

# clarity! action! Young Spartacus

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## Anti-Red Drive Hits Workers

### Youth Meet Talks Much, Does Nothing

On January 5 and 6 the second national gathering of the American Youth Congress met in Washington to deliberate on ways and means of organizing the American youth against capitalist oppression. However, the Congress accomplished very little, outside of proving in a negative fashion, through its own emptiness and impotence, that what is needed is an active, fighting instrument of the youth, a united front of all working class youth organizations, and not decorative and imposing-looking Congresses which give off lots of steam but never do anything.

The American Youth Congress originated last August when Viola Ilma, a conservative supporter of the Roosevelt administration, called upon all youth organizations to convene and discuss the problems confronting the young people of this country. At this first congress, a split between Miss Ilma's followers and those who had constituted themselves as a "left-wing" was precipitated over the question of democratic procedure. The Ilma group withdrew and the Congress

(Continued on Page 8)

### Hearst and Cohorts Prepare Bills To Outlaw Workers' Movement

The past year has seen an intensification of the movement against "Reds". In the vanguard of this movement stands William Randolph Hearst, millionaire publisher of yellow journals which, unfortunately, are supported by workers' pennies. Beginning with attacks on communist elements in schools and elsewhere, Hearst has more clearly revealed his intention in a number of actions and articles. His intention is to destroy any independent movement of the working class.

For years Hearst pretended to be a "friend" of the working man. Today, when recurrent strikes endanger the position of the bosses he represents, he has even dropped the pretense. Hearst, who pays his chief pen prostitute, Arthur Brisbane, \$260,000 a year, is particularly concerned with strike action in his home state, California, where reside his movie queen and extensive possessions. When the National Labor Relations Board awarded victory to street railway strikers, the Los Angeles Examiner printed editorially (Dec. 29) under the head, "A BOLSHEVIK BOARD"

"The action of the Los Angeles Labor Relations Board in trying to

force the Los Angeles Street Railway company to put back a minority of its employees is nothing less than incitement to violence and encouragement of communism. . . . They (the members of the N. L.R.B.) certainly are lending aid and comfort to communism and the Los Angeles Railway Company will be rendering a service not only to the community but to the nation if it refuses to accept their communist dictatorship."

#### Fosters Vigilantes

Before that, in the San Francisco General Strike, Hearst compelled Johnson, then head of the NRA, to back down at the moment when he was ready to yield to the strong pressure of the workers. And, recently, his newspapers ran an editorial which said: that workers, the scum of the earth, should be held in check by threat of the lash; that as workers they have no voice and should be suppressed by force if necessary. This gives us a good idea of who was behind the vigilantes in California when they swooped down on all working class organizations with a reign of terror, and, perhaps, the vigilantes in Minneapolis who have carried out raids.

His fulminations have not been confined to workers. The first to share in his "exposes" of communist activities were students in school, instructors, the National Student League and so forth. In an editorial directed against the Workers Party he exposed two professors as leaders of the party, giving characteristic misinformation where facts failed him. The jobs of all teachers who so much as dare to think freely in the school room have been jeopardized by his campaign.

Nor does Hearst confine himself to agitation against U. S. "Reds". A serious part of his campaign is to denounce the Soviet Union. It is worth noting that Hearst returned from fascist Germany only a short while ago, deeply impressed by his friend Hitler.

#### Has Powerful Support

Hearst has been attacking communism and asking for Congressional action against it for many years. Whereas in the past his hysterical cries were of no particular significance they are today immensely important. Hearst is merely the agent for the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, various powerful patriotic organizations (Daughters of the American Revolution, American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars) and the Army and Navy Departments. These organizations have submitted a series of proposals to the Congressional Committee on un-American Activities which would outlaw the political movement of the working class and suppress any economic action.

The bills are six in number. One, a federal sedition law (some States already have them), would punish the advocacy of the violent overthrow of the government, and membership in any organization with such a doctrine. This would provide a penalty . . . for speech.

An act is also proposed to exclude all seditious matter from the mails. This is by way of streng-

thening the present law which is sweeping enough. It would have the effect of barring all revolutionary literature from the mails. Further, it is proposed that treaties be strengthened with foreign governments to facilitate the deportation of aliens (even if naturalized), and the amendment of the naturalization laws to exclude all who believe in the overthrow of the government from citizenship, though the existing law provides for this anyway.

#### Aimed Against Strikers

Another bill concerns itself with any attempt to incite disaffection or insubordination in the armed forces. As the law reads today civilians may address propaganda to soldiers and sailors. This the bill aims to eliminate. Already the Committee on un-American Activities has heard a report from the army on subversive propaganda among the soldiers. However, this bill is more than a question affecting agitation in the army. According to its content any striker, speaking to a National Guardsman who has been called out to shoot

(Continued on Page 7)

### Toy Workers Close Shops In N.Y. Strike

NEW YORK: The stuffed-toy workers are out on strike. About a thousand workers are involved. The demands are for a closed shop, increase in wages and a forty-hour week.

The strike is now in its third week and the picket line is still solid. The two largest shops, which were in the union before the strike started, have already returned to work with the union's agreement. In one of the shops the bosses refused to recognize the shop chairman that the workers had chosen. The whole shop came out on strike again; and the next day the bosses, realizing that they were no longer dealing with a group of humble "wage slaves" but organized, fighting union workers, gave in and agreed to recognize the chairman.

The workers on strike are of different nationalities. There are a great number of young workers in the trade because the bosses have found out that they can get a young worker to do the work faster and at much lower wages. The girls and fellows out on strike have been working for eight and nine

(Continued on Page 5)

### 18 IN SACRAMENTO FRAMED; N.P.L.D. AIDS IN DEFENSE

#### BULLETIN

Since the article printed below was written, the Communist Party, running true to form, has broken the united front. The N. P.L.D. is still trying to consolidate the movement for the defense of the prisoners. The Civil Liberties Union has addressed a protest to the C. P. for its splitting of the united front, which continues without it. The trial itself continues to show all the features of California "justice". In the coming issue we will print an account of the trial.

The trial of eighteen militant workers in Sacramento, California, which began on January 16, is one of the most important labor battles in the country. The case, from the first arrest of the workers last July, has been conducted without even a shallow pretense of justice. The workers, if they are convicted on all the counts which face them, stand to receive eighty-four year sentences.

The prisoners are mostly members of the Agricultural and Cannery Workers Union, a union which has led thousands of poor agricultural workers in militant strikes to victory over the California farmer-capitalists. They were arrested during the general strike red scare, in a poorly concealed attempt to smash the union; charged with vagrancy, and held for one thousand dollars bail. While they were being held on the vagrancy charge, District Attorney McAllister, a notorious labor hater, entered further charges of criminal syndicalism, and the equally labor hating judge, Dal M. Lemmon, raised the bail to three thousand dollars.

The International Labor Defense, which had charge of the defense,

did not succeed in raising bail for all of the prisoners, and made no attempt to form a broad united front for their defense. In December two of the defendants, Jack Warnick and Caroline Decker, secretary of the union, applied to and received bail from the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

The jury was handpicked by the prosecution, at least one member, a woman, is known to be a personal friend of the prosecutor. The first two weeks of the trial, which opened on Jan. 16, have been occupied with the attempts of the prosecution to start a red scare, to assail the characters of the defendants and to prejudice the jury against them as "reds", "foreign agitators", "aliens", etc. These attempts have not been too successful, as all the defendants are Americans, one a former West Pointer, and one a descendant of a signer of the Constitution.

On account of the luke warm defense efforts of the I.L.D. during the five months when it had the case under its direction, the defense movement has been slow in getting under way. In the court the lawyers, Gallagher for the I.L.D., Goldman for the N.P.L.D., and Chas. Busick, an ex-California judge who is defending one of the prisoners on a private retainer, have formed a united front. On January 22, one week after the trial opened, a call for a broad united front of labor was issued, signed by the representatives of the Workers Party, the N.P.L.D., the Socialist party, the American Civil Liberties Union, the I.L.D. and the Communist party. Two San Francisco unions responded immediately, and it is expected that the meeting set for Feb. 10 will rally the whole labor movement.

### BOSSSES PREVENT PASSAGE OF CHILD LABOR LAW

The powerful pressure of the industrialists and manufacturers, together with the Catholic Church, has succeeded in killing the ill-fated child labor amendment in the New York State legislature. After ten years since the introduction of the federal amendment only twenty four states (fourteen in 1933) have ratified it. The rest of the states have continued to table or defeat the bill which proposes that Congress regulate child labor under 18 years.

Despite the apparent sudden interest of the states in child labor, the evil is not a recent development. For years the virtual enslavement of youngsters on farms and in factories has been practiced, and for years the states, directed by the money barons and land owners, have fought off any attempt to curtail this plague.

The proportional distribution of these young workers throughout the U. S. illuminates lucidly the behavior of the various states in regard to the federal amendment. For example, in the eastern and southern states, the most affected areas, we find that 1,900,000 children out of a total of 2,117,000, ranging from the ages of ten to seventeen years, are employed. The conditions of these youngsters are deplorable: they work from ten to fourteen hours a day for an average miserly pittance of one to three dollars a week. The sham state laws against child labor are best illustrated by the fact that in Mississippi, where twenty-five percent of the children are employed, there is only one child labor inspector in the state.

It is no wonder that not even one state in the south, and only one or two states in the east ratified the Amendment!

The competition between the cotton and textile mill owners in the south and east is responsible for the increased child labor in those sections; e. g., in South Carolina, the increase in child labor has been 29 percent, while in Rhode Island and Connecticut the increase has been 123 percent and 283 percent respectively in the last four years.

In order to make profits and still compete with each other the mill owners of the east and south must employ child labor in place of adult workers, and since the very existence of the mill owners depends upon child labor, they will fight any move to abolish it.

This is clearly shown in the lobbying and propaganda which goes on in every state. In New York State the Manufacturers' Association has openly contributed funds to the New York Committee Opposing Ratification. In Massachusetts the Manufacturers Association contributed twenty thousand dollars for radio purposes at the last referendum of the child labor amendment in that state, and consequently it was defeated (696,119 to 27,221). The manufacturers have mustered the Catholic Church to fight against the amendment in the name of justice, morality and family.

With the lines of reaction so clearly knit, the Spartacus Youth League calls for organized pressure to compel adoption of the child labor amendment, and advances the following program:

1. Abolition of child labor under 16 years of age.
2. Establishment of work schools for youth between 14 and 18.
3. State maintenance of children forced out of industry by the child labor laws.

# Student Notes

## PERSPECTIVES OF S.Y.L.

With the beginning of a new term the Spartacus Youth League will plunge into some hard and serious work in the schools throughout the country. Our entire student membership will participate in student activities—clubs, forums, classes, N.S.L., S.L.I.D.—so that they can successfully direct the coming student struggles. We can state definitely that at least fifteen student fractions (5 in N.Y.C.) will begin to function in the coming term. This work, which heretofore was sporadic and loosely connected, will be welded into a solid and coordinated front which will establish the S.Y.L. as a decisive factor on the campuses.

## FLASH FROM CHICAGO

The S.Y.L. of Chicago informs us that a united front between the N.S.L. and the student fraction of the S.Y.L. has been consummated in Dudley High School on the issue of repairing falling wall plaster. The united front is the first of its kind to be made, in line with our new student policy. Keep up the good work, Chicago.

## PEACE FOR U. S.?

In a peace poll conducted by the Literary Digest we find that out of 70,000 students almost 70 percent believe that the U.S. can stay out of another great war. We are tempted to ridicule such naivete but so widespread a belief that the United States, the richest imperialist nation in the world, can stay out of a war fought to share imperialist booty, requires more serious attention. We recollect that the United States, whose interests were much smaller then, announced her neutrality in the last war, only to throw the American workers into the slaughter eventually.

One task which faces the S.Y.L. on the campus is to teach the students the truth about war, its nature and cause by actual organization of classes and forums.

## STATE COLLEGE, PA.

Our comrades at State College, Pa. have submitted an important organizational document on the conditions and work in their school. A clear analysis of the objective, as well as the subjective forces at work in State College assures the S.Y.L. a fruitful future. The college is a land grant institution with an attendance of 5,000. The administration is really liberal, insofar as it does not exercise any political censorship, either in the newspapers or class rooms. However, with the recent Supreme Court decision on land grant schools, it remains to be seen whether or not the administration will scrap its liberalism and force compulsory R.O.T.C. on the students. In any case, we are confident that our comrades will immediately lead the struggle against any move on the part of the administration to foster any reactionary measures.

## U.S. STUDENTS: PLEASE NOTE

In Ecuador, when the students disapprove of the school administration, they take matters into their own hands. In Quito Normal School a strike was declared when the administration refused to change an intolerable faculty and give the students control of their own school. As a matter of fact, the students are so determined to fight that they are holding faculty members as hostages until their demands are granted. The police who were ordered to subdue the students are baffled because any attack launched upon the student forces might find the imprisoned faculty members as victims! As a result, the bewildered police are muttering a Shakes-

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pearian parody: "To do or not to do, that is the question."

## STUDENT SOLIDARITY IN JUGOSLAVIA

In Belgrade, several hundred students went on a hunger strike in protest at the maltreatment of fellow students in a concentration camp. The striking students demanded that the camp be dissolved immediately. In answer, the government sent its armed force to shoot down the strikers. The casualty list at present numbers 1 dead and many wounded. All lights and water have been cut off at the university in order to clear them out of the building. The inevitable result seems to be the submission of the students to the government and an additional concentration camp in Yugoslavia. This experience affords us an excellent example of the problem facing the students everywhere. Alone, despite the best of conditions, the students in their struggle against the government cannot be victorious—defeat is certain. If the students align themselves, not only in words, but in action with the working class, then the chances of success in their battle will be increased a thousandfold.

—FRANK VISCONTI.

## Greetings To the COG

The National Committee of the Spartacus Youth League has followed with great anxiety and interest the semi-monthly publication of the New York Spartacus Youth League. The Cog. With the appearance of the third regular number of this Bulletin the National Committee extends its heartiest greetings to the paper and its congratulations to those who were instrumental in the initiation of this project.

The Cog is the first local internal publication of our national organization. Those who have followed The Cog are obliged to recognize it as an inimitable contribution to the improvement of the inner life of the organization; as an instrument of internal Clarity and Action. The National Committee has arranged to distribute copies of this bulletin to every branch in the country as a model. We trust and sincerely hope that the branches nationally will take advantage of this example.

The National Committee is confident that the Cog (already a byword in the New York District), will have the effect and play the important role ascribed to it. . . . And we pledge to give our unhesitating support to the accomplishment of this great feat.

## WHAT, NO PICTURES?

No pictures—that is our unfortunate state. Everybody asks for them. And we can get them, lots of them. Why we had one on Huey Long and Father Coughlin. But we came up against a little problem. The engraver wants money. It is a dirty shame—a fault of the capitalist system. Until we overthrow it, we have to adapt ourselves to it. So how about money, comrades?

And while you're sending in money, why not add an article, a note, or anything we can print. Just a tip on how to write. First, make it short—from 250 words to an absolute maximum of 750 words. Second, type it if you can, triple space. Third, write on anything, especially youth items, so long as their proper place is not the New International. Fourth, have them in by the fifteenth of the month.

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# Lets Go, Spartacans

Flash: Philadelphia Y. S. Agent kidnapped. Unable to establish contact with National Office.

Flash: Detroit Y. S. agent assassinated by White Guards. Assaultants seize valuable papers, including names and addresses of new subscribers.

Flash: Los Angeles Y. S. agent absconds with funds earmarked for L. A. bundle order.

Flash: Out of town National Committee member gets a sub for Y.S.—spends money taking girl to movies.

Flash: New York, Newark and Youngstown pay for bundle orders. Circulation manager in dead faint.

No, comrades, these quips are not (as far as we know) literally true, but they might as well be. A fat lot of good it does us to have agents, representatives, God save the mark, who can't even answer letters. And, congenial right-wingers that we are, we dislike intensely those simon-pure revolutionary Y. S. Agents who refuse to entrust money to the U. S. mails. We're going to organize a campaign of our own against hoarding.

We address ourselves now, not to our tireless Agents, but to our readers in the twenty-five cities and towns where Y.S. goes. Do you want to get our paper next month—and the month after that? We are confident that you do. Well, if your Y.S. Agent fails to pay his bill he's threatening you with the loss of your paper. We have written our Agents that those who fall more than one month behind in payment will get no bundles, and that means that readers who buy Y. S. by the copy will be out in the cold. Meanwhile these same Agents, by jeopardizing our financial position strike a blow at our subscribers.

We ask every reader in Philadelphia, Detroit, Columbus, Frisco and Los Angeles to get after the Y. S. Agent and make him get busy. And we ask our readers everywhere to get subs from their friends, schoolmates and fellow workers

Our financial set-up is no mystery. Printing costs forty dollars an issue. Mailing and other items raise the ante to fifty bucks. Comrades, this can be met by your sending us 200 subs a month. Get new subs and thereby extend our influence and guarantee us regularity of publication.

Last month we announced a drive to put Y.S. over. Chicago and New York sent donations; Jefferson Hall sent in 4 subs and a few others responded as well. But that's not enough. We got out this issue on our nerve and by bluffing the printer. Next time we'll have to produce the do-re-mi.

We're not going to plead or threaten because neither should be necessary. We're speaking to people who like Y.S. and want it to appear regularly, and we're explaining what you must do if it's to continue.

Just two final reminders. The bound volumes of Y.S. are ready; send in a dollar if you want one before they're all gone. And don't forget, a copy of James Oneal's "Workers in American History" or "42 Parallel" by John Dos Passos to every comrade sending us 10 subs, and a banner to the S.Y.L. branch sending us the most subs in proportion to its membership.

Flash: As we go to press payment is received for Philadelphia bundle.  
JANE OGDEN,  
Business Manager

## FOOD FOR THOUGHT

We see in the newspapers that certain members of Congress intend protesting the price of pie in the House restaurant on the floor of Congress. Fifteen cents a slice is rank exploitation. Another complaint is that the seats in Congress are too hard. The Congressmen demand better working conditions. Now who can say that our representatives are not considering the major issues before the country?

JOIN THE SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE

# In the Organization

By NATHAN GOULD  
National Secretary

One month of the Spartacus program of action revealed the powerful forces and possibilities that lie latent in our organization. The picture of the growth of our small movement painted upon the background of the declining strength and activity of both the Young Communist League and the Young Peoples Socialist League portrays a marked contrast, insuring a bright future for our organization.

## SIGNS OF GROWTH

1. A new branch of 16 members has been formed in Columbus, Ohio. This newly formed organization promises a membership of 25 by the end of February. The National Committee takes this opportunity to extend publicly its heartiest and most comradely congratulations to the first newly formed branch of the S.Y.L. under our present program of action.

2. A meeting with comrade Pashkowski from the mining district of Scranton, Pa. (Dickson City) has already proved fruitful. An enthusiastic letter from that region informs us that work for the organization of a branch in that city is well in progress. The comrades have appealed for material and for information necessary to the formation of a branch. It is interesting to note here that the leading figures of our potential Dickson city branch are those, who about one year ago, under the leadership of comrade Stanley, broke demonstratively with the Young Communist League and with the Communist Party because of their bureaucratic domination.

## CHICAGO GETS HEADQUARTERS

3. Chicago (90 members) has responded excellently. Dividing its activity in the program of action into three periods of one month each, it set as the goal for the first month the task of establishing headquarters for three of the five branches. The close of January finds that two of the three branches have already obtained headquarters and that the third is about to be secured. The West Side Branch alone is to act this week upon the acceptance of 13 new applicants to the branch. The Chicago organization has already contributed \$10 to our financial drive and has promised an additional \$15 before the 15th of the month.

Meanwhile, the Chicago S.Y.L. has taken the initiative in the attack upon the proposal of the Chicago Board of Education to make R.O.T.C. compulsory in all public high schools and colleges. Efforts to effect a united front with the Y.C.L. and the Y.P.S.L. on this issue were categorically rejected by both organizations. However, the S.Y.L. is proceeding independently.

(It had been planned to use the second half of this column in dealing with the importance of headquarters, as the first of a series of articles on organization principles. But there is much to report on the progress of the program of action which will occupy all of the available space. Suffice it now to say that each branch must take cognizance of the procedure and action of the Chicago organization with regard to its headquarters project and in line with this, establish as one of its tasks in the program of action the establishing of headquarters. This is indispensable to the consolidation and to the continued growth of the organization.)

## EAST & WEST GET INTO LINE

4. The Los Angeles branch of the S.Y.L. down to a membership of 4 at the time of the Convention, has re-organized and reports today a membership of 12. The branch saw fit to reject the quota of 20 members by April 1, assigned to it by the N. C. and substituted for this a quota of 30. It is of the greatest significance to note that the spirit of enthusiasm, characteristic of our Eastern groups (especially Newark and Philadelphia) has made its way through, to the middle West and to the West coast. That spirit is rebounding from the West coast back to the East and gather its momentum in its course.

5. A letter from a city called

Fresno, California (God knows where that is) arrived reporting the possibilities of a branch there. Likewise, Cambridge, Mass. For both these cities, we can express only the greatest surprise. We had never expected (and of one we had never heard) to organize a branch in either at so early a date. Fresno and Cambridge are examples of our possibilities. We have no doubt that there are many other such cities in these United States.

6. Philadelphia: deserves highest praises. Under inconceivably difficult circumstances they have managed to organize a branch of almost 20 members (last report), have initiated various activities, have contributed to the National Office as liberally as their resources would permit, and have kept a close correspondence with the National Office.

Not satisfied with its accomplishments in that city, the Philadelphia comrades have arranged to tour the fields of Eastern Pennsylvania for the purpose of organizing branches of the S.Y.L. in the various cities of that important district.

## POSSIBILITIES EVERYWHERE

7. Of Newark and Youngstown we have written previously. Both branches have fulfilled their quotas and are progressing well. Our Youngstown comrades have taken measures to build branches in New Vastle, in Akron and in other cities of the Ohio-Pennsylvania district and have arranged to give aid to the very weak branch in Pittsburgh. The importance of this work cannot be underestimated especially in view of the approaching strike situation in rubber and in steel, and in view of the approaching regional conferences of the S.Y.L. . . .

8. Minneapolis has stirred. New life and great enthusiasm. Comrade Russell has taken the initial steps in the organization of a new branch of our organization in that city. We have no doubt as to what the outcome of his efforts will be. A branch in Minneapolis will be the first link in the great chain that will bridge the gap of the middle West with the West coast.

9. Detroit reports very favorably with regard to the situation there. A number of our potential members are employed in the automobile industry that is now facing another strike situation. The comrades there have already set up the apparatus for the formation of a branch.

10. The same for State College, Pennsylvania. An organizational committee for a S.Y.L. branch has already been set into motion. Comrade Ernest who has been co-operating remarkably with the National Office guarantees that we will have a branch there within a week's time.

## NEW YORK NEEDS HELP

The New York branch, faced with the problem of consolidation and reorganization, is making slow but steady strides ahead. Fifteen new members have been recruited in the first month of the program of action. Activity is definitely increasing, with comrades participating in the doll and toy strike, with preparation for the student strike, the publication of the Cog and a number of other projects. The N. Y. S.Y.L. has found it necessary to drop a number of inactive members from the books as the first steps in the reorganization-consolidation program. This organization, mainly responsible in the past for the maintenance of the National Office, now deserves the most active support and cooperation from the National Office.

With such reports, can our drive be anything but successful?

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# Tramping Through the South

Regardless of the amount of time and energy expended on a study of any phase of modern society, the study is relatively valueless unless it includes a first hand observation of facts. My desire to study Negroes and Negro conditions, coupled with a love for travelling, induced me to hitch-hike through the South. Travel, critical analysis and study, and conversation with local inhabitants is necessary to avoid judging the conditions in any one city or locality typical of the entire South. Negro conditions in Baltimore are not the same as those in Washington D. C., Tennessee, or Mississippi. Most of my travelling was done along the main highways, in the backroads conditions are probably worse.

As one travels from the North into the South there is noticeable a very marked change in the attitude toward the Negro. There is no open discrimination until we pass the Mason and Dixon line. Maryland starts it officially. The state recognizes the fact and intensifies it rather than counteracting it. There are separate schools, separate swimming places, separate theatres, etc. In fact, wherever it is practically possible to discriminate, it is done.

In Washington, however, Negroes are treated comparatively well, perhaps even better than they are in the North. There you find Negro policemen, Negro governmental officials, Negroes employed in the federal buildings as custodians, at the information desks, and in other capacities.

I must recite a rather amusing incident, and a laugh that I had at the expense of my companion. We were near the northern border of Virginia and while walking along the road we passed a small roadside luncheonette. Above the doorway was a sign which read "white only". I pointed it out to Abe, my companion, and he very naively and foolishly asked me, "That's funny, I wonder why they only sell white bread." The idea behind the sign was so strange to him that it had not even occurred to him that the proprietors of a business establishment would forbid members of a particular race from trading with them.

## "Negroes Have No Souls"

This was our third day in Virginia, and after waiting all morning for a ride without the slightest success, we decided to take the bus to Bristol, the bordertown of Virginia. On the bus occurred another of those incidents which brought home vividly to us the fact we were in a different section of the country. A well-dressed northern Negroess with her young child boarded the bus at some small town. The bus was crowded and there was only one available seat, near the middle of the car. This Negroess, not being very well acquainted with Southern manners and customs, sat down on the empty seat. The bus driver refused to go ahead until the woman would move to the rear of the car. And since we were in the South the bus driver won his point.

We spent one night in a tourist home about 100 miles west of Nashville, Tenn., in order to tidy up a bit before presenting ourselves to some friends in Memphis. After nightfall we engaged the proprietors of the tourist home in a conversation which naturally (naturally because we desired it so) drifted from economics, politics, and religion to Negro problems. We asked them point-blank why they discriminated against the Negro. At first they denied discriminating, they merely felt that the Negro was a member of a race wholly distinct and different, and therefore not to be considered as one of their neighbors.

When we finally brought them down to basic facts, and showed them wherein they did discriminate against the Negro, these were their reasons. The husband claimed that you've got to shoot and kill some of them every now and then to keep them down and put them in their place. Besides, he claimed, whenever a "nigger" sweats, he stinks too much, thus proving that his physiological make-up is essentially different from that of whites, and surely that is reason enough to kill him.

His wife, however, was much more polite and gentle about it. She felt that discrimination was an act of god and was inflicted on the Negro because he was not religious. A great number of Negroes and Negroesses were living in sin, namely, no cleric had blessed their union. She added that the whites were doing all in their power to better the Negro in that respect. We asked her whether in line with her missionary work, Negroes sat together with whites in church.

"Oh no", she answered, shocked at my naivete, "We draw the line at that." After a little more hedging, she finally summed up all her arguments, reasons, and excuses with one phrase: "Negroes have no souls." We inquired of her the source of her information, and she answered us that her minister had told her so, and she as a good Baptist believed implicitly in all he said.

During the conversation occurred an incident which only politeness made us refrain from smiling too ostentatiously at. In the midst of the discussion the man asked us for the time. When we answered, he exclaimed, "Why I must tune on the radio, Amos and Andy are on at this hour." This man who killed "niggers" because they stink when they sweat, would not think of missing a radio program of Negro wisecracks.

The next day the chief game warden brought us into Brownsville, which is known in Tennessee as "Niggertown". And since it also happened to be Saturday, the official "Niggerday", there were plenty of those "dirty niggers" around town. These Negroes presented a real spectacle. Every available square foot in the wagon was occupied by a Negro or Negroess, all of whom were dressed in their Saturday and Sunday best. It was easily apparent from their appearance that this was their festival day.

In the town all the people including the Negroes were gathered around the court-house where the governor was making a primary campaign speech. In viewing the gathering, the fact that struck me was that all the Negroes were on one side and all the whites on the other. There was very little intermingling if any of the two races. Why the Negroes were there listening so intently was beyond me, since not one of them is permitted to vote.

## Mississippi Mud

Arriving in Memphis at an inopportune hour during the day, we

decided to take a stroll along the banks of the Mississippi River. There along the banks on the germ-infested mud and dirt heaps were some of the cheapest, dirtiest, filthiest, most miserable hovels I have ever seen. These homes were inhabited by some of the poorest Negroes. I call it a home, but all it consisted of were four poles and a sort of makeshift roof. I can merely surmise what happens when it rains or it becomes cold.

While looking down at the Mississippi river at the point where we were, we met some poor Negroes and whites, and there again occurred some of those most interesting discussions. The topic, of course, was prejudice against the Negro. One young fellow who had lived up North was the only one who felt any hostility toward the Southern whites and who thought any injustice was being done to his people. The others all took the race discrimination and race prejudice as a matter of course, about which nothing could be done. One older Negro explained it all away by asserting that it was an act of God and inflicted upon the Negro because he was not religious enough. Neither our arguments concerning the irreligiosity of other races, nor our mention of the tourist camp proprietress who asserted that Negroes have no souls, could dissuade him from his point of view.

After leaving the waterfront occurred an incident which, although not typical of the Negro, or of any other race for that matter, certainly lifted our spirits. A comparatively well-dressed Negro walked over to us and, since we were dressed in a hitch-hiking outfit, asked us whether we were trying to get out of the city. He was working on an excursion pullman running between Memphis and Chicago and, since there were usually several empty berths on the car, he offered to give us two of them free if we were going to Chicago. We hanked him profusely but declined the offer, since we intended staying in Memphis several days and then going on to Denver. He then told us what freight trains were going in that direction and where it was safe to board them. Before leaving he offered us half a dollar each, asking to be excused for not being able to offer us more. We again thanked him profusely, but declined the offer.

Draw your own conclusions, comrades. **HAROLD BARRETT.**

# CALL OUT THE MILITIA!

Never before in the history of the U. S. has that call been heard so many times. Every strike of big proportions inevitably comes to the point where the boss must finally go to the last extreme—getting the Militia to help him break the strike. It is his weapon, and he doesn't spare it as recent events will so readily show.

In the United States there are some 185,000 militiamen or National Guards as they are called. The great majority are young fellows who go to school, work or are unemployed, and who drill but one time each week and go to camp each summer for a two-week period. To them the National Guard is a chance to pick up some "extra change" and have a little fun once in a while. Only recently, when their main duty has become breaking strikes have they begun to realize the vicious purpose for which they are so carefully trained.

It is safe to predict that this year, and from now on, there will be fewer re-enlistments in the National Guard. The National Guards are going to have to resort to more high pressure methods to keep up their quota, especially in those regions where they have had constant demand for duty in strike centers. Already we are beginning to see evidence of this in some parts of the country. In several of the newspapers, notices are appearing, asking for young men who would like to learn marksmanship; in other words, asking for young men to join the National Guard.

The myth that the Guards are

impartial has been completely destroyed. No longer does the worker believe that the militiaman only exists to keep order, and no more. Toledo, Minneapolis, Frisco and the textile strike among others has shown him that the militia protects the boss and is the bosses' weapon. The recent exposure of the "Emergency Plan for Domestic Disturbances" published and secretly circulated by the 33rd Division, Illinois National Guard has done much to portray the true role of the National Guard. Here are some quotations from it:

"When troops . . . are ordered on active duty to suppress domestic disturbances, under no circumstances will blank ammunition be issued to them. . . . Never fire over the heads of rioters. The aim should be low, with full charge ammunition. . . . Temporizing with a mob is usually an exhibition of poor judgment. . . . Never try to bluff a mob. . . . If it is not practicable to send a part of the command to attack the rear . . . the same results can be obtained by dispatching sharpshooters to the roofs or upper stories of houses from where they can pick off rioters in the rear of the mob. . . ."

An important routine in the drill has become riot tactics where the latest methods for mob dispersion, etc. are shown by military experts. . . . One can well believe that there is one item on the state budget that will not be cut but rather increased: that item is the National Guard.

# YOUTH UNDER HITLERISM

At the end of two years of Hitlerism, not even the most stalwart Nazi official can lay claim to an improvement in the position of the German worker and youth. Even the bourgeois press is forced to refer to the "necessary" privations of the German people during the present crisis. That is putting it far too mildly. The somber fact remains that the ruthless Fascist dictatorship has reduced the German working masses, both young and old, to an unheard of economic and social degradation.

The position of the German youth is inseparable from that of the country as a whole. For the youth, however, Hitler has reserved special forms of oppression and exploitation. First, a word of the economic state in general.

The N. Y. Times which has great difficulty in concealing its friendship for the Third Reich, describes, nevertheless, the position of the German worker at the end of two years of Nazism in the following terms (Jan. 27): "What has been the effect upon the ordinary German citizen? He has been stripped of his individuality and made merely a soldier in an army constituted of the entire German people. He is not to question but to do."

"If he is an employe, his wages have remained stationary, yet they buy less because despite all dictatorial effort (!) prices do continue to rise. They are now from 10 to 28 percent higher than last year for such everyday purchases as clothing, potatoes or peas, no matter what the corrected cost of living index may show. His taxes have gone up and his contributions to various Nazi undertakings have increased, while his social insurance benefits have dropped considerably. His labor unions have been liquidated, and he dare not speak his mind."

"If he is under 25 years old, the worker is likely to be ordered to turn his job over to an older man and go into the labor service or the army. If he is unemployed, he will be sent to the labor camp to work at nominal pay. If he is a country lad, his movement is restricted to the country; he cannot seek work in the cities."

## Bosses' Word Is Law

That these slave conditions—evident even from the report of the Times' correspondent—are what they are, can be traced to the nationalist "revolution" that Hitler, puppet of the Berlin Bourse (Stock Exchange), achieved when he

seized power. All independent trade unions have been dissolved into the German Labor Front. Membership in the Front is compulsory, because this organization is a national company union, legalized and enforced by the state apparatus. Strikes are outlawed. The employer's word is law. Without fear of resistance, he determines wages arbitrarily and cuts them to the bone.

At the same time, the economic life of the nation is directed by an ever narrowing circle of giant monopolists headed by Schacht, Minister of Economics and President of the Reichsbank, killing both foreign and domestic competition, and raising prices and profits to the sky.

But for the youth, Hitler has devised a particular form of oppression. That is: **Compulsory Labor**. This forced labor takes the form of compulsory enlistment into the Labor Service. It begins formally on April 1, 1935 when every 20-year-old German (non-Aryans excluded) will be required to enter the Labor Service. An enlistment of about 300,000 is expected.

The Labor Service, however, is no innovation. It has been going on for some time under the Nazi regime. At present 235,000 men and 11,000 women between the ages of 17 and 25 are enlisted. The law will legalize their enrollment and extend the application of the Service.

This German institution has its counterpart in our own C.C.C. Conditions in the German camps, however, are much worse. The financial contribution of the government reaches the magnificent sum of 2.14 marks per day, per man for an entire year, that is, at current rates of exchange—86c! Of this, each "soldier of labor" receives .25 mk. a day or ten cents, in cash, and the rest goes for food, clothing, lodging, administration expenses, etc.

The emblem of the Labor Service is the shovel. It confines its work to reclamation and improvement of land, regulation of rivers, reforestation. It works on those projects "which would not be undertaken otherwise by either private or public enterprise because normal wages and working conditions would make it too expensive." In other words it works at wages even below the standard under the Nazi regime!

## Military Training in Camp

Not a secondary feature of these labor camps is their emphasis on military training. The N. Y. Times (Jan. 20) states that the "Service contingents excel many armies in marching", etc. It is not difficult to see in these camps the nucleus of that giant army that Hitler plans someday to let loose on the world. An integral part of this scheme is the law which forces almost every worker under 25 to relinquish his job to an older person. The place intentionally left open for the youths so affected lies in these militarized Labor Service camps. There they will learn the noble art of slaughtering their fellow workers of other lands.

Henceforth it will be practically impossible to get a job without an honorable discharge from the Service camps. The meaning of this to Jews who are excluded from entry is self-evident.

The principle of forced labor is fast becoming one of the basic creeds of National Socialism. It affects not only the youth but the adult as well. We again quote the Times (Jan. 20): "Unemployed workers are being sent away to the labor camps of the emergency relief organizations or of the Labor Service, or they are forced to become 'land helpers' at nominal pay, or to do 'duty work' on pain of forfeiting all relief. Agricultural laborers are prevented from moving to the city and those already in the city are being sent back from the country."

The underlying philosophy of this Fascist slave system is said to be the dictum of a German philosopher: "We are not in this world to be happy, but to do our duty." More accurately: to do our duty as obedient servants to the capitalist masters.

(In the March issue we shall continue with a discussion of Italian conditions.)

—RAY SPARROW

—H. ZACKHEIM.

# Who Was Spartacus?

BY SAM GORDON

Every once in a while, in the great sweep and flow of history, a human figure lifts above the horizon and stands distinctly limned in the conflagration of the class struggle.

What makes him great is sometimes hard to discover: Is the greatness in him, or does it come from the reflection of the fire?

Other times, you can put your finger on a trait in his character and say: for this, he is great.

This is the story of a fighter and leader who traced a blazing course across the history of the class-struggle.

TWO THOUSAND YEARS ago, when the known world was the stamping ground for Roman legions, a youngster was born in Thrace. His name was Spartacus. What he did when he was young we hardly know because the history of that time has come down to us only in scraps. We do know that, like other adventurous, impoverished youths of his time he joined the army. Not long after, he must have deserted, because we learn that he was tracked down, arrested, and handed over to the Roman soldier-cops as a slave.

Slaves! There were millions of them. They sweated in the latifundia (tremendous wheat fields), they wove and dyed linen, they lashed-shored ships, they served in the luxurious homes of the rich—they upheld on their perspiring shoulders the economic life of old Rome; and as if that were not enough, they were forced to hack each other to death for the entertainment of the Roman rich.

Spartacus, too, was shipped to a gladiatorial training school, partly because he was a deserter and partly because he was well built.

What happened subsequently can be told only briefly here. Already Spartacus showed those qualities which made of him a born leader of masses. Add to them a sympathy for the oppressed, and a burning desire to free them, and you begin to see the direction his meteoric career was to take.

The school couldn't hold him. With a handful of fellow-slaves, he broke out and fled to Mt. Vesuvius. His camp became the rallying center of hundreds and thousands of slaves who, inspired by him, rose up against their masters. As their numbers grew, and as under his leadership they smashed and routed two Roman forces sent against them, Spartacus conceived the "great idea".

It was simply this: to set free every slave; to root out from every nook and corner of the Roman peninsula the system of slavery; and to build up a "communist" society where all should work and all be free.

But the great idea meant that Spartacus and his army had to challenge Roman might. At the thought, every former slave must have sucked in his breath.

To challenge Roman might meant to draw on themselves the dreadful wrath of the Roman imperial eagle whose wingtips stretched from Britain to Syria. It meant to challenge the organized power of the mightiest empire the world had ever seen.

Spartacus did not hesitate. Throughout the course of his campaigns, his stubbornness and plain guts never yielded. His courage became a byword.

With 90,000 men behind him, he cleaned southern Italy of pro-Roman and pro-slavery forces. By cleverness of strategy and boldness of execution he annihilated the armies of the two supreme rulers of Rome, the consuls. Fired by his example and his spirit, still greater masses of slaves flocked behind him as he marched to the Alps.

Then the historians tell us he turned back. We don't exactly know why. We don't know why he refused to march on Rome when it lay like a ripe plum in his path.

But we can guess. The imperialist historians of his day mention cynically his reputation for humaneness and plain dealing.

Those were virtues which may

have proved his undoing. Two years after the opening of the campaign, his slave army, divided by factional squabbles, was defeated. Spartacus himself fell in battle.

FOR YEARS THEREAFTER, the name of Spartacus was uttered by Roman lords with hatred and fear. Some people say that Roman matrons would hush their crying children with the words: "Spartacus is coming."

The years crept by. In the dusty books of medieval monasteries you come across, now and then, mention of a Spartacus, who led a great slave rebellion. The name was almost forgotten.

But deep down, in the masses of workingmen, the legend persisted. When Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, many many years later, organized a revolutionary group to fight German capitalism, and cast around for a name, they chose "Spartakusbund".

For the name had acquired a tradition. It stood for stubbornness, for courage and indomitable revolutionary spirit. It stood for solidarity among the oppressed, and for untiring struggle against oppressors.

That's why we call ourselves: SPARTACUS YOUTH.

# Central Labor Youth Councils Of Action

(This article concerns the second of two original contributions to the revolutionary youth movement formulated by the first National Convention of the S.Y.L. The first, on the student question, has already been printed in the columns of YOUNG SPARTACUS. We now continue with a discussion of the second. Critical comments are invited.—Ed.)

Because of the varying nature and function of the united front, its success is, in the last analysis dependent upon the ability of the participants to understand it in relation to the issue, to apply it properly to the given situation: is dependent upon the ability of the working class to advance the united front tactic to a point where it corresponds to the particular stage in the development of the class struggle.

The desperate condition of the world bourgeoisie in the period of the declining rate of profit is accompanied by the accentuation of the capitalist offensive against the working class. The pressure of this factor has imposed upon the

(Continued on Page 7)

# Book Review

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE NEW DEAL. By Louis M. Hacker. Crofts & Co. N. Y. \$1.75.

The enactment of the National Recovery Act has been attended with a deluge of books, pamphlets and articles endeavoring to bring order out of the economic and political chaos which ensued. A good deal of what passed for level-headed analysis proved to be out-and-out Rooseveltian ballyhoo. As for the tiny minority, bogus theories and curb-stone philosophizing were their main characteristics. Mr. Hacker's straight-from-the-shoulder exposition of the aims and design of the New Deal at last fills the breach.

One of the most prominent of the post-Beardian historians, Mr. Hacker treads his way through the maze of NRA legislation with an ability to appraise events and forces that is truly singular for a historian and a professor into the bargain. He has marshalled his horde of facts compactly and concisely, presenting them in a vigorous, terse style. The chief defect of the book, arising out of the almost pure expository form which it takes, is the incomplete interpretation. We might ascribe this to a shortcoming of Mr. Hacker if it were not for the brilliant chapter on the agricultur-

al program of the New Deal. Such questions as the status of organized labor since the NRA, the shifts resulting in the relationships of classes, and the role of the government acting through the Labor Boards during a strike are given inadequate treatment, if any at all.

In summation, he predicts upon the basis of the rich evidence presented that the New Deal will fail to rehabilitate capitalism by giving a stronger, more concentrated dose of some bitter medicine to the American people. This book will serve as an excellent guide for students of our present set-up.

—R. R.

JOHN BROWN. By David Karsner. New York. Dood-Mead. \$2.50.

Since John Brown's body has lain "mouldrin' in the grave", a good many things have been written about him, pro and con: making him either a holy saint, or a blood stained madman who murdered out of boorish ruthlessness. It is true that Brown approached the slavery problem with a religious fervor which, if it did not show comprehension of the solution, did show unswerving devotion to the freedom of the slaves.

Though Brown's motives were of a different sort from those that conditioned the anti-slavery sentiments of the Northern industrialists, they were directed by the conditions of the day. The years during which Brown became a "Red Menace" were the years which saw the alignment of forces, not around humanitarian interest in the slave, but around two conflicting economic systems. One demanded protection of trade, centralization of government and wage slavery; the other demanded free trade, expansion, and chattel slavery for its cotton and tobacco plantations. Karsner gives a good account of the political and economic struggles of these years, though he limits himself, through his subject, to a discussion of the slavery question.

Brown's active opposition to slavery dates from the battles in Kansas to determine that territory's entrance into the union as a slave or free state. "Border ruffians" from across the border in Missouri periodically attacked free state settlers in Kansas. Following the sacking of Lawrence, Brown, gathering around him a handful of men, executed a deed, duplicated many times by the other side, which is ever held up as horrible proof of his insane lust for blood. His forays into enemy territory after that, raids on slave owners, were but a prelude to his central idea: freeing the slaves by attacking a government post and distributing arms among the slaves. In this enterprise he was backed financially by Northerners who were interested in Kansas being a Free State.

The attack on Harper's Ferry is well known, as is his defeat, the failure of a single slave to respond, and his subsequent hanging along with those of his band that were not murdered by the troops. Less well known is his overconsiderate treatment of his prisoners, a fact partly responsible for his capture. Refusing to retract any of his deeds, Brown used the courtroom as a forum. That he spoke like a madman, in calling himself ordained by god to carry out his work, should not blind us to the fact that, misguided as his method was, Brown's thought and life were wholly dedicated to the freeing of the slaves.

On his way to the gallows, Brown passed a note to one of the guards: "I John Brown am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land: will never be purged away; but with Blood. I had as I now think: vainly flattered myself that without very much bloodshed it might be done." There was much bloodshed when two years later Union troops marched against the South singing: "John Brown's body lies a mouldrin' in the grave, but his soul goes marching on."

Mr. Karsner's book presents new material and is interestingly written. It is well worth reading.

—G.

# This Country's "Father"

Men make history. But they are confined to the material means at their disposal. The interests they serve are their guiding lights. A little investigation into the lives of history's "heroes" soon reveals that they were nought but pawns, who sometimes lived bravely, of times ruthlessly, serving the interests of the class to whom they are now "great men". Every ruling class writes for itself a "great" history. Those who have served its interests well are paraded before the reader as "great men", shaping events, and moulding society as the willed it. Thus a distorted history, designed only to gain support for the ruling class and to uphold the existing order, is presented.

The birthday of such a "hero" is being celebrated this month, George Washington. He is hailed as the greatest example of American manhood. His life is portrayed as one relentless and heroic struggle for freedom, liberty and equality. Presented as a patriotic, fearless leader, there has been inculcated in the story of his life the spirit, the tempo, of the American ideal—the rugged individualist.

A growing and thriving capitalism found it expedient to spur its working class on, to dupe it. So it was necessary to give it formal democracy with its halo of freedom and equality. The lives of its leading personalities were held up to the worker as the living example of the blessings of capitalism. Thousands of times the refrain was repeated—"From a poor boy to President." Thus did the ruling class of America write its history.

Those who profit by the miserable mismanagement of society today use the names of Washington and Lincoln most. One is given the glorious sub-title of "Father of our Country" and the other the equally inspiring halo of "emancipator of the people". Just how much of a father Washington was we shall soon see. We shall delve into the life of this man not by looking in the history books—we shall shelve this falsified story of a god—but rather we shall look over the shoulders of history into his account books and the interests he served. There we shall find the man.

## Immense Resources

America, the new land, was a virgin continent, with immense natural resources. The rivers and lakes, forests and harbors, fields and deposits lacked the basic character of civilization. They were not owned by a class. If wealth was to be accumulated in such a country it must be acquired by toil. If accumulation through ownership was to be realized—and that is the

ideal of capitalist society—the land must be seized, and by abolishing self-employment, enforced labor will be secured. So reasoned the rich settlers, and once having found a program, they set about it enthusiastically. "Law and order" with all its accessories, such as police, judges, armies, quite naturally followed to guard their conquests against the protests of the propertyless. Colonial America became a reality.

The existing form of society made it imperative that black and white be enslaved. The civilization of that day was a shameless and naked system of class domination. Hundreds of oppressed workers from Europe came to America only to be thrown into chains and committed to slavery as an indentured servant, from which he was never freed.

The British capitalists, gathering fortunes from the oppression of its workers, wanted no competition from its colonies, to challenge its commerce on the sea. On the other hand, American employers and traders were fired with the ambition to enjoy the same opportunities to exploit their workers as the British. It was a fight between two ruling classes. Each sat at the edge of the pit the workers were digging, envying the others' share of the gold. Meanwhile the worker dug deeper and deeper.

The economic conflict heightened. The King's Proclamation of 1763 had forbidden Governors to grant "warrant of survey" or patents for lands beyond the sources of rivers that flow into the Atlantic, and prohibited private persons from purchasing and settling on these lands under a heavy penalty. The object of the crafty British exploiter was to confine the population to the coast lands to keep the workers within reach of the tentacles of British trade and commerce.

## Fund Speculation and Debt

But in America this conflicted with the plans of certain interests, among them Washington whose great income (when he died he was known to be one of the richest men in the country) was a result of land speculation. The profits of the father of our country were derived from luring men into the wilderness. The more people the speculators could induce to go west, the more profits they could make from their land deals. Washington had good reason for being a rebel. He had surveyed lands outside the Royal Grant, and, in exceeding the powers of his commission, was liable to prosecution as a law-breaker.

Many Southern planters were in debt to British merchants. They

realized that if they joined forces with the northern merchants in a war against the British they would be able to repudiate their debts. Conflict upon conflict resulted finally in the war. Merchant and planter joined heartily to win independence. To the worker, the slave, it made no difference whether British capital or American capital ruled over him. Each bit into the products of his labor with equal ferocity.

The revolutionary war is painted by historians as a struggle for the most sacred rights of life and liberty. But in reality it was a revolt of the autocracy fought by the workers. To the merchant, independence meant direct trade; to the planter, cheating his creditors; to the worker, a younger, more energetic exploiter.

## Progress Through Revolution

It is just at this point that the greatest tales of the "heroism" of Washington are told. He is pictured as a fearless fighter, commander-in-chief of a great revolutionary army, braving dangers beyond realization, and suffering with Valhalla-like heroism, barefooted, at Valley Forge. But here is an interesting piece of evidence. Lord Howe, commander of the British forces, was a member of the Whig party, which sympathized with the revolutionists and defended them with British politics. The British general delayed and feasted in New York and Philadelphia, giving ample opportunity for the Rebel forces to make the best of their precarious situation. Howe could have annihilated the rebel forces at Bunker Hill, Long Island, Brandywine, and especially at Valley Forge had he any intention of doing so. He was later brought to trial for his laxity but escaped punishment with the help of some influential friends.

So! The great American revolution, the war for independence, life, liberty and equality, led by a great and fearless hero: this great heroic-drama that bourgeois history has written turns out to be a war of one exploiter against a sympathetic opponent for the benefit of speculators, slaves and smugglers.

That the revolution was necessary, that it was in accord with human progress, that it overthrew barriers to the further development of society, these are irrefutable truths that face us from our present perspective of history. But that it was what we are taught it was is a fabrication we must expose.

Through all the futile attempts of men to make their own destiny history remains inexorable, and running throughout it all, like a leit-motif, is the class struggle.

—R. STYLUS

# EDITORIAL

## Young Spartacus

FOR three years we have been issuing a paper that has made itself felt among the politically minded, class-conscious youth. Throughout this period it was our most effective weapon, and it remains that today. But we are no longer satisfied with reaching the politically minded. These have long recognized that a small organization was straining itself to issue what is by far the best working class youth paper published.

It is now our job to reach those countless thousands of youth that the Spartacus Youth League has dedicated itself to organize. We must reach them with YOUNG SPARTACUS. We must reach them with a YOUNG SPARTACUS that is interesting, that reflects their needs, that brings them CLARITY and ACTION. We cannot do that ourselves—financially or editorially. Your cooperation is necessary.

If the Spartacus Youth League is to accomplish that which it alone can do—organize and educate the youth for revolutionary action—it must have a lively organ that appears regularly. It must have YOUNG SPARTACUS. In, then, with your criticisms, your letters, your short and snappy articles. In with your money. And we will have YOUNG SPARTACUS!

## Whither the Y. P. S. L.

IT IS high time that the Yipsels addressed themselves to the direction of their organization. Following a turn to the Left, the socialist movements all over the world are turning to the Right. In the United States this has been marked by capitulation to the Right wing on the united front, and the indications of changes in the Declaration of Principles adopted at the Detroit Convention of the Socialist Party, and widely heralded by socialist workers who mistook it for a revolutionary document. These same indications have appeared inside the Young Peoples Socialist League.

At this moment a number of Yipsels are facing expulsion. Not for inactivity, not for breaking discipline. But for holding revolutionary ideas. They believe in a party organized on revolutionary principle: they believe in the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. However, while the Left wing of the Y.P.S.L. is being expelled, new elements are moving against the swing to the Right.

It is these Yipsels who have to ask themselves where they are headed. Like the leftward movement of a year ago, they do not understand the necessity of CLARITY of principle. They are falsely content with organizing a movement based on general "leftist" sentiment. They mean to organize first, and to think later. Thus they fail to understand that it is not sentiment that makes revolutionists, but programmatic intransigence, and execution in action.

What roads have these Yipsels before them? Two: capitulation before those in their organization who have inherited all the betrayals of the Socialist International or progress towards revolutionary-Marxism in combat with the Right, progress towards the principles and organization of the Spartacus Youth League. The road of progress leads through political independence from the Socialist Party. In Europe—in France, Spain, Switzerland and Belgium—the young socialists have come into conflict with their parties. Sections have called for the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. The Spanish youth have called for a New International. In Europe their brother sections have been eager to work with our comrades. Here their officialdom even refuses to debate with us.

Young socialists have always been recognized as the most militant section of the socialist movement. The past twenty years record many instances of progress—against the wishes of the party leaders. Are the Yipsels ready for that today? Their actions do not show it. Ours is the fervent wish that they are.

## Hearst Leads the Chorus

HAVING successfully assisted in breaking the Frisco general strike, and having yelled himself hoarse about the magnitude of the "Red Menace", Hearst is now preparing more concrete action against the working class. Not satisfied with the economic bludgeoning that has been foisted on the working class through the NRA, Hearst and the patriotic societies of his ilk are clamoring for Congressional laws to outlaw the political freedom of the workers. No longer confining themselves to newspaper tirades against the "nefarious Red activities", they, with the aid of the Army and Navy Departments, are laying the ground for political fascism. Hearst knows well how to bring his desires home to the government. He is backed by powerful interests.

No field of freedom is to be allowed. In the schools a systematic campaign to expose those teachers and students with revolutionary leanings, has yielded fruit, in some cases, in terrorizing free thought and speech clear off the campus. Faced with rumblings towards the left, fearing the militant pressure of the rank and file in the old unions, fearing that the vigorous militancy of the American worker, displayed in repeated strike battles, will upset the Raw Deal, Hearst and his brethren are demanding outright and unceasing repression. Directed in the first instance against the revolutionists, the political regime of open brow-beating will strike down every manifestation of independent working class organization.

This is a challenge which must be met. It cannot be met by resolutions and condemnations. It cannot be met by indifference. Such a response presages the fate of our German brothers. We young people, who have come up against the Hearst propaganda in the schools, who with our adult fellow workers face political oppression, must throw ourselves into the fight. If there be anything to our course, to our militancy, now is the time to demonstrate it. Now is the time for organized resistance. Now is the time for unity of action. Not with speech-conferences, but with ACTION, must we be ready to cry out: DOWN WITH HEARST. DOWN WITH THE ENEMIES OF THE WORKING CLASS!

## Reasons For The Kirov Assassination

Few events in recent times have shocked the advanced workers throughout the world so much as has the recent assassination, and the subsequent arrests and executions of leading members of the Communist Party in Soviet Russia. In the first place, the fact that after seventeen years of the existence of the workers' government in Russia, there should occur such an act of terrorism is in itself an alarming signal for all those who are interested in the welfare of the Russian revolution. But more alarming than that is the manner in which those accused of having committed the murder, or of having known the plans, were selected, arrested and tried.

At first the Soviet administration accused a group of White Guards (those who had run away from Russia after the revolution with the express purpose of organizing to overthrow the working class and to re-establish the monarchy). But soon after that the assassination was laid at the door of former members of the Zinoviev opposition, and to members of the Trotsky opposition. Leading members of the Communist Party, many of whom had worked with Lenin and Trotsky to prepare the revolution, were arrested and charged with this deed of individual terrorism.

In his brilliant reply (*The Kirov Assassination*, Pioneer Publishers, 10c per copy) comrade Trotsky not only defends those accused of this crime, he not only shows the absurdity of the charges against such men as Zinoviev and Kameney who stood at the head of the Communist International in the days of Lenin, but he also makes counter-charges against those who are today holding power in the Soviet Union by suppressing the true friends of the working class, the Bolshevik-Leninists, the followers of Trotsky. He shows that the Stalin accusers are lying both with regard to the assassination itself and with regard to the purpose of it.

### An Alarm Signal

As before, Trotsky is sounding the alarm signal. The Stalinist bureaucracy at the head of the Soviet state has gotten into a mess again. They cannot allow a free and open discussion in the C. P. of the past mistakes and of methods to remedy them, for such a discussion would mean their own removal from leadership. They resort instead to violence against all those who criticize and who are silently discontent. It is significant that, as comrade Trotsky reports (*New Militant*, Feb. 9), the youth in Leningrad bore the brunt of Stalin's attacks.

The Kirov assassination and its consequences again awaken us in a most flagrant manner to the realization that the Soviet Union is today in danger! It is threatened not only by the capitalist enemy from the outside, but also by the internal enemy of the Soviet power, the bureaucratic machine which stifles all communist liberty and which must resort to acts of violence against its own comrades in order to safeguard its position of leadership. The solution to this situation is stated lucidly by Trotsky: "The internal terror indicates in what a blind alley bureaucratism finds itself, but it does not at all show the way out of this impasse. No way out can be found except through the regeneration of the Bolshevik party. This problem can only be solved on an international scale. In order for the Russian workers to reject the opium of "socialism in one country" and to turn en masse toward the world socialist revolution, the world proletarian vanguard must consolidate itself around the banner of the Leninist party. The struggle against reformism, more intransigent than ever, must be supplemented by the struggle against the paralyzing and demoralizing influence of the Stalinist bureaucracy upon the international working class movement. The defense of the Soviet Union is inconceivable without the struggle for the Fourth International."

—Cr.

## I Cover the War Front

—BY SPARTACUS—

### Japan Moves into China

Foreign Minister Koki Hirota, in his annual speech on foreign relations, reasserted Japan's Monroe Doctrine for Asia. Said the Minister: "Japan attaches great importance to her friendship with other states in East Asia and counts on their bearing serious responsibilities for the maintenance of peace and order in this part of the world. I fervently hope therefore . . . that China will . . . awake to the realization of the whole situation of East Asia and undertake to meet the genuine aspirations of our country (1)." In other words . . .

As though to demonstrate the meaning of Hirota's words Japan commenced an attack on Chahar, which borders on Manchukuo with armored cars and bombing planes. A day later the newspapers reported: FAR DRIVE BY JAPAN IN CHINA EXPECTED. In this manner Japan intends to add further territory to that already under her control. On January 30, an expedition under Colonel Wada conquered Kallsa Miao, in Mongolia, valuable as a fishing area.

But the occupation of Chahar has for its purpose more than dominion over a piece of land. Though it has an area of 99,928 miles it is largely desert country, with sparse resources. Aside from military reasons there could be little profit in adding Chahar to Manchukuo. Across the province lies the great caravan route from Sovietized Outer Mongolia to North China, and which passes through the Great Wall at Kalgan. The Japanese, then, are placing themselves strategically for war against Russia, or for further occupation of Chinese territory. They point to the Soviet "menace" to explain consideration of the biggest war budget in Japan's history.

### Uncle Sam Increases Arm

Just so as to prove that Uncle Sam is not interested in war, President Roosevelt asked for \$870,922,292 for "national defense". This does not include any other fund allotments which serve the "national defense", such as possible P.W.A. expenditures. \$489,871,347 is to go to the navy, an increase of \$186,853,499 over the last budget. The army is to get \$381,050,945, an increase of \$39,536,523.

Of course Roosevelt cannot fight the war himself, even with \$870,922,292. You need lots of young men for that. There are going to be new ships. To man them, 11,000 fellows will be asked to "see the world at Uncle Sam's expense."

A total of 574 new planes are to be purchased during the year, making 1,352 planes on hand for the navy, practically all less than two years old, on June 30, 1936. But, hold on. Strikers are to be taken care of too—by the National Guard which receives an increase of \$1,810,424, for a total of \$30,812,798. The organized reserves will get \$5,617,674, a gain of \$1,207,082. And in order that you students may not be left out in the cold (without bullets or nothin'), the R.O.T.C. will be allowed \$3,323,246, or \$193,632 more than for the present fiscal year. In addition, the Federal Aviation Commission, in a report for Congress, asks for a total of 4,000 planes.

The other powers cannot let the U.S. get away with this. Japan, for example, took haste to assert that the U. S. plans aggression. In view of the fact that a big navy means a threat to the far east, Japan more urgently demands naval equality. Admiral Osumi bid the people be ready to live on rice gruel if necessary. Army and navy budgets of \$279,000,000, or half the national revenue, are contemplated. And so it goes.

### Hitler Speeds Militarization

Flushed by his victory in the Saar, Hitler is carrying out the militarization of Germany with increased vigor. It has long been known that while asking for legal military equality, he has been actually achieving it. Compulsory military training for all in the

Reich is expected in the near future.

Steel production jumps 104% The Krupp Company of Essen, manufacturers of armaments, issues a business report that shows improvement far ahead of the average advance in German industry. "The astonishing increase in activity—says the N. Y. Times on January 26—appears to have come suddenly on the basis of some particular series of contracts." Now what could that have been?

### Italo-Abyssinian Conflict

Down in Africa events are occurring that actually determine the line-up at the war front. In a memorandum submitted to the Council of the League of Nations, demanding that the matter be taken up at this session, Abyssinia accuses Italy of provocation, and asks that Italy be requested "to refrain from any further aggression". The interesting thing is that Colonel Clifford, of the Anglo-Abyssinian boundary commission, substantiates all the charges against Italy, "indignantly". Which is by way of proving Anglo-Abyssinian friendship and Anglo-Italo and French discord.

Since there have been several tribal raids in the Ethiopian empire against French troops, France and Italy are proposing to act together against Abyssinia. France, it is said, is anxious to absolve the Abyssinian government of blame. Mussolini, however, says that the government is "incapable of controlling the situation on its borders". It is suspected that the accidental killings were the result of the recent Franco-Italian accord. The "use of force" has been "repudiated".

On January 17, Italy and France signed an agreement whereby France cedes to Italy a tract of land, 44,500 square miles in Africa. Italy also gets a small strip along the coast, south of the Italian colony of Eritrea, facing the strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, as well as a share in the ownership of the railroad that runs from Addis Ababa, the capital of Abyssinia, to Jibuti, French Somaliland. Italy in return agreed to consult with France should Austria "independence" be threatened, i.e., by German aggression. Italy also agreed, apparently, to oppose German rearmament.

### Favors for Ship-Builders

Back on our own front, we find the Senate Munitions Investigating Committee revealing huge tax cuts for ship builders. The Navy Department, it appears, assumed the shipbuilders' tax. Moreover, to show how generous it can be, the government sold to the New York Shipbuilding Corporation of Camden, N. J., a \$14,000,000 ship plant for \$500,000. In 1918 the corporation estimated its taxes as \$684,000, when \$3,210,000 was due; in 1920 it paid \$1,288,000 when \$5,361,000 was due; and so forth. Andrew Mellon, former Secretary of the Treasury, was an official of the company.

It also developed, during the investigation, that Washington's "most influential citizen", name unrevealed as yet, served as "fixer" for ship-building contracts totalling \$10,000,000, for a fee of \$250,000. (How many things could you "fix" for that "fee"). William B. Shearer who led the "big navy" activities at Geneva was a "gold mine to me so far as information is concerned", said Lawrence R. Wilder, former president of the shipbuilding corporation. Oh well, business is business, particularly when it is war business.

Lithuania has sent reserves to the Memel border to meet a German increase. Through her Filipino stooges, the U. S. complains of Japanese designs on the independence of the Philippines (incidentally, a good argument for the maintenance of control over the Islands). Paraguay and Bolivia are still at war, the League of Nations throwing its weight to the latter. Japan gobles up China, Somaliland seethes. Everything is just peaceful all over the world.

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# At the Movies

## With RAY

(In response to a mass demand we set out to get a movie column. When we had despaired of receiving any, two came in. There was a problem, which to choose? Diplomatically we decided to print both. Suppose you make the choice.—Ed.)

The brilliant young editor of this brilliant young sheet, after a series of gyroflexions and genuflections (Could that be possible?—Ed.) conceived of a brilliant idea. In his concern to make this a popular paper for the working, unemployed, and student youth, he put to himself the question "Why not a movie column?" and finding no serious objection he hid himself to his typewriter and hammered out a short snappy note in true revolutionary style to his dear comrades who would most logically contribute such a column—his comrades in Hollywood. His comrades in Hollywood, feeling tired of explaining once more why the mere fact that one resides in the vicinity of Hollywood does not make one a cinema critic any more than one who has his habitat on West 15th Street and 5th Avenue, carefully filed away short snappy note with its true revolutionary style, pulled straws, and by that act became partner to the crime of giving the world one more movie column. The comrade who pulled the **unlucky** straw has one consolation. He is now entitled to a press pass to all the previews and studio first showings. This is one of the "courtesies" provided by big business which figures publicity, good or bad, is at least publicity.

As this is being written on the deadline, we have no chance to review any of the latest productions, but will have to content ourselves with general notes on the cinema. The unfortunate reader who is wondering on what show to spend his two bits will have to do as best he can by resorting to bourgeois critics and their columns. (How about Ruth's!—Ed.)

The picturesque industry of two decades and more ago, headed by corpulent gentlemen and enterprising mechanics, has long given way to a modern industry run by sleek representatives of Wall Street finance. Today it is a story of centralization and merger, of mass production a la Ford. Fabulous tales of "big money" remain in the past, except when occasionally resurrected by order of Publicity Department and enthusiastic guides of retired Iowan Babbitts and Midwestern school marm on tour. The men and women who "made Hollywood" are now living on county relief. Their more fortunate brothers and sisters who are yet working get wages that differ little from that of fellow workers across the city in the rubber plants. The highly skilled technicians face increasing cuts; their only weapon—strike—is impaired because of their obsolete craft unions.

As is natural, Hollywood has become the gathering place of freaks and "talents" from the world over. Hollywood needs them. They give Hollywood that glamour and reputation. Many of them, living completely parasitically are society's froth. Some day they will be blown away. The "latest" freak is a most startling one. His name, he says, is Romano Trotsky. He claims to be the nephew of Leon Trotsky, and predicts that his "uncle" is preparing to come back to power within ten months.

He also announces, very modestly of course, that he is an exiled former captain of the Cossack Guards of old Imperial Russia. As is to be expected, local Hearst sheeps snapped this up and with his portrait, printed their interview with "His Excellency". His portrait betrays him as a fellow who, at the most, could have been the five year old mascot possibly of some Cossack regiment. His interview exposes him as a white guard. His concocted name shows him to be a fool. Whoever heard of a Russian named Romano, and whoever heard of a Cossack regiment in old Imperial Russia being entrusted to a nephew of a revolutionist, who furthermore was a Jew? Verily, this stands as a symbol of Hollywood.

## And RUTH

From all sides they were calling for a movie column—and the poor editor was rushing around like a madman. He begged, he pleaded, he threatened—but this one was too busy, and that one couldn't write. Of course, everyone wanted a movie column. . . . So, in desperation, our dear comrade editor finally turned to your reporter. We were only too glad to accept. The editor was astounded: we were accepting without a murmur, without a question? Why, yes, we were only too glad, we replied—and now where are the free passes?

There were none. However, nothing daunted, we powdered our nose, and with resolution and determination went forward to make the rounds of the movies. And that is how this column was born!

CHAPAYEV, one of the latest films to come out of the Soviet Union, is a stirring example of the cultural superiority of the Russian cinema over the too-often saccharine and inconsequential products of Hollywood. It is a vivid exhibition of superior cinema technique. Here are excellent characterizations, photography and direction, all skillfully woven into the living spirit of the great Russian revolution from which it came.

"Chapayev" is the story of one of the beloved heroes of the Russian revolution—Chapayev, peasant leader in the Red Army. With his division, Chapayev finally defeat the Whites and occupies their headquarters. But after the victory, the Whites make a surprise attack during the night on Chapayev's division. The Reds are routed. But Chapayev attempts to hold off until help can come. But he is convinced of the uselessness of his efforts by his orderly. Together they attempt to escape, but both are shot down by the Whites.

Though, seemingly, the movie ends on a note of defeat, that is hardly the feeling it leaves. The spirit of Chapayev is the spirit of Revolution. The hero is dead, but the Revolution lives.

It's easy to understand why DAVID COPPERFIELD is packing 'em in. Hollywood has glorified that well-known Englishman, Charles Dickens, and with great success. The method, when you come to think of it, is really simple: a story by one of the greatest novelists of modern times, settings and direction that catch the spirit of the middle 19th century England, and a veritable host of stars.

The Dickensian, highly-exaggerated characters, lend themselves well to the screen. W. C. Fields, as Micawber, is "sure that something will turn up". The younger Davy is correctly innocent and good-hearted: the older Davy, the young writer and distracted lover to a "T". Davy's aunt (Edna May Oliver) is the eccentric, but kind spinster in the approved manner. Mr. Dick is engagingly crazy; and Roland Young (whose acting steals the thunder even of W. C. Fields) as Uriah Heep is a thieving hypocrite par excellence. In short, everyone is good, very bad, very sour or very sweet, exactly as Dickens painted him. And despite the sentimentality, the sighs, the tears and the kisses, the result is highly entertaining.

The only interesting aspect of IMITATION OF LIFE (with Claudette Colbert), which otherwise is a sentimental and superficial melodrama, is its treatment of the problems of a Negro girl. The girl, who is near white, abandons her mother, whose color she hates as a reminder of her race, and attempts to pass herself as a white girl. (The mother, who, we think, is played by Beulah Cross, turns in one of the finest performances of the year, though her color excludes her from the possibility of an award by the Academy of Motion Pictures and Sciences.) Her attempt is discovered, and she finds herself cast out by those with whom she had hoped to be identified. The movie answers the problem of this girl, looking for a place in the set-up of society, with the deadening moral: "Good has given you a cross to bear and

# A FEW FACTS ABOUT THE NAT'L GUARD

The National Guard is a part of the regular army of the United States, when called into federal service. It has 200,000 members, of which the infantry divisions run from the Twenty-Sixth to the Forty-fifth, with a total strength of 135,342. There are four cavalry divisions with an aggregate strength of 11,135 (no figures on the Coast Artillery). The authorized strength of the National Guard Aviation Squadrons by July 1, 1935 is nineteen aviation squadrons, 152 airplanes.

Each year hundreds of officers of the Guard take courses in various service schools of the army, including the War College in Washington. It is the second line of defense. Its principal function is to protect private property and also to be capable of quick expansion into several times its size in the event of war.

In 1916 the Federal government took over control and a practical test was given it when it was mobilized (the entire Guard) into federal service and sent to prevent the spread of Pancho Villa's revolutionary ideas into New Mexico, Texas and other bordering states.

## Part of Federal Force

During the World War the National Guard contributed to many of the divisions of the Army, including the Forty-second, the Twenty-sixth, the Twenty-seventh, the Thirtieth and many others. A significant factor is that as the war progressed a distinction between "regular" National Guard and "national army" units broke down, including officers and enlisted men.

Under the mobilization plan prepared by the war department for the next war, the National Guard is to contribute eighteen divisions, in comparison to the regular army's nine divisions, and twenty-seven from the organized reserves.

The Guardsman is still at the order of his state and must answer calls to duty within the state. But he must also answer the call of the federal government. When he is called into federal service he is just as much a regular as the man who has signed up in one of the regular outfits at Fort Meyer, Governor's Island or the Presidio at San Francisco. The Guard is paid off with federal funds, the War Department lays down the program of instruction, specifies what kind of and how many drills there are to be. The result is that the Guard today, as a whole, is not a great deal below the regular army in efficiency.

The training of the Guard falls roughly into two types. The first is the training during the winter, fall and spring months. Drills are usually held one evening a week, though these are supplemented by schools for officers. In the summer each unit has a field training period that covers fourteen or fifteen days, and during this period each unit puts into practice the theoretical lessons it has learned during the winter. The field training is given in eighty-one camps, many of which are exclusively National Guard camps while others are owned by the federal government.

Such, then, is the organization of the National Guard. Toledo and other strikes showed in what capacity it is used. Coming strike struggles will again find the bosses calling the Guardsmen out to shoot down striking workers. It has been said that some twenty Guardsmen refused to fire upon the strikers in Toledo. To make that sort of occurrence more frequent and to win to our side these Guardsmen, who come from working class families, or who are workers themselves, is our task.

you must bear it in peace."

The working class movement condemns this hypocritical answer. But all of its propaganda cannot hide the truth: that the problems of the Negroes are intimately bound up with the revolutionary working class: that it is only under a socialist order of things that the problems of the oppressed can be answered.

# Battles of Labor

The lessons of the great steel strike of 1919 are of particular moment today, when the movement of the steel workers, although temporarily beheaded by "grandmother" Tighe and Green last year, is again taking shape. The last word on the great steel strike of 1935 has not yet been said. For this reason it is especially worthwhile to study its militant predecessor.

The strike was called on Sept. 22, 1919. Before that historic call many months of tireless and devoted effort had been expended by the organizers in the field in order to corral the non-unionized iron and steel workers into solid ranks for the battle to come. The unionization was carried on by the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers, formed through the direct inspiration of John Fitzpatrick, William Davis, several other progressive leaders, and William Z. Foster.

This committee was formed and supported through the meeting in conference of twenty-four international craft unions of the American Federation, including those connected with iron and steel, the United Mine Workers, several Railroad Brotherhoods and others. This was the first time in the history of the A. F. of L. that such a broad industrial drive had been undertaken by joint committees of twenty-four allied crafts. It represented a great victory for the progressives, and the policy of industrial unionism.

## Treachery of "Labor Leaders"

But when the Tighe—in 1919 or 1935—and the Gompers and the Mitchells (the names are Green and John L. Lewis today, but as Will Shakespeare would have it, a rose by any name would smell as sweet) face that mysterious, that ominous entity known as the STEEL TRUST, a strange yet colorful physical phenomenon takes place, to wit: the face turns grey, the lips blue, the liver white and the spine yellow. Steel unionism, after Homestead in 1892, the strikes of 1901 and 1909, was practically non-existent. The lords of U. S. Steel were the Grand Masters of the union-busting, open shopper fraternity. Therefore provisions for the national organization drive were skimpy. "Why, man, you just can't organize STEEL!" That was the defeatist attitude met throughout. In a fit of outrageous generosity and recklessness, the 24 unions assessed themselves—one hundred dollars a piece. That was their contribution to organizing half a million workers who spoke thirty-three different languages in states from the Atlantic to the Pacific!

With these munificent reserves, a handful of intrepid organizers started on their monumental task. Organization, because of lack of funds could be taken up only in the basic districts—Southern Illinois, Gary and the Pennsylvania mills. The western and southern mills were neglected. This was the fatal weakness that was the greatest single contributing cause to the failure of the strike. If the A. F. of L. had given more support, perhaps the story of the Great Steel Strike would have had a happy ending—and what might that have meant to the working class?

Before the strike was called, every attempt was made by the committee to gain an interview with Czar Elbert H. Gary of the U. S. Steel Corporation. Letters to him were ignored. Pleas for collective bargaining conferences were curiously denied. When the N.C.O.I. S.W., headed by John Fitzpatrick, called at Gary's office, they were permitted to cool their heels in the outer office and finally were refused admittance. Evidently the capitalist class reserves its etiquette for the times when it comes to toying with what silver fork for what type of caviar!

Finally, in desperation, the workers appealed to that great "liberal" President Wilson—three guesses as to who is his counterpart today—asking that he summon Gary to a conference for collective bargaining with the workers' representatives. This request was kept quiet—out of the press, in order that Gary might decline "without embarrassing publicity". Gary declined—and the records don't re-

port that he blushed prettily when he did so. We're inclined to believe he didn't. This refusal was kept a profound secret by "Keep-'Em-Out-Of-War" Wilson. But the very next day, the press of the entire country carried a public telegram from the President asking the unions to postpone the strike until an Industrial Conference in October;

## Brutal Suppression of Strike

This underhand betrayal gave the kept press its chance to slander the workers and to create "public opinion". To call off the strike then was impossible. Thousands of workers had been thrown out of the mills for joining the union. Workers were desperate, terrified at losing their jobs with winter coming on. Strikes would have come anyway—sporadic, desperate, headless strikes doomed to failure. The alternative was a planned strike with trained leadership. The real labor leaders chose the only road open to them, although their stand was weakened by the treacherous double-crossing of Wilson, Gompers and Tighe.

The Industrial Conference, one of these Capital-Labor-Public circuses, which was to solve the problems of half a million steel workers, was one terrific flop. Don't laugh, but demurely seated as representatives of the "public" were John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and our old friend, Elbert H. Gary! (Say, haven't those guys even a sense of humor?)

The strike lasted for four months. Workers were clubbed, beaten and murdered. In bitter winter, they were dispossessed from company homes, and their credit stopped at the company stores. The very children in the schoolyards were ridden down by the notorious Pennsylvania State constabulary—the "Cossacks"—who used this brutal method of attack in order to provoke beyond endurance the peaceful strikers, and thus give themselves an alibi for slaughter and rapine. Arrests, injunctions, the denial of picketing, meeting, etc. were the very mildest forms of repression. Scabs were carted from other parts of the country and held prisoner in the plants. One Negro worker signed an affidavit testifying that he had been lured up North on false promises without being told of the strike and being held a prisoner in the plants. He finally escaped at risk to his life, "as I will not work to break the strike".

## Militants Belong with Workers

The great steel strike has many valuable lessons, but its most important one is that the militants and left wingers belong in the mass trade unions where the workers are, and where they can lead as the most advanced elements in the working class instead of isolating themselves from the backward workers. I quote from an authority on the subject.

"This devitalizing drain must be stopped and the great body of progressives and radicals won over to a whole-hearted support of the trade unions. I consider this one of the most important tasks of the labor movement. . . . The English radicals have a better conception than ours of the trade unions; for, flesh and blood of the labor movement, they pit their policies and energies against the conservatives and win (my emphasis, M.D.). . . . They are practical and constructive. In England the turning point came ten years ago when she felt the great wave of sentiment for revolutionary unionism then sweeping the world. . . . The existing unions were notoriously conservative. Several of our leading radicals . . . urged the formation of an English I.W.W. But fortunately, Tom Mann and his colleagues, with a deeper knowledge of trade unionism, were able . . . to direct this strong stream into the old unions. The result was magical. Within two years the great and successful strikes of the transport workers, railroaders and miners had occurred and the renaissance of the English labor movement was assured." Do you know who wrote this perfectly correct evaluation? William Z. Foster, who forgot his own teachings for years, in "The Great Steel Strike and Its Lessons", p. 261. —MIMI DANIELS.

## COUNCILS OF ACTION DISCUSSED

(Continued from Page 4)

working class conditions necessitating the application of the united front in other spheres almost daily.

### Against Bosses' Blows

The situation in the youth arena is, on a smaller scale, only a reflection of the prevailing conditions of the working class in society as a whole. In America, issues have arisen sharpened fast. But a united front instrument, capable of setting the youth bodies into motion is lacking. Such an apparatus is the Central Labor Youth Council of Action.

The C.L.Y.C.A., wherever established, would be constituted on the basis of equal representation of every labor youth group in a given locality. This committee would serve as an instrument for projecting the united front wherever possible and whenever necessary. The committee would meet regularly to discuss the problems confronting the toiling and student youth, and on the basis of unanimous opinion determine a course for common action.

The organizations in the councils are (unlike a permanent united front) bound by no organizational or political program, and groups participating have the right to refuse participation in a specific united front. When once the C.L.Y.C.A. has established a basis for united action on the particular issue, it proceeds to organize a broad conference to involve as many youth organizations as possible. In other words, the C.L.Y.C.A. serves as a preliminary conference which weighs the necessity for the united front on a given issue, and takes the required measures in organization of it, for the execution of single or series of immediate tasks.

### Advantages of Councils

The advantages of such councils are obvious to all who have had experience in the united front:

a. Under other (existing) conditions a single organization, desiring the united front action, addresses a communication to one or more organizations. Weeks pass before action on the question is taken, before the communications are replied to. If accepted, preparations must then begin for the organization of preliminary conferences. The preliminary conference must then prepare the main conference. Valuable time is lost, issues die, your purpose is defeated.

b. Organizations which, while in session by themselves, may reject the appeal of another organization, would be more apt to accept the united front under the pressure and influence of all the opinions expressed in a central body.

c. A C.L.Y.C.A. would avoid bureaucratic domination of the conference.

d. A series of organizations constituting the united front, would oblige each organization to take greater interest in the united front, and would assure a better organization and a broader representation of groups not in the C.L.Y.C.A.

e. A committee, with the responsibility for projecting the united front would by its very nature, become more alert to youth problems, and thus be able to take the maximum advantage of united front situations.

### Working Class in Nature

Why, it will be asked, should these councils be limited to a few designated organizations. It is true, on the one hand, that the more homogeneous a group, the fewer will be the issues of friction. And, on the other hand, it is axiomatic that a body of this nature must be so constituted as to allow for united action. If these councils of action are organized, as we propose, of labor youth organizations, we are in a strategic position, determine the broadness of the united front (with the C.L.Y.C.A. as the base), according to the nature of the issue. For example, a united front organized for the purpose of a demonstration in defense of the Scottsboro boys may be projected in such a way as to involve revolutionary, liberal, pacifist, etc., organizations. A united front, how-

## Good Boy = An Incident

"Luke's steady," Mrs. Stanislawski used to say to Mrs. Rosinni, her neighbor. "Not like those poolroom loafers. And good to his mamma too." She would smile proudly. "Mr. J. Howard Alexander, the big boss, promised him a job in the mill—in the office, that is. My boy is educated. He's not going to spend the rest of his life slaving away as a mill-hand." Mrs. Rosinni would sniff and say nothing. Her two boys left grade school to work at the mill. Maybe if they had joined the scouts like Luke. . . . She had to admit Luke was a nice boy, though. Mrs. Rosinni remembered how he used to come home after school and go to his scout meetings. How he ran errands, and always washed behind his ears. Now he was a real American, going to graduate Wrightsville high school tomorrow.

Not many boys graduated high school these days. Luke was at the head of his class and one of the best athletes in the school. And besides he was a sergeant in the National Guard. As old Mr. Chauncey, the principal, said, "Corpus sano, in mens sana" (a sound mind in a sound body), and Mr. J. Howard Alexander himself agreed. "A boy's first duty is to his country."

As Mrs. Rosinni was putting the last shirt on the line she heard the screen door bang at the Stanislawski's and Luke shouting. Mrs. Rosinni was puzzled. Luke never banged the door, and he always spoke quiet-like.

"Mom, mom, we're ordered to the city. The whole company's leaving tonight," she heard Luke yelling.

"But, but tomorrow you're graduating." Mrs. Stanislawski was worried and excited.

"No mom, that's all off. They're postponing graduation a week. The National Guard has been ordered to the city. Some racketeers or something—they're shooting up the own."

"But the police, my god. . . ."

"The police can't hold 'em. The governor called out the guard."

He strutted. "It's our duty as American citizen's to fight the RED MENACE."

"I thought you said it was gangsters. Oh Luke, what is it. A war maybe?"

Luke was impatient. "No mom, you don't understand. It's like gangsters, only it's a strike, the reds are starting a revolution. Every patriotic citizen must defend his country." Luke's young voice became stiff and stilted. He sounded as if he were reciting a poem before the school assembly.

"But Luke, you might be hurt. Don't go. Your pappa, he wasn't a gangster. He went on strike back in '21."

"Aw that's different mom. This is the RED MENACE. We got to defend our country. I won't be hurt. Look, I gotta gun." His eyes were beaming as he patted his rifle. "You just don't understand."

As she helped Luke with his duffle Mrs. Stanislawski shook her head. Strikes were alright. Didn't poppa go on strike? But maybe it was different, like Luke said. Times were changing. Maybe the gangsters were going on strike! Please God take care of my Luke. He's a good boy, God. . . .

### Strike

Early dew glistened the motor of the army truck as it pulled up along the factory gates. The boys clambered down, stiff from their long journey.

The city was quiet. Only broken

ever, for the smashing of a fascist meeting would almost necessarily be limited to revolutionary youth organizations. The purpose, therefore, is to establish an organization flexible enough to cope with the diverse nature of youth issues.

The C.L.Y.C.A. should be created on a local scale, with an eye to its eventual conversion into an anti-fascist youth militia that shall have as its task the physical defense of working class organizations against reactionaries and fascists and that shall take the offensive against existing fascist groupings. The C.L.Y.C.A. alone can answer the united need for united front struggle of the toiling and student youth.

—NATHAN GOULD.

window panes, scattered bricks and a hastily erected barricade in the middle of the street told the story of the STRIKE. Luke's company was stationed at the east gate. The boys stamped about, chilled but excited. This was adventure. Four five, six, Luke counted, six of us from the graduating class.

He thought of his blue suit, and wondered, for a moment, in the chill of early morning why he was there. He looked fine and tall in his uniform. He blew on his cuff buttons and rubbed them on his trouser leg.

In the distance he heard the tramp of feet. "The pickets are coming", someone yelled. In an instant the boys scurried to their places as the officer barked commands. "Don't let anyone inside the gates, keep order, guard the trucks that will come to bring the new men to work, and don't shoot unless you have to. But when you shoot, shoot straight." The pickets filed before the gates. They carried signs. Luke stood at attention, rifle in hand. The pickets marched up and down, a slow, steady tramp.

"Look, there's Tony Rossini's cousin, the one with the big sign: 'We demand NRA wages,'" one of

## Launch Anti-Red Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

down the strikers, is liable to punishment. Thus we see the two-fold purpose in the framing of this act. What this law would mean in strike situations, when the use of the National Guard is becoming more and more popular, is self-evident.

A last proposal is probably the most insidious of the lot. It calls for a Secret Service Agency in the Department of Justice, specially assigned to keeping track of all working class militants, their organization, their activities. How this will operate may be gleaned from the experiences of the workers in the days of Attorney General Palmer and the famous Palmer raids. It would subject the working class to constant surveillance by a squad of federal sleuths. It would supply a horde of spies to keep constant vigil, and to destroy proletarian organization.

In New York a legislator has already moved that all New York students be required to take the Ives Oath of Allegiance. The Hearst papers ran the news with joyous headlines that stretched across the page.

The presentation or defeat of these bills is not the main thing. What is important is the significance. It indicates the first steps toward political fascism to accompany the economic strangulation of the workers. The capitalists whom Hearst represents visualize a working class that is getting out of bounds. They see in the working class that has in three successive strike waves demonstrated its intention to fight, in the growing radical sympathies of the workers, in the growing dissatisfaction with the NRA, cause for worry. They see a new wave of proletarian militancy. Workers in the old unions are making themselves heard. Bill Green and his crew of labor skates are being compelled to hop in tune by their union memberships. The rise in prices, and the corresponding cut in wages, bespeak future struggles.

The section of the boss class, whose mouthpiece Hearst is, no longer have confidence in the ordinary channels of democratic shattering of workers' action. Their demands may be only small bricks today, but piled one on top of the other, and united with other bricks, they make a fascist structure. That structure bodes cruel, merciless prostration. But these bricks are as yet too loosely mortared. They can be sent flying with one decisive blow. That blow must be driven by the entire working class. The place to strike it is wherever the Hearstian monster raises its head.

the boys whispered. Luke wondered. Was Tony Rossini's cousin a gangster, or a red? "And there's Shorty Johnson, he was once captain of the team back at the High, remember the game?" Shorty Johnson here! Luke frowned. He didn't understand. Maybe he wasn't American enough yet to understand.

"Hold the fort, for we are coming" . . .

The pickets broke out into a song. Luke shifted from one foot to another. How long would they have to stand like this? It wasn't much fun, no excitement, no adventure. He felt foolish, carrying a rifle while these men paced calmly up and down. It seemed silly to threaten Tony's cousin and Shorty with a rifle. A crowd was gathering at the factory gates. They murmured sullenly, and occasionally a cat-call was directed at the young Guards. It was tough to be stared at so. The murmurs increased as the first car drove up carrying the—

"Scabs, dirty yellow-bellied scabs." The crowd pressed forward. The picket line broke and rushed to the factory gates. Luke didn't know what to do. He was in charge, he supposed.

"Break it up, break it up," he yelled. The boys formed a cordon around the scab car and pointed their rifles at the crowd. There was a moment's silence. The pickets moved back a bit, in the face of the primed rifles. Then Shorty stepped up.

"Luke," he said, "Luke, not one damned scab is going in to that factory. You know me boys, I'm a good worker. They cut our pay, put the speed-up on us—do you know what the speed-up is? No," he shook his head, "no I guess you don't. Well I'll tell you, its hell, grinding sweating hell, with a boss over you, yelling, swearing, and what do you get for it—a pay-cut, starving kids, an empty lunch box. But we organized, and we're on strike for our rights as workers, as men. The bosses control the government. They call out the police against us, and you, the National Guard. But we're going to see that no lousy strike-breaking scabs get into the factory. Are you with us? Or will you fight for the bosses?"

"Gwan, get back," Luke mumbled self-consciously. "Good Americans shouldn't strike. It's the Red Menace. Break it up, now, get . . ." The crowd rushed forward. "Be careful, Boy Scout," a woman yelled. Luke saw red. "I'll shoot, I'll shoot," he screamed hysterically. Bricks flew. Blows rained on the heads of the boys. A missile caught Luke on the shoulder. His rifle jerked up and a horrible crash jarred above the noise of the struggle.

Through a squirming haze Luke saw a man swing about, and fall, red oozing over the paving stones. The rifle fell from Luke's nerveless hands. He had meant no harm. He was a good boy. Luke was violently sick. . . .

Hans was another steady boy. Frau Eckhardt, his mother, used to tell her neighbor in the little village of Reichbad that Hans wasn't like other boys who hung around beer gardens and everything. And he used to be a fine student at the Gymnasium, strong, handsome and good to his mamma. Now he was helping his country, his Vaterland. "Thirty-nine, forty, forty-one—" S.A. Hans Eckhardt panted as he cracked the lash for Der Fuehrer. His young muscles were straining in patriotic effort as he whipped the ribbons of bloody flesh that was once the back of a man, a worker. He remembered the time when he was a raw recruit to the Storm Troops, a new soldier in the army of The Leader. There had been street fighting that day, and a dying man's blood spattered his new uniform. Hans had been sick all over the pavement, in front of everybody. He blushed in memory, and cracked the whip more viciously. Now he was captain of his Storm Troop. He'd show them. He wasn't a baby. "Forty-seven, forty-eight. . . ."

Hans was a good boy. . . . —G. LANE

## FLASHES from ABROAD

### Lieberman and Bobzien Sentenced

Kurt Lieberman, arrested when Holland police broke up the International Youth Conference at Laren last February, and deported to Germany, has been sentenced to six years imprisonment in a concentration camp. Comrade Lieberman had been an active leader of the Socialist Youth League in West Saxony. In the autumn of 1931 he led the socialist youth of Dresden into the S.Y.L. (the youth section of the Socialist Workers Party, a left group that split away from the Socialist Party.)

The same report which speaks of comrade Lieberman's sentence informs us that Franz Bobzien, whom previous reports had listed as murdered, has been given four years in the concentration camp. While we can only feel joy at learning that he is still alive, we have no reason to be relieved at his fate. Concentration camps in Hitler Germany are no better than actual death. The court, in sentencing comrade Lieberman, cynically bemoaned the absence of "other methods" of punishment. To both comrades Lieberman and Bobzien we extend hands of proletarian solidarity.

\* \* \*

### Swiss Youth in Dispute with Party

Conflict has developed between the Swiss Socialist Youth League and the party. Seizing upon the first occasion, the party declared the Zurich section of the S.Y.L., which they considered the pillar of the opposition, dissolved. The differences stem from the belief of the young comrades that socialists should represent the interests of the workers and not those of the bankers, the cheese and chocolate manufacturers. As against the position of the party they desire a united front with the communists, and oppose the militarization plans of the bourgeoisie.

The Swiss League was, along with the Belgian, French and Spanish sections in the Left bloc at the Luettich meeting of the Socialist Youth International. In the League, a sentiment subsequently developed for affiliation with the Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations. It was however decided, with the approval of the Bureau, to remain within the S.Y.L. in order to consolidate their organization, to propagate their views, and to work together with the Left wing inside the party. Meanwhile the party, wishing to avoid for the present a break, has minimized its opposition.

### Join Belgian Young Guards

Upon the request of the Socialist Young Guards, who number many thousands, the Leninist Youth of Belgium (Trotskyists) have entered the S.Y.G. The Leninist Youth enter with full rights to hold and agitate for their opinions. They are permitted to retain La Voix Communiste (The Communist Voice, organ of the Belgium Communist League) as their organ. The Young Guards are one of the most advanced groups in the Socialist Youth International.

### German Groups Active

News that we have received from Germany tells us that the Socialist Youth League is conducting its work despite the handicaps imposed by fascist terror. Their chief task at present is the organization of study circles, and the establishing of contacts in factories, labor service camps and schools. The work is of course conducted with the greatest secrecy. They carry on their discussions on walks, and any place that may be free of fascist agents. The sentiment of the German masses against fascism grows daily, but it will be a long time before open strikes and struggles are possible. Despite all the difficulties, they are working for a truly revolutionary party.

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Monthly theoretical organ of  
the Workers Party

# FERMENT POINTS TO NEW STRIKE WAVE

## Movement in Union Ranks Shows Prospects of Coming Struggles

The year 1935 opens with a period of calm in the labor movement. Not the calm of completion, but the ominous calm that precedes a new outburst of the storm. The struggles of 1934, in Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Toledo, San Francisco, in textiles, in aluminum, were mainly struggles marking the rebirth of militant unionism; a halting, but nevertheless promising forecast. The struggles, with a few outstanding exceptions were mainly fought under the false banner of the NRA, and under the fruitless leadership of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy. They served their purpose, they exposed the NRA to the workers, and they discredited the labor fakery.

The ground has been cleared. Now comes the hesitant pause—what next? The NRA is no longer a hope, it has been relegated to the ash barrel where it belongs. The workers are ready for fighting unions that ask no favors, and give none.

They are ready—but there are no leaders. The workers hesitate to entrust their struggles to treacherous trade union bureaucrats. The Socialist Party, collaborating with the very same trade union traitors, can offer no hope. The Communist Party, trailing a long train of failures, of misleadership, of ultra-revolutionary tactics alternating with the worst kind of conservative collaboration, offers no help. The workers await leaders.

In the automobile industry where a budding strike, a real union drive, was killed by the personal intervention of President Roosevelt, the workers are thoroughly disillusion-

ed with the NRA and all that goes with it. They have absolutely no faith in the Wolman board and its maneuvers. At the same time, as the recent elections show, they are still skeptical, and refuse to throw in their lot with the A. F. of L. federal unions or with the Mechanics Educational Society. They want some galvanizing leadership, some driving force that can really promise victory.

In steel a convention of progressives has taken place, a convention that boldly flaunts the opposition of the reactionaries from doddering Tighe to sell-out Green. The convention is a healthy sign of independence; it is the first step toward real organization and struggle in steel—but it is only the first step. There are still long, hard days ahead, days of organization among the rank and file to make the position, which the progressives take, secure and respected throughout the industry.

In rubber a strike is more imminent than in perhaps any other industry. Last week the firing of a hundred men in the battery division of the Firestone Co. precipitated a wide-spread demand for a strike. The subsequent vote was only defeated by the sabotage of frightened A. F. of L. bureaucrats, illustrating once more the necessity for organized progressive leadership. The prospects in rubber, however, continue good.

At present there are a number of strikes of a minor character in progress which serve to illustrate the new trend, the desire of workers for a new deal in trade unionism. In Pennsylvania the United Anthracite Workers, an independent union, is conducting a strike. The Inside Bakery Workers, a federal union, has some 6,000 workers out in four cities. The New York truck drivers, an old-fashioned conservative union, called a surprise one-day rank and file strike to stop an injunction last week.

In these smaller actions are reflected the ferment which is going on in the whole trade union field. The variety of these small strikes serves to show the unrest which is penetrating the whole movement, and gives promise of similar trials on a much larger scale in the course of 1935. Trials of every sort of trade union and every sort of leadership, trials out of which the revolutionary party and youth league will emerge with greater influence and prestige, for they alone can stand the trials.

—DAN EASTMAN.

## NEWS SNAPS

### C.C.C. BOYS PROTEST

125 boys at the C.C.C. camp 1281 on South Mountain Reservation, New Jersey, refused to work on January 8. The official reason for the strike was that the boys rebelled at an 11 P.M. bedtime rule. A committee of the boys declared that they had protested at the food earlier in the week. Police were called out to quell the "rebellion". 14 were expelled. The rest received fines.

### MEXICAN OIL AND ARMS

If we may be permitted to extend the war front back in time, as well as in space, and if we may be permitted to impinge on the territory of our war front correspondent, we should like to record this piece of news. Hitherto unpublished correspondence in the State Department archives, discloses the reason for the U. S. embargo on arms to Mexico in 1919 as Mexico's refusal to permit American companies to drill for oil. Raids and assaults followed. Caranza was then president. Could English oil companies have been behind Mexico? Sort of gives one an idea of why revolutions occur so frequently in Latin America, doesn't it? Only the other day it was discovered that some Americans were financing Mexican rebels.

### GERMANS GIVE BIRTH

The Reich claims the fastest growing birth rate. The rate has reached 17.6 for each thousand of the population, though Poland, Spain and Italy remain the leaders in total production as compared with population. But, what's Hitler crowing about?

### AMERICA, HE LOVE'S YOU!

The New York Times reports on January 30 that: "Harry Levy, 54 years old, of 507 East 171st Street, the Bronx, left his home early yesterday to apply for a job as presser in a clothing factory in Yonkers. He had been without steady work for several months and without any employment for a month.

"A few hours after he had set out his family was informed that he had collapsed and died of an apoplectic stroke, apparently the result of having been informed that he was acceptable and might report for work. Doctors said excitement had brought on the stroke."

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Official Organ of the  
Spartacus Youth League

## National Youth Congress Fosters Confusion at Wash. Gab Fest

(Continued from Page 1)

continued in the hands of the "left-wing" which consisted of the Young Communist League, the Young People's Socialist League, several Y.M.C.A.'s and Y.W.C.A.'s, Boy Scouts, C.C.C. groups and a few church organizations. The Spartacus Youth League participated in the Congress, although it was only admitted into the "left-wing" against the efforts of the Young Communist League.

The first Congress took up every important question and adopted many imposing, radical-sounding resolutions. These, together with a brief introduction, were established as the program of the Congress itself. The Congress concluded by making plans for another national meet to be held in Washington in January 1935. Everybody went home overjoyed that at last they had written down on paper a condemnation of the capitalist system.

### A Congress of Words

The second Congress, however, proved definitely the complete bankruptcy of a Congress, organized in such a manner, composed of so many groups of differing opinions and representing different class viewpoints, and which at the same time attempts to adopt a complete program that aims at the creation of the co-operative commonwealth where "production will be for use and not for profit". In other words, the Congress failed because it was organized around generalities and phrases, and not around a program of action for struggle against capitalism on definite, concrete issues.

In the first place, the second Congress was converted into a plenary session where the program and general policy of the Congress could not be discussed. Nobody knows who made this last-minute decision, although we suspect very strongly that it was the Y.C.L.-Y.P.S.L. caucus. The first day of the Congress was devoted to a speech by Norman Thomas who talked about bringing the program of the Congress to the youth of the country. Then resolutions which were to be presented to the President and to various members of the United States Congress were read and adopted, committees were elected to visit these gentlemen, and the Congress was adjourned to give every delegate an opportunity to go gallumping around the capital. In the evening, the committees reported on their successful or unsuccessful attempts to see the various Senators and Congressmen and the President. Everybody who spoke tried desperately to convince everybody else that those sitting in the White House were nothing but a bunch of fakery from whom nothing could be expected.

The second day of the Congress was devoted to speeches by Hathaway (who agreed with his Brother Thomas on all points), and speeches by liberal Congressmen and Senators who grew eloquent in their descriptions of the plight of American youth. There were, finally, the round-table discussions which were given two and a half hours.

### S.Y.L. Proposes Actions

The problems of War and Fascism, and Youth and Unemployment were given very superficial treatment. In half an hour it was decided to prepare for an anti-war demonstration on May 30. The proposals of the Y.C.L. to set up local committees which would organize the youth in the shops, to have a post-card campaign against the C. C. C. and the proposals of the Y.P. S.L. to organize a boycott of German and Italian goods, etc., etc., were all referred to the continuation committee. Every important problem which dealt with the actual organization of the Congress itself, which posed the question of what kind of organization this Congress was, was referred to the committee. Our delegation raised this point several times and attempted in its declaration and resolution to point out the following:

A Congress consisting of such heterogeneous groups cannot expect to arrive at a program which has as its aim the abolition of the capitalist system, unless some of the groups compromise their own position on many of these questions. The S.Y.L. for example, cannot endorse a general program against capitalism unless it contains the revolutionary path to power, unless it favors specifically the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc. Nor can a revolutionary organization like ours endorse a program which defends the pacifist peace policies of the Soviet Union, proposals for disarmament under capitalism, and so forth. If the Y.C.L. is ready to throw overboard its old revolutionary teachings, we grant that privilege to them. As for ourselves, we stick to our guns and hold fast to our revolutionary position.

However, declared the S.Y.L. delegates, since we cannot possibly arrive at a complete program at such a Congress, we must aim to convert this Congress into one of action on concrete and specific issues where there is common agreement. In other words, the Congress must become a united front of action or else it is destined to serve as an agency for confusing revolutionary programs with pacifist programs and a home for those who want to adopt a radical coloration without undertaking radical activity.

The proposals for united front action offered by the S.Y.L. were given to the presiding committee (which was also the resolutions committee), and together with the rest of the report by this committee, were tabled to the incoming committee. Hours were spent listening to stupid speeches by self-satisfied Senators and Congressmen, but no time was found to discuss the most vital problem of the Congress: What is the purpose of this Congress, what are to be its organizational forms, what is it to do?

### Y.C.L.-Y.P.S.L. Block Action

There may be good reason for this—at least on the part of the Y.P.S.L. and the Y.C.L. who had gotten together on a point of common agreement, namely, to railroad all serious discussion to the continuations committee. The Y.C.L. representatives were still in a daze as to what Earl Browder had brought back from Moscow to the Unemployment Conference, held in Washington at the same time. They were angling for time and did not wish to commit themselves until they had been clarified on the "new line" of the C.P. They preferred not to take a stand on the question of a permanent organization because they were not quite sure of what Browder was going to pull out of the bag at the other conference.

The Yipsels, on the other hand, were eager to gain one point only, i.e., they wanted to prevent an endorsement of the American League against War and Fascism. They also were not quite sure as to whether they favored a united front of action or whether they wanted a replica of the A.L.A.W.F. which would not, however, be completely controlled by the Stalinists.

The Y.C.L.-Y.P.S.L. caucus at the Congress constituted the great obstacle for the unity of action. Each of these organizations were glad to go through all the motions, and remain content with the meaningless, worthless program of the Congress. In the meantime, the 618,000 youth who were supposed to have been represented at this Congress, can wait until this caucus decides to do something. In the meantime, there are burning problems which arise almost every day, which require an active solution by the working youth of the country.

As for the Spartacus Youth League—there is but one reply. Not parade Congresses, but united action on each of these issues! Not compromise programs, not pacifist positions, but militant action! —Cr.

## TOY STRIKE

(Continued from Page 1)

dollars a week with no pay for overtime. In many cases they have been on the job for a year or longer.

But all this is changed now. The difference between young and old is forgotten. Daily there is a crumbling to pieces of the barrier of languages. A new language is developing (a common language that all the workers speak and understand) . . . It is a language that says: "STRIKE. We'll strike until we win. We'll make the bosses agree to our demands."

The bosses have acted like the well known ostriches. They have an association, but when the strike began and the strikers wanted to know whether the bosses would be willing to deal individually with the union or whether they preferred to act through their association, the bosses denied that there was an association. The only trouble was that they couldn't deny that there were bosses, and miserably low wages, and rotten conditions in the trade. All this was too obvious.

The NRA has not concerned itself with the workers' conditions in this case as in all other cases. They drew up a code that set down a minimum of twelve dollars a week for all classifications of work. And even then, the code was not enforced. The union demands an increase in wages to bring them up to a scale of \$16 to \$50 for the different classifications of skilled labor.

A few of the shops have already signed up with the union. The bosses are beginning to weaken; therefore they must be hit all the harder. The members of the Doll and Toy Workers Union have given the strikers invaluable assistance. Spartacus members in the trade have been most active. Harry Esposito who is the manager of the Doll and Toy Workers Union has given the strike active leadership. Here is a real spirit of workers' solidarity. The stuffed-toy workers who are out on strike for the first time are answering with an unbroken picket line. If they keep this up they can not lose their strike. The bosses will have to agree to the union's demands.

## Saar Returns To Germany

The Saar plebiscite has resulted in a decisive victory for the forces of Hitlerism. By an overwhelming majority the people of that small but rich industrial center voted for the return of the territory to Germany.

For the working class of the Saar, this outcome means their own subjugation to that ruthless fascist dictatorship to the east. Henceforth, all democratic liberties which the Saar workers may have had under the status quo are to be taken away.

The significance of the outcome is a setback not only to the workers of the Saar themselves but to the international working class as well. At the same time, the forces of world reaction and fascism have been given great moral encouragement. Hitler pursues his annexationist campaigns with renewed vigor in Austria, Memel, Danzig, and Eupen and Malmedy.

The Saar, a highly industrial region, is overwhelmingly proletarian in character. At the same time it is decidedly German. But by no stretch of the imagination can the plebiscite be interpreted as an endorsement of Hitler. On the contrary, in the absence of a force to show him any other way out, and under subjection to a ruthless ter-

ror, the Saar workers had no alternative but to vote for Germany.

The absence of such a force can be laid directly to the failure of the united front between the socialist and communist parties to mobilize and lead the workers in the struggle against the propaganda and the terrorism of the German Front. Despite its vast pretensions, the united front remained, in effect, a "fettered" united front: confined to mass meetings, speech-making and demonstrations; entirely incapable of leading an effective fight against the Nazi terrorists, welding the workers into militant defense organizations, of inspiring confidence in itself among the workers and sections of the middle class.

The Saar plebiscite, as do the recent defeats of the working class in Germany, Austria and Spain, bears added testimony to the imperative necessity for building without delay new revolutionary parties in every country of the world—parties that are capable of giving revolutionary leadership to the unity of the working class. This means, internationally, the building of the Fourth International and the new revolutionary Youth International. This means, for the U.S., the building of the Workers Party and the Spartacus Youth League.