounded activity of work among the proletarian youth, of effecting an intelligent educational program both

for external and internal purposes, and to raise and solve fundamental problems of the youth in this decay stage of capitalism. In all places where the Party has a branch the League must seek to build one of its organizations. It must seek to establish a real exchange of representation between the Party and League so as to make possible the greatest assistance between the two, to train the reserves for the Party, and to create party consciousness in the youth organization.

The new National Committee must arrange a series of regional tours designed primarily for the purpose of organization. It should issue a series of pamphlets explaining the character and need of the Spartacus Youth League and others on the problems of the youth. The acuteness and constancy of the war danger demands of the League the working out of a realistic anti-militarist program and activity. In general it has to become an audacious organization that will work ceaselessly to build the new movement.

Between this convention and the next lies a crucial period. The convention could at best work out the principle concepts of the League and establish a correct program. That minimum program set forth, the League must seek to realize it in fact. It has to break with the narrow past, with its retarding influences and branch out everywhere. In this lies the hope of the League. The Party will lend a maximum of support to build the youth organization. The strength of the ideas of the Party and the League, the good relations that exist between the adult and youth organizations, and the correct program make all of this possible. It remains for the League itself to build its organization. The prospects are good and we have sufficient faith in the younger comrades to know that they will not be lacking in their tasks. —ALBERT.

Boss System Leads Youth into Crime

On Christmas Eve, when every fan of Santa Claus slept soundly, Robert Connelly, 17, and Michael Gleason, 21, recently released from the city (New York) reformatory, were arrested by the police while at work at a robbery. Gleason later confessed to twelve other burglaries, implicating among others Rosario Bellaro, a boy only sixteen years old. Convictions are expected.

Connelly, Bellaro, Gleason and the others may or may not believe in Santa Claus. Most probably when they were young—or younger we should say—they were told the usual fables: the one about Santa Claus; the one that proclaimed the world full of opportunities for advancement, etc.

Capitalism Responsible for Crime

As they grew up they saw a world that was harshly different from the official version that they had received in school. They saw a world full of good things—but not for them. To their undeveloped minds a solution seemingly unfolded itself, prompted, no doubt, by the lurid accounts of crime in the tabloid press, or by the gangster films they saw in the movies.

Caught, as was Gleason, and sent to a reform school that is in reality nothing more nor less than a school of crime, countless youths are turned out to become a part of the underworld. They, in turn, break other young fellows into the "tricks of the trade".

In the bosses' courts the hypocritical farce is played of crime being done away with by "respectable" judges. Judges who respect their master class and do their bidding so that they too may share in the profits of the damnable system which originally drove the youths to crime, pass sentence on them.

That they can not do away with crime is obvious. For crime is like sores on a body that cannot be re-

Convention Of S. Y. L. Sets Goals

NEW YORK.—The first national convention of the Spartacus Youth League held under the influence of the new revolutionary party, the Workers Party of the U. S., points the line of march to the building of a broad mass movement of the revolutionary youth.

During the three day session, from December 3 to December 5 held in New York, delegates from every section of the country hammered out a program and plan of action which will guide the S.Y.L. in its coming year of activity. This program, although taking consideration of the advanced sections of the youth, will provide the basis for the main activity of the League, the organization of the masses of politically unorganized youth.

The chief characteristic of the convention as brought out in the reports and attendant discussion was the desire upon the part of the delegates for clarity. The organization report of the national secretary, Joseph Carter, traced the development of the organization from a small club in New York City in the latter part of 1931 to several hundred members with branches in New York, Chicago, New Haven, Newark, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Minneapolis, Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Manny Garrett, reporting on the inadequacies of the existing workers' youth organizations and the character of the S.Y.L., showed the bankruptcy of the organizations in the field and established the necessity for a broad militant youth organization embracing the masses of youth on the side of the workers, but in need of education for acceptance of the party program.

The International report dealt with the development of the world youth movement, the creation of the International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations as the center for the revolutionary youth international, and the entrance of the Young Leninists into the French Young Socialist League.

Reports on anti-militarist and anti-fascist activity were given by Manny Garrett and Reva Craine. The recommendations made by the reporters were accepted by unanimous vote.

In the next report on the student question the S.Y.L. had a thorough discussion of an almost unanswered problem. The decision of the S.Y.L. was against the national student organizations, the overwhelming majority voting for the formation of S.Y.L. fractions which would work through the existing student clubs and organizations for the winning of students to the organization.

A. J. Muste, national secretary of the Workers Party, and Max Shachtman, representing the former C.L.A., brought their greetings to the convention. Both spoke of the importance of an effective mass youth movement and explained the role of the newly-formed party as leader of the S.Y.L.

The program of action was then considered. This consists of a three months plan, to begin Jan. 1, 1935, for the upbuilding of the national center, the formation of new branches, and the strengthening of existing branches. It includes a plan to double the membership by April 1; to build a youth branch wherever a Workers Party branch exists.

A new national committee was elected consisting of Nathan Gould, Reva Craine, Manny Garrett, Bill Streeter, Jane Ogden, Irving Bern, M. Slavin, Murray Weiss, Ray Sparrow, James Cross and Herman Beck. Francis Drake, Frank Visconti and Ruth Jager were elected as alternates.

Capitalism, the system that breeds crime, must itself be done away with. This is the job of the working class. And for this job we must train ourselves to carry on the fight for a society in which "each will give according to his ability and receive according to his needs", so that there will be no cause for what is now known as crime. —N.R.

Resign From the Y. C. L. Join Spartacus Youth

To All Members of the Y.C.L.:

We, Members of the Young Communist League, belonging to different sections and units, hereby find it necessary to submit our resignation for the following reasons:

1. Our personal experience with the Y.C.L.—There is not even a pretence made at a full and free discussion of the great problems confronting the working class today. All of our attitudes, including trade union tactics, united front, etc. are made up for us from above. We cannot think for ourselves on these questions! We must unhesitatingly accept the "party line" concerning them. And what is this so called "party line"? It is handed down to us by our District Committee, which in turn takes its cue from the National Committee of the Y.C.L. This National Committee follows the lead of the Central Committee of the C. P., which in turn is bound to accept the directives of the E.C.C.I. In none of these leading bodies does a full and free discussion take place before these policies have been decided upon. Any voiced disagreement with the official "party line" is squelched with threats of expulsion.

2. When one of our number attempts to initiate an honest discussion about any real issue confronting our organization, he is immediately hounded, slandered and expelled by the bureaucracy. There has recently occurred a flagrant example of this in Brooklyn. In Section 11, Unit 4, Comrade Milton Hindus, the most efficient literature agent in the Section and one of the most theoretically developed comrades in the Unit dared to open a discussion in the Y.C.L., in which he expressed doubts and criticisms of the party's trade union and united front tactics. Mind you, there was no hint of his refusing to carry out the line or of his discussing it anywhere but among Y.C.L.ers. Nevertheless,

Press United Front In Yorkville

NEW YORK.—The Spartacus Youth League of New York City in true spirit has been effective in welding a genuine united front against fascism in Yorkville. Together with the Y.P.S.L. (Young People's Socialist League) and the Proletarische Gemeinschaft, successful open air meetings in "Nazi territory" have been held. The attendance of several hundred workers at these meetings demonstrated definitely that further meetings were indispensable. The S.Y.L. then proposed that indoor meetings be organized, but at first this proposal was refused by the Yipsels who complained "that they had more important work". After a delay of several weeks during which the State Executive of the Socialist Party made public a decision for S.P. and Y.P.S.L. branches "to break all united fronts", the real reason for the refusal was made clear. However, fortunately, whether through the pressure of the left wing in the Y.P.S.L. or not, "special permission" was finally granted to continue united front activities in Yorkville.

In any case, we must state openly that if a real united front movement is threatened or hindered by the maneuvers of the S. P. leadership or any other group, the same fate which claimed the German and Austrian workers will befall us in America. The crimes of the past must not be repeated. Young Socialists, do not allow anyone to trifle with the united front of the workers against fascism. Build a broad movement of all working class organizations. Let us smash the fascists before they smash us!

Read
The New International
Monthly theoretical organ of
the Workers Party

what happened? The buro of the Unit initiated charges against him. The rank and file of the Unit, however, refused to expel him, because they did not think that he had violated any of the tenets of communist democracy. The Section Committee then expelled him bureaucratically over the heads and against the expressed desires of the rank and file of his Unit. He was never given another chance to defend himself before his Unit. (We have furnished the correct name and place so that any honest inquiry can reveal the truth of these statements.)

3. We completely disagree with the present policy of the C.P.S.U. in its summary execution of communist oppositionists who disagree with the present policies of Stalin and his apparatus. As Communists, we have no objection to steps taken by the proletarian dictatorship against White Guardists who would injure the Soviet Union. We do, however, object to these steps being taken in the dark of night with no explanation given to the working class inside and outside the U.S.S.R., except for base slanders that are not proved in open trial. Many other members of the Y.C.L. and the C.P. likewise feel concerned over the situation in the Soviet Union, which results in actions never before duplicated in the history of the workers' state, but do not as yet trace them to their sources. We see in the air of mystery, which has characterized the actions surrounding the Kirov shooting, particularly in the accusations against Comrades Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev merely another manifestation of the bureaucratic regime which dares not allow its deeds to be publicly examined by the working class.

4. The present arbitrary turn in trade union policy, liquidating the T.U.U.L. unions pell mell into the A.F. of L. is made without any explanation. The policy of building red trade unions in competition with the unions already established in the field stigmatized the American Federation of Labor as social-fascist, company unions. Was the previous line correct? Did we have a wrong policy? Or what?

From all these beliefs follows our decision to join the Spartacus Youth League after resigning from the Y.C.L. No organization can, as the Y.C.L. and C.P. have attempted to do, stifle discussion and hope to escape degeneration and moral collapse. We ask our fellow members of the Y.C.L. to give the point we have raised their serious consideration. We have no doubt that they will come to the same conclusion as we, namely, that for the regeneration of the revolutionary movement, a new party and a new international is needed.

To those who say that it is possible that we may yet reform the Third International, we point to the experience of Comrade Zack. Comrade Zack has been a member of the C. P. for fifteen years, a member of the central committee, a trade union leader and a delegate to the Soviet Union. At a convention, he expressed disagreements with the "party line" before it had been decided upon. For this, having spoken his mind openly, he was threatened with expulsion unless he would sign a statement repudiating his views.

There is only one party in America which has a Marxist-Leninist basis and democracy within its ranks. That is the Workers' Party of the U. S. We who are joining the Spartacus Youth League acknowledge this party as our leader. We must go forward towards building it and the S.Y.L. into mass organizations. All the prerequisites are here, and what is necessary is the courage and the activity to carry it through. We invite you and our fellow members of the Y.C.L. and the C.P. to recognize the truth and come to help us in our task.

OSCAR STEIN, Organizer of
N.Y.U. Unit, Sec. 1, Unit 5c
KARL MIENOV, Sec. 8, Un. 2
CYNTHIA DREW, Agit-Prop
Hunter College Unit.
ROLAND RUD, Sec. 11, Un. 4

Read the
New Militant
Weekly organ of the Workers
Party

Questions and Answers

Question: How do the bosses make their profits?

Answer: In the schools and the newspapers we are told that profits are the fair returns on investments made by capitalists and that anyone investing money in a business deserves some reward for the risk he takes.

We think that this is a lot of hooey. We know that those who work produce everything in this world. Under the capitalist system things are produced for sale and for profit. Such articles, which are created for the purpose of being sold at a profit are called **commodities**. They are made by workers, but they belong to the bosses who sell them at a profit.

In a capitalist set-up, the workers sell something, too, in order to live. Since they have nothing to sell, no commodities or wares, they must sell the only thing which they possess, that is, their ability to do work, their **labor-power**. The price which is paid for this labor-power is called wages. These wages are just enough (and sometimes even less—especially in these days) to cover the needs of the workers, their food, clothing and shelter.

When the worker enters the factory, he works for a certain number of hours. The total amount which he produces is worth more than what was originally paid to him in the form of wages by the capitalist. In other words, the worker has given to the boss in labor and in actual production an amount of value greater than what the boss has paid to the worker for his labor-power in the form of wages. The differences between these two amounts—the amount which the worker gives to the boss and that which the boss pays the worker—we call **surplus value**. It makes up the profit of the capitalist class which can thus live in luxury without having to work at all. The longer the worker stays in the factory and the harder he works, the greater the profit for the boss.

All profit is created by hard work and does not grow out of the thin air as a reward for investment. The bosses realize part of this truth when they attempt to speed the workers up and make them work long hours. But we realize something more. Since labor produces everything, we think that the bosses are unnecessary for the general welfare of society. To get rid of them so that everybody shall work and everybody shall share in the fruits of his work, we must take into our own hands the means of production: the mines, mills, railways and factories, and run them in the interests of our own class, the working class. Towards this end we are preparing by organizing young workers and students into the Spartacus Youth League, teaching them the truth about the capitalist system, and training them to march under the banner of the working class revolution and to struggle for their own rights and interests.

Reading Sources: For those further interested in this subject, we recommend the following books:

Value, Price and Profit

Wage-Labor and Capital

—by Karl Marx

Note: We intend to make this **Question and Answer Column** a regular feature in our paper. All comrades and readers are asked to submit questions and we shall attempt to answer them. Please have your questions in by the 15th of each month, or we shall have to hold them over for a subsequent issue of YOUNG SPARTACUS.

AT LAST

Those long awaited bound copies of YOUNG SPARTACUS. Ready for sale. No C.O.D. orders. Ready cash only. We have only 185 of these historical documents. Send in your order now or you'll be left out in the cold. Order now from Jane Ogden, 112 East 10th Street, New York City.

Future of New Youth Int'l

(Comrade Held is the representative of the Youth Commission of the International Communist League on the Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations and consequently is in a position to know what is happening in the various youth organizations. The Bureau was created at the conference which met in Luxemburg after it had been expelled from Laren, Holland, to discuss the formation of a new youth international. Comrade Albert Glotzer represented the Spartacus Youth League there. The article which we print below contains much valuable information on the situation in the international youth movement.—Ed.)

* * *

Since the time of the Luxemburg youth conference in Feb. this year, where for the first time the consequences of the collapse of the German labor movement for the international proletarian youth were drawn, important political changes have occurred in the camp of the international labor movement. The Socialists of Austria and Spain took up arms, the Socialists of France separated themselves from the "republican bloc" and from their own right wing and concluded a united front with the Communists, the Comintern (Communist International) consigned to the rubbish heap the theories of social-fascism and Social-Democracy as the main enemy and rendered possible, on its side, the united front. Of no less profundity and significance are the shifts inside of the proletarian youth movement, and here again, first of all inside of the S.Y.I. (Socialist Youth International), to which indeed, belong the great majority of the organized young proletarians in the countries outside of Russia.

Do these not to be underestimated revolutionary changes in the camp of the old organizations now mean that the necessary political renovation can take place, after all, in the frame of these apparatuses? Indeed, the very great majority of the international working class places its hopes on that. We cannot in an ultimatum manner repeat to the workers: "Create new organizations or you will go to ruin!" But we must adapt the work for this aim to the concrete conditions of the various countries. First of all, there, where the Socialist organizations are in a truly revolutionary development, we must connect ourselves with these currents and lead the struggle for the new revolutionary organizations as one of liberation from the old, treacherous, opportunist, reformist, centrist tendencies.

For the necessity for the new organizations, for the new international and the new youth international still exists. The experiences of all countries—and especially of the countries where the Socialists took up arms—prove that the old parties are well able to turn inside fixed limits; in no way, however, of executing a consistent revolutionary-Marxist policy. Only hesitatingly, responding to the pressure of the masses, do they pass over to revolutionary tactics, putting on the brakes, hoping for a reconciliation with the bourgeoisie, without confidence in victory, without a concrete program. They carried on the arming of the working class, at the most, provisionally, and opposed the building of a broad militia comprising the entire class. And, above all, they further tolerated open traitors in their ranks, the Renners and Besteiros, who misused their functions so as to sabotage the actions of the Party and performed direct service for the bourgeoisie. Thus, the Socialist movement in Austria and Spain was able to fight, but not to conquer.

All signs point to the fact that France will be the next country in which the great clash between the fascist counter-revolution and the proletariat is imminent. But also here it is indicated that the policy of the united front of the S.F.I.O. (Socialist Party of France) and S.F.I.C. (Communist Party) remains inside of limits which allow for the prospect of a struggle and

a defeat, but in no way of a victory. Both Parties lack the will to struggle for power. They reject the propagation, the building, and the development of a broad peoples' militia, and oppose an earnest organizational preparation for political, mass, strike struggles. They hope that a "radical" bourgeois government will carry through the dissolution of the Fascist organizations. These viewpoints are not only present in the S.F.I.O., but also Cachin, the leader of the Communists, shares the hope as to the anti-fascism of the Radical Socialists and thus finds himself—a few months after the turn from ultra-leftism—in serious intellectual vicinity with his old "companion in arms", Frossard, who, today, is at the extreme right wing of the S.F.I.O.

In the S.F.I.O., and especially in the Socialist Youth, there is, however, a steadily growing left wing, which understands the political necessities in France and is conscious of the dangers which threaten from the sides of both bureaucracies. As a step in this fight for the carrying through of a revolutionary policy is to be regarded the present demand of the left wing of the Socialist Youth to free the organization of the political guardianship of the S.F.I.O.

In Switzerland, the Socialist Youth is in open opposition to the Social Democratic party in the struggle against the extension of the military service and on the question of the united front with Communist organizations. The youth has publicly declared its solidarity with the former Zurich party secretary, Ernst Walter, who was discharged from his function because of his oppositional conceptions.

The Young Guard of Belgium must fight against considerable resistance by the Belgian Labor Party in order to be able to realize the united front of the Belgian proletarian youth.

Remember Bobzien

The Hitler terrorists who tortured and murdered Comrade Bobzien, delegate to the international conference of revolutionary youth organizations, arrested by Holland police and deported with three others to fascist Germany, are conducting a "trial" against 24 comrades of the Socialist Workers Party in the people's court in Berlin.

At the last moment before the opening of the trial, the proceeding against comrade Kurt Lieberman—who was extradicted to Germany on February 28 of this year by the Laren mayor—was separated from the others. It is expected that he will be convicted at a special trial.

This new turn of events brings sharply to memory the fate of Bobzien, first victim in the struggle to create the new revolutionary youth international. Young workers, honor the memory of our hero dead by pledging solidarity with the German workers.

Mooney May Get Retrial

The recent decision of the Supreme Court of California to grant Tom Mooney a new trial is but another indication that the capitalist class does not easily relinquish its captives once it gets them into its clutches. Although it has been proved time and time again that Mooney is not guilty of the charge against him, although there is not a sane man alive who would say that Mooney actually threw the bomb which caused several deaths in 1916, the capitalist state comes forth with a decision for a re-trial and not an actual pardon for Mooney.

The new trial means nothing. We cannot depend upon trials and court-room speeches to get Mooney out of his living tomb. Mooney can be saved only by the direct intervention of the working class, by its organization and militant struggle for his freedom. Appeals to the reasoning and good-heartedness of judges and governors have availed as nothing.

Yet, there is resistance not only from party bureaucracy of the countries in question. By their positive stand on the united front with Communists, their rejection of coalition with bourgeois parties, their revolutionary enlistment on the question of the defense of the fatherland, these youth leagues fall into an ever greater opposition to the conservative S.Y.I. bureaucracy of Vonnink, Ollenhauer, Wallentheim, etc. The revolutionary currents will become more and more convinced that in their struggle they have to expect from the S.Y.I. bureaucracy and its reactionary national organizations in Sweden, Denmark, Holland, etc. no support, but on the contrary, obstacles, stupid pedantry after the fashion of Ollenhauer at the Luttich meeting, and open betrayal. In the daily practice of the united front, the young revolutionary Socialists experience that also the bureaucracy of the official Communist organizations stands obstructively in the way of the development of a broad revolutionary policy which inspires and moves the masses. These experiences must lead the left elements in the S.Y.I. to the recognition of the necessity for a fundamental new formation of the international youth movement. They will have to seek confederates in other countries, who do not oppose their revolutionary development, but who most heartily welcome this development and support it by counsel and deed. Such international allies, the "Latin" left wing of the S.Y.I. finds in the leagues and groups joined to the International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations. Already, today, the French youth who are fighting for their independence from the S.F.I.O., the Swiss who are already in open opposition to their party, the heroic young Spaniards, a large part of the Belgians and Austrians are, in their intellectual development, considerably closer to us than to the conservative "majority" of the S.Y.I.

In a special position is the "Leninist Group of the Socialist Youth of France" which is connected with the Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations and with the left wing of the S.Y.I. It must become the conscious promoter of the development, which must unite in the future both currents into a united revolutionary youth international.

Once this new youth international has established itself in Europe, there then follow for it further immense tasks. To pose these tasks means at the same time to cite additional reasons for the revolutionary young Socialists of the western countries to take up the open struggle against the S.Y.I. apparatus. The new youth international can not limit its activity to Europe and North America. One should, for once, ask the bureaucrats of the S.Y.I. what they have done in order to correct themselves with the working class youth of the colonial and semi-colonial countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. These gentlemen who are accustomed to speak so disdainfully of force when one must apply it in the revolutionary class struggle, naturally approve the forceful oppression of the colonial peoples. And on the other hand their reformist political pseudo-science which, in Europe, has led to capitulation to fascism, cannot become a weapon of the oppressed peoples. Therefore only a new youth international can continue the work which the Comintern once so meritoriously began, and which, however, the degenerated Comintern itself destroyed. We must, however, add to its experiences and positive performances, support the working class youth of the colonial countries in its fight and help it to assimilate the political science of Marxism-Leninism.

Mighty tasks lie before us. A real youth international, spreading over the entire world, drawing millions in its path, will first arise together with a victorious proletarian revolution in several important countries. But to lay the basis for this development, to enlist ourselves for this aim, to work in this direction, these are the tasks of today.

—WALTER HELD (Oslo)

Danger In Soviet Executions

(Continued from Page 1)

the workers were acquainted with every detail of the prosecution and the defense. Vandervelde, a leading Social-Democrat, came from Belgium to defend those on trial. Their guilt was established beyond any doubt. And then, as a concession to the sentiment of the world's working class, whose eyes were on the trial, the sentences on the guilty Social-Revolutionaries were commuted.

Attack International Revolutionists

Today things are quite different. Slanders, mysterious arrests take the place of public trials. Our reasons for suspicion are strengthened when we read in the newspapers: "Communists Oust Officials for Letting Teachers Hint at World Revolution"; when we see among the accused Zinoviev and Kamenev. For our information we are compelled to rely on bourgeois newspaper reporters, information generally confirmed some days later by the Daily Worker. Thus it appears, that under the guise of taking steps against those who are responsible for the murder of Kirov, Stalin is proceeding against worker critics who can no longer keep quiet, but must speak out their criticism of the bureaucracy—in order to protect the Soviet state.

Stalin has previously resorted to the vilest slander against his inner-party opponents, the international revolutionists. That these measures are taken today is indicative of the size of the opposition. Against the dangers which threaten the Soviet Union within and without, the working class must demand an accounting. Who is responsible for the Kirov assassination? Is it a foreign power? Then why not make the name of that country public? Or are you afraid to strain your diplomatic relations with that nation (Germany)? We stand ready to defend the U.S.S.R. to the last ounce of our energy and life.

Who are the men you have executed and imprisoned? You say they are oppositionists, internationalists. You say that comrade Trotsky is implicated. Prove that. Make your case clear, and we shall throw your base insinuations back into your teeth (and not merely because we, as revolutionists, are opposed to individual terror to accomplish our aims). We challenge you to prove that Trotsky, or any of his supporters, would do anything to endanger the Soviet Union. We challenge you to public, open trials. In your ranks comrades are questioning the nature of your deeds. You who are undermining the confidence of the workers in the Soviet Union—we ask you to cease persecuting Bolshevik critics, to PUT UP OR SHUT UP.

Utilities Control School Texts

So interested are the power magnates of the U. S. in molding the opinions of the American students, that cash outlays amounting to \$1,312,264 have been traced to them, by the Federal Trade Commission in their report to the Senate on November 25. This sum has been traced to the power interests. The means by which the money was distributed was the "public policy committee" of the National Electric Light Assn., with Martin J. Insull at its head.

Beginning with nationwide essay contests and stopping at large money donations, the power magnates have for a period of time attempted to assure the American youth a "proper" education. We can now account for some of the bunk that is palmed off as learning in the schools of this country.

The Organizational Bulletin prepared by the National Educational Committee is now ready. Every member should order a copy, and pay for it in advance (5c). Please note that points 4 and 5 on page 5 should follow point 2 on page 4.

Munition Investigation Exposes Activities of Dealers in Death

In the course of a few brief months the Senate Munitions Investigation Committee has unearthed much information on the subject of armaments, including what has not been made public.

The corruption, bribery, thievery and double dealing of the American armament firms, revealed in the investigation has "shocked" even the corrupt public officials. Charges were established and substantiated which have involved nearly all of the American munition makers and a great many foreign personages of importance. The committee with Senator Nye, (Rep.) of North Dakota, as its chairman has held its hearings in Washington and called before it all the important manufacturers of munitions in the United States.

Commissioners for Murder

The utter ruthlessness of these "dealers in death" who sold munitions to both sides in civil and international wars is thoroughly exposed in bringing to light the activities of the E. I. DuPont de Nemours company. With no regard for human life, the directors of this company sold powder to both Bolivia and Paraguay in an effort to prolong the Chaco War. Federal Laboratories Inc., equally vicious in its efforts to dispense with instruments of death, sold its gas bombs to all factions of strife-torn Cuba in 1933. It authorized its Cuban agent to take fifteen to twenty per cent commission on all contracts signed with the Grau San Martin Government and ten percent on all contracts with the Mendietta opposition.

To these men, for whom the almighty dollar grows larger with each drop of worker's blood spilled, national boundaries and armament embargoes mean nothing. Du Pont assured President Roosevelt of his whole-hearted cooperation in enforcing the embargo on shipments to Bolivia and Paraguay, and then advised its secret ally, Imperial Chemicals, Ltd., to bid on this business. Needless to say DuPont received a good share of the profits.

Doing their utmost to instill a strong spirit of nationalism through their control of the newspapers and shouting all the while that they were patriotically supporting the national-defense of the United States, the DuPont company is now revealed in the act of signing a contract with a notorious military spy for the sale of explosives to Nazi Germany. In like manner the United Aircraft and Transport Corp. has sold its patents on high-powered air cooled engines to the Bavarian Motor Works, the company that is producing military machines for Goering.

Cooperate Internationally

Disarmament conferences are regarded by these men with astounding nonchalance. In 1925 the Electric Boat Company of Conn. had approved a plan to have its South American agent appointed as a delegate of Peru to the League of Nations disarmament conference. The agent, a former commander of the Peruvian navy, wrote the company that his motto would be "no quotas for submarines." The company's sole objection to this plan was the fat expense account demanded by the agent.

The two largest armament firms in the United States have established for themselves international connections which enable them to share the profits of the world market. In 1912 the Electric Boat Company signed a secret agreement with Vickers, Ltd., which, with the exception of a slight modification in 1924, remains in effect today. The British firm agrees to pay to its American partner forty percent of all profits for submarines built for the British navy, and forty to fifty percent on all boats built for European countries. Every submarine built for the British navy brings a profit of \$100,000 to the Electric Boat Company. Can anyone doubt now the enormous profits of this company that has been able to pay to Sir Basil Zaharoff, "mys-

tery man of Europe", two million dollars in "commissions"? They have divided between themselves the world market. All the latest secret processes in the United States are revealed to the British navy through Vickers and by the same source to Mitsubishi in Japan.

In like manner Dupont has agreements with Imperial Chemicals, Ltd. of England and the D.A.G. (German Explosive Trust). These companies divide the world munitions market and share their profits. Frequently they exchange confidential information on the latest secret processes.

Aided by Government

The Army and Navy Dept. of the United States have been helpful in many ways to the private manufacturers of arms. In a letter by DuPont we find that: "Throughout the entire one hundred and thirty-two years of the DuPont company's existence its relations with these Government bodies (Army and Navy Departments) or their predecessor organizations have been CLOSE, COOPERATIVE, and CORDIAL". Of this we can be sure when in an editorial in Army Ordnance we find the Army Dept. whining and pitying the poor manufacturer of arms. They cry "there is real cause for alarm when we consider our munitions makers. Not because they are doing business, but on the contrary, because they're not. Their INFINITESIMAL activities are the only semblance we have of education in industrial preparedness in the event of another major war." So infinitesimal indeed that only one company, the Remington Arms, has in stock five bullets for every man, woman, and child in the United States. Even more concrete evidence, if we need it, of the closeness of the Army and Navy with the munitions makers is the fact that Navy officials sent the U. S. Cruiser Raleigh to Constantinople to demonstrate the effectiveness of the Driggs Gun to Turkish officials contemplating an increased naval program.

Thus day by day some of the nefarious activities of the munitions merchants were laid bare. As a result there has been a great deal of speculation and discussion as to the advisability of creating a government monopoly to manufacture arms. The liberals, pacifists, and socialists who have been yelling for disarmament now argue that "in the absence of absolute disarmament the next best thing is to reduce the manufacturing of arms to the barest necessity of self-defense. As long as there is profit in war the private manufacturers will push their product. However, if the government took over the production of arms the profit motive would be destroyed."

Move for Government Control

Thus they argue, and they would have us believe that the profit motive of the munitions makers is the cause of all war. Not seeing or not wanting to see the imperialist character of present day wars, they think that the removal of the munitions makers profits solves the problem and removes the causes of war.

Arguing on such a basis they are soon involved in a web of contradictions. As an example, there is the case of the liberal and Socialist deputies, in France, who shout for disarmament. In France today there are three hundred thousand workers employed in the government arsenals. Nearly all of these people vote for the Socialist deputies. Thus, while the Socialist deputies with their liberal doctrines cry for disarmament any move to make the French war department close the government factories is bitterly opposed by these same deputies on the grounds that it would throw more people out of work and consequently lose votes for these deputies.

Such a policy plays directly into

the hands of the munitions makers. This is precisely the argument they advance in defense of private ownership of munitions firms. "If the government manufactures arms, they say, it would be forced to maintain expensive plants with large numbers of employees. Politics would inevitably enter in. Any attempt to keep down government plants or reduce government production would result in pressure being brought to bear on the part of politicians and labor to keep them going to provide work."

Imperialism, Not Munitions is Cause

The American munitions merchant takes no stock in the argument that his profits are the cause of war. He knows the real causes of war. In the following letter to the American Arms Corp. from Soley and Company, Ltd. we find that the manufacturer of arms is really aware of the causes of war and his relations to them:

"As you no doubt are aware China consumes a vast quantity of small arms per year, and they have bought large quantities of rifles from us—over one hundred thousand in 1931-32—but have slacked off lately owing to the loss of Manchuria and the shortage of ready money in the south. . . . In spite of all the dreams of the idealists who imagine that homo sapiens is filled with honor, justice, love, and self-sacrifice, Japan is going to take a still larger slice of China and comparatively shortly, while the getting is good. To place herself in a favorable position Japan is either going to buy over the Soviet or fight them and Japan will do one or the other before attending to some more of China. Such a move on Japan's part would seriously affect United States' interest in China and we think the United States would under the above circumstances support the Chinese, supply them with arms etc. In such an eventuality something might be done with the big stock of rifles here. It might be very advisable for you to approach the United States Department for Foreign Affairs and the War Department and hand them a list of what stocks there are available over here."

Now we have the truth of the matter. We find the merchants of death basing their sales programs on the imperialist aims of the United States and Japan in China. Not the munitions makers but the plundering policies of countries like the United States and Japan are here revealed as the real instigators of war.

War Department Needs Merchants of Death

In spite of this, Senator Nye declares that "the removal of the element of profit from war would materially remove the danger of more war". In a recent radio address he asked, "Why are we spending more money each year for so-called national defense than any other nation on earth?" As yet he has found no satisfactory answer.

This Senator does not seem to be aware that the government is only remotely concerned with national defense. The War Department's plans are designed primarily to meet the demands of a mass army of four million men for participation in another world imperialist war in Europe or Asia. The munitions makers are essential to that plan. They are an integral part of the war system as well as the profit system.

We know the capitalist powers cannot escape wars in their mad scramble for the domination of world markets. We know that sooner or later they will attempt to plunge the entire youth of the world into another blood bath. It is our duty to keep our heads clear and our eyes on the future, exerting every ounce of our strength to seeing that the call to arms be not a signal for an imperialist war, but for the World Socialist Revolution.

—R. STYLUS.

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The Workers Party of The United States Is Founded

The convention that launched the Workers Party of the United States is now history.

On November 29th the paths of two organizations met. Stock was taken at the conventions of these organizations and it was found that on the main lines of revolutionary strategy and policy agreement existed. These organizations were the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party.

A more remarkable testimony to the power of Marxism is rarely to be found as it was in the merger of two organizations arising from different circumstances and from varied pasts in the class struggle. The American Workers Party was devoted mainly to direct activity among the American masses. The Communist League of America was largely engaged in the clarification of ideas, and the preservation of Marxism from insidious effects of those who were maltreating it in the name of revolution. Thus it well can be said that the merger of the C.L.A. and the A.W.P. was not merely the fusion of two organizations: in a general way it was a fusion of theory and practice.

Unites Split Working Class

Another illuminating point can be made in the fusion. It has long been known that the principle concern of the C.L.A. (the Trotskyists) was with internationalism—the solidarity of the workers in all lands along the lines of our great teachers, Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. On the other hand, the A.W.P. had as its first objective the building of a revolutionary movement in the United States. And here once again the fusion of these organizations meant the fusion of two great Marxian maxims: "Workers of the World Unite" and "the task of emancipation of the workers in any land is the task of the workers themselves."

As vital to the revolutionary movement as this new evidence to the strength of Marxian thought is the striking effect the fusion is having upon the militant working class in the United States and abroad. It is no idle remark to say that the fusion of the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America was the first ray of unity and consolidation to break through the cloud of splits and division that has hung over the American labor movement for more than a decade. Much has been said about unity and united front. Argument and polemic on this matter has been abundant—yes, superabundant—but it took the convention of these organizations to get down to business and really unite, instead of talking about uniting.

Will the Workers Party succeed in the great mission it has set for itself? Only a gypsy fortune-teller would venture to give a categorical answer to such a question. But if political signs mean anything, if the history of these two organizations now merged in one party matters any—and we think it does—then a party could hardly enter the political arena with a better future before it. The star of the fusion convention was the great battles of Minneapolis and Toledo, conducted, respectively by the C.L.A. and the A.W.P. The entire convention was animated by the determination to repeat these great strike conflicts on an even larger stage of the American class struggle.

Leadership Trained in Struggle

Not ideas alone, not desire alone, and not tradition alone make a party. Personnel, leadership is as vital to it as blood and brain is to the human organism. A glance at the men that came from all parts of the class war in the United States, from Minneapolis and Toledo, from the coal mines and the steel mills, from the unemployed movement, from the textile fields and from the deep south—a mere glance at these men and a short speech from them at the convention or in the huge mass meeting which followed it was enough to inspire any revolutionist with the greatest

confidence in the future of the Workers Party.

The fusion convention and its meaning stirred thousands of radicals out of the doldrums of pessimism. It gave them a new hope in the cause of the proletariat and the boundless reserves on which it can draw. The first month of the Workers Party has made it a greater magnetic center for militants from every tendency and shade of thought than any movement since the red hope of the Russian Revolution appeared on the horizon in October 1917. Huge meetings of thousands of enthusiastic workers take place almost weekly. Dozens of recruits enter the party. A practical program for activity and organization is decided upon and work begins. Everything hums. The locomotive of the Workers Party has been set on the rails of revolution and the first lusty chugs of its engine are already to be heard.

Party Will Lead to Victory

The Workers Party is not just another party. It is directly set up against the parties that have so dismally failed in the American and international labor movement, against the Socialist and Communist parties which have brought unprecedented catastrophe to the powerful German working class. We have said that the Workers Party is the party of unity and the end of splits. True enough! But this unity is no unity of fire and water, of the lion and the lamb, as our tribune Karl Liebknecht was wont to say. It is, for the first time in more than a decade, the unity of all militants and all soldiers of the proletariat in the class struggle on the unimpeachable program of revolutionary Marxism.

The Workers Party is not just another party, it is the party of the American working class. Its program is proof that its ideas have been baptized in the fire of eighty years of class war, and tested in revolutions over the face of the entire globe. These ideas it will bring into the hottest spots of the class conflict that is in the offing in the United States. And if it can be said that the same spirit and determination so apparent in the fusion convention is translated into action on the picket lines and in the political battles to come the American proletariat can be assured that the emergence of the Workers Party means VICTORY, the triumph over wage slavery and oppression and the establishment of a workers' society. —G. C.

CHACO WAR STILL ON

After five years the war between Bolivia and Paraguay over a pretty worthless piece of territory still goes on. Bolivia, running short of properly aged men to kill, is now mobilizing everybody from 18 up; and Paraguay, who must have few able bodies men, outside of the generals, politicians and profiteers, left is right behind. "Bolivia," reads a news headline, "accepts League peace formula, but goes ahead with mobilization." It looks like a fight for the heck of it.

It looks that way until you realize that the Standard Oil Company of the U. S. needs that piece of land to run pipe lines under for the cheap exportation of oil mined and refined in Bolivia. British interests don't like that much—so you can understand Paraguay's side. The same dispatch that speaks of oil in Abyssinia says: "A similar clash is regarded by some observers as the cause for the prolongation of the Chaco war between Bolivia and Paraguay." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 27.)

Internationalists that they are, the munitions makers of Britain and U. S. are selling to both Bolivia and Paraguay. Roosevelt, it is true, placed an embargo on all sales of munitions to the fighting pair. Of course, the contracts made before the embargo was signed may be filled.