



## V. I. Lenin-- The Beaconlight Of Freedom

Sixteen years ago, V. I. Lenin, leader of the first successful working class revolution, died.

Twenty-one years ago, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, leaders of the German working class in its heroic struggle for freedom, were murdered by Social-Democratic hirelings of the boss class.

Today, in the terrible days of the 2nd World War, we, the revolutionary Socialist youth of America banded together under the banner of the Fourth International, remember with admiration the struggle of these people to lead the working class and the youth once again onto the revolutionary anti-war path.

We take this opportunity to rededicate ourselves to the struggle ahead—difficult, dangerous, and demanding. That is why we are devoting most of this issue of our paper to the story and writings of our 3 great anti-war heroes.

To Lenin above all do we turn. To Lenin—the greatest personality of the century—who dared “storm the heavens” of working class victory. He who was not deceived by superficial symptoms of the hopelessness of struggle against the war; he who fought for his program even if he was alone against the entire world—because he knew he was correct.

He is our leader and guide. Not in the Stalinist sense. We do not copy his writings to violate and prostitute them in practise.

Stalinism has besmirched the banner of Lenin, has dishonored and betrayed the banner of Socialism. Stalinism has no connection with the revolutionary Socialist movement; it is its deadly enemy. We, who follow Lenin not as cynical parrots but rather in the sense of being conscious revolutionists, stand in irreconcilable opposition to Stalin, the partner and agent of Hitler.

The banner of Lenin is clean. It is the symbol of the hope of humanity for freedom and peace and bread. Let us, the youth of America, gather under it and march together to our freedom.

# THE CHALLENGE OF YOUTH

Vol. III, No. 19

Twice-Monthly Organ of The Young Peoples Socialist League (Fourth International)

Price 2 cents

## YOUTH! FIGHT TO USE GOVERNMENT FUNDS FOR JOBS INSTEAD OF GUNS

### *Answer Roosevelt War Program With Struggle for Our Rights*

They're at it again!

The American government, representing the Ruling 60 Families, has just presented its 1940 budget which provides for more “economy.”

“Economy” of what and for whom?—we ask. Economy at the expense of the American people—the workers, the farmers, the youth—and for the benefit of the pot-bellied Coupon Clippers.

President Roosevelt in his budget message proposes:

1) A \$400,000,000 cut in WPA expenditures which would mean that *one out of every three of those still remaining on WPA rolls would be dismissed.* Maybe you can calculate what that means in terms of human misery!

2) Further sharp cuts in outlays for farm tenant loans, rehabilitation loans and parity payments.

3) Dictatorial laws, under the guise of amendments to the Wagner Act and bills against “aliens and subversive elements” designed to smash the democratic rights of labor and anti-war militants.

4) BILLIONS FOR ARMAMENTS—probably half a billion more during the next fiscal year than was appropriated at the last regular session.

As the *Socialist Appeal*, organ of the Socialist Workers Party of which YPSL is the youth section, writes: “The Roosevelt program is: Guns and airplanes instead of food and jobs! Police clubs and jail for anyone who objects!”

Harsh words?—But true!

The program of American capitalism for the coming year—for the whole historical period in which we live, in fact—is bankrupt. It is the program of WAR, the program of STARVATION, and tomorrow of FASCISM.

Just think of it—America the richest country in the world, and starvation stalks like a grim ghost through our cities, while millions, billions of dollars are wasted every year to build weapons of destruction and death.

Just think of it—America lived through the last World War in which the people were fooled by the silken phrases of a great “idealist” who “dreamed” of making the “world safe for democracy,”—Woodrow Wilson—and who dragged us in to salvage the big chunks of dough Morgan and Co. had invested in the Allied camp.

And today again—the same mockery, the same bloated, lying propaganda flowing from the lips of the war propagandists, in the very front ranks of whom is Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Roosevelt, who has already given his pledge to Canada, a belligerent power, to fight off any nation which attacks it, who has lifted the embargo to help his friends, the imperialists of England and France.

Today this crew has a new slogan: Help poor

little Finland; yesterday it was help poor little Belgium!

They yell to send food to “poor little Finland.” What about the American workers who are hungry? Isn't it peculiar that in the front ranks of the “Finland-savers” is our old friend, Governor Bricker, who cut off relief in Ohio? Let not your right hand know what your left hand does!

The problem of security and of jobs and of freedom remains at home. The main enemy of these objectives remains at home: the 60 Ruling Families. We stand 100% behind the program of the Socialist Workers Party for the coming Congressional session, which is printed in the *Socialist Appeal*:

1) Appropriation of \$10,000,000,000 to provide, at once, jobs on housing and other public works projects for all employable workers.

2) Amendment of the Wages and Hours Act to provide throughout private industry and public works maximum work weekly pay of 30 dollars.

3) 30 dollar weekly old age and disability pensions.

4) Appropriation of \$3,000,000 to guarantee either maintenance at school or jobs for all youth.

## Bosses Attack Soviet Union

By HARRY FRANKEL

Stalin's invasion of Finland has touched off a huge explosion of anti-Soviet sentiment and has given the imperialists a more favorable situation for the destruction of the first workers state than they had dared to hope for. No sooner had the incident begun, than it was seized upon by the whole vulturous crew of newspaper editors, journalists, pulpit pounders and “upright statesmen and diplomats” who used it to attack the very existence of the Soviet Union, the Socialist movement and the right of the worker to bread in general.

The League of Nations, dead for so many years, helpless when Ethiopia and China were bludgeoned by the imperialists, stirred its creaking limbs and hastened to the expulsion of the Soviet Union. Hoover organized a committee for the relief of Finland and has mobilized all the society matrons of the country for the brave last stand against Bolshevism. President Roosevelt deplores the atrocity and the U.S. government

(Continued on Page 4)

### FOURTH INT'L. REGARDS ITS RANKS TO FIGHT WAR

Slowly but surely, the anti-war ranks of the working class in every country are beginning to organize their forces against the imperialist war, under the leadership of the Fourth International.

When the war began 5 months ago, the working class forces in most European countries were not in a position to ward off the war of the bosses. The traitorous parties of the Social-Democratic and Stalinist internationals had led those workers who followed them straight into the patriotic war camps. Serving as the “come-ons” they led the workers into imperialist death and misery.

The genuine anti-war forces of the Fourth International and its friends were hounded and persecuted throughout the world.

In France, leaders of the Fourth International were secretly imprisoned. To this day their fate

(Continued on Page 3)

## The Main Enemy Remains At Home

# Liebknecht: "We Have Not Fled, We Are Not Beaten And Tomorrow the Victory Will Be Ours"

## LIEBKNECHT LED WORKING YOUTH IN STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CAPITALIST WARMAKERS

"Songs of heroes were sung at Liebknecht's cradle."

Karl Liebknecht was the first prominent revolutionist who understood the necessity of winning the youth to the Socialist movement. Later to be the most beloved figure of Germany in the late war and post-war years, Liebknecht began his life as a young lawyer. But he soon became more attached to the revolution than to the Code Juris.

At the turn of the century, he already found himself in sharp conflict with the bureaucratic, conservative leaders of the German Social-Democracy, especially on what Liebknecht considered the burning question of the day: anti-militarism. To gain support for his program of instituting a militant struggle against the military apparatus he turned to the youth.

### SAW NEW HOPE IN THE YOUTH.

In the youth he saw a section of the working class which had not become corrupted by contact with the capitalists in the parliaments, which did not bear on its shoulders the rotten tradition and senility of the graybearded party theoreticians and bureaucrats. At one party congress after another he proposed that aid be given towards the formation of a young socialist movement which would be organizationally independent of the party and which would carry on the struggle of young workers for economic demands and against militarism. While the party leaders agreed formally, they conceived of the youth movement as a collection of academic, harmless study circles in the vise of the party bigshots.

Some time later—in 1906—Karl was sentenced to prison for his anti-war agitation; but his voice continued to ring out: **DOWN WITH WAR!**

In 1912 he was elected to the Reichstag where he brilliantly exposed the war manoeuvres of the capitalist governments.

Finally, the great war broke out . . . everywhere, in the Socialist movement: retreat . . . panic . . . capitulation to the capitalist state. But Liebknecht and a few others stand firm. The voice of Liebknecht breaks through the corrupt discipline of "his party," is heard above the catcalls of the jingos in the Reichstag, travels clearly to the oppressed and downtrodden throughout the world in its mighty, impassioned cry: **DOWN WITH THE WAR!**

Liebknecht is conscripted into the army, but preaches his message of revolution against the war makers. On May Day, 1916, Liebknecht addresses a tremendous mass meeting against the war. From the spark which he lit has arisen a flame . . .

### HIS VOICE BREAKS THROUGH PRISON BARS

But the German government grows panicky. It sentences Karl to 4 years imprisonment. His voice is still not dimmed. When the Kaiser is overthrown, "Brother Karl" is freed. Immediately, he begins to help build the German Communist party, at that time a real workers revolutionary party.

He understands that to overthrow the Kaiser is not enough. He raises the slogan: **DEEPEN THE REVOLUTION INTO A WORKERS REVOLUTION! THE WORKERS MUST SEIZE POWER, THE FACTORIES, THE LAND!**

And then one day in 1919, after the first attempt of the German

workers to seize power had failed, Liebknecht is dragged away by military agents of the bosses and murdered. The Social-Democratic government heaves a sigh of relief; it has done "its part" to help rescue capitalism!

But Liebknecht lives; his words burn into eternity!

### IN THE SPIRIT OF KARL THE YOUTH MARCH ON

With growing numbers and firmer strength, the youth march in the spirit of Liebknecht, draw nearer towards the dawn of freedom. The road to victory is strewn with the bodies of its ranks, murdered and tortured by the bestial enemy. The road is difficult to travel; many losses are suffered; the faint hearted turn back; the traitors are discovered and scourged. But victory is in sight and must be reached with such a spirit. **TROTZ ALLEDEM!** said Liebknecht. Despite everything!



## How the N. Y. Times Weeps For the "100 Neediest Cases"

Around Christmas time every year, "The New York Times," the all-year round voice of Wall St., turns its attention to the poor and unfortunate. "100 Neediest Cases" are selected for the special attention of the "Times" and charitable contributions are collected for them.

No one who reads these "cases" can fail to see the horror of the effects of capitalism on human lives. Case after case is told of starvation, broken homes, dead-end and destroyed lives, and of hopelessness. It is as if a terrible plague had swept the country and "The Times" were reporting its effects.

But the irony of it all is that "The Times" presents these cases as if it were doing a good deed and deserved credit for its charity and assistance. But the whole game is a hypocritical fraud and phoney.

### Real Help

Does "The Times" really help these needy "cases?" There has never been a report in full on what has happened to last year's cases, nor the ones of the year before. Here is the case of twin sisters, Phyllis and Patricia, aged 18. They have no parents. "The agency feels that, while the girls may be eligible for public relief, they should finish their schooling first." Fair enough, but what then? "Phyllis wants to be a nurse—, Patricia is studying textiles and dressmaking and will ultimately be able to look after herself. It is believed that a year of stable life will make a vast difference in the future of these two." So "The Times" wants to give them \$858.

But there are thousands of nurses and tens of thousands of dressmakers who are unemployed. Will \$858 buy a future for these two girls or will it just permit them to subsist on \$429 each for one year and then toss them out to face starvation and homelessness? These girls will still be among the "100 Neediest Cases" next year.

Then there is frail and shy Anne F., aged 17, "too old for the Board

of Child Welfare Allowance, and too young for home relief. If she can get \$320 "her prospect of attaining independence will be excellent." This is a lie. The only guarantee for security for Anne F. is government support thru school and then the assurance of a job at a decent wage. If the bosses won't give her this job, then the government must. Anne F. would best help herself by joining in the YPSL fight for "Jobs for Youth".

### Typical Case

Sarah L. is a typical "case." She is only 19 and supports a family of 6 on a WPA job at \$15.90 a week. Her brothers and sisters are 7 to 17 years old and her mother is too old to work. Sarah is at a dead end; no future, only hard work and heavy responsibility. "The Times" offers her \$375 from which the family will get an "enriched diet, adequate health care, warm clothing for the coming year." And what after that? And are you sure, Mr. Editor, that Sarah L. will not be suspended from WPA be-

cause she will have \$375 to live on. And what about the 9,999,999 other neediest cases of unemployed all over the U. S. There are 16,000 in Cleveland alone, just cut off relief and left to starve.

But "The Times" is not interested in the unemployed. The purpose of the "100 Neediest Cases" is to shield the real criminals—the bosses—and paint them with the coat of charity when they make a \$2 contribution. "100 Neediest Cases" is an advertisement of how good our bosses really are. With one hand they sign the order to fire thousands and with the other make out a check for charity.

The YPSL has a practical suggestion to help all 10,000,000 "neediest cases" in the U. S. All year round the "Times" whoops it up for boss war. How about taking the two and one half billion dollar war budget and using it to give jobs to ALL the unemployed?

Take us up on that, Mr. Editor, and then we'll believe you mean **BUSINESS!**

## The Voice of Liebknecht Rising in Defense of the Workers

The following was written by Karl Liebknecht in prison after the German revolution had been defeated in 1919. It is full of eloquent testimony of the unconquerable faith of this great worker's leader in the future victory of his class.

Spartacus overcome?

Halt! We have not fled, we are not beaten. And if they throw us in chains—we are here. And victory will be ours. For Spartacus means fire and spirit, means soul and heart, means will and deed for the proletarian revolution. And Spartacus—means all need and striving for happiness, all fighting determination of the class conscious working class for struggle. For Spartacus means—Socialism and world revolution.

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

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

## Today You Enter The Bosses Army!

—by Karl Liebknecht—

(The following is from a speech of Liebknecht before a group of young soldier-to-be in Germany in 1906. Though many years have passed since that time, its essential ideas are still completely true. In America, we need but substitute Cuba for China when he writes of the colonial policy of his government, Venezuela for Morocco and this article is completely up to date.)

Liebknecht:—The hour of conscription has come. Soon will come the order of mobilization, and the best resources of young men which have been nurtured among the German people must make up their bundles and desert their parents, their brothers and sisters, their friends and fellow workers, often even their wives and children.

### The Lash of Hunger

Hitherto you have been free men, you young wokers, in so far as the capitalist disorder admits of liberty for workers. But even the lash of hunger is a symbol of freedom when compared with the oppression, the slavery to which you will now be handed over, to the tender mercies of every officer and non-commissioned officer of the German Army; you must now obey every whim of your superiors in silence and without contradiction, with the promptness of machines, by day and by night, even though you be ordered to carry out the most senseless and immoral things, even culpable acts.

Yet we are told the Fatherland must be defended, and for the sake of this great goal we must close our eyes and grit our teeth!

We must defend the Fatherland? Think of the heroic acts in China, of the battles in the African colonies, of the Moroccan trade . . . What had that to do with the Fatherland? The megalomaniac policy of imperialism and colonies may, indeed, redound to the interests of big capital; but for the Fatherland, for the workingclass, it means only new burdens.

In the barracks you will be told, "You are not to serve only in the struggle against the foreign foe, but also in the struggle against the domestic foe!" Who is the domestic foe? You shall shoot at father and mother, brother and sister, if so commanded.

### Militarism Threatens

Militarism is the destructive angel of civilization. Militarism barbarizes civilization and, by sucking the life blood of the people, devours the resources that might be used for true progress. Militarism is the quintessence, the sum total of hatred of mankind, the brutal executioner and the iron bulwark of capitalism.

Accept this understanding, young workers who will be called to arms. And not only will all the attempts made in the barracks to turn you away from the great cause of the struggle for workingclass emancipation be rendered fruitless, but the enthusiasm of your conviction, of your ideal, will be kindled with a higher and brighter flame. You will emerge from the army of capitalism into the ranks of the proletarian army as warriors who have been doubly steeled.

## THEY LOWERED HIS BODY INTO A GRAVE THAT DIDN'T FIT...

Comrade Editor:

I am sending you a story that I can't classify very well. But I hope you can use it. It's about a fellow who committed suicide. All of his brothers and sisters are Yipsel by the way, and it is true in every detail.

Stan Orshinsky  
Akron, Ohio

Jimmy Goldberg was a musician. He had talent.

Jimmy wanted a job. He wanted to express his feelings, he said. He was poor and looked for work. A few jobs here, a few jobs there. He traveled. He wanted a job. He wanted a future. He wanted a home.

A sensitive youth looking for work . . . a youth with all the hopes and longings of any one else.

No job.  
"I want to play music."  
No job.  
"I'm selling silverware."

"I'll try welding, anything." No real job—no chance of getting married soon. Nothing to hold on to.

On Christmas night he committed suicide. He tied a rope around his neck and jumped.

They sent a sob sister to write up the story of a fellow who wanted a chance. People clicked their tongues, "Such a nice fellow"—"what a shame." We buried Jimmy in a grave that wouldn't fit.

His brother said that the system killed him. Jimmy didn't know about those things. All he wanted was to play music. Frustrated talent locked out of getting work.

Suicide did not solve his problem. THERE ARE BETTER THINGS TO DIE FOR.

Remember this: "He was 21, and the system killed him."

That's what his brother said. And we lowered his coffin into a grave that wouldn't fit . . .

**CHALLENGE OF YOUTH**

Published by the National Council  
**Young People's Socialist League of America**  
(Fourth International)

---

January 5, 1940 Vol. III, No. 19 (Whole No. 28)

---

Editor: **ERNEST ERBER**  
Assistant Editor: **IRVING HOWE**  
Business Manager: **EUGENE VICTOR**  
Business Staff: **FRANCIS GRAY** and **FRANK BRILL, Jr.**

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK, N. Y.

---

Published twice each month  
Subscription: 45c a year; 25c for 6 months  
Entered as second-class matter June 24, 1939 at the post office at New York, New York, under the act of March 3, 1879.

# Luxemburg: "Tomorrow the Revolution Will Thunder: I Was, I Am, I Am to Be"

## RED ROSA— WOMAN OF THE REVOLUTION

She was and remains an eagle  
...—LENIN  
Red Rosa, they called her.  
She was an eagle above all, said  
Lenin.

She was the only real man in  
the Socialist movement, said  
Franz Mehring.

Her body was hacked and bruised,  
pierced by revolver bullets,  
watersoaked after it had been  
taken from the canal into which it  
had been thrown by her murderers.  
And they thought they'd killed her.

But she lived; the workers kept  
Red Rosa alive.

The Social-Democratic paper of  
Berlin, organ of those responsible  
for the murder of Rosa Luxemburg,  
printed humorous jingles:

Five hundred corpses in a row  
Liebknecht, Rosa, Radek & Co.:  
Are they not there also?

But to the workers who turned  
out in hundreds of thousands to  
her funeral she was not dead. For  
Rosa was the revolution; that lived.

It wasn't an easy thing for a  
young girl to rise in the world—  
even in the Socialist world—at the  
turn of the century. When this girl,  
who had been kicked out of her  
university for preaching radical  
ideas, turned up in the Socialist  
centers of Europe there were many  
sneers and upturned noses: Why,  
she's a mere snip of a thing!

### A NAME TO BE FEARED BY ALL

But she made them eat their  
words. Luxemburg became a name  
not only feared by the governments  
and capitalists of Europe, but also  
feared by their agents in the labor  
movement: the right wing Social-  
Democratic leaders.

At this time a sharp and funda-  
mental difference was arising in  
the ranks of the Socialist move-  
ment. The movement had been ad-  
vancing extremely rapidly—so rap-  
idly, in fact, that many of its  
leaders were getting nice soft jobs  
at the head of trade unions and  
even in the government. These  
leaders, well-fed and comfortable,  
became less and less attracted to  
the idea of revolution. It was so  
troublesome! They began to preach  
"reformism," the theory that it  
wasn't necessary for the workers  
to overthrow the boss system, but  
merely necessary to fight for a few  
reforms by supporting the good  
"liberal" section of the bosses  
against the bad "reactionary"  
bosses.

The betrayal of Socialism was  
given theoretical veneer by the  
idea that capitalism was not really  
getting worse for the workers, as  
Marx had predicted, but that there  
was a gradual improvement. In-  
stead of a sharpening of the class  
struggle, the relations were becom-  
ing harmonized, claimed the re-  
formists.

### ROSA UPHOLDS REVOLUTION- ARY IDEAS

In brilliant polemics, Rosa point-  
ed out that this prosperity was  
but a fleeting illusion—as it later  
turned out to be—that capitalism  
could lead but to war and misery,  
that the "reformists" were looking  
at things from the point of view of  
their own privileges and not from  
the point of view of the poor work-  
ers and oppressed colonial peoples.

On this page we print an excerpt  
from her magnificent pamphlet  
against the war. But not only was  
Rosa a great revolutionist; she was  
a fine personality. Whoever has  
read her letters from prison (she  
was jailed for her anti-war agita-  
tion) knows the sensitive person-  
ality, full of a deep, brooding love  
for all spheres of culture, that was  
Rosa's.

Her death was the tragic sym-



## "In Each of Us Lives A Small Part of Lenin, the Best Part"

by Leon Trotsky

Lenin is no more. The dark law  
which governs the work of the  
arteries has destroyed his life.  
Medicine has proven itself power-  
less to accomplish what was pas-  
sionately hoped for, what millions  
of hearts demanded,

How many, unhesitatingly, would  
have sacrificed their own blood to  
the last drop to revive, to renew  
the work of the arteries of the  
great leader, Lenin—Ilyich the  
unique who cannot be replaced.  
But no miracle occurred when  
science was powerless. And now  
Lenin is no more. These words de-  
scend upon our consciousness like

bol of working class heroism. When  
she and Liebknecht proved to be  
a thorn in the side of the German  
capitalist government that the So-  
cial-Democratic "reformists" had  
established after the overthrow of  
the Kaiser, they were kidnapped by  
a group of soldiers acting under  
orders from the government.

Both met their death from the  
revolvers of these thugs. Rosa's  
body was thrown into a canal, only  
to be discovered some time later.  
At her funeral, when she was bur-  
ied near Liebknecht, hundreds of  
thousands came to listen to old  
Franz Mehring, their friend and  
co-worker who had achieved inter-  
national fame as a scholar, heart-  
brokenly give the last message of  
the workers to Red Rosa.

gigantic rocks descend upon the  
sea. Is it credible, can it be thought  
of?

The consciousness of the work-  
ers of the whole world cannot  
grasp this fact for the enemy is  
still very strong, and the great  
work, the greatest of history, is  
still unfinished; for the working  
class needs Lenin as perhaps no  
one else in the world has been  
needed.

The second attack of illness  
which was more severe than the  
first, lasted more than 10 months.  
The arteries "played" constantly,  
according to the bitter expression  
of the physicians. It was a terrible  
play with the life of Lenin. Im-  
provement could be expected,  
almost complete recovery but also  
catastrophe. We all expected re-  
covery, but catastrophe came. The  
breathing center of the brain re-  
fused to function and stifled the  
center of that mind of great genius.

And Vladimir Ilyich is no  
more. The party is orphaned. The  
workman's class is orphaned. This  
was the very feeling aroused by  
the news of the death of our  
teacher and leader.

How shall we advance, shall we  
find the way, shall we not go as-  
tray? For Lenin, comrades, is no  
longer with us.

Lenin is no more. But Leninism  
endures. The immortal in Lenin,  
his doctrine, his work, his method,

his example lives in us, lives in the  
party that he founded, lives in the  
first workman's state whose head  
he was and which he guided.

Our hearts are now so overcome  
with grief because all of us, thanks  
to the great favor of history were  
born contemporaries of Lenin,  
worked with him, and learned  
with him. Our party is Leninism  
in practice, our party is the collec-  
tive leader of the workers. In each  
of us lives a small part of Lenin  
which is the best part of each of us.

How shall we continue? With  
the lamp of Leninism in our hands.  
Shall we find the way? With the  
collective mind, with the collective  
will of the party we shall find it.

And tomorrow and the day after,  
for a week, a month, we shall ask:  
Is Lenin really dead? For his  
death will long seem to us an im-  
probable, an impossible, a terrible  
arbitrariness of nature.

May the pain we feel, that stabs  
our hearts each time we think that  
Lenin is no more be for each of us  
an admonition, a warning, an ap-  
peal: your responsibility is in-  
creased. Be worthy of the leader  
who trained you!

In grief, sorrow, and affiliation  
we bind our ranks and hearts to-  
gether; we unite more closely for  
new struggles. Comrades, brothers,  
Lenin is no longer with us. Fare-  
well, Ilyich! Farewell, leader!

Tiflis Station, January 22, 1924

## Proletarians Falling, Dividends Rising...

by Rosa Luxemburg

(The following is from Rosa Luxemburg's famous Junius pamphlet  
written during the war. There is probably no more dramatic analysis  
and condemnation of imperialist war than this passage. It breathes  
with fire and hatred against the imperialist war makers.)

Luxemburg:—The scene has thoroughly changed. The six weeks  
march to Paris has become a world drama. Mass murder has become  
a monotonous task, and yet the final solution is not one step nearer.  
Capitalist rule is caught in its own trap, and cannot ban the spirit that  
it has invoked.

Gone is the first mad delirium. Gone are the patriotic street demon-  
strations, the chase after suspicious looking automobiles, the false  
telegrams, the cholera-poisoned wells. Gone the mad stories of Russian  
students who hurl bombs from every bridge of Berlin, or Frenchmen  
flying over Nuremberg: gone the excesses of a spy-hunting populace,  
the singing throngs, the coffee shops with their patriotic songs; gone  
the violent mobs, ready to denounce, ready to persecute women, ready  
to whip themselves into a delirious frenzy over every wild rumor; gone  
the atmosphere of ritual murder, the Kishinoff affair that left the  
policeman at the the corner as the only remaining representative of  
human dignity.

### The Show Is Over

The show is over. The curtain has fallen on trains filled with reserv-  
ists, as they pull out amid the joyous cries of enthusiastic maidens. We  
no longer see their laughing faces smiling cheerily from the train win-  
dows upon a war-mad population. Quietly they trot through the streets  
with their sacks on their shoulders. And the public with a fretful  
face goes about its daily task.

Into the disillusioned atmosphere of pale daylight there rings a  
different chorus; the hoarse creak of the hawks and the hyenas of the  
battlefield. Ten thousand tents guaranteed according to specifications.  
100,000 kilo of bacon, cocoa powder, coffee substitute, cash on immedi-  
ate delivery. Shrapnell, drills, ammunition bags, marriage bureaus for  
war widows, leather belts, war orders—only serious propositions con-  
sidered. And the cannon fodder that was loaded upon the trains in  
August and September is rotting on the battlefields of Belgium and  
Vosges, while profits springing, like weeds, from the fields of the dead.

### Business on Ruins

Business is flourishing upon the ruins. Cities are turned into  
shambles, villages into cemeteries, whole nations into beggars, churches  
into stables, popular rights, treaties, alliances, the holiest words and  
and the highest authorities have been torn into scraps, every sovereign  
by the grace of God is called a fool, an unfaithful wretch, by his cousin  
on the other side, every diplomat calls his colleague in the enemy's  
country a desperate criminal, each government looks upon the other as  
the evil genius of its people worthy only of the contempt of the world.  
Hunger revolts in Venice, in Lisbon, in Moscow, in Singapore, pestilence  
in Russia, misery and desperation everywhere.

Shamed, dishonored, wading in blood and dripping with filth—thus  
capitalist society stands. Not as we usually see it, playing the roles of  
peace and righteousness, of order, of philosophy, of ethics, but as a  
roaring beast, as an orgy of anarchy, as a pestilential breath, devas-  
tating culture and humanity—so it appears in all its hideous naked-  
ness.

"Deutschland, Deutschland uber alles," "long live democracy," long  
live the Czar and slavery," "ten thousand tents cloths, guaranteed  
according to specifications," "hundred thousand pounds of bacon,"  
"Coffee substitute, immediate delivery" dividends are rising—prole-  
tarians falling; and with each one there sinks into the grave a fighter  
of the future, a soldier of the revolution, a savior of humanity from  
the yoke of capitalism.

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

## FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IS LEADING STRUGGLES OF WORKERS AGAINST WAR

(Continued from Page 1)

remains unknown.

In Belgium, Walter Dauge, lead-  
er of the Belgian revolutionists,  
was jailed. In Britain, the party  
office was closed.

In British South Africa, the  
Fourth Internationalist paper was  
banned. In Czechoslovakia, stu-  
dent anti-Hitler demonstrators  
died with shouts of "Long Live  
Trotsky" on their lips.

And closest to us in America, in  
Canada, a heroic young worker,  
Frank Watson, was arrested for  
daring to speak openly against the  
war and sentenced to one year im-  
prisonment.

Despite these instances of re-  
pression, to which many more can  
be added, the Fourth International  
reformed its forces and continued  
the slow, laborious process of pre-  
paring to take advantage of the  
continuation of the war in order  
to be ready to act at a decisive  
moment.

The International Executive  
Committee of the Fourth Interna-

tional issued the following anti-  
war manifesto:

"Barbarism and the totalitarian  
regime are triumphant in both  
camps. Are the workers going to  
participate in diplomatic disputes  
to discover who is or is not the  
'only responsible party'?"

"THOSE REALLY RESPONSIB-  
IBLE ARE THE CAPITALISTS  
OF ALL COUNTRIES, whose re-  
gime is bringing us to the precip-  
ice of civilization.

"Responsible is German imperi-  
alism and its fascist regime.  
"Responsible is Anglo-French  
imperialism and their so-called  
'democracy.'

"Workers, are you going to risk  
your skins so that the domination  
of finance capital may triumph  
again all over the world?"

"In the hour in which capitalism  
identifies itself with ruin, oppres-  
sion, barbarism and fascism.

"Remember the words of Lieb-  
knecht:

"The enemy is in our own coun-  
try."



"BLACK JACOBINS" by C. L. R. James. (Continued from last issue)

Reviewed by RUTH WILNER

Meanwhile, in Paris, the Assembly debated the question of freedom for the blacks. The representatives of the plantation owners and the maritime bourgeoisie in the Assembly managed to evade the problem for a whole year. But the revolutionary masses, having finished with the first tasks of the revolution, were denouncing the "aristocracy of the skin" and demanding the freedom of the San Domingo slaves. Under this pressure, the Assembly finally passed the decree which legally destroyed slavery in San Domingo.

Toussaint, who had in the meantime welded together a disciplined army and surrounded himself with a staff of carefully chosen officers, allied himself with the revolutionary Jacobins of France. Revolutionary France had declared itself for freedom, and Toussaint worked together with its representatives in San Domingo. Together with them, he led his Army successfully against the British and the Spaniards who sought the commercial prize that was slave-ridden San Domingo.

GREAT ADMINISTRATOR

Toussaint proved himself not only a great General but a great Administrator as well. He established order in San Domingo, and under his guidance the island once more prospered.

But, in France the right wing elements were in the ascendancy, and with the coup d'etat of Napoleon Bonaparte, the left wing Jacobins were crushed. The bourgeoisie, having consolidated its power against feudalism on the right and the revolutionary masses on the left, sought to reestablish slavery in San Domingo.

Toussaint, though aware of the danger, attempted to compromise with Napoleon. But Napoleon managed to arrest Toussaint and proceeded to send his troops to San Domingo.

The ex-slaves of San Domingo, having won their freedom dearly, were not ready to give it up easily. They prepared, under the leadership of Dessalines, to do battle once more. Bourgeois historians and military men have since marvelled at the successful struggle of that Black Army against the titanic Army of the Great Napoleon, the army that made him master of Europe. They said that it was all due to the climate of San Domingo, to the yellow fever. . . . But Frenchmen have fought successfully with the same odds against them before. No, the real reason is the same as that which made it possible for the hungry ragged army of revolutionary Russia to triumph over the combined armies of Imperialism: the revolutionary ardor of the masses fighting to defend their liberty.

SCHOLARLY AND DOCUMENTED

This, in merest outline, is the story told in the "Black Jacobins." It is a scholarly and well documented book, but it is not written with that fake "impartiality" so revered by the bourgeois liberals. It is never a mere recording of the historical facts. The facts are looked at under the microscope of Marxist analysis. The social and class forces which are decisive in history come to life under that microscope. And from the revolutionary history of yesterday, is drawn the great lesson for today.

It is the lesson that the capitalist picturization of the Negro as a childlike, shiftless, sub-human creature is a terrible lie. The San Domingo Negroes proved for all time that the Negroes are heroic fighters from whose ranks will come great revolutionary leaders of the stature of Toussaint L'Overture.

Today the Negro in America and Africa is vilified and beaten down. Tomorrow he will take his place in the front ranks of the World Socialist Revolution.

# Bosses Attack the Soviet Union---

## Finnish Invasion Used as Pretext for Assault on Workers State Defend the Soviet Union Against the Hoovers and Mannerheims!

(Continued from Page 1)  
supplies Finland with arms, food and other supplies, and huge money subsidies.

### ALLIED AID

The Allied War Council votes to aid Finland against Russia, which amounts to a declaration of war by England and France. And the N.Y. Times writes editorially stating that "the moral conscience of the world has been aroused." And we all know what happens when the righteous and indignant "moral conscience of the world" swings into action. It means the White Guard assault on the U.S.S.R.

The imperialists are taking full advantage of Stalin's crime in Finland to "pile on." Anyone who thinks this war can be looked on as just another gangster squabble need only compare the reaction to the Soviet invasion of Finland to the lockjaw which the whole "moral conscience" of the world, including the League of Nations, seemed to suffer from when the rape of China and Ethiopia took place. The bosses seem to think that there is something more at stake in this war than a mere little nation, the rights of which they have shown themselves ready to sacrifice time and time again.

The Japanese and Italian presses, which yesterday hummed with the news of the inferiority of the "heathen Chinese" and the Ethiopian Negro, today roll off edition after edition of official "horror" at the invasion of Finland. Semi-official demonstrations of Italian students protest the invasion, and Italian airplanes back up the Finnish counter-revolution.

DEFEND THE U.S.S.R.  
Any worker blinded by Stalin's crimes against the world working class and national minorities in Finland to the extent that he doesn't care who wins this war or even supports Finland is simply not stopping to consider what is at stake. If the Finnish bosses win this war, they will destroy what is left of the conquests of the October revolution in Russia. Sure, we'll be "rid" of Stalin. But we'll be "rid" of the workers state too. And the Finnish bosses may even find a use for Stalin and his hierarchy, putting him in charge of the new bourgeois regime.

The only way to get rid of Stalinism is by a worker's struggle in Russia against these reactionary hirelings of imperialism. But when the Soviet Union is in danger of destruction by the whole howling crew of bandit imperialists, we can have only one attitude: Defend the Soviet Union!

## AMERICAN ECONOMY ON THE BUM

# Farmers Are Caught In the Clutches of Capitalism

Depressions and capitalism have always gone together; and yet, in the past, capitalism was able to expand and grow strong in spite of them—they were only temporary set-backs. Today, however, all this has changed. America is in a blind alley. The depression has become permanent: under capitalism there is no way out. This condition has been brought about because of a series of basic changes in the set-up of American economic life. It is these changes which we want to examine here from time to time.

American society as a whole has been caught in the permanent depression for the past ten years—everyone knows that. But there is one section of that society, the farmers, for whom the depression has already lasted twenty years. Not everyone realizes that; and perhaps even fewer people understand that the blame for this condition must be placed directly in the lap of the Sixty Families, the small group of international bankers who rule America and whose insatiable greed brings misery and poverty to the great masses of our people.

We cannot here examine every aspect of the terrible plight of American agriculture. We want to look at the basic reasons for this condition.

### Locked In Vise

The American farmers are locked in a great vise, and that vise is being continually tightened by the Sixty Families. 1) After the world war, the prices which the farmers got for their products tumbled, but the prices for goods which the farmers have to buy have been kept high by the banker-controlled monopolies. 2) The mortgage debt (these mortgages companies and banks) in American farm land rose from about 25% of farm land use from about 25% of the value of the land in 1910, to almost 40% in 1930. At one time, farmers were able to pay off mortgages by selling their land, which had increased in value. But as

these figures show, this is no longer true. 3) More and more of the farms have been taken over by the banks, creating large numbers of tenant farmers.

There are now about 3,000,000 tenant farmers in the U. S. At one time being a tenant was not so bad, because the young tenants could soon buy the land. But the great increase in farm tenancy (25.6% in 1880 to 42.4% in 1930) shows that this is no longer true. 4) The Sixty Families must support the competitors of the American farmers (South America, Canada) in their efforts to export farm products to the U. S. Firstly, because the Sixty Families export capital (loan money) to these countries and must provide them with the means for paying interest on these loans. (These interest payments amounted to a cool \$568,000,000 in 1936). And the only way these countries can get the money to pay the interest is by exporting goods to the United States. These countries do not have the burden of fixed costs (mortgage debts and high taxes) which the American farmers have. This enables them to produce farm products more cheaply than the American farmers. And the Sixty Families will be forced to buy these products in order to provide the workers with cheaper food-stuffs, so that they will be able to lower wages.

### Basic Reasons

Now we have just seen a clue to the basic reason for the great distress of the American farmers. And it all must be traced to the international position of America's Sixty Families. Before the world war, America was a debtor nation. That is, the American capitalists owed (and had to pay interest on) more money to foreign (mostly English) capitalists, than foreign capitalists owed to the American bankers. Thus in 1914, Wall Street had only 3 1/2 billions invested abroad while the foreign bankers had over 7 billions invested in the

U. S. This meant that every year interest had to be paid to the European capitalists. This money, which was being paid ever since the middle of the 19th century, had to come from somewhere. America had to export, in order to pay for the capital loans of money) which she imported.

In order to have these products to export, the American capitalists, after the civil war, threw open the great farm lands of the west. The farmers produced huge surpluses which were shipped abroad and which fed the great industrial centers of England. What is more, the European capitalists had to buy these products, because they knew that if they did not, the American capitalists would not have the money to pay for the loans which the great European banking houses had sent to the U. S. Thus, while America was a debtor nation, there was a reason for the existence of a prosperous farming class in the U. S.

### Picture Changes

But this whole picture has now been changed. During and after the rest of the world. This transformed the U. S. into a creditor nation. In 1936, the foreign investments of the Sixty Families amounted to over thirteen billions. At the same time, Wall Street owed only seven billions. This meant that the American bankers no longer needed the farmers; and it also meant that the foreign capitalists, who now had to worry about paying interest to Wall St. (in 1936 they paid \$411,000,000 more than they received) had no reason for buying America's agricultural products. As a matter of fact, the other countries are trying hard to export farm products themselves. This condition spells the doom of the American farmers.

Thus so long as American society is organized for bigger and better profits for the Sixty Families, this one-sixth of the population can have no other lot but increasing misery and despair. Only one conclusion is possible: the farmers of America, particularly the poor farmers, must join forces with labor against their common enemy: the Sixty Families who rule America and enslave them both.



It was with much anxiety that I went to see "We Are Not Alone." It is an adaptation of a novel by James Hilton. And I am particularly allergic to Mr. Hilton's novels and the several films which have been based on them. I can't bear the "whimsy" which he perpetrates on the audience. I find his philosophical musings strictly of the ten cent variety.

I expected, therefore, to find much to complain of in the story. But it was Paul Muni's performance that I really wanted to see.

Muni plays a middle-aged doctor—a sincere, intelligent, and kindly man buried in a stodgy, strait-laced English town. His wife is tightly bound within the conventions and social standards of the town's gentry—the tea parties, the "Helping Hand" societies, and the pious gossip after church. She is formal and severe, their relationship a formal and passionless one.

The doctor finds his happiness in his young son, his work, and his simple pleasures—his violin, bicycling. Into this ordered life comes a young girl, an Austrian, alone in a strange country. Muni, as Dr. Newcome, attends her in an accident and later saves her from an attempt at suicide. He becomes interested in the lonely and sensitive young girl. She comes to his home to serve as governess to his son.

### REFUGE FROM DISCIPLINE

The boy finds her friendship and kindness a refuge from his mother's concept of discipline and propriety. The doctor, the girl, and his son draw close together—three aliens in an atmosphere of primness and piety. Alarmed at the relationship and goaded on by fear of the gossip-mongers she tries to force the girl to leave. The doctor refuses.

And here the tale of people in conflict, is climaxed by a mechanically devised web of circumstance. It is the period of the outbreak of the First World War. Alarmed by the war hysteria and the persecution of enemy aliens, Muni attempts to get the girl out of the country. At the very moment of their departure, the wife—entirely accidentally—is poisoned and found dead. They are brought back and tried for her murder.

The rumors, the gossip, the morality-vendors place the stamp of legal sanction on their slanders. They are sent to their death.

Muni's performance is as fine as I have ever seen him do. The gentle believability of his performance is remarkable. Every shading, each nuance of the character is brought to light. Humor, simplicity, the slow growth of a genuine love, his affection for his son—these add up to a fully rounded, believable person. Even the English accent—been instead of been—even that is perfection! Without qualifications—a magnificent performance from the screen's finest actor.

### EXCELLENT ACTING

The acting is almost entirely excellent. Flora Robson and Una O'Connor contribute two mature pieces of acting. The direction falters only once or twice from an otherwise splendid effort. Faced with the problem of an artificial ending that juts out irregularly from the human content of the story, director Goulding filmed the trial only competently, with fairly routine methods. But the tempo of the picture and individual scenes too are well done. For the impact that the declaration of war has on the townspeople a moving scene was devised. The direction and the musical score hit home the vulgar hysteria of a nation drowned in war propaganda and plunged into imperialist war.

## I Am Interested

Please send me more information on the aims and activities of the

Y. P. S. L.  
116 University Place  
New York City

Name .....  
Address .....  
City .....