

Against Roosevelt's Budget Proposals --- All War Funds To The Unemployed --- End War By The Socialist Revolution

THE CHALLENGE OF YOUTH

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MILITARY GROWTH SPEEDS FALL OF "PEACE" EDIFICE

By Nathan Gould

National Organizer of the YPSL

Panic stricken by the impending collapse signalized by the present recession—the harbinger of a new devastating economic and social catastrophe—the imperialist bandits have resolved upon the course of war in last desperate effort to protract the life of moribund capitalism. The setting in China, is a mere detail in this new grotesque panorama. The whole world will be submerged in a horrible deluge of blood and human fragments. No laws, nor speeches, nor Leagues of Nations—only the concerted efforts of the world proletariat can avert the holocaust.

The DELUSION OF AMERICAN IMMUNITY IS AT AN END. Roosevelt's Chicago address placed a cynical counterblast across the myth of America's "Splendid Isolationism." The whole hypocritical structure of the Roosevelt "peace" apparatus has collapsed.

Military Preparations Are Acts of War

In essence however, there was nothing new in this epoch making address. The Chicago address proclaimed a fact which the fortification of the American islands in the Pacific and the concentration of the American fleet in the "danger zone", had already described in far more eloquent and more convincing terms. Neither the speech nor the the fortifications, nor the fleet concentrations were accidents. THEY WERE ACTS OF WAR—ON THE EVE OF A WAR WHICH AMERICAN AND WORLD IMPERIALISM NEEDS, WANTS, AND IS PERPETRATING.

Who dares deny this? War in China. War in Spain. The armies of every important country of the world face one another with fixed bayonets in stricken China, while the diplomats of every nation are scurrying from capital to capital in a desperate effort to conclude military alliances. Tension on the Mediterranean—in the Near East—in North Africa. Feverish races for armaments.

The League of Nations "Armaments Year Book" offers the following amazing figures on the increase of world expenditures in armaments. They announce that these figures are an absolute minimum based upon official reports submitted by the various nations.

1913.....	\$2,500,000,000
1932.....	\$4,300,000,000
1936.....	\$5,800,000,000
1937.....	\$7,100,000,000

The expenditures for 1937 (greatly increased in 1938) are over 3 times greater than the expenditures for arms in the pre-war year.

While Japan increases her military budget by almost 5 times over 1932—while France increases her "defense" budget to 12,934,000,000 francs and Britain proclaims that her goal is a "formidable army"—Roosevelt's assistant Secretary of war announces a "war plan to draft industry", and Roosevelt holds a conference with bankers,

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World Plunges Towards War As Rival Nations Arm; Spurred By Nazi Stroke

The Poisoned Apple



Within the space of a week, Hitler took possession of Austria, Anthony Eden rocked the British cabinet with his resignation, and the Franco-Soviet pact was given another kick. Actually, that but skims the surface of what has happened. No amount of space can convey the full details of world imperialism in its frantic maneuvers before each of the powers takes to its guns.

A single thread runs through the welter of cross-interests. Each power sees the reality of war; each is jockeying desperately to jockey itself into the most favorable situation, to stall a show-down until the time is best for itself. Of them all only the policy of Hitler seems definite.

Hitler has one card to play, and he keeps playing it. At every move he throws his ace—takes the Rhine valley, clutches Austria, and roars belligerently.

Mussolini has always opposed German expansion into south-central Europe. The newspapers report that he approved the Austro-German "anschluss." That may be. But it is also possible he did so in order to impress Britain with the urgency of an agreement. Once before Italy sided with Germany—from 1914 until 1915 when the Allies offered the better bargain.

Britain, long the master of world politics, now seems to be following. But, whatever happens,

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Socialist Workers Party Opens Nat'l Anti-War Drive

With the appearance in the February 19th issue of the Socialist Appeal of its anti-war manifesto to the American people, the Socialist Workers Party hurled its first defiance in the face of the war mongers.

Aided by the intensive cooperation of the YPSL, the S.W.P. is engaging in an extensive campaign against the double-headed offspring of capitalism—war and economic crisis. News from throughout the country reveals that the activities of the Party as the only aggressive and serious anti-war force are welcomed with keen interest by workers everywhere.

The campaign itself is being waged on the basis of general anti-war agitation. Copies of the Anti-War Manifesto, to the number of 50,000, are being distributed nationally. Anti-war resolutions are being presented to important labor bodies for their adoption. Anti-war posters, stickers, etc. are being distributed in enormous quantities. Mass public meetings denouncing Roosevelt's war preparations and addressed by leading members of the S.W.P. on national tour are being held in every important city of the country. These meetings are meeting with great success.

Party branches are following up this campaign with a drive to recruit new members and raise a \$5,000 Build-the-Party fund. All branch activities are organized around the concrete slogans of the campaign.

The YPSL cannot but welcome these intensified drives on the part of the S.W.P. and pledges itself to render all the possible assistance its forces permit.

Trotsky Writes On
"Leon Sedoff: Son,
Fighter, And
Comrade"

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Senator Pittman Bares Administration War Policy: "Prepare To Destroy Them"

By S. Stanley

It has taken that old wheel-horse of the Roosevelt government, Senator Key Pittman, to reveal the motives behind F.D.R.'s latest war moves. This imperialist bird of prey, the President's official spokesman in the Senate and Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, stated with brutal cynicism during the course of debate on new Navy Bill that "we can't trust the humanity of other peoples. We have to be prepared to destroy them."

Thus it is that all the predictions and exposés we have printed in our Challenge come true with an amazing and almost deadly accuracy. The American rulers are indeed rushing into war with an almost unheard of rapidity. The President's message to Congress contained the same imperialist motive, although put less crudely, as was expressed by Pittman. "Adequate defense means that, for the protection not only of our coasts, but also of our communities far removed from the coast, we must keep any potential enemy many hundred miles away from our continental limits."

The proposed addition to section 10 of the Vinson Navy Bill gives the official seal to this policy of aggressive imperialism. "It is further declared to be the policy of the United States that an adequate naval defense means not only the protection of our continental coastline, the Canal Zone, Alaska, Hawaii and our insular possessions, but also a defense that will keep any potential enemy away from our shores." It is striking how preparations for America's entry into the second World War proceeds under the slogan not of defense—but of offense! The meaning of defense has been transformed, in the actual course of policy formation and practical preparations, to that of offense! American imperialism, gagging under the pressure of the new economic crisis, demands—no less—the conquest of the world!

Stalinists Beat The Drum

And what of opposition to these plans of plunder? What of the various peace and brotherly love organizations? The radical parties?

The numerous racket organizations "for peace," "for prevention of war," are folding up one after the other and slinking silently into the camp of the warmongers. They know that literary pacifism turned into hysterical patriotism commands a big price on the market. From them we can expect absolutely nothing.

The Communist Party makes but one condition: "Make the Rich Pay for Increased Armaments!" This idea, we assume, if put into practice would help Roosevelt raise more money to sink into that bottomless swamp for dead capital—armaments. Their principal objections to the Navy Bill are: (1) the money can be saved if "we" join with other democratic powers; (2) the Navy admirals are not popular frontists.

From coast to coast the Stalinists wave the three-colored bloody shirt of anti-Japanese jingoism. Madly they urge Roosevelt on to increased heights, brazenly they call upon American capitalist to do what's best for them and the preservation of their damnable system (Browder's article in the New Republic on how to save

capitalism from destruction in one easy lesson—war on Japan), cynically they raise a hue and cry against revolutionists and even the most mild-mannered pacifists (Professor Beard.)

The Stalinists may be a 20th Century Americans. They are definitely the War Hawks of 1938! While their Moscow masters frantically urge them to redouble their efforts to draw American imperialism into a military alliance with the Soviet Union, these jingoes bend and strain every nerve in their war-propaganda machinery. The muck of "Japanese agent" flies in every direction. Their one principle: the more mud you throw, the more will stick. Their one idea: the enemy is at home—in Japan and Germany! Turn the imperialist war—into World War!

The trade-union bureaucracies (C.I.O. and A.F. of L. alike) offer not the slightest word of resistance. They seek to prepare workers, young and old, for the militarization and suppression of all elementary rights that will inevitably come with the slaughter Roosevelt is preparing for us. From Green we have word that the best thing to do is to follow "our" President. He knows what's best for us. He's inherited that Divine Right—from the capitalists. From Lewis there is complete silence.

258 Destroyers in Five Years

With the start of Roosevelt's Administration dates the first steps in the war process. The Vinson Naval Act of 1934 provided for the construction of 102 men-of-war by 1942. The goal under that act was to be 1,186,200 tons of modern fighting ships. The new bill aims to give an increased impetus to this program. Under its 20 per cent increase provisions, the navy will add 255,412 tons of fighting ships, increasing the total tonnage to 1,517,480 tons. To illustrate but one category: the total number of destroyers at the end of five years will be 278! The "big stick" in northern New York State.

IMPERIALIST NAVY STRENGTH: ON THE UP AND UP!

Country	No. of Ships	Tonnage on Jan. 2, 1938
(1) Britain	295	1,256,278 tons
(2) United States	340	1,145,885 "
(3) Japan	216	813,431 "
(4) France	177	515,776 "
(5) Italy	225	424,716 "
(6) Germany	76	134,592 "

SHIPS IN PROCESS OF CONSTRUCTION

Country	No. of Ships	Tonnage on Jan. 1, 1938
(1) Britain	86	501,465 tons
(2) United States	63	262,540 "
(3) Japan	18	58,022 "
(4) France	27	133,148 "
(5) Italy	63	126,235 "
(6) Germany	63	305,223 "

GRAND TOTAL

Country	No. of Ships	Tonnage
(1) Britain	381	1,757,743 tons
(2) United States	403	1,408,425 "
(3) Japan	234	871,453 "
(4) France	201	648,924 "
(5) Italy	291	624,281 "
(6) Germany	139	439,815 "

Editor's Note: We ain't doing so badly, are we, Mr. Browder?????

of the second T.R. threatens to become the size of a telephone pole!

In the midst of these unparalleled war preparations, social-patriotism rapidly approaches the boiling point. When the treachery of workers "leaders" and their parties takes on hitherto incredible proportions, the YPSL, youth section of the Fourth International in America, stands firmer than ever. When the Stalinists and jingoes cry out that we are "traitors to our country," we reply to them in the words of Karl Liebknecht before his accusers:

"The word 'treason' is sheer nonsense to the international socialist. He doesn't know of any 'enemy power,' and if he did he would still not think of 'lending him assistance.' He adopts the exact same attitude of revolutionary opposition to foreign capitalist governments as to his own. The slogan which guides his activity is not: 'lend assistance to an enemy power,' but 'conduct an international action, an action in common with the socialist forces of other countries so as to injure at the same time all the imperialist powers."

"He fights, in the name of the international proletariat, against international capitalism. But he lays hold of it where he finds it and where he can give it an effective blow, that is, in his own country. It is in his own country that he combats, in the name of the international proletariat, his own government, his own ruling class as the representative of international capitalism." This is what we stand for!

Bulletin

As we go to press, newspapers report a plan devised with the approval of WPA authorities to recruit persons between the age of 18 and 35 for the military service of the country from the WPA rolls—thus making room for other people on the WPA—and building the army. The plan is already being put into effect

Government And Bosses Answer Increase In Unemployment With Drive Against Labor Standards

The drive against labor is a major aspect of the campaign for national unity behind the Roosevelt Government. It is one cog in the war preparations of American Capitalism. Labor must be brought into harness.

The Communist Party is doing its best in this regard, as are also the labor "leaders" like Lewis, Martin, Green, to "put labor behind the president" and to smash any signs of rank-and-file militancy.

This attack against labor is national in scope. It has two aspects. First, there is the attack upon the living standards of the workers. And second, there is the attack against labor organizations.

Payrolls Decline

In December alone, payrolls were \$72,000,000 less than in

November. In November there was an increase of 570,000 unemployed; in December the figure had grown by almost a million and a quarter unemployed, reaching a total of more than 3,500,000 since last September. In Detroit, out of 300,000 workers normally employed in the auto industry, 200,000 are out of work, and 70,000 are on part time. In New York the garment season never opened for 1938, leaving thousands out of work.

In dozens of industries factories are working part time. In others, the stagger system takes its toll. In Detroit, again, the average wage for skilled auto-mechanics in from \$8.50 to \$10.50 a week, because of the stagger system. The Chrysler auto works have been operating two days a week for over a month now. In the meanwhile prices fell less than 1 per cent.

ALIEN STUDENTS BARRED FROM FREE NEW YORK COLLEGE

The Board of Higher Education of New York has ruled that aliens are to be excluded from the city colleges. This ruling will deprive many properly qualified students from the benefits of a college education, among them victims of political, racial, and religious discrimination who have been forced to flee from their native lands.

It is significant that the Board, which has taken this reactionary step, is controlled by the American Labor Party, the Stalinists, and in, back-hand manner, by the Norman Thomas Socialists. Our party was the only one which consistently fought and exposed the LaGuardia administration. This last, extremely revealing action of the Board, has, as so often in the past, again vindicated our position.

It is no accident that the Board finds the present moment opportune to make this ruling. It comes at a time when the war aims of the government are most clearly revealed. The drive against aliens is one of the first steps in the preparation of a war psychology, and serves as a cover for the persecution of all anti-war elements.

League Initiates Counter Campaign

The New York districts of the YPSL has taken the initiative in launching a vigorous campaign to force the Board to rescind the ruling. Five-thousand rotographed leaflets have been distributed in every Branch and Session of every free City College in New York. Thousands of names are being collected on petitions, demanding the immediate revocation of the ruling. Every effort is being made to form an extensive, effective united front of all working-class youth organizations and school clubs, both on a city-wide and a local campus scale in order to arrange mass letters to the board, and distribute the petitions.

The YPSL plans, as the climax of the campaign, a mass picket-line in front of the City College 23rd Street building, at the time of the next meeting of the Board, accompanied by a mass street corner meeting, from which a delegation will be sent up to the meeting to place our demands before the Board, and demand an immediate answer.

The YPSL has demonstrated once again that it is in the forefront of the fight for students' rights, and democratic rights.

Arms Bill Has Anti-Union Clause

In Roosevelt's armament bill a specific clause was entered which "permits" arms firms to employ labor at non-union rates of pay, thus voiding the Walsh-Healy act; in Roosevelt's housing act the "prevailing wage" amendment was defeated. Roosevelt's appointee to Puerto-Rico, Gov. Winship, has introduced into the legislature a bill for forced arbitration in labor disputes, following the successful longshoreman's strike there. Roosevelt's appointee, Kennedy, former chairman of the maritime commission, was the prime mover in the prosecution of the 14 seamen in the Algic case. The men were prosecuted for mutiny because they refused to have their cargo unloaded by scabs in Montevideo. Kennedy held that this gesture of labor unity with the striking long-shoremen, was mutiny.

Hague Foiled by Labor Response

In Jersey, the haven of "runway shops," "I-am-the-law" Hague, has attempted to drive labor organizations off the map. He has been foiled only by the militant and speedy labor response to this reactionary drive. LaGuardia's handling of the Automat strike in another indication of this anti-labor drive. Here the "liberal" candidate of the ALP and the Stalinists has given an object lesson in strike breaking. Every day of the strike special police squads swooped down on the picket lines hauling in the strikers. 1,350 pickets were arrested during the strike, and over 3' fined.

The drive against labor organizations is an essential preliminary to using them for the war machine. First the class-struggle must be smashed. Then the unions must be transformed into recruiting machines for imperialism. That is the program of American Capitalism and its government.

I. Rader.

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Anti-War Militants Fight Pro-War Line Of A.S.U. Despite Expulsion Threats

By Hal Draper

American students can stop war "along the lines indicated by President Roosevelt in his clarion call to action against the war-makers." "A model chapter (of the ASU) is one that ably serves our student generation, our educational system, our country."

"Only the courageous implementing of the policy laid down by President Roosevelt in Chicago can save our country, and all the capitalist world, from unparalleled reaction and catastrophe."

These two questions are not

from the same pens. The first is from the recent published pamphlet containing Joseph P. Lash's report to the ASU National Convention at Vassar. The second is from the article of Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party, in the New Republic of February 2. The one is by the master himself, the other by his lackey.

"Save our country and the capitalist system!" cries Browder. "Serve our country and its educational system!" says Lash. And both finish up with a college yell for Roosevelt.

Lash's Service Boys of the ASU are beginning to perform with the opening of the new term. It is clear that they recognize what their main service to their country can be: namely, acting as a barrier to student action against the "courageous" war policies of Roosevelt, and covering up the offensive of their educational system against the students.

Since the Vassar Convention, Roosevelt has discovered that the U.S. has two coasts and called for a billion-dollar naval-building program to protect them both. Hearst, once the bogymen of the ASU, seconds the motion for fleets second-to-none in both oceans with a cartoon portraying Uncle Sam as an officer who needs gats on both hips—i.e. a two-gun man. The response of the ASU, that leader in "the positive search for peace," is—silence. They tacitly accept Roosevelt's "clarion call" for the militarization of America.

YPSL Leads Student Struggles

In New York, the educational system of which the ASU is the humble servitor is turning its own weapons against it. The McGoldrick resolution which was supposed to legalize the ASU and other "outside organizations" in the city colleges was passed with a clause strengthening the control of the college administrations over the student organizations. The administration of City College Evening is already using it to force the ASU to submit a complete list of its membership for the files, and it seems likely that it will also be used to extend a strict censorship over college newspapers and club publications.

New York's Board of Higher Education passes a ruling excluding aliens from the city colleges. In both of these cases, the educational system's Service Boys have so far failed to initiate any campaign. The YPSL, however, was not slow in immediately launching a city-wide drive to force the Board to reverse its ruling—leaflets in all schools, mass petitions, and on February 24, a mass picket line in front of the Board's place of meeting.

In Chicago, the Tuley High School fire-trap burns down—fortunately on a Saturday. It is the YPSL that calls a protest meeting.

But the ASU has not been entirely inactive. Since the Convention, one mass meeting has been called in New York; it was on that burning issue in the struggle to "save our country"

—the drive to expel the Trotskyists from the ASU. In a two-hour tirade (after which our comrades were given three minutes to answer) Lash catalogued the Stalinist slanders against the revolutionary students, ranging from Spain to quotations from Lenin on Trotsky, referring to the notorious Moscow Trials as part of his proof that we are natural-born wreckers. The purpose of the meeting was obvious: to launch a national drive to demonstrate in action what they demonstrated politically at Vassar, that they consider the presence of revolutionaries in the ASU as incompatible with their pro-war line, to prepare for the expulsion of the revolutionaries.

The militant anti-war students will not be induced to build the "model chapters" of the ASU to support "our" flag and "our" country. They will turn their backs on the ASU's attempt to deliver them bound and gagged to the war-machine and its school administration agents, and turn to the revolutionary students who offer them militant action in defense of their interests. This is the meaning of the drive of Lash and the Young Communist League.

Above everything else, they are mortally afraid of contact between ourselves and the rank-and-file of the ASU.

The Young Communist League has already met reverses after reverse in its campaign to convince ASU members that we are in the ASU only for dark, sinister purposes. We state openly that we are in the ASU in order to convince the students of the need for the revolutionary struggle against war and for all the demands of the students, and to mobilize them in action against the Roosevelt war drive. Do we support the ASU? We certainly do not support the program of the ASU; we do not support its pro-war and red-baiting activities a la Lash, we do not support the miserable cringing before the powers that be that is today the hall-market of the ASU. We will support only those of its activities which are really in the interests of the students.

ASU Part of War Machinery

The ASU will make it clear with every succeeding week that it is not the rallying point for militant student action. As the war situation sharpens, it will more and more brazenly come forward as an integral part of the military-propaganda machine to mobilize the consciences of the students for war. By April it will attempt to stick the final stiletto in the back of the student strike, both as a strike against war and as any kind of militant strike at all.

And the anti-war sections of the students? April must also see their answer. It must show them that the student anti-war movement cannot be killed by the betrayal of the Lashes and Stracks. We promise, for ourselves, that there will be militant anti-war strikes this year—over the heads of these "leaders" if necessary.

NEWARK DAIRY WORKERS WIN STRIKE DEMANDS

NEWARK, N. J. — Militant workers of the Rose Dairy company here concluded an eight-week strike that at times appeared lost, by winning all original demands, including wage increases, seniority rights and a closed shop.

This dairy, a large cut-rate market serving people throughout Essex county, was the first food store organized by Local 108, United Retail Employees of America (C.I.O.), which had previously organized stores in the shoe and haberdashery field.

The strike started when union leaders were fired, one day before the time set for negotiations on a contract. All negotiations were dropped by the employer after three weeks of the strike. Meanwhile, with some strikers having found new jobs, the strike appeared to be a dismal failure. At

this time, members of the Young Peoples Socialist League appeared to reinforce the picket line, and by so doing restored the morale of the strikers.

For seven weeks, the organizer of Local 108, Robert Brown, an ALP leader in New York, sent little aid to the strikers and took no active part. From this point on, Walter Jankoski, one of the progressive members of the Local's executive board, took charge of the strike. Immediately, unemployed unionists were sent up to picket, and after a sharp drop in business the employer reopened negotiations and granted all demands. Already, since the strike victory, another grocery has signed up, and plans are under way for Local 108 to organize the entire grocery field.

Correction

Last month we listed the world's armaments expenditure for 1937 as seven billions. We were a little on the conservative side there. The bill was twelve billions (\$12,000,000,000).

MARSHALL HIGH ERRS UNDER PROVOCATION

Recently, the Marshall High School (Chicago) chapter of the ASU disaffiliated from the ASU. Though extremely ill-advised, the action was obviously provoked by the disgusting pro-war policy of the ASU, and by the latter's drive against militant members within its ranks.

Already, the dishonest moguls of the ASU (YCLers, who are seconded by leaders of the Norman Thomas socialist) are trying to make use of this incident to expel sincere anti-war elements, "Trotskyites," all over the country.

The Marshall members should not have allowed themselves to be provoked. But their mistake is as nothing compared to the utterly vulgar policies of the ASU.

LEON SEDOFF IS DEAD

On February 16 Leon Sedov, son of Leon Trotsky, died in Paris at the age of 32, after a sudden operation whose causes are still obscure.

In his press statement, Comrade Trotsky called Sedov his "best friend." He was not only Trotsky's best friend, but also one of the best of those who carried on the fighting traditions of Bolshevism, devoted to the last drop of his blood to the world revolution. In his youth he joined the communist movement. While still a youth there devolved upon him the principal responsibility for contact with the Russian Opposition, existing in illegality. Highly intelligent and impassioned in temperament, he was inexhaustible in the invention of new means to bring the voice of the international Bolshevik-Leninists to the imprisoned Oppositionists.

Deeply devoted to the cause, in 1928 he unhesitatingly sacrificed his common life with his wife and three-year-old son, gave up the studies which were dear to him, in order to suffer with his father the severity, first, of deportation to Siberia, later, of exile. There he became Trotsky's closest political collaborator, there, having already demonstrated his extraordinary talent as an organizer, he developed into a serious and penetrating Marxist writer. As an editor of the *Russian Bulletin*, he displayed a lively interest in the international problems of the movement, learned to speak and to write German and French fluently, and, after February 1931, lived the hard and perilous life of a professional revolutionist, first in Berlin, then in France, as a student.

After 1932 he became the object of uninterrupted persecutions from the Prussian police and the National Socialists, who were furious at Trotsky's revolutionary anti-fascist campaign. But neither house-searchings nor police-spying, nor threatening Nazi attempts could deter the work of this resourceful fighter in the service of the Russian Bolshevik-

Lenists. While dozens of our comrades were already in the hands of the Gestapo, Sedov, who excelled in high personal courage, remained at his post until the last moment and prepared for the removal of the *Russian Bulletin* to Paris.

But here too, where he combined study with revolutionary work, no calm existence was his lot. The French police, supplied with zealous denunciations from the G.P.U. about his activity as editor of the *Bulletin*, many times threatened him with immediate expulsion.

During the internment of his father in Norway, he became the moving spirit of the fight against the Moscow trials. Tirelessly he established extensive international connections in order to gather material for the refutation of the frame-ups and to give unified direction to their exposure on a world-wide scale. His "Red Book" about the Moscow trials laid the foundation for the future work of the International Commission of Inquiry.

Sedov was about to write a history of the Russian Opposition, a work for which this educated Marxist and expert on Russian matters was uniquely suited, and which would have been one of the most important instruments in the education of our youth.

Further inquiry will show whether Sedov, who succumbed to a sudden and mysterious illness, was another of the innumerable victims of Stalin's strong-arm men. In any case, it is certain that the G. P. U. eagerly wanted his head, and surrounded him with a series of meticulously prepared plots. In one way or another one of the most ardent desires of the unscrupulous Soviet bureaucracy is satisfied. The Fourth International has lost one of its most valuable sons. About him we can say what Marx once said of the faithful fighter for the proletarian cause to whom he dedicated his *Capital*: "His name will be forever enshrined in the hearts of the working-class."

W. Keller.

The Paris Commune: "Glorious Harbinger Of The New Society"

By Ernest Erber

The working class of Paris of 1871 was thoroughly at home on the barricades. Not only did it have illustrious revolutionary forebears, the Parisian masses, the *sans culottes*, who stormed the Bastille, deposed and beheaded a monarch, conquered half of Europe in Napoleon's wars against the feudal powers but many of its active spirits were veterans of 1832 and nearly every adult worker could remember the momentous events of 1848.

The *sans culottes* of 1789 did not shed their blood on the streets of Paris and the battlefields of Europe to replace the expropriated feudal lord with the capitalist exploiter, or to destroy debauchery at the court of Versailles and enthrone it in the Paris Bourse. They took the slogans of "Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality" could only be realized when he, the *sans culotte*, was the economic equal of all other Frenchmen. He wanted not merely the destruction of distinctions between nobility and commoners, but the destruction of all class distinctions. But the economic development of France at the end of the eighteenth century decreed only one path for the Revolution, the destruction of feudalism to pave the way for capitalist property relations and the development of the productive forces. It was inevitable that the hopes and aspirations of the propertyless masses be smashed against the stone wall of economic reality.

Yet, the exploited masses rose again and again in vain attempts to achieve the inspiring vision of a society of "Liberty, Fraternity and Equality." As soon as the masses were armed by a section

Paris Proletariat Takes Power

Thiers, head of the government and cunning representative of the big capitalists, hesitated before the task of disarming the proletariat. But the Prussians refused to leave France until the indemnity payments had started and the bankers refused to loan the money until "order" was restored in Paris. Forced to a decision, Thiers decided to act with a bold stroke. A force of 15,000 regulars and 3,000 police were mobilized on the night of the 17th of March to seize the cannon of the National Guard. The workers of the Montmartre district, where most of the cannon were stored, were aroused by a general

of the bourgeoisie to fight its political battles, or mobilize against a foreign foe, they began to feel the strength which arms gave them and advanced demands of their own.

By 1871, the bourgeoisie had come to fear the Parisian workers to such an extent, that they preferred the capture of Paris by the Prussians rather than fully arm a National Guard, which was overwhelmingly proletarian in composition.

But the workers armed themselves despite the bourgeoisie, even raising a public subscription for the purchase of artillery for the Guard. After the surrender of Paris the bourgeoisie was faced with its old problem—how to disarm the proletariat and restore bourgeois "order" in Paris.

The bourgeoisie had more reason to fear the armed people in 1871 than at anytime previously. Capitalist production had made great strides forward since 1789 in France, and with it grew the numerical strength and class consciousness of the industrial proletariat. The propertyless of 1871 were no longer the artisans of master workmen or employees of master workmen or working for themselves. They were the wage slaves of industry, organized in large part in trade unions. Their experiences since 1789 had done much to dispel the Jacobinist illusions about the community of interests between employer and employee since both, in contradistinction to the feudal lord, were producers of wealth. The agitation of Fourier, St. Simon, and Proudhon, to say nothing of the Marxists, had caused the workers to look to a solution for capitalist exploitation by means of socialized production.

alarm on the morning of the 18th and gathered about the troops in great numbers, speaking to them in an attempt to persuade them from taking the cannon away. The officer in charge, General Lecompte, became alarmed and ordered the troops to fire. But the fraternization had already started and his order was disobeyed. The troops went over to the workers. The terror stricken government of Thiers fled the city even before the entire population was conscious of what took place. On the days following, the most prominent capitalists followed him. Paris was left to the revolutionary proletariat

The memory of the fighters of the Commune is not only honoured by the workers of France but by the proletariat of the whole world, for the Commune did not fight for any local or narrow national aim, but for the freedom of toiling humanity, of all the downtrodden and oppressed. As the foremost fighter for the social revolution, the Commune has won sympathy wherever there is a proletariat struggling and suffering. The picture of its life and death, the sight of a workers' government which seized the capital of the world and kept it in its hands for over two months, the spectacle of the heroic struggle of the proletariat and its sufferings after defeat—all this has raised the spirit of millions of workers, aroused their hopes and attracted their sympathies to the side of socialism. The thunder of the cannon in Paris awakened the most backward strata of the proletariat from deep slumber, and everywhere gave impetus to the growth of revolutionary Socialist propaganda. This is why the cause of the Commune did not die. It lives to the present day in every one of us.

The cause of the Commune is the cause of the social revolution, the cause of the complete political and economic emancipation of the toilers. It is the cause of the proletariat of the whole world. And in this sense it is immortal.

(from "The Paris Commune"—Lenin).

and the radical petty bourgeoisie.

The proletariat was still too immature to realize what had happened and how to proceed. It could do no better than to adopt as its own the solution of the petty bourgeoisie, the answer of the Jacobins to the ills of France,

Commune Factions Fail to Understand Requirements of Situation

All the acts of the Commune testify to the confusion that reigned in a working class that was just beginning to exchange its Jacobin past for its Socialist future. And the past and the future lined up in two factions in the Commune—the Blanquist Majority, the political heirs of the Jacobins, and the Proudhonist Minority, the supporters of the First International. The Majority could think of nothing but to imitate the great figure of 1789. In answer to the accusations against the Minority, Franckell, who seems to be one of the few members of the Commune who had a knowledge of the teachings of Marx, said:

If you call us Girondins it is probably because you lie down and get up with the Moniteur (chief organ of the Jacobin government) of 1793; that is doubtless the reason which prevents you from seeing the difference between those bourgeois and us, the revolutionary socialists.

The Minority, on the other hand, exhibited the immaturity that characterized the working class as a whole. While it opposed the histrionic stage play of the Majority, it could offer little constructive advice as an alternative. Almost all of its political proposals testified to its Proudhonist training, with its decentralist, federalist methods, and anarchist sentimentality.

This lack of understanding of the real significance of what had occurred on the part of both Majority and Minority, made impossible a real proletariat organization of the struggle. The Commune regarded itself as the municipal council of Paris and refused to march beyond its walls for an offensive against the army which Thiers was mobilizing at Versailles from the prisoners of war sent back to France by Bismark to assist in the suppression of the Commune. The Commune refused to seize the Bank of France on the same grounds, saying that it belonged to the entire French people and not alone to Paris. The Com-

Communards Die in Defense of Their Revolution

But before the Commune breathed its last, the working class of Paris was to inscribe an epic of heroism on the scrolls of revolutionary history that will never be forgotten. Called to its senses by the alarming news that the enemy was inside the gates, proletarian Paris mobilized for the final struggle. For eight days and nights the workers of Paris defended their streets, arrondissement by arrondissement, block by block, house by house. Holding their barricades until the bayonets of the charging

"The Commune." After a period of rule by the provisional government of the Central Committee of the National Guard, the Council of the Commune was elected and took over the government.

munne was filled with a hatred of the standing army and refused to organize a centralized and disciplined army of its own. Both Majority and Minority joined in making this fetish out of the democratic slogan of "an armed people." This tendency came to its head in the proclamation of the grand old man of Jacobinism, Delescluze, Minister of War, in the last days of the Commune:

Enough of militarism, no more staff officers bespangle and gilded! Make way for the people, the fighters, the bare arms! The hour of revolutionary warfare has struck! The people knows nothing of scientific manoeuvres, but when it has a musket in its hand, paving-stones under its feet, it fears not all the strategists of the monarchists schools. To arms! Citizens, to arms!

Nor did the Commune effectively organize the suppression of its internal enemies. Here the Proudhonists were particularly vociferous in opposing the use of methods similar or identical to those which they had opposed under the monarchy: preventative arrests, hostages, solitary confinement, revolutionary tribunals, and other stern measures. They prolonged the debate against the creation of a Committee of Public Safety for three days so that one of their own supporter, Vailant, declared:

The Commune should begin by reforming itself and stop being a talkative little parliament, destroying one day what it created the day before, and obstructing every decision made by the Executive Commission.

It was inevitable that the Commune, under the terrific and fatal handicaps of such an immature and confused leadership, should not long withstand the attack of the centralized and disciplined army of Thiers. When a traitor opened the Porte de Saint-Cloud on the afternoon of May 20th and admitted the troops of Versailles, the end was very near.

troops forced the survivors back to the next barricade. Of all the positive lessons which the Commune has taught the working class, the greatest of all is that it taught the working class how to die in defense of the revolution.

The victorious bourgeoisie exhibited to the full the savagery of the ruling class toward its rebellious slaves, reminiscent of

the furious butchery of Spartacus and the revolting slaves by the Romans, and foreshadowing the degenerate bestiality of fascism. The Terror of the Jacobins, in 1791, in two years, accounted only for 2,596 heads. But the maddened bourgeoisie of 1871 was not content until it had drunk the blood of 20,000 to 30,000 men, women, and children. The butchery continued for days on end. The workers were hunted like beasts. To have calloused hands was sufficient to recommend one for the firing squad.

The death of Varlin is typical of the fate of the captured leaders. The latest, and perhaps greatest, historian of the Commune, Frank Jellinek, describes it as follows:

"The soldiers made him run the gauntlet all over the Butte for a long hour. At last he reached a court martial at that same little house in the rue des Roisiers where Lecompte and Clement Thomas and so many Communards had met their end. They thought of shooting him in the garden, but the local commander had his quarters there and hated to see his victims in his own house. So they took him out, paraded him about until the crowd had smashed his face to a jelly, and shot him at the corner of the street. An officer stole the watch which the Bookbinders' Union had presented to him, and of which he had been boyishly proud."

The heaps of bodies of the executed threatened to spread pestilence as they began to decompose. "So the clean-up began. Buses, chars-a-banc, any vehicle which would hold the bodies, many of them far gone in decomposition, were requisitioned. The cemeteries were crammed. Great ditches were filled. The trenches dug during the war at Charonne, Bagnolet, Bicetre, outside the walls, were crammed too. On the Buttes-Chaumont, once the gallows of Montfaucon, then the municipal dungheap, then the idyllic pseudo-classical gardens laid out by Haussmann to tame the savage breasts of the Bellevillois, they built a huge pyre. For days and days, a cloud of stinking smoke hung low over eastern Paris!" (Jellinek).

Ruins and ashes, hunger and disease blood-soaked earth and red-stained streets, stench and pollution, wisps of smoke curling up from cooling embers—silence; the Commune is dead, bourgeois order reigns. But the prophecy of Marx, written while the frightful carnage still continued, has come true:

Workingmen's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to the eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them."

"The waging of war, after all, is not the strong side of the proletariat." Kautsky.

It is not true. The Russian workers have shown that they are capable of wielding the 'instrument of war' as well. We see here a gigantic step forward in comparison with the Commune. It is not a renunciation of the Commune—for the traditions of the Commune consist not at all in its helplessness—but the continuation of its work. The Commune was weak. To complete its work we have become strong. The Commune was crushed. We are inflicting blow after blow upon the executioners of the Commune. We are taking vengeance for the Commune, and we shall avenge it. . . . (from "Dictatorship vs Democracy"—Trotsky)."

**ARE YOU
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FOR WAR?**

By Hal Draper

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Trotsky Answers A Young Student On The Trials

We print below a copy of a letter sent by comrade Trotsky to a young student in New York. Upon reading the verbatim report of Radek-Piatkov Trial, this student was convinced of Trotsky's guilt; but upon reading the *vesbatum* reports of the hearings at Coyoacan serious doubts regarding the Moscow Trial entered his mind and he could not believe Leon Trotsky guilty. Yet his friends were certain of Trotsky's guilt, claiming that the Coyoacan hearings were a farce and besides, how could the accused men, knowing their fate, openly admit their guilt if Trotsky were innocent? He therefore wrote comrade Trotsky stating his inability to come to a conclusion, and asking for an opinion.

* * *

"Dear Friend,

Your difficulty in understanding the great controversy over the Moscow Trials comes from lack of necessary historical study and of life experience. For anyone who knows history and its laws, especially the history of revolutions and counter-revolutions, the Moscow Trials do not present the slightest mystery. You can say, however, that there are many ladies and gentlemen who in spite of their very mature age and scholarship believe or pretend to believe the Moscow accusations. Yes. But they are people who believe that Eve was made from Adam's rib and that Christ fed multitudes of people with five loaves and two fish, transformed water into wine, and so on. It is mainly for this kind of people that the Moscow Trials were designed.

"People with an open mind and critical sense are now in the minority, it is true, but this progressive minority will have the privilege of convincing the majority. All genuine progress is made in this way. If you would belong to this progressive minority you must study Marxism and the history of revolutions. You will learn, for example, that the bourgeois, bureaucratic, thermidorian reaction accused Robespierre, Saint-Just, Couthon, and their friends,—all of them unshakable revolutionaries — of being royalists, traitors, and agents of the British monarchy. All of them were guillotined and the majority of people at that time believed the accusations to be correct. Who believes it now?

"My best greetings,

Leon Trotsky.

"February 4, 1938

"Coyoacan, D.F."

We Have Got to Have A Twelve Pager

Space limitations compelled us to omit nearly half the material we had on hand for publication in this issue of the *Challenge*. Something will have to be done about it. Eight pages does not suffice, especially when we appear no more frequently than once a month.

What we look forward to is a semi-monthly paper. But until that is possible (and we hope it will be in a short time,) we have got to set about laying the basis, the financial basis, for a twelve page *Challenge*. How's about it comrades?

* * *

But we do make one request of you until such time as we have more space. Please comrades, please, write short articles—and if possible, type them—double-space.

LEON SEDOFF: SON, FRIEND, FIGHTER

Dedicated To The Proletarian Youth

By LEON TROTSKY

(The following paragraphs are excerpted from a pamphlet written by Leon Trotsky in commemoration of our comrade, Leon Sedoff. We will publish the full text in pamphlet form immediately.)

As I write these lines together with the mother of Leon Sedoff, many telegrams of condolence keep arriving from different countries. And each of these telegrams evokes one and the same unbearable question. "Does it mean then that our friends in France, Holland, England, the United States, Canada, South Africa, and here in Mexico consider it a definitely established fact that Sedoff is no more?" Each telegram is a new token of his death, but we are unable as yet to believe this. And not only because he was our son, truthful, devoted, loving. But primarily because he as no one else on earth had become part of our life, joined by all its roots, as our co-thinker, our co-worker, our guard, our advisor, our friend.

Of that older generation whose ranks we joined on the road to revolution at the end of the last century, all, without exception, have been swept from the scene. That which the hard-labor prisons and harsh exiles of the Czar, the privations of years in emigration, the civil war and diseases had failed to accomplish, Stalin, the worst scourge of the revolution, has now completed. In the wake of the older generation, the best section of the next generation, that is, the one which awakened in 1917 and which received its training in the twenty four armies of the revolutionary front, was likewise destroyed. Trampled underfoot, too, until no trace remained, was the best part of the youth, the contemporaries of Leon. He himself survived by a miracle: only owing to the fact that he accompanied us into exile and then to Turkey. In the years of our last emigration we have gained many new friends, several of whom have entered intimately into our lives, becoming, as it were, members of our own family. But they all met us for the first time only during these last few years when we had already neared old age. Leon alone knew us when we were young and became part of our life from the very moment he first became aware of himself. Remaining young, he still seemed our contemporary... He went through the second emigration together with us: Vienna, Zurich, Paris, Barcelona, New York, Amherst (concentration camp in Canada) and finally Petrograd.

While yet a child—he was going on twelve—he had, in his own way, consciously made the transition from the February revolution to that of October. His adolescence was passed under intense pressure. He added a year to his age so that he might the more quickly join the Komsomol which was then seething with all the passion of awakened youth. The young bakers, among whom he carried on propaganda, used to award him a fresh loaf of white bread which he would carry home happily under the torn sleeve of his jacket. These were fiery and cold, great and hungry years. Of his own volition Leon left the Kremlin for a proletarian student dormitory, in order not to be any different from the others. He refused to ride with us in an automobile, so as not to make use of this privilege of the bureaucrats. Instead he participated ardently in all the Red Saturdays and other "labor mobilizations", cleaned snow from the Moscow sts., "liquidated" illiteracy, unloaded bread and firewood from freightcars, and later, as a polytechnic student, repaired locomotives. If he did not participate on the fighting front, it was only because adding two and even three years to his age could not have helped him: he was not yet fifteen when the civil war ended. But he did accompany me several times to the front; he absorbed its harsh impressions, and knew firmly why this bloody struggle was being waged.

The latest press wires speak of Leon Sedoff's living in Paris "mostmodest conditions"—much more modest, we will add, than those of a skilled worker. But even in Moscow, in those years when his father and mother held high posts, he lived no better than during the past few years in Paris, but rather worse. Was this a rule then among the ranks of the bureaucratic youth? No.

Already at that time he was an exception. In this child as he grew to boyhood and adolescence a feeling for duty and achievement awakened early.

* * *

Material difficulties and privations Leon bore lightly, jokingly, like a true proletarian; but, of course, they too left their mark. Immeasurably more harrowing were the effects of subsequent moral tortures. The Moscow trial of the sixteen, the monstrous nature of the accusations, the nightmarish testimony of the defendants, among them Smirnov and Mrachovsky, whom Leon so intimately knew and loved. The unexpected internment of his father and mother in Norway, four months without news, the theft of the archives, the mysterious departure of my wife and myself to Mexico, the Second Moscow Trial with even more nightmarish accusations and confessions, the disappearance of his brother Sergei charged with "poisoning workers", the shooting of countless people who had been close friends or who had remained friends to the end; the persecutions and attempts of the G.P.U. in France, the murder of Reiss in Switzerland, lies, baseness, perfidy, and frame-ups—no, "Stalinism" was for Leon not an abstract political concept but an endless series of moral blows and spiritual wounds. Whether the Moscow masters had to resort to chemistry or whether everything they had done before proved sufficient, the conclusion remains one and the same: *it was they who killed him*. The day of his death they marked on the Thermidorian calendar as a major celebration.

Before they killed him they did everything in their power to slander and blacken our son in the eyes of his contemporaries and posterity. Cain Djughashvili and his henchmen tried to depict Leon as an agent of fascism, a secret partisan of capitalist restoration in the U.S. S. R., the organizer of railroad wrecks and murders of workers. The efforts of the scoundrels are in vain! Tons of thermidorian filth rebound from this youthful figure, leaving not a blot on him. Leon was a thoroughly clean, honest, pure human being. Before any working class gathering he could recount his life—alas! so brief—day by day, as I have briefly told it here. He had nothing to be ashamed of or to hide. Moral nobility was the basic warp of his character. He served unwaveringly the cause of the oppressed, because he remained true to himself. From the hands of nature and history he emerged a man of heroic mould. The great awe-inspiring vents which hover over us will need such people. Had Leon lived to participate in these events, he would have shown his true stature. But he did not live. Our Leon, boy, son, heroic fighter is no more!

His mother—who was closer to him than any other person in the world—and I are living through these terrible hours, recalling his image, feature by feature, unable to believe. How can we accustom ourselves to the idea that there no longer exists on this earth this warm, human contact—bound to us by such indissoluble threads of common memories, mutual understanding, tender attachment? No one knew and no one knows us, our strong and our weak sides, so well as he did. He was a part of both of us, our younger part. Through hundreds of channels our thoughts and feelings reached out to him daily in Paris. Together with our boy has died everything that still remained young within us.

Good bye, Leon! Good bye, dear and incomparable friend! Your mother and I never thought, never expected, that destiny would impose upon us this terrible task of writing your obituary. We lived in the firm conviction that long after we were gone you would be the continuator of our common cause. But we were not able to safeguard you. Good bye, Leon! We bequeath your irreproachable memory to the younger generation of the workers of the world. You will rightly live in the hearts of all those who work, suffer, and struggle for a better world. Revolutionary youth of all countries! Accept from us the memory of our Leon, adopt him as your son—he is worthy of it—and let him henceforth participate invisibly in your battles, since destiny has denied him the happiness of participating in your final victory.

FRED BEAL FACES 20 YEAR TERM IN N.C. FRAME-UP

Fred Beal, militant leader of the 1929 Gastonia, N.C. textile strike, has been found by the police and has started to serve a 20 year sentence for a crime he did not commit.

Beal, and six other members of the union sentenced in September 1929 on a charge of murder in lynch mad court in North Carolina for the sole reason that they had led one of the most magnificent strikes of textile workers that the South has ever seen.

Upon the advice of the C.P., of which Beal was then a member, the innocent victims fled to the Soviet Union rather than face a life in jail and satisfy the wishes of the Southern capitalist class.

After they had left the United States the *Daily Worker* wrote:

"They are quite justified in escaping from the vicious sentence imposed upon them, by placing themselves beyond the reach of the Southern capitalist class justice.... The working class as a whole should glory in the fact that they got away. The workers should support their escape despite the howls of the bourgeoisie.... Let the bosses take the bail; it's better that they have \$27,000 than the seven Gastonia fighters serve 117 years in their prison."

But Beal's residence in the Soviet Union made him a bitter opponent of the Stalinist bureaucracy, and he returned to the United States where he constantly faced the danger of arrest, rather than condone the actions of this bureaucracy.

The Stalinists, who see no greater crime than enmity towards their own bureaucracy, have joined hands with the capitalist bloodhounds and have labeled Beal in the columns of the *Daily Worker* as a "fugitive from justice."

The cops arrested Beal at the home of his brother at Lawrence, Mass., and have managed to extradite him to North Carolina where he has begun his long prison term. In the meantime, labor, unable to stomach another frame-up against one of its fighters has formed a committee for the defense of Ferd Beal. Unlike the traitors Stalinists who have become nothing but "stool-pigeons" and bootlickers of the cops, we will do everything in our power to free Beal from the clutches of our class enemy and their filthy prisons.

S. L.

LEAGUE ROTC PAPER APPEARS

As the *Challenge* goes to press, the first Fourth Internationalist paper ever published in the Reserve Officers Training Corps is appearing.

Squads Left, published by our League for the City College ROTC, is an attractive six page paper exposing the war preparations of the US Government and urging the cadets to organize against these preparations. It speaks the language of the militarized student in the simplest of terms, and effectively puts across the elementary message of Marxism to those students who are most under the influence of the jingoes.

TELEPHONE

The telephone number of the National Office is
GRamercy 5-9142



FRED BEAL

WORLD PLUNGES TOWARDS WAR

(Continued from page 1)

You can be sure, it will be favorable to John Bull. There has been a powerful clique in the British government urging closer unity with Hitler right along. Now that war seems slightly closer than the British care to see it, for the time being, they are angling for agreements with Italy with an eye to their welfare in the Mediterranean.

These agreements are however just bosh. They "keep things going" while the skillful diplomats maneuver in secret for favorable alliances and bargains. These alliances are too deeply covered with hokum right now to see through to the final possibilities. There is a lot of talk about a Four Power Pact with Germany, England, Italy, and France as the signers. The pact will be as fruitful of peace as was the League of Nations.

It is now proper to speak of the League of Nations as a thing of the past. Never more than a sorry pretense as a peace instrument, serving only to deceive the working masses, (with the help of his nibs, Stalin) it is now all washed-up. Prime-minister Chamberlain read the memorial sermon. War is too close not to smother these old pretensions. Eden made quite a furor about defending the League, but those in the know claim that Eden simply wanted the war with greater dispatch—feeling that England cannot profit from any monkeying with Italy; that it must, in fact, take sterner measures against these totalitarian upstarts by way of safe-guarding Britain's interests in Africa and Asia.

France is toddling along, right behind Britain. The Franco-Soviet pact which made "democracy" so attractive to the Stalinists has been on the way out for some time. The French bosses see little to gain from an alliance with Stalin. They dislike Hitler's encroachments in central Europe which, since Versailles, they have always considered their own poaching grounds. But they are willing to go along with the English in a four-power farce for what they can get. Such a four-power agreement can have but one common plank—that a couple of slices out of Russia wouldn't be considered amiss. Another may be to have Spain over to Franco.

Having bound the working class over to their "democratic" rulers, Stalin finds himself con-

Receive Low Pay For Hard Labor in Calif. Agricultural Fields

Fifty per cent of the productive land in California is owned and operated by monopolies on a large scale production basis. The rest of the land is operated by small farmers. The farms range in size from twenty to one hundred acres or more. The predominant acreage is from twenty to sixty acres depending upon the locality and the crop raised.

In grapes the average is forty acres—of course with great variation in productivity and size. Cotton in most instances is raised on farms of from 160 to 1000 acres. There are very few small cotton farms. The farmers who own the cotton land invariably are financed by one of the big ginning companies and are subject to their orders. Many of the small farms are mortgaged to the Bank of America, which also controls cotton acreages.

The small farmers identify their interests with those of the large scale farmers and the town business men; therefore, they are with the latter—the movers in the vigilante groups. The Associated Farmers is the specific anti-labor organization formed by the monopolists and controlled by them.

Certain areas are important for certain crops. For instance, the cotton areas of importance are: Bakersfield, Delano, Tulare, Firebaugh-mendotta, and Madera. Peaches are widely distributed but are raised for the most part on large ranches such as the Tagus ranch of 7,000 acres. Citrus near Porterville, figs near Fresno, and truck gardening near Firebaugh. All of these areas are within a hundred miles of Fresno

fronted with the desertion of his imperialist friends, and the working class disoriented. Consequently, he has rediscovered, with the help of an Ivan Ivanov (John Doe?), that socialism which has triumphed lo' these many years, has not completed its triumph, that it needs the help of the world's masses. The bourgeois press, knowing better but seeing a grand opportunity, jumped on his declaration with shouts: "See, Stalin wants revolution." Unfortunately he does not. Stalin wants merely to scare the British lion (which, knowing Stalin too well, pays no heed); and to try, in the process, to square the realities of Soviet life with the government newspaper mirage for the dissatisfied Russian workers who need no Stalin edict to inform them that socialism is not yet "complete." Stalin's new line is not new. It is the same reactionary line, with a few new wrinkles acquired through age and desperation. Stalin's revelations will not save the Soviet Union, which is indeed menaced more than ever before. It is we who will have to rouse the proletariat to the defense of the Soviet Union—and the eradication of Stalinism. (The *Daily Worker* which splashes every little word of Stalin's over its front page, didn't know whether they are getting a new line, or not, and hid the story on the bottom of the page.)

Roosevelt is in the meantime, priming the American military machine. He may not have yet committed himself to an alliance, though several well explained charges were made in Washington to the effect that a secret alliance exists with England. Nevertheless, you can be sure of one thing. Whatever the battle-front he will send American youth to fight in, you can be dead sure that that way lies the fattest returns for the profiteers.

which is the distributing center for the valley as well as the center for the raisins industry and cotton products.

There are somewhere around 125,000 to 150,000 agricultural workers in the state. During the peak of the cotton and grape harvest there are about 55,000 workers employed in the San Joaquin valley for about three to four months. The grape harvest begins in August and is immediately followed by the cotton harvest—at some points they coincide. In Tulare county alone, 13,000 workers are employed in cotton. This gives some idea of the concentration.

In the valley, the vegetable harvest begins in February with spinach and asparagus; apricots are ripe in June; peaches on the middle of July; figs, most of the summer; the grape harvest begins in the middle of August and lasts until the latter part of September; cotton has the longest harvest season and requires the largest number of workers. Its season begins in the middle of September and depending upon the weather and the number of pickers, lasts until December or somewhere near then.

Each crop from early spring until late August takes progressively more workers. After the harvest of cotton there is a lull in the demand for workers which lasts until the beginning of asparagus, spinach, etc. During this time the majority of the workers migrate to other parts of the state or go on relief. Many are expected to be on relief this winter—more than in previous years.

Because of the nature of the crops in the whole of California, certain migratory trends are evident. The majority of the workers follow the crops as they mature from Arizona to Montana.

The average wage as reported by the Agricultural Labor Bureau is \$2.65 per day. This in most cases includes, according to them, a cabin. One must remember that this wage is only paid when they work—that they are traveling from one place to the other at least four months a year. They are paid in the harvest by the piece; so much a pound or tray.

The housing conditions vary from liveable cabins to tents and "jungle houses" made of old cans, boxes, sacks, and other things discarded by civilization. To say that conditions are inadequate would be droll; the conditions on the whole are abominable. Many of the more up-to-date camps further exploit the workers by forcing the laborers, through long pay intervals, to buy in the company store which generally adds from 5 per cent to 20 per cent to the normal price of the commodity. This is done by paying in script or giving credit.

C.I.O. Attempts Organization

No organization of sufficient size to gain demands exists. The A.F.L. started to organize them several times. However, seeing that the workers would control all of the labor councils except U.A. and San Francisco they decided to lay off. The CIO is making some attempt at present to organize in Kern Co., i.e. Bakersfield, Delano, and Tulare. They are organizing on the basis of counties, a plan used once before.

The CIO is making no attempt to educate the workers in trade union activity and discipline. The organization appears as a mass political movement rather than that of a class struggle instrument. They will probably not do much to organize because they are unwilling to tackle such a

GETTING INTO THE INDUSTRY

By Frank Ricco

I hauled my luggage through the dimly lit dock with my eyes upon the working longshoremen in the far end where the light through the open gate lit the way to the gangplank—to a new world for me.

IRON was the first thing I noticed. The decks, not floors, bulkheads, not walls, and ladders, not stairs, were of stubborn iron. Everywhere I went was iron, iron that mysterious conductor of heat which on cold days quickly absorbed the heat of the hands, leaving them numb, and in hot weather sent torrents of heat at you. Jagged, sharp-cornered, close quartered construction. Room for the cargo—but to hell with the crew. Christ! how many times have I bumped my shins, or raised my head too quickly when in the top bunk, and banged it a wallop against—iron.

The fo'c's'le was forward on this tub. Cramped!?! God! eighteen inches between my two foot wide bunk and Red's bunk. And two feet above was Phil's bed, the wire springs of which grasped bits of hair from my head if I forgot to crook my head as I sat up. Christo mio! And this little bunk was my private bed chamber, my sanctuary, or if you please, my 'sack'.

You know, just my walk exposed me as a landlubber before I had a chance to ask questions. The fellows taught me the "tricks of the trade" and they did the dangerous jobs, to protect themselves and me, as I looked on and absorbed. Watching them work in the 'chain-locker' was agonizing. A tremendous anchor was hauled in by a chain having links about a foot wide and was stored in this steel enclosed chamber being fed through a huge pipe overhead and being spread out by two seamen with hooks in their hands who jumped about on the slippery muddy decks to escape the shifting chain which might clamp them down and crush them.

Painting the masts used to be done while the ship rocked in its watery cradle, often sending a seaman to his end, but the union has brought an end to that. Frequently men are washed out to sea by mountains of water crashing on the deck as the seaman is securing some 'valuable' cargo. Records in Congress testify to cases where three-fourths of the sailors of a crew have been lost in this way. And the story of explosions in the boiler room, of men caught by snapping cables and gears, is no piece of fiction. All these things became real to me and I soon learned what the 'speed-up' meant in this particularly dangerous trade and why insurance companies will not carry seamen on the books.

And the food! Well, the days of the worst conditions are before 'my time' but a number of times I had to leave the bable after smelling the food and it wasn't due to nausea. You see, the seaman gets part of his pay in grub, so he has only one recourse; refuse to eat the food and sit-down 'till better is served. This food question is the cause of many jobs actions and I think the health of the militancy of a crew can pretty well be measured by the grade of chow they will eat.

tremendous task.

There's much sentiment among the workers for organization. Faced with the threat of a powerful organization, the planters are preparing a reign of vigilante terror.

G. C.

On The World Arena

By Frank L. Demby

LILLE, France.—Young Socialist Congress Refuses to Admit Stalinist Delegates. On December 4 and 5, the Young Socialist Federation of the North held its annual congress here. The YCL, anxious to do its bit to further the holy cause of organic unity, wanted a delegation in order to greet the Congress. The Young Socialists bureaucrats, however, remained faithful to the right wing of the SP, which had already broken off negotiations for merger with the Stalinists, and refused to admit the Stalinists on the ground "they refused to deliver the SP to Bolshevism." Lacking the confidence that the scientific program of Marxism gives to revolutionists, the Young Socialist could offer no political arguments against Stalinism. Instead, they reaffirmed their own anti-Marxist concepts by taking refuge in the last shibboleth of liberalism—identifying Stalinism with Bolshevism. Such a course, as the youth movement in Spain so tragically proves, only serves in the end to deliver reformism. The whole affair only serves to demonstrate once again the bankruptcy of both the Socialist and Stalinist youth.

PARIS, France.—"Revolution" Calls for Unity of Working Class Youth. It is with considerable joy that we report the reappearance of "Revolution," fighting organ of the JSR (Revolutionary Socialist Youth — Fourth International). It is published at a time when the youth of France is face to face with tremendous social battles and when the imperative need of a united youth front of struggle on a class struggle base is being realized by increasing scores of French youth. Breaking through the class-collaborationist sham of the "negotiations" between Chochoy (leader of the Socialist Youth) and Guyot (leader of the Stalinist youth,) the paper reports that several local united fronts of action have been concluded with both the Socialist and Stalinist youth.

It features the call of the Political Bureau of the JSR to the leading committees of the YCL and Socialists Youth "For realizing the unity of struggle of the toiling youth on the following basis: 1. For the defense of the 40-hour week. 2. For the eligibility of the youth as trade union delegates. 3. For the improvement of the conditions of the youth in collective bargaining contracts. 4 Against the high cost of living; for the sliding scale in wages. 5. For the defense of the soldiers' conditions. 6. Against the two year military service and for a reduction of the military service. These specific points of action constitute a minimum program which the overwhelming majority of the French youth desires to see realized. It is constituting a powerful lever in the struggle against Bonnet, tool of the deflationary group within French finance capital (de Wendel-Rothschild-Lazard,) and the People's Front, which is becoming more and more exposed as the miserable tool of French imperialism since the fall of the Chautemps government.

VALENCIA, Spain. — Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain Orders Program Against Trotskyists. From Nov. 15-20, the plenum of the Stalinists devoted itself to ranting against every manner of revolutionist and oppositionist to the Stalinist betrayal of the Spanish revolution and planning for their physical extermination. The feature performance was a three-hour discourse by one, Francisco Anton, secretary of the Madrid section of the CP. It is a pity that space prevents its entire reproduction. It is the typical Stalinist slander machine at work, only more so, because this is Spain and there is obvious disaffection within the Stalinist ranks. The gem comes when the POUM's "counter-revolutionary activities in the May Day's" are "proven" by the fact that it issued the slogan: "All power to the working class." If only the POUM had done that and accepted upon it, things would be considerably different in Spain today and Franco's armies would be scattered to the four winds.

"We Communists," says Anton, "sincerely want the most complete and fraternal unity with our Anarchist comrades." That, of course, is why the Anarchist press is suppressed and thousands of Anarchist militants languish in the Spanish dungeons of the GPU.

Another paragraph is dedicated by Anton to the youth. He states that the United Youth (Stalinist) could only be formed when it had disembrassed itself of Trotskyism—and it had to do that by buying the great Carrillo (former leader of the Socialist Youth, who came out for the Fourth International in 1933, went to Russia and returned in October, 1934 the avowed enemy of Trotskyism, and succeeded in stampeding the Socialist Youth into the Stalinist camp.) But some of these early seeds of Marxism must have remained, for what does it mean when Anton states: "...our militants must not lose sight of the Trotskyists, who insistently seek to penetrate into our own party." The purge that is being carried out now within the International Brigades and the Stalinist ranks in Spain would indicate, according to Stalinist standards, that there are lots of "Trotskyists" there. Actually, it is but one more illustration of the disintegration of Stalinism.

LONDON, England.—Laborites and Stalinists Muzzle Youth. The youth organization of the Labor Party, the Labor League of Youth, will finally have a national conference on March 5th and 6th. Instead of this marking progress for the youth movement of Britain, however, the bureaucratic preparations for the conference indicate an attempt on the part of the labor fakers to mobilize the youth behind their cowardly support of the war aims of imperial Britain. No resolutions are to be permitted from branches. The delegates will have no more opportunity to discuss policy, but will be expected to accept the jingoistic line laid down for them by the Labor Party bureaucrats without a murmur. In order to insure organizational control of the conference, the new National Advisory Committee will consist of 10 representatives of the Executive of the Labor Party and 8 elected representatives of the League of Youth! The Stalinists, who have just dropped the hammer and sickle from the Daily Worker of London, naturally proclaim this as a "victory." It is—

for the imperialists, but the militant youth of England can be depended on to fight this to the end. Under the leadership of the Youth Militant Group, an energetic fight is being carried on against this bureaucratic suppression of the youth and for the principles of revolutionary socialism.

BARCELONA, Spain.—POUM Youth Still Flounder in Morass of Centrism. While evidence continues to come in that the POUM movement still exists in Spain—e.g., there was recently held an enlarged central executive meeting of the POUM with approximately 100 present—it is equally evident that the POUM has not learned the necessary lessons that it must, if it is to avoid the fatal centrist policy it has pursued until the present. One example that will be quite clear to all our readers is to be found in the latest issue of the *Juventud Obrera*, organ of the Iberian Communist Youth (POUM youth section.) In order to bolster its claims as "the authentic revolutionary youth of Spain," it takes comfort in the resolution of the Clarityites (Norman Thomas Socialist) which it publishes as coming from the "authentic revolutionary youth of America." (Issue of December 14, 1937). Needless to say, the Clarityite affair contains all the usual slanders of our revolutionary YPSL and entirely misrepresents what happened at Philadelphia. We would certainly like to see the Iberian Communist Youth become a revolutionary Marxist movement, but we are forced to the conclusion that the I.C.Y. will never overcome its past, if it continues to play with the London-Barcelona-Paris youth Bureau, which opposes the Fourth International youth movement. We wonder if the I. C. Y. wants us to conclude that its revolutionary authenticity is of the same sort as the Clarityites.

THE RED READER

The History of Militarism—Romance and Reality of a Profession. By Alfred Vagts. 510 pages. W. W. Norton. \$4.75.

As social systems develop and change, the institutions they create likewise undergo change. What is suitable to one kind of society is not to another. So it is with cultural institutions—the stage, architecture, and schools. So it is with the form of state—monarchy, republic and all the many varieties. And so it is with a branch of the state, the military. When feudalism developed and in its turn yielded to commercial capitalist society, military organization changed correspondingly—according to the needs of new economic conditions, and new modes of state rule.

How that happened, and much else that cannot even be skimmed in a review, is explained in this volume by Dr. Vagts. Written with all the thoroughness and detail (one might say, "over detail") of a pre-Hitler, German professor, Dr. Vagts has succeeded in rescuing military history from the battle-recitations of school texts and the musty polemics of professional military historians. He has done that by relating military history with the social conditions that moulded it. Thus he has performed a valuable service for Marxian study. Marxians have made innumerable references to the role of the military in society, but have never (through lack of time, or what) adequately traced it through history.

MILITARIST VS. THE MILITARY

Not that Dr. Vagts writes as a Marxian. Far from it, although it is quite obvious that Dr. Vagts is fairly well acquainted with Marxist literature. The fact is, that Dr. Vagts might have avoided what to this reviewer is the principal fault of the book: though its approach is essentially that of co-relating military and economic history, it errs in its fundamental thesis which attempts to establish "Militarism" as a separate entity, operating independently against the good of society. That is to say, Dr. Vagts establishes a prime distinction between Militarism (professional soldiering with the aim of establishing its own political dominance) and the military (the army which exists for the purpose of perpetuating the particular social system it is pledged to defend.)

While that distinction is easily established, it does not in the

opinion of this reviewer constitute a major, independent trend in world history. Recently for example, we witnessed a dispute between Hitler his army generals, some of whom no doubt, covet the control of German affairs free of Hitler. Yet, it would be foolish to describe German affairs in terms of a basic conflict between Hitler and his army. And it could be equally foolish to ascribe to these war-lords in Germany and out, the war impulses that are jolting the world.

Yet, that is exactly what Dr. Vagts seems to indicate in many places. Throughout his book he calls attention to the military restiveness of professional war-lords who, in times of peace, forget their purpose and think of themselves as independent forces.

However, it does not require agreement with the thesis of the book to enjoy it, or to appreciate its value. In fact, it contributes substantially towards rounding out the picture of social evolution.

ARMY ORGANIZATION CHANGES

Armies exist for the purpose of upholding the economic and state system which employs them. Under a feudal—a local, provincial and largely self-sufficient—economy, small armies in which the lords did their own fighting sufficed. As commerce grew, and the new capitalist class began to extend its control, methods of fighting (aided by such mechanical changes as the invention of gun-powder) and military organization changed. They wanted, says Dr. Vagts, an army of usefulness, not lordly distinction. The standing army which protected the monarch, whose power the development of commerce made possible, supplanted the make-shift armies of the feudal lords. (Dr. Vagts points out that the first standing army was organized by Charles VII on the advice of a rich merchant, to disband the mercenaries who, after the war, were a financial nuisance—a permanent army, in order to get rid of a permanent army.)

In the great battles of the bourgeoisie, the "common man," peasant and artisan, who was not privileged to die on the feudal battlefield, demonstrated his fighting ability. In the battles of Cromwell (which Dr. Vagts unfortunately looks upon as a species of militarism, instead of a vital social upheaval), later in the American and French revolutions, and again in the wars of Napoleon, the "common man" demonstrated an over-powering military ability which needed only a

From Our Mail Bag

February 16th, 1938.

Dear Comrades:

Since the recent upheaval in Europe and the indirect passes made at the United States, the military department has tightened their grip on us. They have increased the regular army personnel here and they are concentrating right now on a sham war which we are to have shortly. They have made many other minor changes which look like the real stuff. The advanced students are being compelled to attend a six weeks' summer camp where they take up actual gun firing and such.

The Honorable? Governor Leche of Louisiana was taking precautions to make sure that he isn't forgotten when his term is up. He is placing plaques of himself on and in every building including the Tiger's Cage. Every time someone asks us why he is doing it we say, "The cadet corps is having target practice soon."

Comradely,

AL.

(Louisiana State University)

proper cause to be put to use. For some reason, Dr. Vagts chose to treat the experiences of the Russian Revolution very skimpily, though it would appear to us that the Russian workers made substantial contributions to military history on the barricades of 1917, and in the early struggles of the Red Army. Similarly, the militia as a fighting force is not adequately discussed, and the peasant rebellions of the middle-ages are hardly mentioned. But what Dr. Vagts does say is sufficient to make us look confidently on the future battles of the proletarian masses.

All the great social conflicts contributed to the forms of military combat. The English and Hessian generals were indignant at the unorthodox fighting methods of the colonists. Out to win their independence, the colonists ignored the niceties of feudal warfare. Eventually the European army professionals took over much of what they saw for the first time in the American Revolution. It is worth notice, in view of the new Roosevelt proposals, that one of the most insistent demands of the colonists was the abolition of the standing armies quartered on American soil.

Whatever the war has been like in the past, the peasant and the proletarian toiler has suffered most. Taxes, quarterings of soldiers, etcetera, has always fallen squarely on them. Within recent times they have also had to do the fighting. The soldier has been mustered to defend the particular system of social tyranny. But to the extent that soldier and mass become more equated, to that extent does the very military machine of capitalism begin to crumble of its own contradiction. Capitalism, in power, sought peace in order to develop riches, but provoked ever more costly wars, because its internal contradictions impelled it that way. Dr. Vagts who is content with the capitalism of the "democracies—not of the fascisms"—does not look towards the future. Nevertheless, for those of us who do, his book supplies important and interesting information.

It needs finally to be said of the book that it is well illustrated and handsomely bound. But the publishers who have otherwise "done right" by the book should be hauled before a court of justice to explain the absence of an index. Some five hundred pages, crammed to overflowing with reference material—and no index!

G.

"Peace" Edifice Falls

(Continued from page 1)

lawyers and newspaper representatives to discuss ways and means of psychologizing the population for war.

Imperialists at Cross - Interests in World Arena

America's interests in the Far East are being seriously menaced by Japan immediately and by Britain and France. Her \$200,000,000 investments in China (a bagatelle) is far out of proportion with America's actual interests in China. The unlimited potentialities of the Chinese market testified to by its vast natural resources, by its cheap labor, by the present (since late 1936) boom in industry, is far more meaningful to the American bourgeoisie. Moreover it is not to be forgotten that America is the chief beneficiary of Chinese import trade.

America's domination of South America is being menaced by British, French and German inroads. The American bourgeoisie must consolidate its present position and must take unreserved control of the world market. This can be achieved only by a war for further expansion against her principal competitors for the domination of world market.

Roosevelt, at the behest of the American imperialists, is making the final preparations for the war of imperialist conquest. The haste with which action follows upon action is a grim reminder. The whole machinery of the American Propaganda agency has been called into play. Taking advantage of the war in China, the Panay bombing and the International tension—the press, the movies, the schools and all the institutions of the government are whipping the population into a patriotic frenzy. And in the midst of this well calculated hysteria, the President proclaims the war plans of the American bankers in his Budget address.

In the midst of an approaching crisis—with 11,000,000 already unemployed (according to the recent Government unemployment survey, government sources have since boosted this figure to 13,000,000)—and with more being constantly thrown out of jobs, the president announces a \$250,000,000 cut in the appropriation for public works, and an \$841,356,000 cut in relief. But. . . .

- a. \$54,000,000 minimum increase for the Army and Navy. A billion dollar war budget representing a 98% increase over the 1934 budget.
- b. 112 new army officers.
- c. Increase of the National guard by 5,000 more men, bringing the total up to 205,000—just 5,000 short of the goal.
- d. 5,570 more sailors, bringing the total to 110,570. An increase of 241 naval officers.
- e. An increase of 1,000 men to the Marines bringing the total to 18,000. An increase of 20 marine officers.
- f. Funds to train 25,530 reserve officers for 14 days each.
- g. \$140,000,000 to bring the air quota to 2,320 war planes.
- h. Convert C. C. C. into a military institution.
- i. 474 new war planes.
- j. In addition to the 2 battleships, 2 air craft carriers, 1 heavy cruiser, 7 light cruisers, 16 sub-marines, 36 destroyers, 1 destroyer tender, and 1 sea plane tender now under construction—2 more 35,000 ton battleships, with two additional such ships yearly.
- k. light cruisers—8,000 tons each.
- l. 8 destroyers.
- m. 6 submarines.
- n. \$21,258,000 for new planes.
- o. \$44,170,000 for naval aeronautics. etc. etc.

War Plans Carefully Said

To be sure, under the pressure of growing dissatisfaction, and in order to avert any interference with the projected military and naval program, Roosevelt was compelled to increase slightly appropriations for relief for the current year as represented by the \$250,000,000 deficiency bill. But this in turn was ironically offset by the new \$800,000,000 Vinson Naval Bill.

The war plans of American imperialism are being carefully laid. Behind the cloak of "collective security", "aggressor and defender nations", the American bourgeoisie

Half Of New York Youth On Relief Need We Comment . . .

By Stanley Lauren

The youth of New York City face the immediate prospect of hunger and increased unemployment.

Recent reports from the relief authorities inform us that 508,000 out of a total of 1,300,000 children under the age of 16 are already members of families who are totally dependant on home or work relief. Each new week finds more thousands of children added to the relief rolls.

The relief appropriations are so inadequate that the children are constantly in danger of starvation. A board of survey appointed by none other than Mayor LaGuardia was forced to admit in a recent report that the relief rations are 40 per cent below a maintainance standard. An inadequate supply of food and clothing, intolerable crowded conditions in the homes, lack of sufficient fuel to keep the home warm enough, inability to pay for proper medical care are only some of the most needed items in which there is a shortage.

On top of all this, the New York State relief authorities tell us that over 600,000 young boys and girls who have just gotten out of school in the past year have been added to the army of the unemployed. Thousands of them are already on relief. The others will soon be forced to apply when the meager funds of their families are exhausted.

is consolidating alliances, realizing a formidable armaments program, whipping the population into a patriotic delirium, and lining up the working class to support a war for the profiteers through the trade union bureaucrats and the Communist Party.

The Young Peoples Socialist League considers it its obligation to fight the imperialist slaughter perpetrated for the redivision of the world markets, to expose the war plans of the bourgeoisie and the war mongers in the ranks of labor.

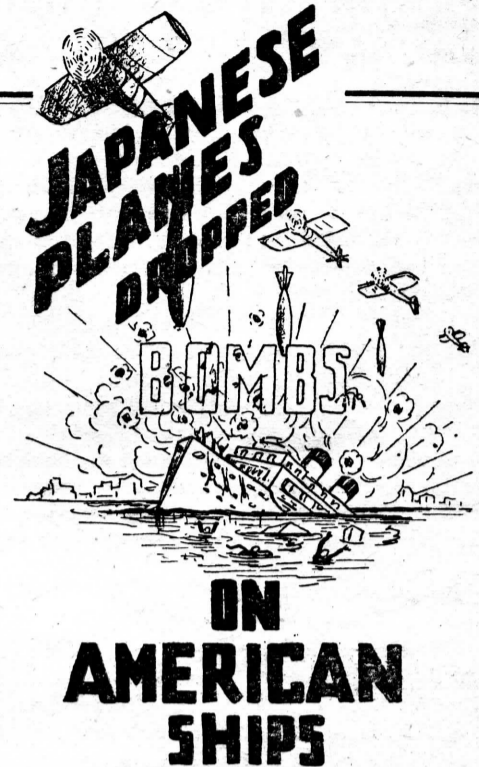
The Youth of America will reply to the war program of the Roosevelt government; with Roosevelts bayonets—but in the spirit of Liebknecht, of Luxemburg and of the Russian Revolution.

1. AGAINST THE BILLION DOLLAR WAR BUDGET.
2. ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED.
3. AGAINST COLLECTIVE SECURITY, THE MASK OF IMPERIALISM.
4. AGAINST THE NEW MILITARIZATION PLANS FOR THE C.C.C.
5. ABOLISH THE R.O.T.C. AND THE C.M.T.C.
6. WITHDRAW THE U. S. ARMED FORCES FROM THE FAR EAST.
7. NO SUPPORT OF THE U. S. GOVERNMENT IN ANY WAR.
8. END WAR BY THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

Roosevelt Tosses A Bone

A great fuss has been made in the press about the \$250,000,000 relief appropriation that Roosevelt has asked for. That has been done to offset the effect of the relief cut in the new budget. Several details are important:

- 1) The sum asked is for an emergency appropriation to take care of extra relief needs created by the new depression in business during the winter months.
- 2.) The Administration officials have virtually announced that with the coming of warm weather they will unload heavily from the relief rolls.
- 3.) The fiscal year begins on July 1st. The budget which Roosevelt proposed would go into effect then. Thus, in the face of increasing unemployment, Roosevelt is still planning to drastically cut the relieve appropriations—while pouring more money into the navy and army.
- 4.) According to the Administration, 3,000,000 persons lost their jobs within the last three months. As even the capitalist New York Post pointed out, that means a total of \$83 per person whereas it costs a minimum of \$65 per person per month to keep the WPA going.



A NOVEL BROADCAST

Death on the Deck of the Panay! The Sinking of the Panay!

WMCA -- JANUARY 14 -- 9:30 P. M.

30 minutes of fast moving plays and music, featuring dramatic highlights in the fight for Peace since 1914

HEAR

GIL GREEN

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE, U.S.A.

Yes, the above is the front page of a leaflet distributed by the New York City Young Communist League. These gems appeared on the reverse side of the page here reproduced (all emphasis appears in the original):

"In Chinese waters an American boat, the Panay is cruising peacefully on its errand of mercy for American refugees.

"Overhead fly death dealing Japanese planes, a typical sight in the invasion of China.

"SUDDNLY. . . .

An Eyewitness Talking .

Without warning a trio of Japanese bombers dived at the American ships, unloosing their terrible burden of high explosives. All hands rushed for cover but the bombs rained on them like a hailstorm and fires burst out on the American vessels.

"When the three Japanese planes had unburdened their explosive, six more took up the savage attack on the helpless river boats and one American ship sank to the bottom of the river."

"That's the story of the Panay sinking. A tale of ruthless aggression, disregard for life, cold brutality by the Japanese fascists."

Further on: "How can the American people stop the Fascist aggressors from spreading war throughout the world?"

"President Roosevelt in his famous Chicago address answered that question. Let the Democratic nations of the world unite to 'quarantine the aggressor nation,' he said."

And finally: "Keep America out of war, as Roosevelt says, by keeping war out of the world."

No mention of the Standard Oil tankers, no mention of American exploitation of colonials, no mention of Roosevelt's war program. Need we comment!