

clarity! action! Young Spartacus

Published Monthly by the Spartacus Youth League of the United States

Vol. 4, No. 5

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1935

PRICE THREE CENTS

War and the 4th International

An Address to Young Socialists and Communists Who Think

By LEON TROTSKY

The youth is at present deeply preoccupied with the question of the war danger. And rightly so. Their heads are at stake first.

We revolutionary Marxists reject absolutely those prescriptions against war that are issued by the leaders of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals. They preach "disarmament" and "agreement" through the League of Nations. This means that they believe in the possibility of changing the nature of capitalism through peaceful reforms, since the armed struggle between capitalist states applies just as much to the nature of capitalism as the competition between individual capitalists or their trusts. There are people who call themselves Socialists or Communists, who characterize the capitalist state as a thoroughly imperialist set-up but at the same time believe in the League of Nations, that is, in the stock-exchange of the imperialist states.

For Marxists the struggle against war coincides with the struggle against imperialism. The means for this struggle is not "general disarmament" but the arming of the proletariat for the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the workers' state. Our slogan is not the League of Nations, but the Soviet United States of Europe and of the entire world!

Today we see in France how the reformists and the so-called "Communists" (in reality Communists) have allied themselves with the Radicals (Radical Socialists, led by Herriot—Ed.) ostensibly for the purpose of struggling against war and fascism. Who are the Radicals? A thoroughly imperialist party which stands for the Versailles treaty and for the French colonial empire. How can one lead a struggle against the imper-

ialists' war together with an imperialist party?

Naturally, the Radicals readily speak for peace. Hitler also works in the sweat of his brow for peace. They are all for peace: priests, bankers, generals. But what does the pacifism of the bourgeois governments and parties mean? Vile hypocrisy. Every robber prefers, if possible, to take away his victim's purse "peacefully" without taking his life. Mussolini would naturally prefer to pocket Abyssinia "peacefully," that is without the expenses and sacrifices of war. England and France would like to enjoy their plunder "in peace." But woe to him who hinders them! That is the meaning of capitalist love for peace.

Petty bourgeois pacifism is in general sincere, but so much the more blind and helpless, since in essence it is but the belief of peasants and petty merchants that it is possible to make the ruling classes better, to disarm the great capitalist robbers and to induce them to live peacefully side by side. But with all its good intentions petty bourgeois pacifism becomes a drug with the help of which the imperialists overcome the masses at the proper moment and make cannon fodder out of them. We accuse the leaders of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals of helping capitalism to prepare a new world slaughter through their nonsensical twaddle. In a new war the reformists and the Stalinists will in the majority of cases stand on

the side of their governments, especially in France, Belgium, and Czechoslovakia. Whoever really wants to fight against war, must speak to the people clearly, must gather the fighters under one revolutionary banner, under the banner of the Fourth International.

Between the two old "Internationals" (which in reality are no longer that) and us, the champions of the 4th International, stand many fractions and intermediate groups,

Watch France

In the autumn of 1932 and the first part of 1933 intelligent class conscious workers in all parts of the world followed with the keenest interest and concern the events in Germany.

This year the place that was occupied by Germany in 1932-1933 is held by France. There, because of intensified crisis, the question of working class power, the question of proletarian revolution, is on the order of the day.

The militants of the Seine District of the French young Socialists are in the front leadership of this struggle. Their activities have called down upon them the wrath of the combined bureaucracies of the Socialist Party, Communist Party and boss state. Expelled from the Socialist youth organization by the machinations of the Central Committee, leading ever widening circles of youth, they flaunted their revolutionary courage in the face of their enemies. Their answer to the expulsion was a special issue of their paper which broadcast an appeal to the soldiers under the banner lead, "Down With the Government of the Assassins." We reproduce the front page of this issue on page 8.

The government flunkies sprang into action immediately, confiscated the issue, arrested comrade Craipeau and several vendors of the paper, and sent out a radio call for the arrest of comrade Zeller. With censors looking over their shoulders our comrades continued to publish their paper—bearing what has not been seen in France for many years, blank spaces marked "censored."

And shortly before we go to press comes news that 13 of our comrades in the Socialist Party of France, members of the Bolshevik-Leninist fraction, have also been expelled. The S.P., C.P. and state bureaucracies are moving in on our comrades at all points. But the same letter that contains information of a revolutionary left bloc, of a mass meeting attended by 1,500 Parisian workers who declared themselves behind the expelled, Bataille Socialiste, is in this bloc. The 1,500 workers bowled down a representative of those responsible for the expulsion (Zyromsky) with cries of "Go get a uniform."

which we call centrist. This name is not an insult, as many simple minds suppose, but a thoroughly scientific term. We call those currents centrist which vacillate between Marxism (internationalism) and reformism (patriotism), but which tend, by their nature, to come nearer to reformism. The French group "Bataille Socialiste," centrist in character, combines declaring itself for the defense of the fatherland with worship of pacifism (Zyromski) and tolerates at its left wing a hazy internationalism (Pivert). Such currents are to be found in a number of countries. In the present period we can with justice point to the German Socialist Workers Party (S.A.P.) as an example of centrism. The S.A.P. is by no means a mass organization. But it has quite a number of old party and trades union functionaries who are scattered as emigrants in various countries. They often possess a considerable knack for practical work, and a certain theoretical schooling but never does their activity go beyond centrist conceptions. That is why they are against the 4th International. That is why they combat parties and organizations which rally around the banner of the 4th International. That is why they seek friends on the right, while they direct their enmity to the left.

From time to time they even declare that they are really not against the 4th International!

such but that they find it not timely. This objection, however, is devoid of all content. What is involved is not a mathematical but a political problem where the time factor is secondary. Socialism is also not "timely" as long as we are not in a position to realize it. But we have inscribed it on our banner and carry this banner quite openly to the masses. Once we become convinced that the struggle against war and for socialism requires the revolutionary consolidation of the proletarian vanguard on the basis of a new program, we must immediately set about the task.

Whoever is today, like the S.A.P., against the 4th International, against its defenders and builders, shows thereby that consciously or unconsciously he wishes to leave open the door back to the reformists and patriots. This assertion may sound like "sectarianism," or even "slander" to the naive. The most recent, thoroughly anti-Marxist position of the S.A.P. on the war question has, however, irrefutably confirmed our opinion. Whoever has not read the famous S.A.P. resolution on "the struggle for peace," must by all means get it and learn certain passages by heart. (See *New International*, July 1935.) No high-sounding phrases on the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat can wipe away the real, that is pacifist, character of the S.A.P. policy which proposes to gather "all forces" for "disarmament and peace," to form for this purpose an "all-embracing committee." Whoever preaches that the imperialists can—under the "pressure" of the masses—disarm peacefully, denies at the same time the necessity of proletarian revolution. For what sort of a revolution can there be against a disarmed bourgeoisie?

(Continued on Page 6)

N. Y. A. Proves Inadequate New York Director Resigns

Aubrey Williams, executive director of the N.Y.A., speaking at a meeting of about 500 welfare workers, said that from 5 to 8 million young people between the ages of 16 and 25 are unemployed, almost 3 million of them on relief. The \$50,000,000 appropriated last June to take care of the 8 million unemployed youth (then supposed to be 3 million), he admitted, was wholly inadequate. His outlook was described as gloomy.

Some days later, on Nov. 9, official government figures on unemployment were made public. 2,875,000 young people, or one sixth of the total relief population, were receiving relief on May 1. Since then the relief population has declined, but the proportion of youth has remained the same. In "ordinary times," observed Mr. Williams, these 2,875,000 would be in school or engaged in "productive enterprise."

Forty percent of these youth come from rural areas. Two sevenths are between 16 and 17, and there are approximately 1,390,000 boys and 1,490,000 girls. The study also showed that four out of every 25 are colored, and of these, 85 percent are Negro. Of 1,065,000 between 16 and 20, 725,000 are not attending school. And these figures speak only of those on relief! Fairfield Osborn, N. Y. State di-

rector, is the son of the great paleontologist, Henry Fairfield Osborn, and he recognizes a skeleton when he sees one. On Nov. 18 he announced his resignation, declaring that one-third of the allotted time had passed and nothing had been done because funds had not come through. New York's 1,000,000 unemployed youth were to receive \$5,000,000 (!). At that only part of the sum came through for the student workers. An average of 50 young men and women visited Mr. Osborn's offices daily, and were told that word from Washington was awaited.

The administration, evidently, having been compelled to admit the inadequacy of its program, is preparing to curtail its program and concentrate it more heavily on student aid. Such work as is given to non-students will be paid for at coolie wage levels. Wm. J. Campbell, Illinois administrator, has already announced that on WPA youth projects the pay will be one-third of adult wages. About 9,000 students in Illinois are getting \$500,000 which, taken as an average for the country, means that the student section of the N.Y.A. will cost about \$30,000,000—leaving \$20,000,000 for the rest of the program.

Recently enemies of his regime
(Continued on Page 8)

Magazine Article Exposes Scouts

The leading article in the American Spectator for December, 1935, "The Boy Scouts Prepare for War," by M. B. Schnapper, is a journalistic scoop. Mr. Schnapper quotes official statements by General Pershing, the Secretary of War, and others high in the government, which prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Boy Scouts are not merely a humanitarian organization but a military clique closely tied up with the Army. Mr. Schnapper's conclusion is this:

"An organization born of war, intent upon disciplining young people along militaristic and patriotic lines, coddled by the Army, the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, chambers of commerce and similar groups and interests which observe uneasily the current widespread unrest and discontent that are becoming increasingly worse—such an organization if manipulated as have the youth organizations of Germany, Austria and Italy, can undoubtedly serve as a useful weapon of reaction in times such as these."

News Item

OSLO, Nov. 19.—The Nobel committee has decided that no peace prize will be awarded this year. (From the capitalist press)

Anti-Red Drive Meets Snag

MINNEAPOLIS: Local 574, with the backing of the organized labor movement of Minneapolis, has given a beautiful blow to Bill Green's drive against the progressives in the trade union movement. Meyer Lewis was sent by Green to start the drive in Minneapolis. But Lewis had to change his mind completely and come out for the support of the hosier workers' strike now going on there, which he had promised the Citizens (bosses') Alliance to oppose.

The students of the University of Minnesota not only openly expressed themselves against the Green drive, but used their official newspaper and the university radio station to expose Meyer's role.

The Student Forum invited him to speak. He was taken aback when Bill Brown, Ray and Grant Dunne, leaders of 574, stroke in. He was so peppered with questions he made haste to catch his train.

The bosses are fishing into their garbage pail, to dig up 18-month old charges and trumped-up accusations to arrest and harass the leaders of 574. But nothing can help them when the workers stand united against the foe. Minneapolis is the center of the progressive fight today. Read the NEW MILITANT for a full account of the developments.

On the Student Union

IN SEVERAL months the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy may fuse to form the American Student Union. From the point of view of each of these organizations the step is perfectly logical. If the students require a trade union form of organization, designed to solve their immediate needs, unity is certainly demanded.

It so happens that the students are a body representative of diverse class interests. As a group their existence is limited to the years of school. In the light of the general problems of class society, the purely student problems are of secondary importance. We repeat another editorial when we say that the only hope for the students lies in their support of labor. It was therefore the opinion of the first national convention of the Spartacus Youth League that separate student organizations, either of the trade union or political type, are not adapted to student requirements. The only suitable form for the organization of the students is the political organization of the working class youth which goes directly onto the campus, and through discussion clubs and other mediums, seeks to enroll them as members. The essential tasks with regard to the student is to educate him to become a conscious political ally of the working class.

However, the S.Y.L. decided that while such is its program, it is not inconsistent for it to join the N.S.L. or S.L.I.D. and there work loyally with such rights as are accorded to any other member. That same attitude now obtains with respect to the American Student Union. The Spartacans will conduct their activities loyally—provided they are allowed an opportunity to voice their opinion when the occasion arises. One might similarly be opposed to a certain trade union and work loyally in it. The S.Y.L. student fractions will of course continue to function as active school nuclei of the Spartacus Youth League.

Far from solving the contradictions bothering the N.S.L. and S.L.I.D., the fusion will only intensify them and raise new ones. After some initial successes built on ballyhoo the American Student Union may sink into oblivion. One question that stands paramount is the attitude of the new organization to war. Which of the various groups among the students will it reflect? Will it take a stand? If so, will the N.S.L. repudiate the social-patriotic position of the Young Communist League which dominates it? The S.Y.L. is not alone in raising this question. Challenge, the official Y.P.S.L. paper, has raised it. S.L.I.D. members in Chicago, New York and other cities are raising it. And further, what will be the relations of the Y.P.S.L. and Y.C.L. in the new organization?

The S.Y.L. raises still another question. For some time the N.S.L. has been endeavoring to exclude Spartacans—though they have not failed in their activity. Unfortunately there has arisen a similar current in the S.L.I.D. Is the exclusion of the S.Y.L. members, while every other political body is to be tolerated, to become one of the conditions of the fusion? Will the S.L.I.D. agree to exclude the S.Y.L. despite pledged organizational loyalty within the limits of the new body's program on student issues?

Let's Go, Spartacans

"Well," sez you, "if it isn't YOUNG SPARTACUS! And where has our monthly paper been these last few months?"

"Where indeed!" sez I.

It isn't that nobody gives a damn. Oh, no. The comrades show their interest; they even write us letters. Everyone of them likes YOUNG SPARTACUS—but wants it improved, and maybe it should appear more frequently. But why waste words, let the comrades speak for themselves.

Comrade A. of Akron thinks we should run short stories; B. of Boston thinks we need a sports column; C. of Chicago says you don't sell a monthly; D. of Davenport holds we must run more student news; E. of Erie says it's impossible to get subs for a paper that appears irregularly; F. of Frisco wants to see a poetry column; G. of Grand Rapids says we should use cuts; H. of Hoboken wants more local news about the branches—and so on, and so on, and so on.

In essence what the comrades say is simply this: "Let the Editor and the Business Manager and our fraction in the Miracle Workers Industrial Union get together and issue, in rapid succession, half a dozen swell numbers of YOUNG SPARTACUS, and then maybe we'll send in local news and other literary contributions, pay up our overdue bills and get a few subs."

We realize, however, that sub-getters and takers of bundle orders are confronted by one real and immediate problem: regularity of appearance. To this we offer the following answer. It costs approximately eighty dollars to print and mail each issue. This can be met by the sale each month of 320 yearly subs (25c). In other words, less than one sub a member a month ensures a monthly Y.S.

Subs are easiest to get during the school year, when you see the

Organization Seen as Need After Shipping Clerks Strike

In the first strike of its kind, 12,000 shipping clerks in the ladies' garment industry in New York City waged a militant two and a half weeks battle against police, gangsters, and scabs. This attempt to organize the young, unskilled workers met with a sensational and unexpected response. Working sixty hours a week, and earning in most cases below \$12, they constituted the most exploited section of the garment industry.

The union was first organized about two years ago, and since then has been trying to enter the I.L.G. W.U. For the last half year it agitated for a general strike. On Monday, August 26, the strike was called together with that of the Truckdrivers' Union, Local 102 of the I.L.G.W.U. The demands of the shipping clerks were: a minimum wage of \$23, a 35-hour week, no Saturday work, and union recognition. On the first day of the strike, with the cooperation of the truckmen, shipping was tied up completely. The next day, however, the truckmen returned to work under an agreement which was accepted over the heads of the union members and which aroused bitter resentment among them.

The shipping clerks' union was totally unprepared for the overwhelming response to the strike call. There was no machinery to direct the strike activity and few experienced organizers. There were

no functioning shop committees, and the majority of the strikers had very little contact with strike headquarters. As a result many of them returned to work after the strike was settled without even joining the union.

From the first day of the strike, the garment section was flooded with gangsters and police who did not hesitate to use clubs, lead-pipes and gun. Three shipping clerks were shot and a great many slugged and arrested. The most effective weapon of the bosses was the return to work of the truckmen, members of Local 102 of the I.L.G. W.U. Throughout the strike they delivered scab packages, escorted by armed gangsters and police. The outraged shipping clerks, new to organized struggle, cried out, "Since when do union truckmen need cops?" The International gave little actual support to the strikers although the workers in many of the dress houses participated in spontaneous unorganized walkouts.

In the face of all these handicaps, the strike during the first week, at least, was very militant. Flying squadrons, consisting of several hundred young people, marched through the garment center, stopping scabs with hand-trucks and packages and even giant, gangster-protected Mack trucks. The most effective tactic of the strikers was to send groups through the streets during the lunch hour to appeal for the support of the dress workers. In this way, they gained much sympathy and support. Failing to get shipments through during the day, the bosses sent them at night and hundreds of boys stayed until one in the morning in an attempt to stop these trucks.

About thirty girls participated in the strike and these were particularly militant. Lying in front of trucks in an attempt to stop shipments, fighting on the picket line, many were slugged, four were arrested and one went to the hospital with two broken ribs.

During the third week of the strike, an attempt was made to reorganize the flying squads and picket lines and to pull out the scabs. At this time, also, negotiations were begun through Dubinsky with the bosses' associations. In the meantime, several hundred shops made individual settlements with the union. The negotiations continued for two and a half days. The final settlement, though far short of the original demands, was not a complete defeat. Packers and push-boys got a minimum of \$16, shippers \$16. Hours were reduced to 44 per week. Those earning more than the minimum, however, got no increase. Union recognition was not granted, but no discrimination against union men was promised. This agreement is already being violated by the bosses, many strikers having been refused reinstatement.

The future course of the shipping clerks' union is clear: Consolidate the gains and conditions won through the strike. Send delegates to the shops to sign up the shipping clerks. Enforce strictly the agreement made, and prepare immediately to re-strike those shops which discriminate against strikers or otherwise break the agreement. Agitate for admission into the International as a local, not by kicking Dubinsky's boots, but by uniting with the progressive forces in the International. Finally, prepare to strike with the International in February to win union recognition, higher wages and shorter hours.

The shipping clerks' strike is a significant indication of the new forces being awakened to the class struggle. This strike of twelve thousand young people, below 25 years of age—a vast number of them evening school students planning to be teachers, accountants, lawyers, professional men—working in positions traditionally regarded as transitory and therefore treacherously exploited and underpaid, an ominous warning to the ruling class that the workers have not really begun to struggle. —G. F.

JUST OFF THE PRESS!

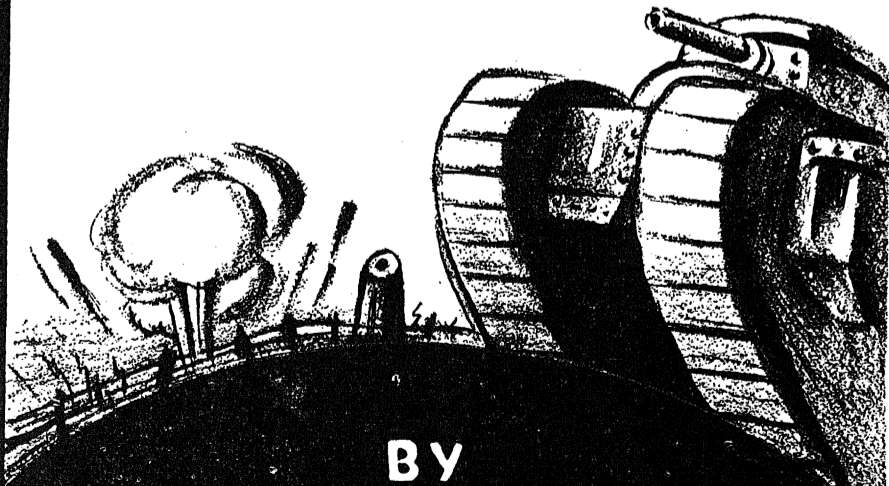
This is the attractive cover of our new pamphlet, just off the press.

Popularly written so that every worker can understand it, Comrade West's pamphlet is a searching analysis into the causes for war, the imperialist conflicts of the present epoch and a scathing indictment of all forms of pacifism and social-patriotism.

League branches are asked to make special efforts towards a large scale distribution. This should be done, of course, without delay and in such a manner that it can really become an important part of our campaign against imperialist war. Those branches which have not as yet forwarded their orders should do so right away. Orders are to be sent to YOUNG SPARTACUS, 55 E. 11th St., New York City. The pamphlet retails for 10c a copy; 7c in lots of 10 or more.

Order your copies without delay!

WAR AND THE WORKERS



BY
JOHN WEST

10 CENTS

PUBLISHED BY
WORKERS PARTY
OF U.S.

We have just received the fourth issue of Clarity. The paper, published by our California section, now appears with a printed cover. It continues to be the best local paper we have ever seen. The contents are generally well written and diversified.

COAL IS BREAD

by Kim Dolson

If my grandfather were alive he would have to rehash his "politics" although they flowed from ideas which hold true today. Not that his "politics" were of a violent nature; they were of the do-nothing sort. It was his ideas and keen observation that always flustered the small time wisecracks and would be big shots who were anti-labor. He reflected keenly the helpless suffering that ruthless exploitation enforced on the miners.

For that reason he was looked upon, in the community, as an object of pity and wonder; because they saw in him a reflection of their own misery and helplessness.

He had been "talking union" before any organizer had shown his face around here. When the Union finally did come he achieved an immediate respect that had long been due him. He was well up to the occasion and carried the part off as though he was some ninety year old scientist who had just returned from some perilous expedition to the Brazilian jungles. They drank to him on raw gin and home-brew and eagerly sought his advice.

All this, however, didn't turn his head one whit. As often as they called on him for a speech he never tired and patiently and kindly explained to them what had already impressed us (a gang of kids about thirteen years old) as something so "smart" that none of the kids dared even to show the shadow of a giggle when I referred to my grandfather as a "wise" man. (We kids were rather touchy about using words that we had learned from our school readers.)

Around the Stove

And a wise man he was! For he gave us an understanding of our predicament that amazed even us kids with its pointedness and simplicity. Many a night we would spend gazing at the coal dumps about us, relating to each other some new aspect of his philosophy. It was a new experience to us to realize that we could think for ourselves about the conditions in which we lived.

Now that I think of it; it must have been just as great a blow to

Reactionaries on the Offensive

It is not with a tremendous amount of surprise that we hear of the campaign that the U. S. Chamber of Commerce is sponsoring to discredit "free education above the eighth grade." After viewing the reactionary positions taken by this businessmen's organization on all social, economic, and political problems, this step is not at all inconsistent.

The fact that already 4,200 schools have to be closed in the east, which dangerously curtails the education of 350,000 children, seems not to strike our profiteers as being enough retrenchment in education. It appears that it only serves as a prelude to greater and more universal curtailment of education in the future.

The capitalist press tells us that the campaign is being motivated by the theory that "too many people are being too well educated." It is apparent, at this time, that the results of education are becoming quite the opposite of what was intended by capitalism. The more alert of the youth, coming in contact with ideas and opinions circulating in the schools—where ideas are supposed to be viewed—and at the same time being subjected more and more to the harsh realities of capitalism, grasp those ideas which fit their needs and which are more in accordance with their interests. And then, of course, they react to the realities that these ideas embrace.

In view of the impending war, capitalism does not relish the idea of creating a cannon fodder that is socially and politically conscious. For who knows for certain that

the stupor of his fellow-workers when he first broached the thought to them, sitting around the stove in our kitchen.

They were gathered there as they did almost every evening after they had washed the coal black from the mines off of their body and finished their supper. Usually their discussion turned around the amount they had mined that day, and how the foreman complained that there was too much rock in their coal and that he would have to deduct for that from their pay. Sometimes the foreman would allow an inexperienced miner to handle the dynamite and someone was sure to get hurt.

This "woman's talk" always brought them right smack up against the problem of "what was to be done?" Always some one reported a rumor that the operator was going to give them a cut. What could they do to stop it?

At this point there would be a slight pause. Then they would notice me and generally forget their problem in the ritual of making a fuss about sending me to bed. More often, I would manage to get out of the house on some manufactured excuse and tell the gang the purchased bits of gossip.

Later the gang would break up and I'd return to the house and go to sleep. There I would still find them involved in their problems. By this time, my grandfather would be telling them about how he had organized a union in the old country and what a difference it had made on their jobs. How after the union, they had even been able to force the boss to give them their back pay which he had grown accustomed to hold as a whip over their heads to terrorize them into servility.

If the Timber Cracks

"You see, it was all so easy. All we did was decide we wouldn't go back to work until the boss recognized the union. In three days he gave in."

"But supposing he hadn't given

such a cannon fodder will not turn against them in a moment of stress? Thus, strange as it may sound (and it should not), being too well educated is a serious handicap for capitalism. Yes, the bourgeois press is right when it says that therein lies the wherefore of the entire campaign.

The campaign unquestionably will affect only those students coming from lower middle class and the working class families. It was only through the present tuitionless system that these elements could continue in school. There is no reason to curtail the education of the rich children, and anyway, their social, political, and economic problems are not "dangerous." Are not these students the very sons and daughters of the members of this and other businessmen's organizations? The Chamber of Commerce is out only to "get" the poor student. Besides, the rich child can go to an institution that charges a high fee.

The removal of "free education above the eighth grade" will, however, only explode the illusion that bourgeois society holds something in store for the youth. When the dust rises from the explosion, there will remain before them the glaring, bitter reality that capitalism holds nothing more for them than: WAR! FASCISM! and MISERY! The old opportunities of a decade ago have already been removed. Now even the necessary facilities to take advantage of these opportunities are to be taken away. The few "openings" for students that remain will go to those who have the necessary tuition fee.

Students must learn that the conflicts that exist within the present day society are only intensified with the existence of a universal educational system. Unlimited education can only exist in a classless society where the advancement of each individual is the prerequisite to the advancement of society itself, and not, as under capitalism, where the ignorance of the masses is the first prerequisite for the advancement of a few individuals.

(From Clarity)

in. What would you have done?"

This was John Slochack, the youngest of the group who had only been in the mines for about five years. He was considered exceptionally lucky as he had never figured in any accident in all that time. Mine accidents in those days were as frequent as shooting stars on a clear summer night.

"Why," grandfather replied, "there was nothing to be done. He just gave in. And we knew he would have to."

This was the way the argument usually ended with nobody being convinced of anything.

But, tonight, grandfather appeared to be determined not to give up to the confusion that ordinarily blurred the conclusion of their discussion.

"Well, you see," he drew his upper lip down and brushed his mustache with his teeth, "what are we going to do if he asks us to go back to that vein where the timber is cracking? Just for the few lousy pennies of profit he wouldn't hesitate to crush our lives out."

The veins in a mine that the men work are propped up with timber. When the roof begins to cave in the timber starts to crack. This is the only warning that the men get and they scurry out of the black holes like rats running from gas.

"Yes, but what's the good? If we go out on strike and then we lose our jobs?" This was Slochack talking again.

I stopped on the steps, half way up, and sat down to listen.

"Well, you see!" It was my grandfather talking. "Supposing they do fire us?"

This was a most daring assumption. And I felt the silence sinking down upon the men as they waited, anxious for the answer.

"You see, even if they do fire us—they can't get along without us. Why think how important coal is in this country. It runs the machinery, trains, and gives electricity. It gives heat and all the dif-

ferent things it's used for in production. The system couldn't go on for a week without coal. You see, it's like bread to the poor. We could go without bread for a while but in the end we would have to go back to using it. Why... you could almost say that coal is "bread" . . . and if they need it that badly how can we say we'll lose our jobs? Who is going to mine it for them if we don't?"

"You mean that they would have to give us back our jobs?"

"That's it, you see, it would be the easiest thing for us. After all, isn't it better not to work at all than to work for almost nothing?"

Strike

The next Monday they called the strike. About a thousand of the fifteen hundred men came out the first day of the strike. The next day the union organizer showed up and the rest of the men came out. They had tied up the colliery completely.

They had an open mass meeting on the baseball field the next day. It was reported that a few of the men had gone back to work. The organizer opened the meeting. He had a loud, booming voice.

"Every honest, red-blooded man will refuse to scab. . . . We must stick this all out together. . . . No one goes back until we all go. . . . Any man who touches a shovel of coal while this strike is on is taking the bread out of the mouth of a child, of an honest worker. . . ."

I remember how we were all stirred up with the spirit of the strike. The victory that we gained almost set the town on its head, wild with joy.

This all took place about twelve years ago.

And in these twelve years we kids have grown up. But with us has also grown the world. Not so much grown, as changed. Well, maybe it's the same thing. It's just the things look different.

Some of us kids have escaped the mines. In my grandfather's times

no one even thought of that. You were proud of the day that you entered the "mines." In those days, when we spoke of the Union, it was as though we were referring to some special sentiment; the same as the priest does on some very high holiday; today the Union is part of our daily lives. And what we talk about is not whether to have it or not, but of the problems which face us inside of it: dishonest labor leaders, back-door deals with the company against the interests of the miners, and the graft and corruption which stifles the life of the union just as tear gas stifles the breath of a worker on the picket line.

My grandfather used to say, "Coal is bread." Perhaps it was, in those days. Industry was developing. Industrial machines then made a lot of profit for the bosses and a lot of men were kept busy mining food for the machines, profit for the bosses.

The profits, however, were made from the labor of the miners. When the depression came, the bosses then turned more heavily to mining machinery; to be better able to exploit the labor of the miners still employed.

Boys used to start their work in the mines by picking the slate from the coal as it was brought down on a moving belt. Their fingers would cut and bleed so that they would have to wrap their fingers in wire in order to be able to continue their monotonous work. Poor families used to send kids only ten years old to do this work for about twelve or fourteen hours a day. Now they have "cone cleaners" to do this work. It not only cleans the coal but can regulate the amount of impurity in the coal so that it will not burn too fast.

Today one third of the miners that were employed in 1929, in the hard coal area of Pennsylvania, are producing twice as much coal. Young fellows today no longer talk (Continued on Page 5)

Guerilla Warfare in the C. C. C.

Part I: The Authorities

In almost every one of the two thousand odd camps sprawled and scattered over the length and breadth of our fair land, a relentless war, veiled in secrecy by the press and unknown and unnoticed by the public, is being waged each day in the year by two unevenly matched factions which have nothing in common save the fields of battle: the C.C.C. Battles in the wilderness of Alabama, uprisings on the mountains of Nevada, riots in the swamps of Mississippi, outbreaks of defiance in the snowbanks of Vermont and a score of other fronts daily evidence this ceaseless, 30-month old guerrilla warfare of which so little is heard by the families of some of the participants. On one hand we have the C.C.C. authorities, and on the other that horribly maligned, enormously outnumbered group known as the "agitators." It is with the former that we are concerned at the present.

It is on the side of law and order, as they so facetiously express it, that the authorities stand: the army officers, the reserves, the educational advisers and "Happy Days," that trashy and treacherous rag published weekly in Washington "for the C.C.C. by the C.C.C."

Every conceivable power is vested in these authorities. For them to even learn who their enemy is means automatic defeat and dispersal for the latter—which accounts for the underground tactics the "agitators" must resort to for them to be able to put up some sort of fight. The authorities have the power of putting on trial (and running that trial in any way they wish) any man they suspect, and of punishing him to any extent they deem advisable—and they have no mercy. They have the power of inflicting punishments, that is, fines and extra-work details, calculated to break down all resistance. They have the power of discharging any

enrollee—and many an unwary one (or innocent bystander) has awakened in the morning to find himself on a train homeward bound, dishonorably discharged from the corps for any number of reasons: alleged communistic activity, undermining other enrollees' morale, chronically fomenting trouble, and the like. (And while the E.C. W. bulletin published by the U. S. Department of Labor promises there will be no discrimination because of political beliefs, I'd be smoking real cigarettes instead of rolling them if I had a nickel for every fellow I know who's been given the works in camps because of sympathy for, or membership in, radical movements.) Oh yes, the advantages and odds on the side of the authorities are as manifold as the wrinkles on the bellies of a lot of kids I can see any day in the week.

It is the aim of the authorities in this struggle to impress upon the enrollee his own impotence and weakness, to make him realize once and for all that he can do nothing to prevent the authorities from dipping their fingers again and again into the companies' mess funds and educational funds, and to suppress any moves on the part of the men to interfere.

Naturally, they carry on with every weapon at hand. They have chaplains who visit the camps at least once a week to let the men know in no uncertain terms how grateful they ought to be to the government and the authorities for all the benefits being heaped on their none too grateful heads, and who alone are to be thanked for keeping them out of the breadlines. They have "Happy Days" and a mimeographed paper in almost every camp to let the men know still more lyrically all that is being done for them. They have visitors—local business men and reporters—who for the price of a meal break out into eulogies of the C.C.C. and

praises for the Great White Father of the C.C.C. in Washington. Thus do they attempt and usually succeed in diverting the attention of the majority of the men from the war.

And so the authorities go ruthlessly on, flinging D.D.'s (dishonorable discharge) to right of them and A.D.'s (administrative discharge) to left of them, adding a little bit to their pocketbooks each time, buying nice new shiny cars every year, and finding it quite easy to laugh and sneer at the puny efforts of the "agitators."

But the craftier of them can already see that they have to be extremely careful just the same. They dabble go too far. For they know the "agitators" are at work just as earnestly as themselves. They know that if they should put before the men an especially crummy meal of beans, stringbeans, potatoes and spinach, a little underground work on the part of the agitators is apt to throw the camp into an uproar in five minutes, because they've seen it occur at least a thousand times during this last enlistment. They know they're playing with fire, and that they'd better not make too big a flame. Of course, after every such outbreak they pick out one, five, ten, twenty of the more militant and outspoken objectors, dub them ringleaders and radicals and ship them home, but they know that doesn't solve the problem nor bring the war to a close. They can never be certain they've caught the real enemy, and anyhow, for every agitator they get rid of, two new ones spring up out of the ranks, and a little more fuel is being added to the flame, and the day is being brought closer when the "agitators" are going to win over the entire corps to their side, and then—then there's going to be a hell of a mess in the C.C.C.

(To be continued. Part II: The Agitators—in next issue.)

—GEORGE BREITMAN

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Published monthly by the Spartacus Youth League,
55 East 11th Street, New York City

MANNY GARRET Editor
JANE OGDEN Bus. Manager

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

In the United States: 25c per year; Canada and foreign, 35c. Bundle orders, 2 cents per copy; single copies, 3 cents.

Vol 4 NOVEMBER-DECEMBER No. 5

Hail The Revolution!

EIGHTEEN years ago, on November 7, the Russian masses proved that the working class could take power. Their example fired the enthusiasm of the working class throughout the world. They proved that given organization and revolutionary guidance—when the moment comes, the working class is invincible.

Manning the barricades, fighting in the front ranks, the worker and peasant youth displayed their courage and revolutionary zeal. These young soldiers of the revolution, were, in Lenin's opinion, indispensable. While the shells of civil war were still flying they devoted themselves to the international organization of the young workers, correcting comrades from other lands, supplying the experience of their own struggles.

From the victory of the Russian proletariat over capitalist tyranny sprang mighty international organizations of labor—adult and youth. Eighteen years have passed. A rotten bureaucracy has destroyed these organizations. An alien clique gnaws at the vitals of the revolution with the policies of Stalinism. But, in France the pulse of revolution throbs—and, as before, the young workers are fighting soldier to soldier with their adult brothers, fired with the policies that animated Lenin and Trotsky. And elsewhere, in this country and in that, the forces of revolution are likewise moulding themselves.

The Great Russian Revolution taught the necessity of organization. In celebration of it the Spartacus Youth League raises its fist in pledge: **FOR A FOURTH INTERNATIONAL; FOR A NEW YOUTH INTERNATIONAL.**

Farewell to the Y.C.I.

At the recent sessions of the 7th World Congress of the Communist International an immensely important decision was made that passed unnoticed under the general barrage of verbiage and demagoguery. It was there decided, in line with the Stalinist turn from revolutionary action to social-patriotic support of capitalism, that the Young Communist (Y.C.I.) was to be dissolved and reconstituted in "mass organizations of young workers."

Not a word was breathed to the members of the Y. C. I. united, there appeared confirmation of this step in a signed article by Gil Green (National Secretary of Young Communist League U.S.A.) in the Daily Worker of November 4. Thus the members of the Young Communist League (Y.C.L.) are given to understand that henceforth they will no longer be members of a political youth organization affiliated to the Communist International, but members of a "broad mass organization" devoted exclusively to the struggle for immediate demands. And henceforth the Y.C.L. will not include in its program an expressed declaration of the road to socialism (it long ago forgot this in practice.)

The Y.C.I. was organized to recruit among young workers and students for communism, for membership in the vanguard party of the working class by educating the youth politically while answering to their special needs and demanding nothing more of members than that they recognize the existence of the struggle between worker and boss. In short, it was conceived an organization, encompassing broad layers of youth, that was to serve as a training school for membership in the Communist Party. This was also the purpose established by Spartacus Youth League at its foundation and at its first national convention last December—except that the Workers Party took the place of the Communist Party (just as it had in the field of principle and practice.) At its foundation the Y.C.I. propounded the necessity of a revolutionary youth organization for political education. Liebknecht had fought hard just such a thing against the Socialist leaders of his day. By liquidating itself the Y.C.I. capitulates to the old pre-war social-democratic denial of the role of a political youth organization.

This new turn is only the culmination of a long process. Latterly the whole Y.C.I. has been moving away from the working youth, concentrating more heavily on the middle class layers (student, etc.). The current step is simply added evidence that the Stalinists have converted the C. I. and its youth section into supporters of the "last remnants of bourgeois democracy." Through dissolution of the Y.C.I. the Stalinists expect to achieve unity with the Young Socialist International on a social-democratic program—at the very moment when progressive elements in the Y.S.I. are deserting that program for revolutionary principles. And why not, when the Stalinist position on war is identical with that of the most reactionary elements in the Y.S.I.?

From an instrument of class struggle the Y.C.I. is today being driven through the last stages of conversion into an instrument for Soviet Defense, a "left wing rank-and-file" opposition to capitalism. Tomorrow it will be the instrument of recruitment for imperialist war. We say: so much the clearer their course. But what have the Y.C.I.ers to say?

Break the Fiasco

A sample of what the Y.C.L. is to be converted into has been before us for something over a year. It has been clear to us that the Y.C.L. intended to transfer its activities to this body from its early days. Here, because the organization was not officially controlled by the Stalinists—though actually so—the Y.C.L. policies and intentions assumed their crassest form. Elsewhere in the world the Stalinists publicly announced their complete conversion to social-patriotism. We have previously reported the reactionary advice of the then secretary of the Y.C.I. to the French Socialist youth, warning them against revolutionary activity on the pain of dubbing them "traitors." In this country the Y.C.L. relied in the A.Y.C. for the most malodorous part of the task.

The Detroit congress of the A.Y.C. reported in greater detail in the August issue of YOUNG SPARTACUS reached its high note (and key note) when the Y.C.L. launched a bitter attack on a motion introduced initially in a sub-section of the congress by the S.Y.L. delegation, and on the floor of the congress by the Young People's Socialist League. Our motion declared against support of the U. S. government "in any war that it may undertake." To the Y.C.L. this was, and is, an open question. They hold it possible for the U.S. to conduct a non-imperialist war. We hold that impossible—no matter with whom the U.S. is allied, her aim is imperialist booty.

Membership in the A.Y.C. is for us no longer tenable. Else we make ourselves party to straight-jacketing the youth into uniforms should U. S. foreign policy, dollar diplomacy, make military alliance with the Soviet Union opportune for our American profiteers. Every day that we condone the existence of this treacherous body is a day lost in the struggle against war. At Detroit we laid the premise of our break. We proposed instead Councils of Action that could be levers of working class action. We urged the Yipsels then to consider their future course.

Our duty as fighters against pacifism, social-patriotism and chauvinism, dictates that we today publicly **PROCLAIM OUR BREAK.** We ask the Y.P.S.L. which took its stand against the A.Y.C. program and has opposed the Stalinist endorsement of sanctions, to do likewise—and to build with us Councils of Action. We ask the same of all youth affiliated with the A.Y.C.

Already the structure of the A.Y.C. is crumbling, in city after city. The million enrolled in it exist only in the fantasy of Gil Green and Waldo McNutt. Let us deal this outfit a final blow!

Another Gesture

A TYPICAL product of the Y.C.I. and the A.Y.C. is the American Youth Act framed by the latter. Nobody can gainsay the importance of a fitting answer to the National Youth Administration. Only recently the director of the N.Y.A. was forced to admit that there are 8,000,000 unemployed youth and that little can be done for them with the \$50,000,000 appropriation. But the A.Y.A. is not a fitting answer.

Revolutionists have always made use of the parliamentary (here it would be legislative) forums and activity. This activity must however be subordinated to the more practical and effective reality of class struggle. The A.Y.A. (which is a sort of youth miniature of the Lundeen Unemployed Insurance Bill without many of the latter's positive features) is drafted as a bill to be presented for congressional enactment. By itself the idea has some value—provided it is properly emphasized and prescribed, that is to say, provided that the emphasis is placed on working class action and not on congressional agitation.

The contents of the Act expose the nature of the A.Y.C. We have previously commented that the Y.C.L. is shifting its emphasis to the middle class—students, etc. The Act is falsely patterned after the Roosevelt National Youth Act and is consequently limited in scope. Hence it merely substitutes planks—\$25 a month for students instead of \$15, prevailing wage rates for apprentices instead of minimum wage rates, etc. Of the many sections of the Act virtually all are designed to aid the student. Nowhere in the Act do we read a provision concerning child labor, or one covering the C.C.C., urban and civil homes for homeless youth, or one demanding the right of youth to vote at the age of eighteen, and so on.

It is true that the students should receive our serious attention, that their problems should be met. Nevertheless, in so doing, we must at all times remember that the greatest hope for the students and the oppressed middle-class lies in supporting the proletariat.

Even more than the Lundeen Bill, which has a sort of immediate working class support, does the A.Y.A. establish conditions that divert attention from the field of class struggle. Capitalism has not been known to grant favors to the working class gratuitously, least of all to the youth who have no adequate organizational strength. Capitalism cannot be legislated out of existence—it cannot be reformed by a serious of constitutional measures. For a serious rebel and class-conscious person, legislative activity can only be the slightest part of his energy.

As it appears now the Act was still-born. It appears to have been one of those innumerable gestures that the Stalinists and the A.Y.C. are accustomed to perform. The dangers it presents are nonetheless real—and are made more real by the Y.C.L. each day. It fosters illusions of constitutional agitation rather than class battle. It takes the emphasis from working class activity and places it on legislative propaganda. To that extent we explain it for what it is. So far as it contains elements of value we support it.

Red Reader

Horse Shoe Bottoms by Tom Tippet, (Harper and Brothers, \$2.50, 298pp.)

It is easy to recommend a book so simple, so sincere, so devoid of affectation as to make the recommendation not only easy but almost a duty.

"Horse Shoe Bottoms" is a novel dealing with the lives of coal diggers as lived in a section of the country—Illinois in this instance—during the closing decades of the last century.

It tells of John Stafford and his wife Ellen, come to the United States from England to work at the only trade John knew—coal digging. Tippet starts his book from the beginning, so to say. He begins with a newly formed mine, owned by a primitive capitalist or better yet, owned by one of the last representatives of a type commonly referred to as rugged individualists. The old pre-monopoly capitalist, Old Bill, is painted perhaps, sympathetically but for all that, symbolically. Squeezed out by the enterpreneurs and rising industrialists, Old Bill, confused and baffled by conditions much too complicated for him to understand, is found dead, frozen to the stool of a privy with his trousers down!

The heartache, the misery, the suffering; the struggle, the strike, the hope are all in the book. The events conditioning John, the emigrant coal digger from England, to become a rousing, fighting rebel are evenly and honestly recorded. The thrill, the excitement of building a union, the first primitive strike struggles, their defeats and their victories are here too.

There is joy and pathos. . . and mystery. All the emotions that go to make up the life of a worker in an industry perhaps a little harder than others are in the book. The touching tragedy of little George. The heroic death of Sam Haywood. The beautiful and courageous death of John Stafford in the arms of Ellen. But there is life in the book too. Courageous life. The lives of women in Horse Shoe Bottoms. Their devotion and loyalty to the men during days of bitter poverty.

Coal Is Bread

(Continued from Page 3)

of "going into the mines," there are too many who can not go back.

Maybe the machine would have been content to fill its belly with coal, but, egged on by the bosses' desire for profits, it seems to be eating the miners out of house and livelihood. The profits of the coal barons have made it drunk and like a drunkard it keeps eating on and on, taking more and more off of the table of the hungry miner. The bosses are pleased with its behavior.

When the unemployed miners ask at the Home Relief office for some coal "to be able to cook and to keep the house warm" they are told to pick it from the coal dumps. Like the slaves of old they must wait at the master's table, see that he gluts his belly and then feed on the "wastes" which he can no longer consume.

And, even then, when we do pick on the coal dumps, we must be on the lookout for the company cops. I feel sure that if my grandfather were alive today he would have to abandon his "do-nothing" politics. Every thing seems to save ended up in such crazy irony that one wishes not to live or to destroy the whole system and start on a new basis.

My grandfather would have come to the same conclusion. He would probably put it this way: "Get rid of the bosses who steal the bread of the workers, and let only those who make the bread eat the bread."

The New York District has begun publication of the first district-wide student bulletin. Two issues have appeared to date. Hitherto our comrades have issued local school bulletins. The Spartacan Student however proposes to be a general educational and agitational bulletin

The book closes with a promise for the future in the building of a union hall, the first in Horse Shoe Bottoms, built by miners hands and out of the money collected from coal diggers' pockets.

The few comments above are not meant as a substitute for reading the book. Read it for yourselves. You'll get a great kick out of it. And in closing I would like to suggest that Horse Shoe Bottoms be made required reading in workers' schools throughout the nation.

POISON GAS. Published by the Union Democratic Control. 66 pp. London. 6d.

The problem of gas warfare is one that is very rarely dealt with realistically. Pacifist and radical organizations always paint horrible pictures of blistering bodies and rotted lungs. Army chauvinists will always attempt to present gas as a humane weapon of war. The truth can be found in uniting both positions.

Gas warfare is no picnic; neither is shrapnel, machine gun fire, nor even the cold steel of the bayonet. A man who is going to be killed can hardly see much choice between a good dose of mustard gas, or that final twist of the bayonet as it is pulled from one's ribs.

The class conscious workers should not be frightened by the scenes depicted in most pacifist presentations of the subject. It is something that must be faced as a reality, just as much as a policeman's club on a picket line. Giving to each its proper importance, the policeman's club is as effective as a gas shell; and the one can be as easily warded off as the other.

There is nothing new in the use of gas for purposes of war. Centuries ago sulphur candles were burned by contesting forces to choke each other's troops. However, the great World War first saw its introduction as a regular weapon of combat. It was first used by the Germans; but no sooner had the effect of the surprise worn off when the allies developed the gas mask. As the gases became more complicated, so did the counter agents. Today, each gas used at the close of the last war has a fairly effective counter-agent—as effective as a steel helmet is before shrapnel fire.

The pamphlet in review describes in great detail the horrors of poison gas; chlorine, phosgene, mustard gas, Lewisite are given the bold type they deserve. It gives a striking picture of the development of chemical warfare. (It also has a good bibliography.) But where the authors are deficient, as is to be expected, is their failure to stress adequately that each of these Poison Gases has had developed along it with an agent to render the poison harmless if properly used; for chlorine and phosgene ordinary gas masks are enough; for mustard gas impregnated clothing will do the job. As for the bacteria sprays and death rays they still remain in the imagination of the story writers.

It is true that gas extends the war front beyond the trench lines into the civilian population, and so is deadly on a broader scale. But we should not fall into the common error of raising horror-stricken eyes at civilians being murdered while we accept the murder of soldiers. Neither soldiers nor the great mass of civilians have any real interest in imperialist war: 10,000 soldiers dead is as much a crime as 10,000 civilians dead.

The type of propaganda presented in this pamphlet has its value in making one hate the thought of war, but insofar as it frightens one into a pacifist approach it is harmful to the revolutionary movement. All branches of war, are horrible (except that fought by dollar-a-year-men); no phase of it is any worse than the other. All branches of warfare should be learned by the workers and used against the bourgeoisie when the time comes. Only in this way can the horrors of war be finally and completely done away with.

WILLIAM E.

The Birth of this Nation

By AL RUSSEL

(Continued from last issue)

The immigrants when freed of their bond of servitude pushed west, where "they drop from the standard which highly civilized nations have reached. As with harsh and dangerous labor they bring the new land up toward the level of the old, they themselves partly revert to their ancestral conditions; they sink back toward the state of their ages dead barbarian forefathers."

The emigrants faced the Indians with fatalistic composure; indeed theirs was the choice of Charybdis. Up to the 1800's, the coastal "household" production descended to the "hunting and fishing" stage as one went farther and farther west. Fur, lumber, whiskey, molasses rum, pitch, indigo, saltpeter were the commodities; commerce and agriculture were the industries. Of this commerce:

"We have seen molasses and alcohol, rum and slaves, gold and iron in a perpetual and unholy round of commerce. All society was fouled in this lust . . . it was callous to the wrongs of imported savages or displaced barbarians. . . . Cool, shrewd, sagacious merchants vied with punctilious dogmatic priests in promoting this prostitution of industry."*

To some, the Revolution brought wealth; while on the other hand, "one half of the community was totally bankrupt, the other half plunged into the depth of poverty." "If the law to imprison men who owed as little as a sixpence had been enforced in 1785, more than two thirds of the community would have been jailed."

"Shays' army of starving debtors were shot down by troops paid by wealthy merchants and bankers of Boston."**

"The laborer who was unable either to discharge his debt or to secure relief through bankruptcy was sentenced to remain in jail until the debt was paid, no matter how small the sum, which was not infrequently for years or even life."†

James O'Neal tells of the atrocities suffered by these poor souls who were condemned to rot in stocks within an old disused copper mine; their clothes rotting on their bodies; the miasmatic damp and the hardly delectable odor of human feces strangling the prisoners; many condemned for owing 57 cents or even less.

The Law of Combined Development (advanced by L. D. Trotsky) is true of the early development of America. The United States jumped far from the household stage of production wherein "it sometimes happens that the same individual tills his field, builds his dwelling, contrives his tools, makes his shoes, and weaves the coarse stuff of which his dress is composed . . . men devoted to special occupations are rare, a long apprenticeship cannot be required . . . Americans therefore change their means of making a livelihood very readily."‡

Domestic production, home working for the market, was rapidly slithered over in America as in contrast to England. Manufactories of numerous commodities was the next development. The commercial cities were rapidly being transformed. Mechanics and artisans who owned their own tools were giving way to wage workers. Yearning eyes were cast upon the machinery of England. A sudden volcano of activity was soon to erupt.

*T. Roosevelt—"Winning of the West," Vol. V, p. 128.

**Weeder—"Economic History of New England," Vol. 1, p. 326.

***McMaster—"History of People in U. S."

†Simons—"Social Forces in American History."

‡De Toqueville—"Democracy in America," p. 470.

I Cover the War Front

by Spartacus

We were going to begin this column with a parody of an old song, based on a headline in the New York Times: "Wait till the mud dries, Haille." But the actual outbreak of hostilities made this bitter humor too grim.

War Trek Starts

Planning a swift victory, Mussolini for weeks and weeks sent troops to his African bases in Libya, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. Artillery mules, troop transports, the latest devices in "civilized" mass-murder (a new powerful machine gun, a rapid firing mortar, etc.) kept the Suez canal busy day and night on their passage to Africa. With the entire population mobilized in military readiness, and over 200,000 troops in war position, Il Duce unleashed his fascist hordes on Ethiopia.

On October 3, Italian planes bombed Adowa and Adigrat, killing 1,700, including women and children. At dawn of the same day, 20,000 troops guided by planes, and preceded by light tanks, crossed the Mareb River (the Ethiopian boundary), and advanced 12 and one half miles in Adowa. After three days of fierce fighting Adowa fell, the Italians having already conquered Asmara. Clashes simultaneously occurred on the Ogaden front and in Danakil, while the town of Dessye, fifty miles southeast of Magdala was bombed. On October 5, troops advancing from Italian Somaliland in the south captured Doto. Other detachments moved towards Gorahai and Ualual. Armored tanks and cars were used in all the attacks.

Three days later, the left wing of the advancing army captured Edagahamus, ten miles southeast of Adigrat. It was met by a counter-offensive from Debrasion, the fighting being described in the despatches as "most bloody, because the hordes of Ethiopians came into frontal clash with the Italian weapons. The capture of Edagahamus linked the marauding army with the caravan trail to Hausien. A fascist column marched on the Holy City, Aksum. The attack on the south, towards Harar, proceeded along two lines converging on Gorahai from Ualual and the Wardair sector by way of Gerlogubi and from Moustabil by way of Tafere Kamara (Oct. 9). Gorahai is the outer Ethiopian stronghold in Ogaden.

On the north, the Italians pushed on to Makale. Adowa and the surrounding territory was officially annexed on October 12. The day that Adowa was annexed, in the north, the invaders penetrated 30 miles into the Ogaden desert, supported by 200 planes. One day later, Aksum fell without a gun shot, giving the fascist legions a front extending 70 miles from Aksum to Adowa to Adigrat. The methods pursued by the "civilized" fascists have turned the Ethiopians aghast. Planes that flew over Makale on October 17 mowed down the villagers. In the east, a column that set out to cut the railroad was compelled to retreat. Rains and swamps incapacitating

the tanks, delayed the drive in the south. Operating near the Webbe Shibeli River in a drive toward the central plateau, the southern army took Dugnerrei and advanced 60 miles towards Gorahai. Many of these successful Italian pushes may, however, be nothing more than good press agenting. Much of the war news is rumor or press propaganda. Reports published on one are contradicted the next.

Lack of water, elephantiasis (a disease which causes swelling of the leg from the calf downward), occasional desertions of native Somaliland tribes in the Italian army, yellow fever, dysentery constantly impair the fascist army, which still has before it the major part of its campaign. Once the initial victories have been won Mussolini faces desert wastes, mountain reaches where the effectiveness of airplanes, with their limited cruising radius, are decisively restricted. Roads over trackless wastes must be built before additional conquests of the main Ethiopian cities can be attempted.

While it is not in the province of this column to go far too far behind the scenes of the front we cannot help a comment or two on Italy's excuses. Going after cotton, coffee, and whatever else imperialism can squeeze out of a conquered Ethiopia, the campaign is conducted on the more palatable excuse of necessary expansion. In 1911 the same reasons were adduced for wrenching Libya from Turkey. Libya has many fertile resources. To keep it, bountiful Mussolini has spent 250,000,000 lire sweated out of an intensely exploited Italian peasantry and working class on armies and garrisons in Libya. After 24 years of Italian domination, there are less than 30,000 Italians, or only 7 per cent of the population, living in Libya which is seven times the size of Italy.

In Ethiopia's Favor

Abyssinia has considerable natural advantages in its favor. From Adowa south of Addis Ababa the plateau rises steadily. A New York Times correspondent described it as "a broken land of high, level places, riven by valleys which drop so steeply that mules have difficulty in going up and down the narrow trails. In the bottom of the valleys the heat is intense and on the uplands the nights are cold. It is a grim rocky country, in which fast moving bands of raiders could make life miserable for any invading force. And the Italian lines will thin out as they advance, and their weapons, such as tanks and airplanes, will become increasingly useless." (Oct. 13). Huge boulders and crags dot whatever roads there are.

In addition to natural barriers the black shirt army has also to meet a determined population. At one call, warriors flocked to the center from every primitive village and city. At the fete of Maskal, marking the end of the rainy season, the assembled warriors, brandishing their rifles and two pronged spears, danced death to the in-

vaders. These soldiers, en marche, gave incredible mobility to their motor trains (according to Lawrence Stallings, newspaper correspondent) by carrying trucks across streams. The Galli, and other tribes, are renowned for their fighting ability. 1,600,000 Ethiopians are mobilized.

After having made a peace offering to Italy of the territory of Aussa, Haile Selassie called his troops into action, led by a veteran of Adowa (where Italy suffered defeat forty years ago.) The first troops left for Harar on September 2; that same day Selassie distributed gas masks to the populace in anticipation of gas attacks. By war-drum, beacon light and runner the mobilization was announced.

Resistance to the Italian army is concentrated in the heart of the country which consists of natural bastions 10,000 feet high. In these fastnesses the guerilla tactics of the Abyssinians should be most telling. A munitions factory in Addis Ababa is being speeded. (October 21, 1935)

Arming by "Disarmament"

Another one of those disarmament conferences is in the offing. Five powers are going to attend it—England (by whom it is called), France, Italy, Japan and the U. S. A Times headline (Oct. 27) says it is a "Conference Called for Navy Increases." A previous dispatch announcing the conference informed us (Oct. 24) that "She (England) is now limited to fifty cruisers and wants seventy. . . . However, Britain does want limitation within limits that will not interfere with her own prospective program." (Now, ain't that just too nice of her! But then all the imperialists are nice—in the same way.)

U. S. of course insists on parity with England, except that her own needs require a different type of ship. Japan has already announced that she is willing to concede England a greater fleet, but to the U. S. never—so she will prepare at this conference for the construction of a fleet that will parallel in strength that of Uncle Sam. And as Edwin L. James put it in the article that appeared on Oct. 27: "Germany, by agreement with Britain, seeks a fleet 30 percent the size of the British fleet; the French feel the need [that urge you know] of new construction to match new German ships; Italy, in line with her expansionist program, wishes to increase her navy." So get yourselves ready for some real two-fisted "disarmament."

Fire in the Far East

As much dynamite now rests in the Far Eastern conflicts as in the Italo-Ethiopian war. While the cats are fastening their eyes on the African war, Japan is playing with the Far East. In June Japan and China came to "terms" (unpublished) when a Japanese force marched to the gates of Peiping and Tientsin. Anti-Japanese officials in China are constantly being eased out. The Chinese are quite certain that Japan contemplates a

south-China drive that will parallel her seizure of Manchuria. On Oct. 29 it was announced that the Peiping war council would be called to consider the demand of Japan that all anti-Japanese agitation be suppressed. . . . Japanese army games are scheduled along the Peiping-Several border clashes have occurred between Japan and Soviet Tientsin railway.

Russia. The U.S.S.R. sees Japan making hay of the European occupation with Africa to move on Soviet Siberian territory and on Outer Mongolia. . . . The Japanese are up against powerful British and American interests in China which will not hesitate to send gun-boats to Chinese shores.

And in the Pacific itself the rumble of war drums can be heard. The New Commonwealth government of the Philippines has already experienced serious rice riots, with hungry mobs storming warehouses. The President, Quezon, doesn't dare stir from his house without a large body guard. . . . Last year Tokyo had 57.7 percent of the Philippine market. The recent agreement for parity in trade between U. S. and Japan is not likely to make relations between the two any more amicable. . . . A new aviation landing field has been constructed by the U. S. Army on Batan Island, only about 130 miles from the Japanese island of Formosa. It is part of an aviation development program by which the archipelago will be dotted with landing bases. A measure of the importance which the U. S. attaches to the Philippines is the resignation of General MacArthur as chief of staff of the U. S. army, to become "general staff adviser" to the new Commonwealth. That is the way F. D. assures the untrammelled freedom of the Philippines. . . . Aguinaldo, defeated for the Presidency, has announced he is "not yet through."

Mediterranean Manoeuvres

John Bull doesn't quite relish the idea of Lake Tana, which feeds the Nile, being supervised by a rival imperialist. Less than that does he like the idea of Il Duce moving nearer to Egypt and other British possessions.

The Mediterranean has consequently become a sea of arms wherein the slightest alarm may thrust the world into another universal slaughter. Gibraltar, where a British fort trains its guns on the entrance to the Mediterranean, is humming with activity. The dock yard under Rear Admiral Pupin, is working at top speed. At the Water Port Gate and Europa Point 21-inch guns are cleverly concealed. 16-inch and smaller guns are planted at every possible position from the level of the sea to the upper galleries at Europa Point. It is believed no enemy could approach this fortress, the strongest in the world. Five battle cruisers, 9 destroyers and 3 minesweepers are stationed here permanently. The Royal Air Force is also quartered here.

Approximately 150 British fighting ships are stationed in the Mediterranean and Red Seas. More than 50 are at Alexandria which lies only 150 miles west of Port Said, entrance to the Suez. Additional ships are speeding to the concentration points. Naval manoeuvres have been staged near Port Said and around Gibraltar. At least 14 submarines are patrolling this area. Three of the British battleships are the most modern in the world.

Egypt is extremely important for England. Substantial profits come from there. It is a focal point of supervision over the rest of the British Empire—Iraq, etc. British naval authorities have laid down an anti-submarine net around the harbor of Alexandria. On land, i.e. in Egypt, Palestine and Aden, the British forces have been stationed. The air-base, 16 miles east of Alexandria, is the largest in the world.

There are ups and downs in the Anglo-Italian rivalry. But the military preparations are mostly

(Continued on Page 6)

Poem, And a Prelude - by Allen Ericson

PRELUDE AND POLKA

On the blood of the plain-wind and the tortured storm-cloud that was in you must pass on to more than the figures nimbly, nimbly turfing it on the dusty, hollow boards at some sweaty, screwy recital in the Village!

Pass on to the sweeping of the hand in the sky and the ripe mention of our white knife—revolution—and living on the mound of sound and the clashing industry of class struggles!

Hail poet in the ranks!
Hail you risen and wary warrior of the first Red Day!

Hail thou kingdom of the granite-ranks and the spinning doom of the slavers!
Hail thou tall wave and rankling wind!
Hail spear-holder, thick-shielded trumpet of the cloven and the sudden hour—the Bolshevik victory!

This is the Fall:
The lanes are milk-white in the hoar-lit morn;
I could conceive of freedom,
On such days would I seek after a fall place—
Cutting me a bough to carry,
Mending the scuttling paths of Autumn.

But I repair me to an oath of living:
Whistles, sweat and a timber of tiredness—
Moving your wracked guts along the pathless streets;
Monk-checked, cinder-eyed,
If I wrapped hard-fleshed, kicking Tomorrow
Up in a red flag—
And whistled for you along the block
And chucked it in your arms,
Would you call a cop Or, maybe,
Bat me on the back and yell for more,
And rally a million others?

The Scientist Counsels: Revolution

Preface by Way of Announcement

This column inaugurates itself under this title as a series of essays written in more or less of a sequence to provide the persistent reader with an appreciation of the physical universe, life as a phenomenon within it, the spectacle of the human species struggling through almost a thousand generations to fashion a society of equal opportunity for all individuals. What can science contribute to our appreciation of our origins in the past, our present problems, our struggles in the future?, our possible meaning, singly or collectively? "We shall be free when we understand the strength, the power, the glorious hour that lies in our hand. . . ."

It is proposed, then, to start "in the beginning" and to trace the development of the universe of stars, of our solar system, of our earth, the origin of life, the method and the history of its evolution through a billion years to its present spectacle; to arrive at an understanding of the fundamental laws beneath all these changes; to study the uniqueness of the human-social animal, the source of his potential greatness; to deduce and set forth the responsible role of the revolutionist in society. These columns will accumulate as a readable and, it is hoped, easily understood and convincing Outline of General Science, edited with the needs of the oppressed and increasingly militant class-conscious workers of the world in mind. Science is not yet taught this way in schools.

For this is **materialistic** science. Any other science is a contradiction in terms. And if the term "materialistic" affronts, realize before we go further that Walt Whitman wrote his "poems of materials because after all perhaps they are the most challenging"; perhaps from a new type of reality can be built the cause most worthy of the allegiance of youth. The great seekers of truth, known and unknown, have presented consistently a united front of progress against the diminishing ignorance and superstition of the race. They do not yield the areas yet unlighted by their genius to mystery; they do not explain away the still involved riddles; they do not throw up their hands in defeat by dragging in at the last moment a **supernatural** power or force beyond human analysis. They are patient, industrious, certain that one day the answers will be clear and **natural** terms.

For the scientific mind has become increasingly certain of the **orderliness** of the universe. Not all minds are scientific; there was a time when none were. Slowly upon the primitive intellect was impressed the rhythmic regularity of night and day, the seasons. There are still backward peoples who do not associate physical love-making with the bearing of children. But the scientific mind has become convinced of the **cause-and-effect** explanation of events. Scientific observation relies upon the assumption that if, under certain definite circumstances, a given cause brings about a particular effect, then under identical circumstances the same cause will produce once more the same effect. The scientist believes that as his understanding of the world grows he can become increasingly able to **predict**.

In other words, although to start with he knows nothing and although today he knows but a little more, the scientist believes that, as a curious, intelligent, accurate, unprejudiced observer he can come to know the **rules of the game**, from his seat on the sidelines, with no one to whisper explanations in his ear, with nothing more than his senses, his energy, his reason to serve him! There are rules, he claims, and the more perfectly he equips himself with an understanding of those rules, the more nearly he can fashion this world to the need and vision of the human heart. The rules of the game! To dis-

cover them necessitates a method and science is that method. It is a **method** of seeking the truth by **observing the effects of known causes in situations that are selected or contrived to determine exactly the significance of any single factor under analysis.** We shall describe later many such **controlled experiments** or observations in action, the ingenuity of the controls, the untiring perseverance of recording, the brilliance and certainty of conclusions. The scientist collects evidence in great quantities according to his careful plan; he weighs that evidence impartially—is able to generalize, to state principles, conclusions. In physics, chemistry, astronomy, geology he has been very exact in his measurement of causes, circumstances, effects. He is seeking a degree of precision in the more pertinent areas of biological, psychological, social sciences.

Science, then, is a method in **quest** of ignorance and superstition, consequently of fear and prejudice. It is a great, accelerating drive of the energies of an increasing number of minds from each generation to extend human understanding and so mastery of his environment.

The method has been in process long enough so that science can convince by its **achievements.** It brings results within the very lifetimes of people—results that are real, here and now. Great inroads have been made upon ignorance for all its overdue perseverance. Following upon the discoveries of the exact sciences, engineers have made **communication** by electrical devices possible in an instant between any two points on the globe's surface. They have made the **transportation** of people and materials feasible in great quantities at great speed.

They have developed power machinery to the point where man's emancipation from unremitting labor is no longer a fanciful dream. They have given proof of their ability to produce with incredible ingenuity vast amounts of almost any desirable commodity from the raw materials of the earth. They have developed a method of attack upon the spread and ravages of communicable diseases. They have demonstrated the worth of the scientific method in action.

Come to this column, then, as a scientist. You do not have to work in a laboratory or among formulae;

think scientifically! Come prepared to accept as true all that convinces your reason as believable in the light of the evidence presented; be ready to assimilate every such truth you learn into your convictions, your program. Be courageously ready to discard any belief, however ancient or dear, if you find it unbelievable and adjust your convictions and program to the omission. But whatever you build surely will not need doing over. No permanent gain was ever made for any cause unless founded upon the truth as men have best been able to appreciate it when they find it.

This science will not stop short of conclusions as is the fashion in the classrooms of our educational system. Equipped with the best truth we can achieve, we shall press relentlessly through to the implications of our knowledge and shall dare to announce our ultimate convictions in uncompromising terms. If the province of the scientist has been classically the objective statement of his discoveries, let us admit now that we have assumed a further responsibility. We intend to interpret the truths we announce, to build a case upon them, to **counsel!**

I Cover the War Front

—by Spartacus—

(Continued from Page 5)

up. Italy covets the control of the Mediterranean. Years ago the Italians devised a plan for laying mine fields around the Islands of Pantelaria, making the straits between Sicily and the African shore impassable. This plan may or may not be used. But the development of mine fields, submarines and airplanes, makes the British Island of Malta, which has been reinforced with 1,200 troops, less important as a naval base. (British families were ordered out of Malta on Oct. 13.)

The Italian fleet has been divided into two commands, Adriatic and Mediterranean. Each of these will be divided into two strategic control points: the Adriatic into one on the Upper Adriatic, and one on the Lower Adriatic and Ionian Sea; the Mediterranean into the Upper and Lower Tyrrhenian Sea. The latter gives Il Duce the power to strike heavy naval blows at the sea area separating Southern Sicily from Tunis. The former would make possible a quick attack on Greece (which England is using as a base) and could hamper British naval penetration toward the Aegean Sea and the Turkish peninsula. It would also keep the sea lanes open to the port of Trieste and enhance the value of Austria as an ally, Austria having a special treaty right to this port.

Italy likewise has her sea and land forces in the Red Sea, and near it. Port Massua, the Italian Red Sea base, is guarded by hidden 15-inch batteries with an extreme range of 20 miles. 4-inch guns overlook the bay; and on strategic islands, 4 and 6 inch guns are in position. At least 5 Italian submarines are in these waters. The number of planes now believed to be in Africa is 500, many of them bombers, which would be effective in dominating the southern half of the Red Sea. (Some of these planes are equipped for "ground strafing"—swooping low over land and firing machine guns.) Despite the 15,000 troops withdrawn from Libya (probably to save expenses), large battalions are still there. Naval experts say that the Italian warships outspeed the British though the latter have better fighting strength.

Seeing the World with Uncle Sam

Uncle Sam is cleaning up on the fracas abroad—that explains his unwillingness to do anything that will put him in bad with any of the contestants. That explains his

"neutrality." But he knows that one of these days he's going to fight it out. The army maneuvers in August seem to have been designed to prove the need of a stronger armed force. The newspapers pictured the "inadequacy" of the "antiquated army." Said the N. Y. Times editorially on August 13: "The need for more field training, more officers, more tanks, the latest planes, became increasingly apparent as the maneuvers developed."

On Sept. 9, the Navy ordered 23 new ships—12, including a carrier to be built by private yards, and 11 to be built by government yards. The 12 will cost \$59,225,500. 15 destroyers and 6 submarines are included. . . . General Douglas MacArthur, retiring chief of staff, recommended a five-year plan that would include the mechanization and motorization of the army, the better training of an enlisted force of 120,000, 2,500 "striking" planes, and a sustained program for experimentation in chemical warfare. A new army invention can see an enemy plane 50 miles away. A new army tank can go at 60 miles an hour. . . . Navy chiefs are standing by awaiting the call to action. . . . According to Senator Nye the U. S. spends more on its army than any nation in the world—which sum becomes even greater if the C.C.C., etc., are included. At Camp Pike more than 200 C.C.C. men have been occupied since July 1 in rebuilding bridges, grading roads that lead to combat training areas, building artillery machine gun, grenade and rifle ranges—in other words, a war cantonment. . . . General Johnson holds college military training vital in a war-like world.

His Majesty's «Defense»

The coming British election will be fought over the arms issue. The Tories are asking for substantial increases. Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer, stated that the issue could be one of Imperial defense. Right now the British navy is two and a half times the size of Italy's. The British Admiralty's provisional program for navy building calls for 130 new warships by 1942, at a cost of 150,000,000 pounds (about \$700,000,000)—12 battleships, 33 cruisers and 21 submarines are included. Hence, Britain called a disarmament conference.

Factories at Sheffield (like Hadfield's Ltd.) are turning out shells and bombs by the thousand for storage. Airplane factories are working overtime turning out 2,000 new craft that will make the "de-

fense force" of the United Kingdom equal to that of "any power within striking distance of these shores." . . . John Bull has already assured himself of the support of the labor chiefs. The British trade unions (and Stalinists, of course) have placed themselves behind sanctions, which means support of a war that may arise as a result of the imposition of these sanctions. Lansbury, parliamentary leader of the British Labor Party, resigned in protest against his party's commitment to sanctions.

England is horrified at Mussolini's rape of Ethiopia. 30,000 British Indian troops were sent to the Mohmand territory of Kamali to suppress rebel tribesmen. The hostile tribesmen gave way under a rain of shells. . . . The Russian press applauded the British peace policy.

Around the World War Front

The third principal war nerve is Memel. Hitler is prosecuting a vigorous campaign against Lithuanian influence in it. . . . A 200,000 army draft is ready in Germany. . . . The Nazis are rushing work on a new supply base at Munich. . . . Horses were held indispensable in the recent Reich war maneuvers. . . . U-Boats are maneuvering for the first time since the World War. . . . Spain has increased her aerial defenses in the Balearic Islands, one of the keys to the Mediterranean. . . . Intense military activity is reported at the Turkish Dardanelles, the strait between the Aegean and Marmora Seas. . . . Paraguay refuses to release 25,000 Bolivian prisoners. Bolivia threatens to retain her armies if the peace terms are not met. . . . Argentina and Bolivia are eyeing each other madly over a claim that Bolivia is occupying 2,700 miles of Argentine territory in Jujuy province. Argentina, like Paraguay, is strongly dominated by Britain. . . . Sweden contemplates an increase in aviation strength to cost \$18,000,000. The age limit for compulsory military service may be raised from 42 years to 45. . . . Hungary and Austria put themselves behind Italy in refusing to vote sanctions. Starbomberg ousted Fey from the Austrian government. The new government is increasing her military forces. . . . French army officials watched the Soviet display of attack by parachute landings in the recent war games. . . . Soviet Russia sees a Berlin-Finnish link to dominate central Europe. . . . And so it goes.

Trotsky Speaks to Young Socialists And Communists

(Continued from Page 1)

There is an undeniable relation between pacifism in internal policy, and pacifism in foreign policy. A man may swear to us solemnly that he is a materialist, but if he goes to church on Easter he remains for us a miserable victim of the priesthood. Whoever combines phrases on the social revolution with agitation for pacifist disarmament is no proletarian revolutionist but a pitiful victim of petty bourgeois prejudice.

But are there not, we are often reminded, good, revolutionary-minded workers in the S.A.P. and similar organizations who must not be pushed away? This argument also misses the mark. Very likely, almost certainly, there are in the S.A.P. and similar organizations workers who are not satisfied with the vacillating, evasive policy of the leaders. However, we can help these elements capable of development best by exposing mercilessly the false policy of their leaders. At the first even the advanced elements are taken unawares. Nevertheless, criticism penetrates their minds. Then come new facts which strengthen our criticism. And finally the honest revolutionary worker says to himself: The Leninists are right, I must go with them. It was always so in the development of a revolutionary party. And it will be so this time.

Young comrades and friends! We do not combat all that is ambiguous and confused out of a "fanatical" hatred and certainly not out of personal animosity. Our stern epoch respects but little sentimentality, personal consideration and similar lovely things. It demands a **correct program** and an **iron will** to victory. Before the masses that are seeking a revolutionary leadership we must display the greatest patience and attentiveness. Hundreds and thousands of times must we show them the revolutionary principles through their daily experiences. But to those who appear before the masses as leaders, who unfold their own banner, we must place the strictest demands. The first is **clarity**.

The shilly-shalliers, the confused, the centrists, the pacifists can vegetate years on end, issue papers, hold conferences, yes, even register temporary organizational successes. Great historic turns however—war, revolution—turn these parties over like a house of cards. On the contrary, organizations that have reached real revolutionary clarity and consciousness really develop their greatest strength in critical historic situations. Then the philistine is astonished, then the left philistine is exultant, without understanding however that the "miracle" of the successes was only possible through long and persevering preparatory work, and that Marxian intransigence was the best weapon in this preparatory work.

Splinters and chips fly in every big ideological struggle. The centrists are in the habit of making use of this miserable material to distract attention from what is important and decisive. Young workers who want to think must learn to despise the maliciously impotent gossip of the centrists. You must examine things to the very bottom! The most important questions for the shaping of proletarian revolutionists are at present: the attitude to war and the 4th International. You must pose these questions before you in their full scope! We, Bolshevik-Leninists, issued more than a year ago the pamphlet "War and the 4th International." To become thoroughly acquainted with this programmatic document is the first duty of every revolutionist who wants to arrive at a position. Lose no time, study, reflect, discuss honestly, strive incessantly for revolutionary clarity!

With fraternal greetings,

L. TROTSKY

July 22, 1935

By REVA CRAINE

To the casual student, the great French Revolution consists of the capture of the Bastille by the Parisian masses, the arrest and execution of the King, the Reign of Terror, the downfall of Robespierre and finally the coup d'etat of Napoleon Bonaparte. Those who view the Revolution in this light miss the essentials and overlook the basic forces at work in the Revolution, the class forces which impelled it, drove it up to but not beyond certain limits. The Revolution proper ends with the downfall of Robespierre. The reaction of the left wing to this event is rarely evaluated and the small movements, semi-socialistic in character, are never taken account of. Now, on the occasion of the 175th birthday of Gracchus Babeuf, a few words ought to be said about this almost unknown figure and his movement.

Francois Noel Babeuf (who later assumed the name of Roman, Caius Gracchus) was born in St. Quentin, on November 23, 1760. His youth is not of particular interest. His father, a tutor, died when Francois was a young boy and on his deathbed, it is related, he urged his son to devote his life to the interests of the poor and oppressed. At the age of fifteen, he entered the service, as a junior clerk, of a land commissioner, who taught him land surveying. He pursued this profession up to and including the early period of the Revolution. During the opening days of the Revolution, he participated little in active political life although previously he was supposed to have prepared several papers on land distribution which contained the germs of communal ownership of land. In 1790, he published a radical journal for which he was arrested and later released. Again, in 1793, he was arrested, condemned to 20 years imprisonment and released soon after.

It was only after the downfall of Robespierre and the establishment of the Thermidorean government that Babeuf began to take an active interest in political affairs. At first, his own position was very confused—one day he attacked the Terror of Robespierre and the next he attacked the new government which was daily rescinding the rights granted in the Constitution of 1793. For his attacks upon the Thermidoreans, he was arrested in 1795 and thrown into jail. Not for the first time did jail serve as a "university," for here in jail Babeuf met up with some old Jacobins who influenced his mode of thinking and supplied him with whatever revolutionary literature existed at that time. It was here too, that he began to give serious thought to the question of communication of the land and the products of industry.

It must be recalled at this time that the French Revolution was a bourgeois revolution, that is, the old aristocracy was overthrown and replaced by the newly arisen and rapidly growing bourgeoisie, the capitalist class. However, the first battles of the Revolution were fought, not primarily by the bourgeoisie, but by the masses of the people, the Parisian "rabble" who had hoped that victory over the fallen regime would guarantee the realization of the slogans of the Revolution: Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. But once the feudal regime was overthrown, the wealthier section of the bourgeoisie took the power into its own hands by overturning the government of the "terror" of Robespierre and established the government of the Thermidoreans (the overthrow of Robespierre occurred in the month of Thermidor—according to the calendar used during the revolution) and ruled in the interests of its own class. A new constitution was drawn up, the Constitution of the Year III, (according to the revolutionary calendar) which abolished universal suffrage, reimposed a high property qualification, created two governing chambers and an executive body of five known as the Directory. The old democratic principles which had found their expression in the Constitution of 1793 were swept away by a stroke of the pen.

GRACCHUS BABEUF

THE ORGANIZER OF THE SOCIETY OF EQUALS

In the meantime, the living conditions of the people grew constantly worse. The sale of confiscated church and feudal land had benefited not the poor peasantry who had been clamoring for the land, but rather the speculators, those with ready cash who were able to buy up most of the land at a very low cost. The government had inflated the currency in order to maintain itself and the heaviest burden naturally fell on to the shoulders of the plebian masses. The price of bread and other necessities rose without bounds. The masses had made supreme sacrifices to achieve the revolution and in return they were rewarded with a new set of rulers representing an enemy class.

It was under these conditions that Babeuf founded his "Society of the Pantheon," a political club, whose program consisted of a series of demands calling for the compensation of those who had fought in the Revolution, application of the poor law, alleviation of the living conditions of the masses, civil rights, and others of a similar class character. Babeuf, in his paper, "The People's Tribunal," denounced individual property-ownership as the principal source of all existing evils. Before long a new order for his arrest was issued and from then on he had to live in hiding. The Society was outlawed. In its place was substituted the Society of the Equals, led by the

"Secret Directory," an illegal committee of insurrection, which was to prepare the overthrow of the Thermidoreans.

The Secret Directory consisted of Babeuf, Debon-Buonarroiti, Darthe, and others. It aimed to destroy the new Constitution and to achieve political liberty and economic equality through the abolition of private property and the institution of a communist regime. Its manifesto said in part: "The French Revolution is but the precursor of another and a greater and more solemn revolution, and which will be the last!" and further on: "We aim at something more sublime and more equitable—the common good, or the communist of goods. No more individual property in land; the land belongs to no one. We demand, we would have, the communal enjoyment of the fruits of the earth, fruits which are for everyone!"

"Let disappear, once for all, the revolting distinction of rich and poor, of great and small, of master and valet, of governors and governed;" And finally, in a list of fifteen paragraphs, it summarizes its demands, stating that the new Constitution of the Year III is illegal because it was obtained against the will of the people and by shooting them down. The Secret Directory demands the restoration of the Constitution of 1793.

In addition, the Secret Directory

prepared a document describing the new government which was to be established upon the overthrow of the Thermidoreans. The basic principle underlying the new society is the communal ownership of the land and of industry, equality before the law, etc. It goes into great detail describing the new regime, even describing where and how many storehouses should be built to hold the products of the common toil. The whole scheme was utopian because it sought to establish the new society overnight, the moment power was seized. Further, it could not understand the historic role of the new society, its economic and political nature; nor did it understand the basic political and practical problems of the rising proletariat as the new revolutionary class.

It is not particularly original, taken mostly from the works of the french philosopher, Morelly, who had previously advocated such a system. What is new in it however, is its declaration that the establishment of the new society is predicated upon the seizure of political power from the hands of the ruling class.

The Secret Directory met regularly and discussed in detail the plans for the insurrection. It was decided that on a chosen day, when the masses were thought to have been sufficiently aroused by the agitation of revolutionists, banners would be distributed to the revolu-

tionary agents and that in the name of the Insurrectionary Committee of the Secret Directory, "a proclamation should be issued threatening the death of anyone carrying out an order of the usurpatory government." Babeuf and his friends were to head the movement. Finally, after lengthy discussion, a manifesto calling for the general rising was prepared. It was entitled: "Act of Insurrection."

But it was just at this moment, when everything was prepared for action, that the plan was betrayed, as so many other conspiratorial movements isolated from the masses, by a government agent, Grisel, who had managed to work his way up to the Secret Directory. On May 10, 1796, the government swooped down upon the Secret Directory and arrested a large number. Babeuf and the others were put to trial lasted from February to May, 1797. The behavior of Babeuf and his comrades is a model of how revolutionists conduct themselves in the clutches of the enemy class. Babeuf and Darthe, especially, utilized their trials to make long, well prepared speeches to the public which was allowed to attend the hearings, explaining the program of their movement and urging the masses to resist every reactionary move of the government. Finally, a year after their arrest, Darthe and Babeuf were sentenced to the guillotine. As they were being led from the courtroom, they attempted to commit suicide by stabbing themselves. They did not succeed, and on the following day both, badly wounded, were carried to the guillotine and put to death.

Y.C.L. Report Announces Dissolution

By JOSEPH CARTER

The New York meeting (Nov. 15) of the Young Communist League on the new turn of the Young Communist International was converted into a forum against Stalinist social-patriotism.

The several thousand youth, mostly students, who came to the meeting were given innumerable pieces of anti-Stalinist literature by the Spartacus Youth League, the Young People's Socialist League and others. As a prelude to a dry humanitarian speech by Gil Green the audience was treated to some soothing music. The young Socialists were given the platform following Green's speech. The chairman announced that two representatives of the Spartacus Youth League had asked for the floor but that there was not "sufficient time" for any more discussion. This after only two Yipsels and no one else had been permitted to speak! Following the meeting a group of Spartacans assembled in the street and lustily sang revolutionary songs and shouted slogans, most popular of which was "I know it Browder" and the slogan of "Fourth, Fourth, Fourth International."

Green Sees the "Light"

Green dished out the new line of the Young Communist International. He sounded like a Y.M.C.A. director who had just seen the "light" and urged "the unity at all costs of the young generation against war and Fascism." Nothing new was added to his interview in the Daily Worker and Young Worker on the "reorganization" of the Y.C.I. preparatory to organic unity with the Young Socialist International.

The Young Communist League is today nothing but a "young Communist party," he stated. It must become a mass youth educational organization not directly affiliated with any political party. He denied that this meant the "liquidation" of the Y.C.L. but avoided any explanation of the omission of the road to power in the proposed program of the "reorganized" league.

Green declared that the "communists" in this broad league would "democratically" urge that the organization have fraternal relations, engage in joint activities, etc. with the Communist Party. If organic unity were achieved between the Y.C.L. and the Y.P.S.L. then the young Socialists would have the right to propose that the new youth

organization have certain relations with the Socialist Party. This, he stated, would be a step to organic unity of the S. P. and C. P.

The response of the audience indicated that the young Communists present were uneasy about the liquidation of the Y.C.I. but seemed to be reassured by the remarks of Green.

Green had apparently forgotten all about the struggle against capitalism! Nor did he even attempt to explain the program of the Y.C.L. on the struggle against war and struggle against Fascism. Only bare formulas were presented: "unity of all non-Fascist and progressive youth," "organic unity of the Y.C.L. and the Y.P.S.L."

YPSL Denounces Social Patriotism

The young Socialists who spoke—in "semi-official capacity" since the Y.P.S.L. had refused to send an official spokesman—followed the line of the leaflet issued by their organization. This is the first leaflet ever issued by the Yipsels to the Y.C.L. in New York and follows on the heels of a young Socialist leaflet which greeted Browder's meeting in Chicago several weeks ago.

The leaflet scores the "liquidationism" of the Y.C.L. "as an abandonment of the struggle for a Socialist revolution." (The inference might logically be drawn from this that the Y.C.L. directly affiliated to the C. P. is a revolutionary organization.)

The social-patriotism of the Comintern is attacked.

"The Comintern justified the split 16 years ago mainly on the ground that the International had to exclude all remnants of social-patriotism, all those who had supported the imperialist war because they considered their bourgeoisie to be aligned on the 'just side.' Today a similar situation is developing. Again we find sections of the working class (including the Communist International) beating the war drums in the name of the revolution. The C. P. frankly states that if, in the next world war, the U. S. finds itself aligned on the same side as the U.S.S.R. (against Japan or Germany) then it will support that war by the Government."

Here is a clear cut statement against social-patriotism.

The Twenty-One Points

But strangely enough, this state-

ment appears in the same leaflet wherein the twenty-one conditions for admittance to the Communist International (adopted 1920) is attacked as the cause of the split in the international working class movement.

"We are glad that they (the leaders of the Comintern—J.C.) now wish to take measures to overcome the split in our movement which has lasted since 1919 and for which the famous '21 points' were largely responsible. At that time, it was the theory of the Communist leaders that it was inadmissible for revolutionaries to be in the same party with the reformists and centrists. It was with this guiding idea that they drove toward the thorough-going split which your leaders are bemoaning at present.

"We of the Y.P.S.L. agree with the goal of a homogeneous revolutionary party, disciplined and centralized, which will be capable of overthrowing the capitalist state. But we consider that such an end can be achieved only by a process of discussion and self-development within the party, not through an artificial split engineered from without as the Comintern leaders believed. We therefore welcome the new turn of the C. P. and the Y.C.L. toward organic unity as a complete repudiation of the organizational principle upon which the C. I. was founded and which gave it its reason for separate existence."

Here we have a combination of an ignorance as to how the Comintern was formed and a confusion on the conception of a revolutionary party.

Let History Speak

In the first place the split in the labor movement was caused by the social democratic betrayal during and following the World War. Strangely enough, this was stated by the young Socialist speaker at the Y.C.L. meeting—who is the author of the leaflet!

Second, the organizational split with the 'social-patriots' was not "an artificial split engineered from without." One has but to read, for example, the history of the origins of the French and American Communist parties. In the first case Lenin urged the Communists to stay in the S.P. and it was more than a year and a half after the Comintern was formed (March 1919)

that the Communists won a majority in the French S. P. (Dec., 1920)! The party affiliated to the Comintern.

In the United States the majority of the S.P. was expelled in the most arbitrary fashion because of its support to the program of the Third International. They "agreed with the goal of a homogeneous revolutionary party, disciplined and centralized" (present statement of Y.P.S.L.) and attempted to achieve this end—which means a break with the social-patriots of all stripe "by a process of discussion and self-development within the party."

Green Nods His Head

The leaflet confuses Stalinism with the early Comintern under Lenin. Stalinism has repudiated the 21 points in regard to the political struggle against social-patriotism because it has adopted this treacherous program as its own. And therefore it proposes organic unity to the social-patriots of the Second International!

Gil Green's reply to the young Socialists' charge of social-patriotism was an admission of the accuracy of the charge. He did not deny that the Y.C.L. would support the United States if it were in alliance with the Soviet Union in the coming war. He stated very dramatically that "we would force the government to support the Soviet Union in case of war!"

The young Stalinists present were undoubtedly impressed by the anti-Stalinist literature given to them. The statement of the Spartacus Youth League clearly explained the political basis and significance of the new turn of the Y.C.I.

POEM

The birth of freedom! sang exulting youthful throats!
And the earth lay still and listened
To the rush of eager feet
As they stormed into the building,
Up the narrow, smelly street,
Into factories and workshops . . .
Took possession of the land . . .
Opened wide all prison dungeons,
Danced maddened sarabande,
Destroy all evidence of bondage!
Clear the wreckage of the past!
Build our dream of white and azure
Build our dream . . . and make it last!

—RUTH JURON

