

# clarity! action! Young Spartacus

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## 12 Yipsel Militants Join S Y L

### Group Statement Analyzes YPSL Situation

NEW YORK.—The first concrete repercussion of the Buffalo meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party took place when, a week later, 12 young Socialists in New York announced their resignation from the Young People's Socialist League and applied for membership in the Workers Party and the Spartacus Youth League.

As the Left wing of the YPSL, the group had conducted a six-month's struggle for a revolutionary Marxist position. Members of the group had been in leading positions in the Y.P.S.L., and had given long service to it. Among them are two former members of the N. Y. Executive Committee of the Y.P.S.L., former industrial director of New York and member of the national industrial committee. One had recently spent 5 days in jail for the Y.P.S.L. The average length of membership of the group in the Y.P.S.L. was 2 1/2 years.

United by the common lesson drawn from the defeats of the labor movement in Europe, the group was organized in October. In November it issued a statement calling for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism as the only road for the working class; a revolutionary party organized on the basis of democratic centralism—a monolith.

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## Scottsboro Boys Granted New Trial by Supreme Court

### Defense Rests in Workers' Organized Support

The recent decision of the United States Supreme Court to grant Haywood Patterson and Clarence Norris, two of the well-known Scottsboro victims, a new trial, is not only a partial victory for the seven other youths involved in the case, but for the oppressed Negro masses who have been denied their elementary rights.

It has finally been discovered by the U. S. Supreme Court, after four years of mass protest, that it is unconstitutional to bar people of African extraction from being jurors; and the state of Alabama is so alarmed, that Governor Knight is spending restless nights in his research department looking for new indictments with which to prosecute the defendants. Alabama is still stubborn, and is doing everything to reverse the decision which has been forced by the mass pressure of the world's working class.

We speak of the world's working class, because the Scottsboro case is international in scope. It did more to symbolize the oppression of the Negro people in the United States than any other episode in

## Huge May Day Parades Will Be Demonstration Of Workers Solidarity

### Workers Party and Spartacus Youth League to March in United Front Parades With Unions — Call Workers And Students Out on Streets

May Day, 1935, will probably bring out more workers on the streets of the U. S. than ever before. Unions will mobilize their memberships, more militant than ever before, for demonstration on May 1. In all cities where branches exist, the Spartacus Youth League will gather with the Workers Party, and all other organizations that have joined in united front, for huge and concerted protest against the boss system.

In New York the Workers Party is on the executive committee of the United May Day Labor Conference which represents the leading trade unions, Socialist Party, Industrial Workers of the World, Communist Party (Opposition), etc. The committee has laid plans for a tremendous demonstration. Two parades, one starting at 15th St., the other in the dress market near 40th St., will converge in the mall of Central Park where a mass meeting will be held. Members of the Workers Party and the Spartacus Youth League will assemble in front of their headquarters, 2 W. 15th St.

Plans have been laid to make the first appearance of the Workers Party in a May Day parade impressive. The Workers Party and Spartacus section of the parade will be headed by eight large banners. Spartacus will march in uniform—gray shirt, red tie, and emblem. Special May Day buttons are ready

and are being sold. A band will lead this WP-S.Y.L. contingent. Sympathizers and friends are called upon to demonstrate together with the Workers Party and Spartacus Youth League in New York and other cities. Following the demonstration there will be additional mass meetings held in the name of the S.Y.L. and W.P.

Those who down their tools on May Day and march in united ranks will not be doing so out of sentiment for the traditions of the past. May Day, 1935, confronts the working class of the world with pressing problems. As on the first May Day, the workers of the country are going out to fight the boss class for better conditions—shorter hours, higher wages, unemployment insurance and so forth. The workers who demonstrate on this day of international struggle are workers who are beginning to feel the power that is their's, who are challenging

## Spartacan Leads Job Fight

By JAMES CROSS

GILLESPIE, Ill.—Steadily, the resentment of the youth of this town, Gillespie, Ill., has been growing against the present set-up that can do nothing for well educated and healthy young men. This resentment has at last come to a head, and many interesting events have been recorded in the annals of this city within the past month.

We formed an organization of young men that started with about 15 members and three months later has over 130 active members. The first of this year I was elected president and so have been kept busy since. Most of us being young and single we could not get on the regular rolls; so instead of forming an unemployed group we joined the labor union here. Of course, not being trained in any particular trade we called ourselves common laborers.

Due to the fact that the A. F. of L. local here is the same as in any other section of America, we could not join up with them—the reason being the exorbitant initiation fee and the high monthly dues. The only thing left to do was to join up with the Progressive Trades and Labor Unions, a small local organization established a couple of years ago, in the hope it would take the place of the A. F. of L.; but the offices were soon controlled by men who are not class-conscious, and so it became just another small sectarian outfit.

We soon heard of a couple of

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the losses in strike after strike. They are workers who have gotten over their apathy of years, who are marching towards greater and greater militancy. They are workers who are losing faith in the government humbug, the NRA, who are pressing the reactionary officialdom of the A. F. of L. for action. They are workers who are showing greater sympathy for the revolutionary movement. On May Day their trade unions will march with the Workers Party and Spartacus Youth League.

This year is of especial importance to the young workers and students. This year especially indicates the international character of May Day. As the war clouds darken the more does the working class realize that it must organize to ward off the blow. May Day will not only be a demonstration for economic demands. It will be a mighty demonstration against boss war. The lines of workers who will quit their shops on May 1st will represent the foilers of the world marching against all that is inimical to them, and for all that they want. For May Day is a day of working class struggle on all fronts.

Young workers and students—leave your class rooms and your shops. March with your brothers. March in lines of unity with us. Demonstrate against boss rule on May Day.

## Nation's Students In Strike

### 110,000 Out; Lack of Worker Leadership Chief Fault

Over 110,000 high school and college students participated in a huge, nation-wide demonstration and student strike against war on April 12. From California to New York, from Maine to Florida, everywhere students rallied to declare themselves against any war that the U. S. might undertake.

Even though some school administrations supported the strike, many of them took drastic and reactionary measures to water down or smash it. In California, Chicago, New York, etc., principals and deans openly declared that participants in the strike would be "disciplined," and proceeded to expel some students and suspend others. In direct alliance with the school heads were the vigilantes, R.O.T.C. men and red-baiters, who greeted the strike with jeers and missiles.

From the point of view of numbers the student strike can be recorded as a success. Unfortunately the strike cannot be measured in terms of numbers alone, but by its militancy and general character. We must say quite frankly that the strike was pacifist in most cases.

All the facts after the strike bear out the prediction of the Spartacus Youth League that the strike was so organized, it could not help but

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## Gould Leaves on Nat'l Tour Will Report at Conferences

### To Speak in Main Cities From Coast to Coast

The first National tour of the Spartacus Youth League of the United States will begin on April 13. This will be a Coast to Coast tour, including meetings in over 25 cities. The tour will be conducted by Comrade Nathan Gould, National Sec'y of the Spartacus Youth League. This project will serve as a fitting conclusion of our successful National Drive and will serve to prepare the branches for the further expansion of the organization, and to lay the basis for the organization of branches where none exist.

District Conferences are to be held in four regional districts (New York for District 1, Youngstown for District 2, Chicago for District 3, and in Los Angeles for District 4). These Conferences will be organized and timed for the National Tour. The success of both the Tour and the Conferences depends now upon the work and the response of the comrades to these projects. Funds for the Tour are necessary. We ask all our sympathizers to send in their donations to

the National Office of the S.Y.L., 2 West 15th St. N.Y.C. Below is the itinerary of the National Tour (April 13—July 7, 1935).

APRIL  
Pittsburgh—24, 25.  
Youngstown, Ohio—26, 27, 28, 29  
(Regional Conference 27, 28).  
Cleveland—30, May 1.

MAY  
Columbus—2, 3, 4.  
Toledo—6.  
Detroit, Mich.—7, 8.  
Chicago, Ill.—10, 11, 12, 13 (Regional Conference 11, 12).  
Gillespie—15, 16.  
St. Louis, Mo.—17.  
Kansas City—18, 19.  
Phoenix, Ariz.—22, 23.  
Los Angeles, Calif.—24, 25, 26, 27 (Regional Conference 25, 26).  
Fresno—28.  
San Francisco—29, 30, 31, June 1.

JUNE  
Salt Lake City, Utah—3.  
Minneapolis, Minn.—7, 8, 9.  
Chicago, Ill.—11, 12, 13.  
Detroit, Mich.—29, 30.

## SYL Scores Great Gains

At the time of writing this note (in spite of the fact that the final reports of the results of our national tour are not yet compiled), we are in a position to report the stupendous success of our National Plan of Action. Within a few weeks we will be able to submit to our leaders a more complete analysis of the drive. These few notes, conservatively accurate, will give the reader a fairly good idea of our success.

1. The national membership of the organization has been increased by 144%—which means that we have well over doubled our membership in three months time.

2. We have increased the total number of our branches by 133% in the same period.

3. Subscriptions to the YOUNG SPARTACUS have risen in March by 400% over the period from Dec. 1934.

4. The increase in the paid circulation of YOUNG SPARTACUS approximates 100%.

5. Dues payment in March has increased by over 400% over the month of Dec. 1934. All quotas have been exceeded by substantial amounts. The entire organization, (including your most optimistic National Secretary), is awe stricken with this progress.

### SUMMER WORK

Spring and summer, those seasons of the year when all things of nature blossom forth and grow, are generally discourteously greeted by the labor movement, for in that period the labor movement experiences declining strength, stagnation, and organizational retrogression. That need not be. In our case it will not be. This condition can be avoided in our organization if six important projects are seriously undertaken by our branches.

1. Activity in the direction of making successful our National Tour and the regional conferences. (Leaflet distributions, meetings, etc.)

2. The improvement and the intensification of our social, cultural and sport activity. To take advantage of the warm weather to sponsor hikes, outings, swimming parties, etc. and for the organization of teams and conducting competitions in games, etc.

### HEADQUARTERS

3. The organization of campaigns in every branch for the establishment of headquarters. Every branch of the S.Y.L. must have a headquarters. In all seasons of the year the headquarters must be maintained. A regular schedule of activity to be conducted in the headquarters, covering the afternoon and evening of each day should be organized and strictly operated. The headquarters should have a good and varying supply of games (checkers, chess, ping-pong, wrestling mats, etc.), and also a radio. (The latter will allow the youth of the neighborhood to gather at the headquarters to listen to base ball reports, etc., and to dance.)

The hall should be well cared for—kept clean and well decorated. Educational activity can receive a real impetus if planned in connection with the headquarters. Wall boards, bulletin boards, Lenin Corners, slogans, pictures, cartoons—all these must be carefully arranged, attractively and neatly displayed, and changed with regularity. Individuals capable of explaining the nature and purpose of the Spartacus Youth League should always be present and should be given preference as headquarters caretakers. The headquarters can in this way become a great attractive force for the Spartacus Youth League.

4. Branch executive committees must take advantage of the summer period to send S.Y.L. members into the bourgeois controlled mass organizations. The greatest number and the very best contacts for our movement are to be found in these organizations.

5. The imminence of war has been emphasized by the present European crisis. The S.Y.L. must proceed to the organization of anti-war campaigns in every city. Mass meetings, and anti-war campaigns should be conducted everywhere—leaflets, propaganda, open air meet-

### "MASS ACTION" OUT

The National Unemployed League has started publication of a weekly unemployed paper called "Mass Action." Five issues have already appeared.

Mass Action is the only national unemployed weekly published. The issue of April 13 contains articles on unemployed demonstrations in Dallas, Charleston, W. Va., Toledo; a column "If You Ask Me" by Jim Babcock, Union Notes by Karl Lore, the Workers Security Bill being sponsored by the N.E.L. and editorials.

The paper sells for two cents.

## YCLers Come Over to S.Y.L.

The utter demoralization and disintegration of the Y.C.L. is reflected in a number of recent resignations and expulsions.

Five members of the Y.C.L. in Philadelphia resigned—to join the Spartacus Youth League. Members in Newark and Brooklyn were expelled for daring to have some doubts as to the validity of the "party line." The latter two also joined the S.Y.L. Three others in Brooklyn resigned—to join the S. Y.L.

The comrade from Brooklyn was given a cross-examination. The only answers allowed were "yes" and "no." On the basis of this "democratic" trial, he was expelled as a "counter-revolutionary renegade."

The condition of the Y.C.L. is duplicated in the Communist Party. Five leading members of the C.P. in California resigned, joining the Workers Party. Their statement says in part: "There's no hope, you're done for. . . . And to top all this off you want us to organize a Labor Party. What do you think we are anyway? We quit. And we're going to apply for membership in the Workers Party. Its program is going to develop a real vanguard in America." (See the New Militant, April 6).

In Akron, scene of the latest strike sell-out, a whole branch of the C. P. resigned, also joining the W. P. More are expected from the C. P. and the Y.C.L.

The abrupt right turn of the C. P. which has culminated in the birth of a "Labor Party," crystallized the resentment and bewilderment of the rank and file members of the party and Y.C.L. This, on top of a policy which permits no discussion, hands down decisions from above and permits no criticism, has resulted in mass resignations, expulsions and tremendous fluctuation—sure signs of the degeneration of a once-revolutionary party.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Despite the orders of the New York N.S.L. district which advised the N.S.L. chapter at Franklin K. Lane High the school authorities, the S.Y.L. School to hold the strike at 12:30 (lunch hour) in accordance with prepared and called the strike for 11:00 A.M. The S.Y.L. dominated in the strike to the extent that the N. Y. Daily News carried a news item announcing that the S.Y.L. had led the strike at Lane.

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ings, united front demonstrations. All of these activities in relation to the present war situation must be developed. This will put us in the fore of the struggles of the toiling and student youth in America.

6. All the regular and "round" activity of the organization should be continued during the summer months. (Educational work, classes, strike and picket duty, YOUNG SPARTACUS sales and solicitation of subscriptions, open air meetings, etc.)

Will see you on the National Tour.

—NATHAN GOULD

## Lets Go, Spartacans

"Reports are false," writes Beck of Detroit. "Escaped from White Guards after looting their treasury. Am forwarding two of the one ruble notes". And so he does, God bless his heart; paying every cent of Detroit's bill. Petit bourgeois, we call it, being all paid up like that.

But Detroit, we're glad to say, is not alone. New York, Chicago, Newark, State College, Detroit, Philadelphia, Canada, Davenport and Columbus stepped up and put it on the line. That's the spirit; give till it hurts. And we have the Honest Abe technique too. Remember when Lincoln was working in a grocery store and accidentally overcharged someone a few cents, how he walked six miles to the customer's home and returned the change? Well, a comrade is now in New York who brought with her from Canada the money owed by the Toronto branch. "Perhaps", you may say, "she didn't come just to pay that bill." Who knows? And who knows why Honest Abe couldn't hang on to the change till the next time the customer was in the store? We've always wondered whether said customer was a good-looking dame.

And now, a note of pathos. Lenin told the Konsomols (members of the League of Communist Youth in Russia) that they must carry Communism to the villages, but a good many towns and hamlets are not getting Young Spartacus this month. We have cut off our mailing list a number of bundle agents who seem to develop pernicious anemia or paralysis of the right hand when it comes to sending in a remittance. Some of them think they can get papers on their looks. They can't, if only because an agent who owes us for several bills doesn't look so good (dialectics). And even if we were soft-hearted, which we're not, we don't run the print shop. The print shop has moved; new and better equipment has been installed; there is a larger staff; you'd scarcely recognize the place. But they still do business on a cash and carry basis. 'Carry' refers to getting the papers to the post office. That means that to print YOUNG SPARTACUS we need more than literary treasures. Coin of the realm is what we need each month before we can have a line of type set.

### Get After Those Subs

That leads to the question of subs. Subs are vital to us, both because of the cash they bring in, and because when we have subscribers we know that we're reaching at least some people month after month. Well, subs are coming in. We got 12 in Dec.; 16 in Jan.; 23 in Feb.; and 37 in the first two weeks of March. Not an awful lot, but it's a swell improvement, and speed and direction are what count. Tempo, as we Rooshians say, is everything. Let's have more each month till we average one per member per month, and the life of our paper is assured. How many will you get?

And speaking of getting subs, Jefferson Hall of Bryan, Ohio and Charlie Ellis of Cambridge, Mass., the seat of (Ahem) culture and learning, each won a book for sending in more than ten subs. What about you? How would you like a free copy of Sacco and Vanzetti's Letters, or Jack London's Essays of Revolt, or James Oneal's Workers in American History? Well, it's yours for the asking. Just ask ten friends to subscribe to YOUNG SPARTACUS for a year; send us the two-fifty; and one of the books is yours.

• • •  
Hat's off to the Allentown Branch of the Workers Party, the first Party branch to place a regular bundle order! They take 25 copies, Spartacans should approach other Party branches and get them to follow this fine example. And by the way, most Party members have younger brothers or sisters, cousins, nephews or nieces for whom they ought to subscribe. Get after them.

### EDUCATIONAL NOTES

The educational department of the National Committee has now prepared the following material for use by the branches:

1. An outline for classes in the ABC of Marxism. The outline is complete and simple. Very good for beginners. It sells at ten cents a copy and can be ordered from the National Office.

2. We are printing a pamphlet by George Marlen, "Paris on the Barricades." It is the story of the Paris Commune. It is a 65-page pamphlet and sells for ten cents. Orders should be sent to the National Office immediately.

## Student Strike Rallies Many

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be pacifist. We found that in the majority of colleges and schools, where large numbers turned out, the faculty and administration supervised and directed the strike and the students were gathered in assembly halls listening to out-right pacifist speeches while they themselves played no real active role.

This was due to two basic errors made by the National Student Strike Committee, which included the N.S.L., S.L.I.D., Methodist societies, interseminary movements, etc.

Firstly, the failure to include working class youth organizations in the strike committee so that the strike could have been led along militant lines. The S.Y.L., which realizes that the working class is the only force which can really fight against war, took the initiative and sent letters to the Y.C.L. and Y.P.S.L. proposing an all-inclusive united front embracing workers' organizations. To this day neither organization deemed it important enough to even answer this urgent communication! Evidently they were satisfied to work through their respectively controlled student organizations, the N.S.L. and S.L.I.D., and thus propagate the illusion that students are capable of fighting against imperialist war without the direct aid and supervision of the working class. The N.S.L. rejected our proposal. Had our proposal been accepted the student strike would have been as successful in effect as it was in numbers.

The second error was to allow for unclearly the slogan "against imperialist war." For example, the organ of the S.L.I.D. (Student Action) even failed to mention the slogan, and the organ of the N.S.L. (Student News) gave mention to it. In certain instances, notably C.C. N.Y. and New York University, the S.Y.L. forced the use of the word "imperialist."

Despite the disagreement of the S.Y.L. on the organizational basis of the strike, the S.Y.L. supported and agitated for it on many campuses and indeed played leading roles in several.

The Spartacus Youth League recognizes the student strike as a powerful weapon if wielded correctly and will support all future strikes.

However, the strike of 1935 is not over. The many expulsions and suspensions have still to be faced. It is obvious that all those who were victimized by the school boards are symbols of student protests against war. Immediate steps must be taken to organize a nation-wide protest in forms of petitions to compel the reinstatement of these students. No time can be lost.

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## Conference In New York

NEW YORK.—The first Regional Conference of the S.Y.L. which was held in N.Y.C. on April 13 and 14 registered the marked change that is taking place in the League in line with the decision of the National Convention towards becoming a broad mass revolutionary youth organization. The discussion of the delegates from out of town and from New York represented the new spirit and the changing attitude of the whole organization. Even more noticeable and more impressive an indication of the turn and its results, already evident, though only four months have passed, was the report on the phenomenal growth of the League. Four months—and a gain of 144 percent in membership: twelve new branches throughout the country; a leap in membership from 175 last December to 420 at the beginning of April; and still going strong. . . .

The conference was the first attempt to test organizationally the growth in membership and the strength of Spartacus. And the League responded in true Spartacus fashion. Delegates came in from almost every branch in the field. The financial burden was borne largely by the New York branches and comrades who thus did their share towards a successful conference. The Party, too, sent delegates and lent its aid.

At the conference, reports were heard from comrades Gould and Streeter on the national organization and on the New York City branches. Following these came reports from Allentown, New Haven, Newark, discussion on the situation in Cambridge and Boston, a Philadelphia report and a discussion on W.P.-S.Y.L. relations raised by it. The problems and difficulties of developing new leading forces to keep pace with the rapidly growing organization, especially, received the consideration of the delegates.

Sunday morning was devoted to the student report by comrade R. Stamm. Here the delegates showed their deep interest in the political perspectives and policies of their League. The slogan of "the abolition of the R.O.T.C." and the issue of the revolutionary or pacifist character of its advancement at the present time raised a three hour debate involving almost every delegate present.

Comrade Larry Cohen, delegate from the N. Y. District of the Workers Party gave a well received report on the activities of the Workers Party and its prospects for the coming months. He took up the questions raised by the Newark and Philadelphia delegates on the relationship between the Party and the Spartacus Youth League. In N. Y. C. he reported the increase of interest in the Party and among Party members in the youth movement.

Perhaps the most heated question confronting the delegates was the issue of setting up a District Committee to carry out the plans and perspectives laid down by the conference. Finally, by an overwhelming majority, a committee of twelve members was elected: 9 from N. Y. C., one from Allentown, one from Newark, and one from Philadelphia. The N. Y. members of the committee are: Bill Streeter, Sam Gordon, Kim Dolson, Lillian Bord, Dave Donner, Ruth Stamm, Ruth Jager, Sol Stevens, Walter Karsner. The Newark member is Comrade Marans. The committee members from Philadelphia and Allentown will be elected by their branches, at their next branch meetings.

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# Luxemburg May Day Article Writes Appreciation of Young Spartacus

## Is True of Situation Today

When May Day demonstrations were held for the first time, the vanguard of the (Second) International, the German working class, was just at the point of breaking the chains of a disgraceful Exception Law and of entering upon the path of a free, legal development. The period of prolonged depression in the world market, since the crash of the seventies, had been overcome and capitalist economy had entered directly upon an era of resplendent development that was to last almost a decade. Likewise the world had recovered, after twenty years of uninterrupted peace, from recollections of that war period in which the modern European state system had received its bloody christening. The path appeared free for a quiet cultural development. Illusions, hopes for a peaceful settlement between capital and labor sprouted forth luxuriantly among the ranks of the Socialists. Proposals to hold out "the open hand to good will" marked the beginning of the nineties; promises of an imperceptible, "gradual evolution" into Socialism marked their end. Crises, wars, and revolutions, were considered outworn theories, mere swaddling clothes of modern society; parliamentarism and trade unionism, democracy in the state and democracy in the industry were to open the gates to a new and better order.

The actual course of events played frightful havoc with all these illusions. In place of the promised mild social-reformist development of culture there has set in since the end of the nineties a period of the most violent, extreme sharpening of capitalist conflicts, a period of storm and stress, of crashes and turmoil, of tottering

and trembling in the very foundations of society. The ten-year period of the economic upward curve of development was compensated world-convolving crises. After two decades of world peace there followed in the last decade of the last century six bloody wars and in the first decade of the new century four bloody revolutions. Instead of social reforms—sedition bills, imprisonment bills and jailings; instead of industrial democracy—the powerful concentration of capital in cartels and employers' associations and the international practice of giant lockouts. And instead of the new upward development of democracy in the State a miserable collapse of the last remnants of bourgeois liberalism and bourgeois democracy. . . . Everywhere the revolutionary working class today sees itself alone confronted by the compact, hostile reaction of the ruling classes and by their energetic attacks, which are aimed at them alone.

### The Era of Imperialism

The "sign" under which this whole development on the economic and political field has been carried out, the formula according to which its results may be traced back is: IMPERIALISM. This is not a new element, not an unexpected veering in the general historical course of capitalist society. Military preparations and war, international conflicts and colonial policies have accompanied the history of capital from its cradle. It is the extreme augmentation of these elements, the concentration and gigantic outburst of these conflicts, which have resulted in a new epoch in the development of present-day society. In

dialectic reciprocal action—at the same time result and cause of the powerful accumulation of capital and of the consequent sharpening and intensifying of the contradiction between capital and labor within and between the capitalist states without—has Imperialism entered upon its final phase, the violent division of the world by the assault of capital. A chain of continual, unprecedented competitive military preparations on land and sea in all capitalist countries, a chain of bloody wars, which have spread from Africa to Europe and which any moment may fan the glowing sparks to a world conflagration; in addition, for years the phantom of the high cost of living, of mass hunger throughout the whole capitalist world, which can no longer be banished—these are the "signs" under which labor's world holiday will soon celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of its existence. And each of these "signs" is a flaming testimonial to the living truth and power of the ideas of the May Day celebration.

The brilliant main idea of the May Day celebration is the independent action of the proletarian masses, is the political mass action of the millions of workers, who otherwise can give expression to their own will only through petty parliamentary action, separated by State boundaries and consisting for the most part only in voting for representatives. The excellent proposal of the Frenchman Lavigne at the International Congress in Paris [1890] combined this indirect par-

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Dear Editor:

I have just finished reading with interest the January issue of YOUNG SPARTACUS which I found in the recreation room of the Young Men's Institute (a bowery flop house for young men). May I thank the worker who left the paper here and assure him his effort was not in vain. Also I would like to call your attention to two articles in your very readable publication that I found extremely enjoyable as well as instructive: one the Question and Answer Box with the comprehensive answer to how the bosses make their profits and the other Eddie's letter from the CCC camps.

It was my misfortune to have spent 13 months and 13 days in a CCC camp in Ga. For the sake of a job I might be there yet but have served all the time I am allowed to serve. Now I am in New York City, homeless, moneyless and without any visible means of support other than the worst makeshift of charity which I am compelled to except in order to exist.

Here is a little story about my friend John Coleman. Maybe you can use it if you reword it.

### SORRY SON

It's so monotonous being unemployed. All day long the same old story, "Sorry Son, nothing today."

Early this morning John Coleman called on the Star Advertising Co. for a job at distributing circulars. John had never done this type of work before nor could he remember ever having worked for 20c an hour. In fact, being a typical resident of the Young Men's Institute, these considerations were of minor

importance to John this morning. Instead he was thinking of his one suit in the cleaners and shirt in the laundry. "Gee," he thought, "it'll be swell to look like somebody once more. Maybe I'll get to see old man Jackson up at the bakery tomorrow, that won't be a bad place to work."

The long line of applicants in front of the Star Advertising Co. swayed as the men shuffled to keep warm.

"Rather late," remarked an elderly man from whose appearance John judged must be an old timer at the distributing game. "Ain't often the boss is late, he ought to be here any minute now."

The large clock across the street showed it to be 5:45. Far up at the front of the line a lively discussion progressed and John wished he had not missed his coffee plus. "But," he reflected, "if I had waited for my breakfast I would have missed my chance at this job."

The rather gruff voice of the boss who had just come in floated down the line calling out the names of most of those who worked for him yesterday. Eagerly John broke line and made his way to where the boss stood.

"That is all today," the boss was saying.

"Mister," protested John, "can't you use one more man?"

"No, that's all today." "I could drive your truck, bundle papers—do almost anything," continued John.

"Sorry Son," smiled the boss, almost sympathetically. "Nothing today."

—J. K.

# CALLUSES — CUTS — CONSTIPATION

By BILL CARPENTER

(Comrade Carpenter's story is not an attempt at fiction. It is straight-forward reporting, with no intention of patching or concealing, by a young fellow who went to Roosevelt's promised land. There have been no corrections, or additions made.—Ed.)

All day long I had waited at the agency. This was the third week since I had been laid off. What little I had saved from a twelve dollar job I had spent. I was down to my last two dollars and in a desperate position. I could not hold out for another week. When a job at the C.C.C. camps was offered to me, you can bet I didn't refuse it.

### Reports at Recruiting Office

I was told to report at the Army recruiting building at 39 Whitehall street.

The following day I was down there bright and early only to find a long line of fellows waiting for the doors to open. I took my place at the end of the line (which even at that early hour extended a full block). While waiting on line I became acquainted with the fellow directly in front of me. He was a "all boy, about my age, with hollow cheeks and deep sunken eyes that bemed with the fever of hunger. He was a plumber's helper, and out of work for four months. His mother made five dollars a week scrubbing office floors at night. While he talked to me, he seemed happy, elated, that he was again going to work. "Yes sir, Roosevelt is a right guy," he said. "If any one, Roosevelt is just the man to get us out of the depression."

### Health Examination Ends in Exhaustion

It was eleven o'clock when our turn came. We had waited on that line in the rain for four hours, and we were soaked to the skin. As we entered, a man at a desk took our applications, gave us a number, and passed us on to the examining room.

We were told to strip, "line up there and make it snappy" (we were enlisted now). After being weighed we were subjected to a thorough physical examination made very embarrassing by the

rude remarks of the soldiers.

When we again dressed, it was three o'clock. We were waiting for the bus which was to carry us to the "training camp". It was a most uncomfortable hour, there were fifty boys crammed in a bus that could barely seat thirty. But the worst was yet to come.

When we arrived, the camp was in a stage of reconstruction. There were no roads within a half mile, we had to make a run for it in a drizzling rain. To make matters worse the freshly dug earth made a fine sticky mud. We got to the first out-lying building with the mud over our ankles. In we tramped, tired and hungry, only to strip again and take a cold shower (there was no hot water). The soap we used was that brown floor soap, it irritated the skin on account of the lye it contained. We had to wait in line with a towel around us: we were going to be vaccinated. There were windows open on both sides of us.

For some reason, unknown to us, there was a long delay. Many of us were coughing and shivering, it was that cold. A few of the weaker boys fainted when they got the needle, it had a psychological effect on the rest, many of the faces turned pale. The needle was not to blame. It was sheer exhaustion that made the boys faint. We had not eaten since early morning.

### "Food" Comes at Midnight

It was twelve o'clock that night when I received my outfit and was allowed to go to supper, which consisted of two frankfurters and a cup of black, or almost black, coffee. No seconds were served. I then located my bunk by means of my number, only to find a line waiting for blankets. My body could no longer stand it. I flopped down with my clothes on, too tired to undress. I dimly remember some one throwing a blanket over me.

In spite of the trying day before, I woke quite suddenly, the reason being that my cot was overturned, and the cold cement floor was no place to continue a nap. We were told to "snap it up" or we would

miss our "chow". In the confusion that followed, I could not for the life of me find my other shoe. I had breakfast, or rather "chow", with one shoe on. After breakfast, which took a good two hours (there were two thousand boys to be fed, and one mess tent, and two oil stoves) we had to "police" our sleeping quarters which meant: clean up and hurry. I finally located my other shoe in a pile of dirt among other garments.

### Learns "Ropes"

For the next week, I traveled around in a daze; everything and everybody was utterly confused and bewildered. Meanwhile I had made friends with a fellow whose number was next to mine. His name was Bill, Bill Dennis, an Irishman, and plenty tough. He lived near the Erie Basin district. He was a good crap shooter, the dice seemed trained to his nimble fingers; many a good dollar I won by following him up. He had been there three weeks ahead of me, and he showed me "the ropes", that is, how to duck K. P. (kitchen police), escape drill, which consisted of marching back and forth for four hours each day, how to get seconds, by taking water instead of coffee, and washing your mess kit with it, so it would look like you had not yet eaten.

The best racket of all was "chiselling". That consisted of making your way to the head of the line to avoid the long wait in the cold morning of rainy weather to be served. It was easy enough for the bigger and stronger boys, but I felt sorry, especially for the younger fellows who were constantly being done out of there meals on account of their inability to chisel. The same system applied to their clothes and other privileges.

About two weeks later, they invented a system of "police" which was composed of the strongest and biggest fellows in the camp. Their job was to keep order, see that the various assignments were carried out and to report and penalize anyone who did not do his "duty". These "police" bore a striking resemblance to the real coppers; that is, they saw to it that "justice" was

carried out. Their friends were always at the head of the line, never got any of the dirtier jobs, always got passes to leave camp, and received the best of the outfit.

### On First Aid Duty

It was disgusting to see fellows caddy to them, do their slightest wish, and snitch on the regular guys just to gain their privileges. As for Dennis and myself, we were always in trouble. When we were not in trouble the police were.

One day I hit upon a scheme by which Dennis and myself could get by without caddying to the police. I volunteered for First Aid duty. I had camp experience for seven years, and for once it did me good. I was sent down to the hospital, and detailed to the emergency room. Although the soldiers hated us and used every chance to put one over on the "kids" (we were receiving thirty dollars a month and they were getting seventeen-fifty). I managed to make friends with the hospital squad. Later I got a private room and always kept Dennis and my own possessions in it, so we would not be ransacked by the copper's friends. I also received a special pass allowing me and one other to leave camp any time after six. The hospital food was greatly superior to the stuff we had been getting. My luck did not hold out long. After two months in training camp my company was shipped out.

I was detailed to work camp No. 7, in Tuckerton, N. J. This was a swamp district, mosquito territory. I was in for the time of my life. We got up there in time, just in time. I had a camp of five hundred boys, and one inexperienced kid to help me. As soon as I arrived I was put to work. At least three quarters of the camp were covered with sores, due to the bites of insects which they constantly scratched with dirty finger nails.

The Army doctor had many such camps to visit, he could only afford a few hours, once a week, in our camp. He would leave hurried instructions, and an insistent plea to save supplies, as we were allowed a certain amount each month, regardless of the need. It was this day I came home.

false economy that made me sore. "One bandage a day" was the slogan, and that in the morning. All day long the boys would work in the mire, handling rough logs, tearing away stubborn brush and breaking the blisters on their hands. These blisters would become infected; the bandage after the day was very dirty. Next week the doctor would cut open the infected hand, usually he did not have time to bother about it. The job would then be left to me.

### Diarrhea and Cuts

About three weeks later I had a great many cases of stomach ache on my hands. Day after day they would come pouring in. They would complain of a heavy feeling, no bowel movement, dizziness, and other symptoms. I called the doctor's attention to this. "Give them C.C. pills," he would say. "But I have, they do not seem to have any effect," I would answer. "Well, then give them an enema." Day after day my "enema" squad would come for treatment. It became worst later on. If they did not have constipation they would have diarrhea. The doctor didn't seem to understand it, but I did. It was the food (they were handing out. This food was cooked by fellows who never cooked before. They did not clean the big aluminum pots thoroughly. They were slovenly and dirty.

I had among my supplies a small alcohol burner used to sterilize the instruments. I became friendly with the provision sergeant and obtained sugar, coffee, milk. The eggs I got from the village, and Dennis and I used to have our own breakfast and supper in the First Aid tent. You can bet I did not get sick. One day a fellow jumped into a three foot deep brook, someone had previously thrown a milk bottle into it. The boy got a deep cut (arterial). He had bled considerably. When I got to him he was as white as if he were dead. I used a tourniquet and adhesive tape to close the cut. I changed the bandage twice a day. When the doctor found this out he scolded me. That was the limit. The next day I came home.

## EDITORIAL

### More Truth Than Poetry

WAR is more than a subject for street corner debate. It is a flagrant reality that may impress its brutal heel on the world at any moment. So frequent have been the references to war that many look on war talk as a persistent case of crying "Wolf." Year after year repeated speeches and articles have pointed to the danger of war—without any war breaking. But we do cry "Wolf" again—this time we can smell his flesh and hear his growl. Our cries may have contributed to keeping him away. He is too hungry now to be scared away by mere noise. To act the shepherd, and smile in disconcert, will be fatal.

Nobody can foretell the moment on which war will tear loose. But, just as sure as the capitalists cannot solve their difficulties peacefully, will war come. No longer is even a pretense made. What the capitalists have long known, is now unconcealed—WAR MUST COME. The capitalists have known that, and have prepared. They have built a tremendous military machine capable of mowing down millions of worker-soldiers. France, Germany, England, Italy, Japan, the United States make no bones about their preparation. Even the delusive promises of peace grow weaker. In return our promises of struggle grow stronger.

But promises do not suffice. France relies on her Rhine fortifications. Italy on her vast trained reserve. Japan on her seapower. Germany, England, the United States, and all, on trained man power supplemented by gigantic military organization. What shall we rely on? Only on the man power of working class strength—supplemented by organization, CLARITY, ACTION. We have little time in which to accomplish our task, little time to organize. Greater the necessity, therefore, for haste and accuracy.

In Europe the atmosphere duplicates that of 1913. Before all the working class organizations rests uppermost the problem of war. With all the world embroiled in it, war has taken the place of fascism as the central concern of the working class. In every section war occupies the center of discussion. Our European brothers are serious. They know what is before them. They realize the dire need of preparation and decision—or defeat, fascism, murder. Some falsely toy with the idea of defending a "democratic" country at war with a fascist state. Nothing could be more detrimental, nothing could be more symptomatic or inviting, of betrayal. Fascist or "democratic," the capitalist state is equally well the opponent of the working class, equally responsible for wars. Capitalist rivalries, capitalist hatred of the Soviet Union, make war. Only capitalism's destruction can prevent and eliminate war.

Twenty years ago the revolutionary youth meeting at Berne, Switzerland, blazed the path of international organization against war. Again we must act. Again have the existing youth internationals failed us. Again must we initiate international organization. While our adult comrades move toward the formation of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, we must strengthen the first steps toward a NEW YOUTH INTERNATIONAL. The National Committee of the Spartacus Youth League has addressed a letter to the International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations calling for an international conference in December. The conference must meet before the whirlpool of war hysteria is on us. Jingo propaganda will be unexampled in the coming war. The working class will be herded into the trenches under attractive slogans. Against war on the march to proletarian victory, with CLARITY and ACTION—FORWARD TO THE NEW YOUTH INTERNATIONAL.

### The Student Strike

THE National Student Strike against War brought out many thousands of students in protest demonstration. It was indicative of a large anti-war sentiment. Yet it gave no guarantee, even to the extent that guarantees are possible, of effective opposition to imperialist war.

The whole character of the strike organization, dominated as it was by Stalinists, through the National Student League, and Socialists, through the Student League for Industrial Democracy, displayed a fundamental capitulation to the most backward elements in the student body, who actually set the tone of the demonstration as they did last year.

Both N.S.L. and S.L.I.D. pay verbal allegiance to the leadership of the working class, but act as though they go no further than that "recognition." Often have we pointed to the fact that students do not as a body represent the working class, that students have to be won to the side of the working class and taught to accept its leadership. So far as the N.S.L. and the S.L.I.D., and the Young Communist League and Young Peoples Socialist League for which they are student stooges, are concerned, this has made no impression.

No better occasion than the student strike has presented itself to demonstrate a practical acceptance of working class leadership. In accord with that the Spartacus Youth League proposed a properly constituted united front (not one that proposes through alliance with pacifists to eliminate wars forever—even class wars presumably) of working class youth organizations to the Young Communist League and the Young Peoples Socialist League. The latter, who are geniuses at confusionist hodge-podges, were so overcome at the sight of a revolutionary proposal which would have mobilized workers' support for a specific student action, as part of the general struggle against imperialist war, that they failed to reply to the proposal of the S.Y.L. Unless, of course, we misjudge them. It may be they cannot recognize a revolutionary proposal when they see one.

There is no doubt, we repeat, that the demonstration was an impressive sight. Beyond that it held no promise of great significance. As with last year's strike, it came and went—and will repeat itself next year if no war intervenes in the meantime. Let us be honest. Many of those who demonstrated in all sincerity will be partisans of the war when it comes, as was the case in 1917. The others will be in the trenches, be they partisans of the war or not. Hence the particular need of CLARITY in ACTION. Hence, the need of consistent education.

Any united front can only succeed within well defined limits, in the solution of a precise task. Beyond that political organization and program must continue where the function of the united front ends. In other words, the place of every young worker and every young student is in the organization dedicated to revolutionary education and practice—the Spartacus Youth League.

## Go West, Young Man, Go West

This famous statement from the mouth of Horace Greeley, not many decades ago, sent thousands of youths west in search of economic security. In those days of capitalist development, a vast undeveloped west awaited the arrival of these victims of the "depression". Today, with the decay of capitalism, this same idea is injected in the minds of the youth. There is no room for expansion, and the youth in their wild search for security find a solid black wall of despair and unemployment.

Turn to the west, north, south and east—millions of unemployed waiting for a meagre existence from the government. Where to go? What to do? Two hundred thousand youth ask this question as they slowly come to the realization that capitalism has cast them out of society. Two hundred thousand youth are awakening to the fact that life for them is nothing more than a freightyard and a transient camp. Some of our progressive republicans will indignantly reply that this sit-

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for

### A Cartoon

That will be printed as soon as you send in enough \$\$\$\$ to cover the cost.

uation does not exist. Let us visit a freightyard in any part of the country, be it New York, Chicago, Fort Worth or Los Angeles:

A cold black night, a threatening sky, groups of shivering bodies huddled around smouldering flames excitedly waiting for the road hogger. It is due out any minute; already the switch engines are shutting off their head lamps. The dim glow of the fires reflect upon the faces of the "bums". The majority of them have not yet acquired sufficient beard growth to shave—their ages range from fourteen to twenty.

#### Hop the Freights

Two short shrieks, the signal for "highball", a thunderous roar from the engine as it pulls its cargo, each car moves after a terrific jerk. The train moving along slowly seems to shout its superiority over the small yard engines, the yard engines seem to puff acknowledgment. We try to hide in the near by brush to escape the glaring light from the engine's road lamp, yet its powerful light shines on us, seeming to tell the railroad bulls, "There they are."

The engine passes and we see an almost endless stream of box cars. A few of the more excited boys dash out, catching on to a gondola car. Some of the more experienced "tramps" know that the gondola is too close to the engine to ride in comfort, the cinders will drop all over them. The train picks up speed and we slowly string out like so many ants climbing aboard. A mad dash for empty reefers (where the ice is packed). We know it is going to be a cold ride and we do not want to ride on top. When we have all found reefers and we settle down to an all-night ride; that is, if the bull at the next division does not chase us off.

The conversation starts, "Where yuh headin' fer?" "Me, I'm goin' up to Springfield, I hear they got a good transient camp there." "Where you goin'?" "I'm headin' to the

## The Red Reader

The State in Theory and Practice by Harold J. Laski (The Viking Press, New York, \$3.00) sheds a good deal of cool blue light on the nature of the state. The author is a well known writer on political science who started his teaching career when he was but twenty-one. Since that time he has come to the forefront as one of the most brilliant political thinkers of the English speaking world.

The State may be represented as a mammoth rickshaw pulled by millions of coolies, who may be regarded as the bulk of the population, the working class. The fellows who wield the whips, or, as the Marxist expresses it, the ruling class, are vitally interested in going to a destination which we may call Greater Wealth. They are interested in getting there as swiftly and with as little trouble as possible. Well, at first the road is reasonably smooth and lined with an abundance of marigolds.

The Mandarins, or the capitalists, shout down to the coolies, in order to make them travel faster, that everything is fine and dandy and there will be enough of the good things in life for all who work hard. In fact, they will occasionally even reward a coolie who is especially humble and willing by taking him off the road and putting him up on the seat with the masters. Then they will continually point to him as an example of what happens to the hard-working and loyal coolie who will be exceptionally good and help the masters with such little services as sometimes kicking a protesting fellow-worker in the shins, or other places, and reporting those who object too strenuously. The rest of the coolies, who meanwhile are becoming increasingly impolite as the road gets harder and harder and they are receiving less and less, call this type of coolie scab or spy. (By the way, I forgot to mention that every once in a while a bit of the wealth, which the capitalist class carries with it, will drip over the side and an agile coolie or one who happens to be strategically situated, will grab it and then buy a place in the Rickshaw. The Marxist calls them the petty bourgeoisie. However, as the capitalists fight among themselves, the stronger devouring the weaker, these little fellows get it in the neck first and they are generally thrown back to work as coolies.)

In the early stages, too, the Masters in the Rickshaw may even pretend that they are very kind and gentle indeed. They will say to the coolies, "You want to go Here and you want to go There, don't you?" They will say this over and over again because they own the megaphones, etc. Some persons who insist upon using big words call these the instruments of effective propaganda: the press, radio, moving picture producing companies, and so on. Well, by the time they're through the coolies somewhat weakly answer, "All right. Let's go Here or let's go There." The privilege given to the coolies of saying "All right" is called by these same big-worded Marxists bourgeois democracy.

Now, we omitted something at the start of this. We should have mentioned that there were a few transient over at Topeka. Yuh get chicken and ice cream on Sunday."

From transient camp to transient camp these youth travel, demoralized, slowly degenerating, victims for a Fascist army.

The Spartacus Youth must take up the battle of the transient youth, surely the condition of any section of the working class is not nearly as aggravating as the condition of the transient youth. Then we must bring forward the slogans: Homes for the Homeless Youth, not Transient Camps. All Funds for the Youth to be Handled by Youth Representatives. We Spartacans must feel the responsibility of organizing these youth, or we will later feel the guns of the Fascist horde, recruited from the same youth.

THEIR FIGHT IS OUR FIGHT, OUR FIGHT IS THEIR FIGHT.

—AL FURTH

great big Rickshaws. And these Rickshaws run by different masters also fight among themselves in order to get to the gold piles first. If you like, you may call this imperialist war. Well, as the gold piles become fewer and fewer, things become more and more exciting and the Masters become more desperate to get what they can.

The coolies are given less and less to get along on and many of them get very, very hungry. Some of the more intelligent and audacious start asking what is it all about anyway and why are we pulling the damned Rickshaw? When the Masters again allow the coolies to say "All right" to what these same Masters do, they are likely to receive an overwhelming "Nuts!" for an answer. Therefore, these fellows not being so dumb, stop asking the coolies for an "All right." They just ply the whip a good deal harder and shoot the coolies who raise too much of a rumpus. This is what is called Fascism. The best slave driver is called a Hitler or a Mussolini.

However, the coolies become more closely knit together in their work and suffering. The more courageous teach the backward how to act and all of a sudden with one mighty swoop they all together throw up the guiding shafts of the Rickshaw and fling the Masters sprawling into the mud on their faces. (P. S. This is called revolution. You get the idea?)

—S. L. SOLON

### ON THE STEM

WAITING FOR NOTHING. By Tom Kromer. New York. Alfred E. Knopf. \$2.00.

Tom Kromer is only twenty-eight, but he is an old man waiting for death. When he was twenty-three he went west to find work in the wheat fields of Kansas. Before that he had been a glass-blower, a proof-reader, and, after three years at college, a teacher in the mountain schools of West Virginia. In the last five years he has lived a lifetime. There was no work in Kansas, no work in California, no work anywhere, so he took to the road and became a "stiff."

He writes of his wanderings tersely and vividly. He does not whine. He does not philosophize. He does not even attempt to tell a story. The incidents are disconnected like flashes in the delirium of a sick man. We never learn what becomes of Karl, who will always be hungry because he writes of starving babies and men who tramp the streets in search of work; of Werner, the artist, who cannot sell his pictures because all the people have a hungry look in their eyes; of Yvonne, whose thoughtful landlady put a double bed in her room; "because if the beds in the rooms were not double there would be no use for the hot-plate." It is doubtful whether Kromer himself knows what has become of them. Like himself they are human flotsam and jetsam drifting on a tide of chance.

The men of whom he writes belong to no class. You can't start a revolution with stiff: "When a stiff's gut is empty, he hasn't got the guts to start anything. When his gut is full, he just doesn't see any use in raising hell." His language, likewise is of no class or category. It is the language of a stiff—he might have been anything or nothing. Life and language both have been reduced to the least common denominator.

And so he waits. He hasn't the guts to ding a man, his gun sticks in his pocket when he tries to hold up a bank. He sits on a curb and waits—for three hots and a flop. There's no use turning the corner—it's just another blind alley.

The theme of this book will be novel only to those who are still removed from the suffering and devastation of the depression, but as a vivid and authentic account of the road it will recommend itself to all. Its weakness lies in its purely negative approach to life, but if carefully supplemented it will be highly instructive.

—W. K.

# Not Last, But Next, Says Sam

Dear Editor:

Please don't write an article on the first World War of the sort I've read every year and in almost all left-wing papers. The reason is this: almost everybody, with the possible exception of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Columbian Order, seems to agree with you.

Even the Hearst papers now put on an appearance of understanding what the war was fought for. From my own observation and from what my younger sister tells me, the schools have come round to the conclusion that the war was fought for profits. Practically every 'liberal,' intelligent fellow you meet nowadays is ready to admit the same thing.

That is, they're ready to admit it when you talk about the first World War. But the next? Then it's a different story.

I suspect it's always worked that way. The most recent war (after a lapse of 10 or 20 years) is discovered to have been a colossal fake out of which the big-shots back home coined millions at the expense of the workers and farmers. But the next war? Well!!! "O. K.," they say. "It's true Hearst and the meat-canning trust and the sugar barons sucked our blood and turned it into profits then, BUT: isn't the Hun intent on destroying democracy, and didn't he invade Belgium, and isn't THIS a war to save democracy?" And so on.

That's what's happening now. I have before me a cold list called: SOME FACTS ON THE FIRST WORLD WAR.

I suspect that the figures won't mean much to people who read them, first, because they're figures, and secondly, because the figures are so big. You read that 10,000,000 soldiers were killed and you say: "Tsk, tsk, tsk. Ten million!" And the whole sum has less meaning for you than the blazing news that Steve was shot and killed, and Willie fatally wounded by the cops as they picketed the Goodyear plant. You knew Steve and Willie ever since all three of you bummed your way into Akron seven years ago, and the bitter fact of their death is something very real. Ten million Steves!

20 million more wounded. 6 million prisoners or missing, which means that half of the latter were never found again. 28 million civilians wiped out, 9 million orphans left, 10 million left homeless. . . .

Where did all the blood and shattered bone and hunger and suffering go?

More facts of the first World War. For every casualty in the war a profit of about \$12,000 was made by the capitalist class. I wish you'd read that statement again, Comrade Editor.

Now the "millions" begin to have meaning. The whole story of the capitalists' desperate struggle for markets and territory takes on flesh and blood. You begin to see the shape of modern imperialist finance capital wading hip-deep in gore in a mad scramble for profits as the stock-ticker taps out the news that profit-percentages are going up and up and up and are going to range up to 3,000 per cent before the war is over.

When the war is over, and the figures of the dead and wounded are being compiled, there is already on record in Washington the fact that the number of millionaires in this country has tripled to a total of 25,000.

But the next war? Well!!! Did you read one particular amendment offered to the conscription bill now up before Congress? It prohibits service of drafted troops on foreign soil unless essential to "repel" invasion of the United States. The quotes are not my own; I found them in the original news account. And the meaning is, that future Steves and Willies will travel 6 or 7 thousand miles to Japan, for instance, to discover if the Japanese are preparing to invade us,

(Continued on Page 6)

# I COVER THE WAR FRONT

BY SPARTACUS

## Reich Raises Arms

What has long been known has at last been made public. In rapid succession La Dame San Merci (Hitler to you) decreed universal military conscription, a larger navy and more efficient air-force (which sort of has Britain in a dither), and wound up by definitely repudiating Versailles Treaty. Link this with reports that the Hero of the Beer Parlor Putsch demanded of Simon, British representative, the Polish Corridor for Soviet Ukraine—and what do you get? At the conversations with Simon, Hitler, who, perish the thought, wouldn't think of war, affirmed that the Soviet Union "imperils the peace of Europe". In short, La Fuehrer aims to win the support of the other imperialist powers, who have reason to mistrust him for their own interests, in a concerted attack on the Soviet Union.

We have it on the authority of no less a person than Walter Winchell that what has the Allied powers in a panic is a new gas, manufactured by the man behind Naziism, Thyssen, which would kill everybody in London or Paris or Rome in two bombings. In France Minister of State Herriot has charged Germany with building 75 mile guns. Moreover, Germany is buying textiles and cotton waste heavily in France at 20 percent above the market price. Textiles and cotton waste are used in arms production. Further, the U.S.S.R. hears that East Prussia is being fortified. Trench systems and arms stores have been erected in the Maginian Lakes region.

Exclusive of aviation, navy, storm troop and labor camp men, the Reich army is now about 880,000. To these could be added a trained police force of 280,000 men, and 200,000 well-trained members of special defense divisions. Behind these there will be 1,890,000 Storm Troopers and labor camp recruits, usable as reserves. None of the protests at the conscription plan pleased Hitler one bit. As Goering put it, "no one could have dared hope that the Fuehrer would so quickly realize his high aim of giving back to the Reich and nation their honor and freedom (?)." What could be finer than that!

Why Germany should want a strong Baltic fleet, outside of its use as a point of operation against Russia, is revealed in the Memel affair. Hitler, who has never murdered anybody, is foaming at the mouth at the barbarism of the Lithuanians in hanging four Memel Nazis. The Nazis claim Memel as properly belonging to them, and they mean to get it. It is an extremely important port now regulated by the League of Nations. War hysteria is being fomented by the Nazi propaganda machine. Will this be the spark for a new world slaughter?

## England Acts in "Defense"

Immediately preceding Hitler's diplomatic cold, Britain issued its "White Paper". Declaring its loss of faith in peace pacts (at least it is ahead of Litvinov and Stalin who still have their faith) the British Government, leader in all disarmament talk, announced a new defense policy. Army estimates show an increase over last

year of 10 percent, to a total of 43,500,000 pounds (\$208,000,000—all figures given in dollars are approximate) and an increase in personnel to 152,200 from 149,500. Navy expenditures will reach \$300,000,000, an increase over 1934 of \$16,625,000. This makes a total in all branches, army, air and navy of \$590,187,500, with an increase of \$50,060,250. Increases for the air force are expected to reach \$14,250,000. Britain is particularly concerned with her air force, so fearful is she of an aerial attack. The air force, which ranks as Britain's first line of strength, comprises 1,020 machines, will reach 1,170 by the end of 1935, and 1,310 by the end of 1936.

Is it a wonder, then, that the arms industry in England reports a rise? Vickers Armstrong Ltd. doubled its profits in 1934, reaping a net profit of 357,000 pounds. This does not include the profit of her subsidiary, the English Steel Corp. The entire combine reported a profit of 613,000 pounds as against 543,000 pounds in 1933.

## France Polishes Front

France is not merely relying on her new friend, who has always stood for the revision of the Versailles Treaty but is now willing to defend it, in the event of war. With her eye on German arming, the French Chamber of Deputies voted to add one year onto the already existing year of compulsory military service. You see, the birth rate sort of declined while the French soldiers were sacrificing their lives for the defense of culture, leaving a shortage of shootable males. Two new 35,000 ton battleships are also planned—so's the French youth can have the benefit of sea air.

No sooner had Hitler announced his repudiation of the Versailles Treaty than France proceeded to prepare her war front. Troops from the Italian frontier were brought up to man the Rhine fortifications. Without discussion, 19,000,000 francs were voted in the Chamber to pay for premiums for re-enlistments in the army, increasing thereby the effectiveness of the standing army.

## Italians Put on Move

If the Italian mothers don't start giving birth they'll drive Mussolini to despair. Things are happening hot and fast, and Italian patriots simply refuse to keep up with their quota, despite all the inducements of the Corporate State (and what baby wouldn't want to be born in sunny Black Shirt-land?). There must be treason somewhere. And just when Il Duce has two fronts on his hands!

Two divisions of 35,000 men having left to reinforce the border guard in Somaliland, Mussolini began to mass troops for service in Europe. 250,000 soldiers of the class of 1911 have been called into active service. Proudly an official communique announced on February 25 that the Italian army has a reserve of 7,000,000 men. On March 28, a third division was hinted at for African service. Vast quantities of war supplies have been sent to Africa. The whole nature of the Italian army is being changed. It is being reorganized for adaptation to movement—mo-

torization, for example, of the cavalry. "Powerful machine guns, grenade motors, light and heavy tanks are being manufactured in great quantities and will be distributed in the spring" (N. Y. Times, March 29). Super-bombing planes, capable of carrying 3,300 pounds of explosives are being built. 800 men, instead of 400, will be trained as aviators this year.

"Neither we nor any one can foresee when war is likely to break out, but it is safe to predict it will break out suddenly after only a few days of diplomatic tension". There, in the words of the Under-Secretary of War before the Italian Senate, you have a true appreciation of war developments. Mussolini, long preparing for territorial and market expansion, does not propose to let anyone have it over him, no more than do the French, American, English or German capitalists. As the mobilization of the 1911 class indicates, the Duce is shaping his European front with the approval of France. The Giornale D'Italia, reflecting government opinion, asked on March 21, several days after the publication of Hitler's move, that Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria be relieved of the arms restrictions imposed in the Versailles Treaty.

Under the impact of European fireworks, the African affair between Haile Selassie and Il Duce appears to have grown quiet. The calm is nevertheless deceptive. The Italian troops, and the fifty planes that flew to Africa, went prepared for at least six-months service. Fighting is impractical before May, the current season being rainy, and charges, in return, that Italian

## Japs Jilt British

While the Empire of the Rising Sun keeps a "disinterested" eye on European affairs, she proceeds steadily with her intrenchment in Asia and the Pacific. On March the House of Peers passed finally on a 47 percent allocation of a \$600,000,000 budget to the army and navy, marking the largest military appropriation in the nation's history. 490,000,000 yen (\$142,000,000) will go to the army, and 530,000,000 yen (about \$154,000,000) to the navy. The total, \$296,000,000, is slightly higher than we estimated in the last issue.

It is a great gratification to the Japanese warlords, who have just completed the purchase of the Chinese Eastern Railway from Soviet Russia, that European attention is occupied. Their own little activities constitute one of the principal sore (war) spots. Replying to a British protest, the Japanese Foreign Office declared the open door policy (whereby each nation has equal trading rights) invalid in Manchukuo. This gives to Japan a monopoly over oil produced in Manchukuo, one of the world's main sources of supply. British companies, and American companies who have also protested but have not as yet been answered, will have to accept the monopoly, though not without a struggle as the New York Times correspondent, Hugh Byas, suggests. The same correspondent writes that: "The inside history of the affair, if and when it is published, will reveal that the change (from an open door policy) that has occurred has been due to the army's discovery that Manchu-

kno is not secure unless oil is made a state monopoly operated by Japanese capital." Oil, be it remembered, has more than once been responsible for war—just look at South America.

Do not however believe that Japan's intent is simply to remain secure within the confines of her present territory. Not by a long shot. Since we last wrote, Japan has firmly conquered a good slice of Mongol territory. "Before anything further can be done toward so-called rapprochement with the Chinese leaders their party and people must come out in the light of day upon the broad highway upon which there is only one sign post and one placard, which reads, 'China can't get along without Japan; Japan can't progress peacefully without China.'" Thus spoke a spokesman of the Japanese legation at Shanghai on Feb. 15. His words must have sunk in. A little more than two weeks later General Chiang Kai-shek expressed his amity. But wait until Uncle Sam and John Bull hear about this—particularly when for so many years the general supported, and was supported by, American finance. Even before that it was reported that an "Anglo-U. S. Entente on Far East Is Seen". . . . Washington, you should recall, is also concerned with Japanese aggression, and presence in the Pacific isles.

## China Gets "Loan"

Not for some time have we devoted a separate item to China's woes. What makes us do so this month is the concern which has been shown for poverty stricken China (ain't it nice of them!) by the more fortunate brethren of the capitalist realm. A Hongkong despatch (New York Times, February 15) informs us that Japan would force a loan on China, unsolicited at the time. "Such a loan would have political and economic provisos that would cut deeply into other foreign interests in China and put at Japan's disposal latent wealth in the event that the struggle over trade supremacy should lead to Japanese warfare with any of the major powers."

But, hold your seats, folks—the British and Yanks are coming. On Feb. 26 a London despatch reported a "rapidly growing feeling in this country that something should be done soon to help China financially"—to curb Japan, and to preserve the open door. On March 7 official expression was given in Washington to possible assistance in international efforts to aid China. Japan then declared it didn't want to hog the show, and would join in international action "as long as such action benefits China and contributes to peace in the Far East".

Alas, it is not the first time that the "friendly powers" have made loans to China and other semi-colonial countries. In fact, it is quite a system. It generally results in firmer imperialist control over the nation's economic and political life, and, in China, continued division of the country (and cruder persecution of Communists)—and it does not lessen the war danger.

## Uncle Sam Spends

Never let it be said that our country is not first in peace and war. Last month, in printing the president's budget request for military appropriations, we underestimated the generosity of Congress by almost \$20,000,000 (you see, we had our eye on all the haggling over the bill for unemployment relief.) As finally passed, \$401,908,179 is granted the army—the navy budget, which we listed last month as \$489,871,347, is yet to come before both houses. An increase in enlisted personnel from 118,000 men to 165,000 men is authorized. \$4,452,000 goes to the R.O.T.C.; and \$2,000,000 goes for training about 30,000 civilians in the C.M.T.C. The organized reserves get \$6,000,000. All this while Senator Nye's committee debates whether all the

(Continued on Page 7)

# THE CABBIE

"Hya Sally, Make it java and a twister."  
His hulk slides into port—  
The friendly tired waitress disappears—  
The coffee cup looks up—  
And the shiny urn whistles—  
"Nah. No paper. Not while I'm workin'."  
The pale lip bitten kid removes away  
A giddy smile now plays his face  
Union buttons in his cap  
—some driver this is not july and even buttons may  
grow old  
Like  
suits,  
shoes,  
coats

and must be changed  
will be age and holler  
"Hya Sally Java 'n a twister. . . ."  
Forever?  
It's sort of dumb to be in luck  
Driving your guts in the gutters by night  
With a black and twister on the hour  
And a friendly wisful tired counter girl  
and your signal light  
And kids at home just sleepin'  
And a wash woman in your bed  
She sure got old kind of quick  
And you navigatin' a cab  
And you're lucky to be working.

—AL RUSSEL

## US . . . . Young Guys

Dear Editors:

I've been looking thru some of the radical papers for 'young workers' and I'm getting kind of tired being written about. I don't mean me, myself, personally, but the guys in my boots who has to support themselves. What are you fellows always preaching about? You're always telling us what to do, not you in particular, but all of you talk about the Young workers as if they were tin soldiers and not human. Every fellow has his own way of looking at things, and if a guy goes out to picket he doesn't think it's because he is a young worker, but because he doesn't want some fink to take his job. And if he takes a rap, it's not because he's a militant young revolutionist or the likes, maybe tho it's all right to give him the name, but because the fink wouldn't listen to reason, and the cops came in.

If you got some room, I'd like to say a few words to the fellows like myself. Just this, fellows. What do you want? You workin'? How much do you make? 12 bucks per week? What kind of hours you got? Well like it? If we punks had brains we wouldn't take what our fat friends handed us. Out here we had our time of it. I guess you heard of 574 alright. (The union that led the famous drivers' strike in Minneapolis—Ed.) We gave those screwbums a run for their money and made 'em like it.

I was out to Ford's yesterday. I think the bum bought up the street car system and spread a rumor he was gonna hire (don't take it too seriously, now). There were a couple of hundred guys out there. Well the fat boy's heel pokes his head out and pipes up, "No hiring today, men." Some guy calls out. "Hey, is that the New Deal." Well we all laughed. It's a good joke but there's sense to it. Well, there was another 15c fare gone to hell, and where can you get dough these days, you can't save any on the job. The N.R.A. I thought that it was going to do something. The forgotten man: that old gimpy who smiles like a coked up flap-jack artist never met him. How could he forget him? when we tried organizing they bounced us and we would have stayed on our fannies in the gutter if we didn't pull thru with a union.

But even that isn't always enough. There's always somebody going out of business and then you're on the hunt again. So I was up to Ford's. And then if I land a booking. The old wolves come running down the line, "Come on boys, we need production, a little pep," and the old chain comes a rolin' faster and faster till you're groggy, but you can't let up, you can't rest. And there's another angle.

In a place like that you gotta be organized. What do you want, when the wolf comes up and sneers, "you guys were bellyaching about cold dogs outside when you wanted a job, and now its too hot for you, too fast, you can't take it." You want to poke him one, and then there's a night stick thru your ribs, and you're in the gutter and nothing accomplished.

Let them call me red, green or blue, there's nobody can tell me you'll get served on silver for the asking. Scrapping, is the pass word. And if they call me an alien, this that or the other, let them. My folks was pushing down the prairie out here when they were busy scalping, not Indians, but their fellow beings.

Furthermore, I don't give a coyote yell if you're white dirty, black or brown. I want to know, are you union or are you fink? Hey Greek, you work for a living? Well wake up, get your pals together and talk the works over. Hey wop, hey mick, hey swede, hey jew boy, hey bohunk, hey dark boy, what the hells the difference where a guy is born, we all got to bow down and get our fannies kicked and do; until we wise up. In my opinion, it isn't a question of what boat you came over on, the mayflower or a tramp liner; the question is, fink or union; Bull artist or scrapper.

Yours truly,  
A. R. BELLAMY

# A Few Pages From the Life Of Our War-Lord, Franklin D. Roosevelt — And Haiti

Good and sugar and castor oil make a strange mixture. Let no worker, no student, no revolutionist can read the history of Haiti, the rich isle of the West Indies, without smelling the aroma of this marvelous emission rising from the dark pages. If you want to see the face of American imperialism naked, without Uncle Sam's mask or big brotherly love, go read how little Haiti was robbed and crushed under the steel fists of Wall Street. Follow the trail of Franklin Roosevelt back to the dawn of his career, before he ever dreamed of the "New Deal", of wagecuts and war, when he showed the spreadeagle bankers that he was their faithful slave until death.

The marines landed in Haiti in July 1915 while wordy Woodrow Wilson was pursuing his policy of watchful waiting and "splendid neutrality" with respect to the imperialist contest in Europe. The leathernecks came to safeguard the "general domain" of United States capital according to the creed later proclaimed by Calvin Coolidge. ("The person and property of the nation are a part of the general domain of the nation, even when abroad.")

Haiti was invaded not to protect the plantations of the castor seed kings, the banana barons, the royalty of rubber, not to keep watch over the bank branches of the House of Morgan—oh no; the gunboats were only there to take care of American riches, your gold and mine. In October, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt, the brilliant cousin of Big Stick Teddy, the ruler of Panama, telegraphed to Admiral Caperton: "whenever the Haitians wish, you may permit the election of a president to take place. The election of Dartiguenave is preferred by the United States." (Not Wall Street—no, savage reader, Washington, D. C.)

The dashing Dartiguenave was chosen chief bureaucrat of the free and independent republic of Haiti. Admiral Caperton could report back to the pet politician of New York's National City Bank: **The marines have landed and have the situation well in hand.** Not long after \$500,000 (five hundred thousand) of Haiti's state money was "well in hand" and vault of the National City Bank.

In October 1917 H. P. Davis, a dealer in castor seed, announced in the Pan American Magazine: "The development of the agricultural lands of Haiti to their full extent will not be accomplished, however, until after the repeal of Article Six of the Haitian Constitution. All intelligent Haitians who really desire the regeneration of their country agriculturally must see that this provision of their constitution, which prohibits the ownership of land by foreigners, must be eliminated before they can expect the realization of the full potential value of their lands." This clause which prevented Haitian patriots from learning how oversea wizards could reap the complete riches of their native soil had been in force from 1805, and stayed there despite many revisions of the judiciary code. The burgessy of Haiti had a silly sentimental attitude toward it and kept cool in the face of the fury of the castor oil princes and citrus fruit potentates.

### Haiti Gets a New Constitution

So President Dartiguenave was much perturbed, cowering under the enormous frowns of the battleships in the harbors of Haiti. He called the legislative chambers of the state together in solemn session to consider revision of the accursed constitution once more. Brigadier General Cole wrote home that the heart of Haiti was passionately against striking out the cruel clause. He was of the hearty opinion that the American ambassador should warn the Haitians that the United States (so!) would not stomach a constitution containing

the damned clause. He went on recklessly: "If national assembly refuses to heed such warning, it will be necessary to dissolve assembly to prevent passage. The number of marines in Haiti should be increased by at least eight full companies to prevent disorders that may follow dissolution of the assembly." (There's more of this troublesome treasure in the Inquiry into the Occupation of Haiti and Santo Domingo, published in Washington, D. C., 1922.)

Of course Dartiguenave promised to decree the dissolution of the National Assembly. But, when General Butler was dispatched to get the document of doom, he found it still unsigned by the president. Sully Butler was exasperated. He had been instructed to tell the puppet president that if he didn't put his name to the decree the assembly would be suppressed and a military government "recommended" for the country. The cautious Dartiguenave signed. Battling Butler took the piece of paper to the hall where the bourgeois of Haiti were in congress and proclaimed, politely as possible, the command to go home. He cleared the place of deputies and senators and ordered guards stationed at the doors to stop any more meetings.

A brand new constitution was drafted by no less a statesman than the genius-to-be of the National Recovery Act—Franklin Roosevelt. Scarce dry from the sweat of imperialist prostitution, the constitution was laid before the people of Haiti to do with as their free will pleased, if by some sublime act of providence their wills would dovetail with the wishes of Wall Street. The constabulary of the island (ordered by American marines according to a prophetic provision of the treaty of 1915) took charge of the plebiscite. The constitution was approved almost unanimously. A missionary, converting the downtrodden heathens of Haiti from their birthright of hatred for their tyrants to a creed which taught them to "Love your enemies" (Matthew, V). A missionary, I say, testified later that the negative votes were never untied and only yes votes lay loose. The good pastor was snocked to the roots of his wits.

Franklin Roosevelt was fated not to receive the reward of his patriotic labors in proper measure until he succeeded to the seat still warm from the brawny buttocks of Herbert Hoover, happy Hoover whose hatred for Red Russia was only paralleled for passion by his adoration of Black Italy, whose battlecries, sounded and silent, were: **A chicken in every worker's pot; A bullet in every hungry rebellious**

## The Starling

I went with Duff to Briceville  
Along the lean, firm tracks  
Around the knolls of pine land  
Up to the company shacks.

And though the creeks were humming  
And dreaming lay the hills  
I could not breath for sorrow  
Among the quiet mills.

You come out of Cage mountain,  
You scuttle around the ridge  
But on nary a road from Briceville  
Are the faces as free as the hedge.

But, oh, there is a good note  
When men stop by to hear  
Old Duff lash up the stolid ranks  
And make the lost way clear.

Here is a sky for Mondays  
And a tune for the Judgment day:  
Duff! You red eyed miller,  
Come pull these blinds away!

And here's for the blonde I'll marry,  
And here's for the workers' crew:  
Duff! You big, loud starling,  
What did you go and do?  
—ALLEN ERICSON

soldier's heart! The reason is not far to seek if he knows the frightful facts about the titanic struggle of the Republican and Democratic Parties for the power and the privilege to serve their capitalist class masters.

### F. D. Shows Pride

At Butte, Montana, in August 1920 the charming Roosevelt confided to a worshipping crowd: "You know I have had something to do with the running of a couple of little republics. The facts are that I wrote Haiti's Constitution myself, and if I do say it, I think it is a pretty good Constitution." And he can on to assure his audience that Haiti, Santo Domingo, Panama, Cuba, and the other Indian and Central American free and independent democracies represented in the League of Nations (the imperialist pirates' playground where Soviet Russia revels in shame today) would voice no opinion in Geneva which might outrage the delicate sensibilities of the "United States".

During his 1920 campaign Warren Harding (the man still stinks of Elk Hills and Teapot Dome oil!) remarked righteously that if he was chosen for the White House he would not "empower an Assistant Secretary of the Navy"—no names, you note—"to draft a constitution for helpless neighbors in the West Indies and jam it down their throats at the point of bayonets borne by United States marines." (Like you-know-whom-I-mean who gave the precious blood of his country's youth to make the world safe for capitalist autocracy!) The virtuous Harding's speech was printed in the New York Times on August 29. The scion of Manhattan parlors and Gotham poltroons would not condescend to reply to the backwoods editor from Marion, Ohio.

During 5 years of leatherneck reign in Haiti 3,250 citizens of the dark isle were killed in more or less frigid blood, mostly for daring to resist the marines' manly efforts to make them work on the plantations stolen from them for next to nothing in wages. The leatherneck losses were 1 officer and 12 of the rank-and-file. If the savage reader will not take the gentle writer's word for this, let him go read the statement of Brigadier General Barnett, in the New York Times of Oct. 14, 1920.

### A Quaint Advertisement

By the way—Here is a quaint advertisement I discovered in a yellow copy of the old New York Globe, issue of August 20, 1917 (while Russia was enduring the birthpangs of the proletarian revolution):

### FORTUNE IN SUGAR

The price of labor in practically all the cane sugar growing countries has gone steadily up for years, except in Haiti, where costs are lowest in the world.

### Haiti Now is Under U.S. Control

The Haitian-American corporation owns the best sugar lands in Haiti, owns railroads, wharfs, light and power plants, and is building sugar mills of the most modern design. There is assured income in the public utilities and large profits in the sugar business. We recommend the purchase of the stock of this corporation.

And so forth till nausea.

### It Is F. D. R.

It is Franklin Roosevelt, the preacher of the gospel of universal military training (E. I. Du Pont de Nemours & Co. admires our splendid specimens of American manhood—**The American Army makes men—and Dupont makes powder**). . . .

It is Franklin Roosevelt, this man of destiny who springs about at the end of the string of state held tight in the steel fist of Wall Street, that I have worked to unmask before the eyes of American labor, the toiling youth in particular, and shown what he is in truth—what he was in the past.

## This'n' That in Science

### RICKETS: The Cause of Columbus' Greatness.

Recent archeological excavations in Greenland indicate that rickets was the cause of the Norsemen losing control of the New World which they discovered 500 years before Columbus.

A Norse colony was established and Scandinavian ships maintained a busy commerce trading European wares for New World walrus "ivory." Ruins in which skeletons, deformed by rickets, were found may, however, be the clue to the story of the eventual failure of the settlements. The even-then-proud Nordics refused to take the native cod liver oil which has enabled their despised Eskimo neighbors to survive to the present day.

\* \* \*

### NAUGHTY BABIES

That Hitler and Co. have been trying to rationalize scientific theory to suit their pet schemes is not news to anyone. Here is another concrete instance of it:

The Nordic origin of German nationality calls for a Nordic head—long and narrow. But the predominant head shape in Germany is broad and flat. What to do!

The Nazi pseudo-scientists have found the cause: Broad heads, they argue, come merely from the habit of placing babies on their backs.

May we make a suggestion to the Nazi regime: Make it forbidden for German babies to sleep on their backs. Naughty German babies caught sleeping non-Nordic should be thrown into concentration camps. Hail the grand victory of politics over eugenics.

\* \* \*

### TRICK PHOTOGRAPHY

One of the main delights of the amateur photographer, and even the raw amateur, is the taking of trick pictures. Practically no skill or experience is required, merely a spark of humor. If you can hold a camera straight and snap a shutter you're eligible to read on and follow directions.

Have you a grudge against anyone and would like to have this party cooped up in a bottle? I know you would, you blood-thirsty revolutionists. Well, here's how. Make the villain crouch down about 20 feet in front of the camera. Set a gallon bottle about five feet in front of the camera. See that in the window of the camera the bottle blocks over the arch-enemy. Then snap the shutter and capture the rogue, except for the developing and printing done at the neighborhood drug-store.

But perhaps you are not angry at anyone; it's possible and sometimes happens, and you want to take a trick picture for its inherent value. Art for arts sake.

How about a picture of a group of heads in a circle? The bodies, oh, they don't count. The only use we ever have of them is that their empty stomachs remind us of the class struggle. But let's get back to the topic. Place the camera on the floor with the lens up. Have a group of six or eight people make a circle around the camera and then make them bow their heads toward the center of the circle. Another person will merely poke a hand between somebody's legs and snap the shutter. And the job is complete—except for the developing and printing. (We'll have to ask the science editor how to develop and print without use of the neighborhood drug store. His advice is getting to be expensive.—Ed.)

### Not Last, But Next

(Continued from Page 5)

and that in the next war they will clutter up the casualty column while the Morgans & Co. are busy calculating their profit-percentages. And it will go on forever and forever, I suppose, until capitalism is torn out by the roots, and in its place is built up a workers' society where production for use, and not for profit, prevails.

That's why I think you ought to write not about the first but the coming World War.

Comradely yours,  
SAM GORDON.

# Where Are the Young Socialists Going?

By ANNE KRACIK

(The article printed below was written by an expelled member of the Young Peoples Socialist League. Written before the resignation of 11 young socialists from the Y.P.S.L., and their joining the Spartacus Youth League, it presents an interesting background of the situation leading to the resignation.—Ed.)

The Young Peoples Socialist League today finds itself in bitter conflict with the principles and policies of the Old Guard (Oneal, Waldman, etc.) This crisis is particularly sharp in New York where a split with the N. Y. Old Guard seems extremely possible. The outcome of the present fight in New York might well be a pivotal point in the development of the Y.P.S.L. toward a revolutionary youth group, since the real strength of the Y.P.S.L. lies here (it claims 1,200 members out of a national membership of 3,000.)

1919 was the peak year of Y.P.S.L. strength with its 10,000 members. 1919-1929 were ten years of slow decay, inactivity except of a social nature, and years of a persistent pernicious anemia. New York mechanically controlled the League which was of a 100 percent reformist nature. Repelled by the lack of militancy and a clear program, many left to join the Y.C.L., including two national secretaries. Still many more were expelled because they advocated a united front policy or were sympathetic to the idea of dictatorship of the proletariat. All that was healthy and thinking in the League was either expelled or left in disgust. The Y.C.L. lost its drawing powers with its adoption of Stalinist policies. Dissatisfaction in the Y.P.S.L., having no outside outlet, finally formulated a policy of national reorganization in 1929, touching no question of a fundamental nature. Hillquit's position that "the League is primarily a training school for S. P. activities and not concerned with questions of party policy" was likewise the position of the Y.P.S.L.

Several factors combined to explain the rapid growth of the Y.P.S.L. after 1929. Years of depression drew many young workers to the Y.P.S.L. due to the lack of a revolutionary communist youth league. The impact of the failures in Germany and Austria raised fundamental problems. The party was increasing its strength and prestige and this had a very favorable effect on the growth of the Y.P.S.L. Left sentiment was liberal and indicative. The new spirit of militancy displayed itself in greater activity primarily and not in ideological clarification. There was no clear program on the questions of war, fascism, trades unions, etc.

That a slow drift to the left was in progress was adequately evi-

## I Cover the War Front

(Continued from Page 5)

profits of munitions makers, or only part of the profits, be confiscated by the government during the war. We'll bet a copy of YOUNG SPARTACUS to a copy of the Nye committee report that, despite Baruch's agreement that war profits ought to be heavily taxed, the "boys" will clean up in the coming war.

Keeping one eye cocked on Europe, the U. S. has the other on the Pacific. A House Military Committee meeting with the high-command of the army discussed an \$11,000,000 air base, not included in the above figures, in Hawaii. This was the first such meeting since Japan denounced the Washington naval treaty. Chairman McSwain of the Military Committee averred that the proposal was for purely "defensive purposes". General Douglas MacArthur, chief of staff, recommended 800 new armored and equipped airplanes. \$2,000,000 for new coast defenses, including guns in Hawaii, Alaska and elsewhere, and \$8,000,000 for army posts were also discussed. Why?, you might ask. For one thing, Uncle Sam is a little worried about Japan stepping into the Philippines when he steps out, in the words of Senator Tydings. Which, maybe, means that the U. S. does not quite intend to "step out".

## History of Y. P. S. L. Argues Need of Militant Policy and Organization As Left Wing Group Joins S. Y. L.

Activity after activity was initiated only to fail. The setting up of Y.P.S.L. nuclei in the schools, educational projects, speakers' bureaus, the district organizers' plan in New York—all remained blue prints on paper. The driving force of clarity, embodied in a clear, principled stand, was lacking.

The Y.P.S.L. has engaged in several very successful united front actions with the S. Y. L., notably May 30 and October 12. The movement toward united fronts, a key question in any working class organization, was strong in the period when the Y.P.S.L. was going left. Now, however, permanent united

front blocs, like the totally confused and ineffectual American Youth Congress are indulged in as substitutes for a genuine united front. The late-lamented Youth Committee Against Fascism, a poor imitation of the Stalinist American League Against War, which guaranteed democratic rights to fascists, and was to last as long as the danger of fascism threatened, was quickly abandoned under the pressure of left Yipsels and the S.Y.L. Why does the Y.P.S.L. refuse to engage in united front actions? Does it still fear "antagonizing the Party"?

The growing sentiment against

American Socialists of the type of McLevy, the Honorable Mayor of Bridgeport, resulted in the election of a committee to draw up charges against him. This committee, several months old and under the leadership of an eminent legalist, has not yet made its report. How can the Y.P.S.L. conduct an effective fight against disguised Old Guardists like McLevy, Ameringer and Hoan when these are the closest collaborators of the "Militants"? Antagonisms must be avoided and such situations which demonstrate the "fighting spirit" of the Y.P.S.L. Executive Committee are contemptibly hushed up.

Proud as the Yipsels are of their industrial activities, their work in that field cannot stand close scrutiny. The work of certain individuals is commendable, but its activity has been from the sidelines, never actually guiding fractions within the union. In general the work has been of a passive and auxiliary nature. Too often the Yipsels, as in the textile sell-out, have become identified with the trade union officialdom, and have played the role of apologist. Where an independent role has been played, as in the shipping clerks' union, it was characterized by immaturity, petty careerism, and dependence upon the established bureaucracy. A confused trade union policy also helped to lead to the shameful fiasco of the shipping clerks' union. It is only in recent times that the "employment agency" nature of Y.P.S.L. trade union work has changed but a correct policy is needed if this process is to continue further.

The present Y.P.S.L. leaders, who are active Militant supporters, must be scored heavily for the unprincipled role they have played in the struggle against the Old Guard. Flowing from their centrist character, they have followed a policy of conciliation with the Right, hesitancy in taking bold steps, and uncertain straddling. They substituted a campaign against the Left wing in place of one against the Right, but dared not carry it to its logical conclusion. Tailing and tagging behind the rising sentiment of the Yipsels, they have made no attempt at organizing any serious fight against the Right wing. Not once was the initiative taken in the struggle. When all other roads were closed, when no retreats were open, then only did the Y.P.S.L. Executive Committee in N. Y. expel six Right wingers. A correct action but months too late.

A clear left wing group, based on revolutionary Marxism, ready to reject the centrist leadership of the S. P. Militants and to advance independently is now on the order of the day. This can emerge victorious only if it sees its revolutionary duty and defies reformism. The Spartacus Youth League has been and is, at present, ready to aid in the development of such a group. All that is progressive in the Y.P.S.L. depends on a revolutionary Marxist program.

## Yipsels Join S. Y. L.

(Continued from Page 1)

ic party; a break with the Labor and Socialist International, and the building of a new, centralized international—the Fourth International.

Immediately charges were brought against the group—"advocating principles incompatible with membership in the Socialist movement." After an "investigation" lasting until March, a decision was reached to censure the group and to attack it as "disloyal" because it advocated a split with the Right wing.

At that time, when the struggle with the Right wing was coming to a head, they were the only group to point out the correct road—that of uncompromising opposition. As late as the day of the Buffalo meeting they were denounced as "splitters." They came to the conclusion that since there is not much time to build a revolutionary party, they must get out of the Socialist movement and build such a party.

The statement of resignation ends: "... for we are certain that those of you who uncompromisingly fight against the Right wing will come to accept our position."

## Statement of Resignation From Y. P. S. L.

To the members of the Socialist Party and YPSL, Comrades:

For a number of months the undersigned comrades have worked on the basis of a clear program of revolutionary Marxism as the Left Wing Group in the YPSL. We came to adopt this program as a result of our experiences in the Socialist movement and after serious consideration of the problems confronting the American and world working class in general and the revolutionary Socialists in particular.

With this statement our struggle for this program as members of the Socialist Party and YPSL is at an end. Our future activity will be carried on under the banner of the Workers Party and the Spartacus Youth League.

We have come to this decision for the following reasons:

Many of you, following the catastrophic events in Germany, Austria and Spain and on the basis of the growing militancy of the American working class, was forced to reconsider the old program of social democracy and move leftward. We likewise were deeply affected by these great events. They taught us the importance of the basic problems of the revolution and the futility and bankruptcy of social democracy and Stalinism.

We found that the needs of the militant working class movement today are epitomized in those slogans which at one and the same time embody a program and an organization form for its realization: for a workers' party, for the Fourth International.

With this aim in view we endeavored to influence our comrades. Our program was regularly applied to the immediate problems confronting the working class and thereby the Socialist movement: the trade union question, Fascism war, the united front of action.

At the same time we forewarned you of the necessity of a separation with the Old Guard and the need to prepare for it—for we held that to be forewarned is to be forearmed. We were denounced as splitters! Now you can see the split with the Old Guard as an immediate necessity and are for it.

We clearly indicated the reformist-centrist character of the Hoan-Thomas majority in the national committee of the Socialist Party. Some thought that we were splitting hairs. Many of you now are beginning to realize that our analysis was and is correct.

We repeatedly stated that the New York "Militants" who have no clear cut program on the vital question of the road to power, would retreat, retreat, and retreat—unless and until the Old Guard put a knife to their throats. This you have experienced in the past number of weeks.

Our analysis was completely confirmed by the decisions of the Buffalo meeting of the national committee of the S. P. and the "victory" reports spread by the leaders of the N. Y. "Militants."

At Buffalo the majority of the national committee retreated from their plan to take immediate decisive action against the Old Guard. They gave them six weeks in which to consider a compromise proposal. At the same time a heavy blow—this time a serious political one!—was directed against the true revolutionary elements, that is, against those who favor the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. According to the N. C. majority revolutionary socialism has no place in the S. P. and the YPSL. Or as the naive "Militants" would have it: revolutionary Socialists can remain in the Socialist movement only if they do not propagate a revolutionary program! For what is the essence of revolutionary Socialism if not the revolutionary way to power!

Politically the Hoan-Thomas majority are far closer to Oneal and Lee than to revolutionary Marxism. A split with the latter will not make Thomas and Hoan revolutionary Socialists or the Socialist Party a revolutionary organization. Not to understand this is to be blind to the realities of the situation.

But that is not all. Just as you have moved to the left after the crushing defeats in Germany, Austria and Spain exploded the old social democratic program, you must now look to Europe and see what the sister parties of the American Socialist Party are doing today.

In one country after another they are preparing to repeat the treacherous conduct of 1914. Once again they are taking steps to divide the working class along national lines on the bloody battlefield. No doubt the old slogan: save the world for democracy against barbarism, will be revived in the form: defend democracy against Fascism—with Mussolini on the side of "democracy," we suppose!

The acceptance by the Belgian Labor Party of a capitalist coalition government in that country is a warning sign of what can be expected. Vandervelde, head of the Labor and Socialist International—the International of Thomas and the American Socialist Party!—has once again, as in 1914, entered His Majesty's cabinet. In England, Holland, Switzerland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, the social democratic leaders are not far behind their Belgian colleagues. What else than betrayal can be expected of the Labor and Socialist International in the next war?

This war may confront us at any moment as a ghastly reality. How will the American Socialist Party meet it?

The Old Guard "New Leader" openly condones and praises the actions of the European social democratic parties. The national committee of the S. P. is silent on the actions of the sister parties.

Will the revolutionary struggle against war be conducted with the meaningless, militant pacifist Detroit Declaration of Principles? With the Thomases and Hoans and the wishy-washy "Militants"?

Let us never forget that the 1917 St. Louis anti-war resolution of the Socialist Party was militant in words. But this did not prevent sections of the S. P. from supporting the war and others supporting Wilsonian pacifism in form of the Peoples' Council. The resolution was a scrap of paper except for a handful of courageous revolutionary Socialists.

The war danger, as every other question of the class struggle, requires an unambiguous program and a revolutionary organization which can put it into effect. Our conclusion is that there is not much time for the forging of such an instrument of revolutionary struggle.

We are resigning from the Socialist Party and the Young Peoples Socialist League and joining the Workers Party and Spartacus Youth League because we feel that only in this way can we most effectively continue our work against Fascism, war, and capitalism, and for the Fourth International and workers' victory.

We call upon those who do not as yet agree with our views or the step we are taking to give serious consideration to what we have said. For we are convinced that only on the program of revolutionary Marxism, and through the medium of the revolutionary parties of the Fourth International can we defend the immediate interests of the working class and bring about triumphant world socialism. We are no less convinced that those of you who conduct a serious struggle against reformism in all its forms will come to the same conclusion and join the Workers Party and the Spartacus Youth League.

(Signed):

- DAVID ATKINS, YPSL 4 yrs., SP 2 yrs.
- JULIUS BERTMAN, YPSL 5 yrs., SP 2 yrs.
- EDWARD F. DAWLEY, YPSL 2 years.
- EVELYN DORUM, YPSL 1½ years
- FRANCES LEBVINSKY, YPSL 7 months
- MARION H. BERKOWITZ, YPSL 3 years
- SAM ROTH, YPSL 16 months
- EDWARD ROSEN, YPSL 3 years
- ALICE FALEK, YPSL 2 years.
- GEORGE FLEISHMAN, YPSL 1 year.
- FREDA LAPEDAS, YPSL 2 years

# Sacramento Verdict Convicts 8; Acquits 6

## Vigilantes Unleash Anti-Union Drive; As They Force Conviction

SACRAMENTO.—The Sacramento frame up has run its course, and eight militant workers whose only crime was trade union organization have gone to join Tom Mooney in the grave of California justice, San Quentin prison. The last days of the trial were marked by little excitement, the slow grind of the frame up machine pointed surely to conviction.

Even with the newspaper "red scare," the fixed jury, and the insane tactics of the C.P.; even with all these, to say nothing of public pressure stimulated by the banks, to say nothing of the bought and paid for prosecuting attorney, to say nothing of a highly prejudiced judge: even with all these the trial proved too raw to be swallowed whole. In a last minute horse trade, after 66 hours, the jury acquitted six of the defendants and recommended two others for probation. The farcical "justice" was revealed in the affidavit of one of the jurors, obtained by the NPYD. This juror, Howard McIntire, admitted that the verdict was not the result of any conscientious conviction on the part of the jury, but was nothing more or less than a compromise. Two of the jurors who held out for acquittal finally agreed to the split verdict.

### Unionism is Real Issue

During the last weeks of the trial, Attorney Gallagher read from endless pamphlets and produced endless witnesses to prove that the Communist Party was not an illegal organization, following out his line of defending the Communist Party instead of defending the defendants. Attorney Goldman summed up for the NPLD, whose activity stands out in bold relief from the sabotaging tactics of the C.P., trying to bring out the real issue at stake, the legality of trade union organization. The effect of his speech was somewhat spoiled by the subsequent two day oration of Gallagher, in which he reverted again and again to the question of the legality of the C.P., even going so far as to introduce evidence about the German C.P. in his efforts to prove that the CPUS was an entirely harmless and legal organization. Following Gallagher's speech the defendants took the stand in their own behalf.

The verdict was conviction for Norman Mini, Pat Chambers, Caroline Decker, Nora Conklin, Martin Wilson, Albert Houghardy, Lorene Norman and Jack Crane.

Jack Warnick, Fred Kirkwood, Harry Collentz, Lee Hung, Mike Plesh, and W. H. Huffine were acquitted.

Norman Mini and Lorene Norman received a recommendation from the jury for probation instead of sentence.

"An insane verdict," said Jack Warnick immediately after it was read, "if any of us were guilty, all of us were."

True enough, but the eight who were convicted were guilty in the eyes of the bankers who ran the trial. They were the most militant and active members of the once strong Agricultural and Cannery Workers Union.

Sentence was pronounced by Judge Lemmon on Saturday, April 13. The defendants received one to fourteen years each.

When Attorney Goldman wished to introduce the affidavit of Juror McIntire to show the illegal nature of the verdict, the judge said: "As I view the affidavit it means absolutely nothing in this court, it is foreign matter, and the juror is precluded from questioning his own verdict." In effect, the opinion of a juror is foreign matter in court, truly a keen appreciation of the nature of capitalist justice.

### "The Logic of Class Struggle"

The judge had his answer from Lorene Norman and Norman Mini. The former received a recommendation for probation on account of

illness, nevertheless she refused to ask probation in court. "I feel," she said, "that such an application would be an admission of guilt, therefore I will make none in this, or any other, court." Norman Mini likewise curtly refused the mercy of the court.

"Our standing here," he said, "is no accident. Our conviction is the logic of the class struggle. But this same class struggle that results in our conviction now will someday generate an irresistible wave that will sweep everything this court and this state represent away forever."

## Organize To Get Jobs

(Continued from Page 1)

P.W.A. projects that were scheduled to start, so we attempted to tie up the labor hired. On the first job, building a cement bridge, we were successful. But the second took quite a struggle.

This second job was the building of a post office, a federal job. In view of what later happened this should be remembered because it will show the determination of the fellows to get a job even if they have to come in conflict with the federal government. To proceed, the contractor agreed to hire men from our local union but refused to sign a contract.

About two days later we discovered that he had broken his agreement by hiring men of another union. Myself and other members of a committee went over to see him and he cussed us and ran us off the property. Of course, I knew then that the only thing that would bring him to his knees would be a proof of our mass strength—so a special meeting was called. One must remember that it was about 10 o'clock in the morning when the committee was run off the property, and by 1 o'clock we had a meeting and had over 120 young men marching over to the job.

Well, the contractor got a little tough with a few of the boys, and I had to stop them from giving him one of the worst beatings a person ever got. The result was the city police were called in, and then the sheriff. The sheriff set himself up as a mediator and a verbal agreement was reached. Needless to say, the agreement was broken by the contractor—so again we picketed the job and stopped all work. The sheriff was again called and acted as all sheriffs do, in the interest of the contractor and not the workers who elected him. Several of us were reds and communists and threatened with being thrown in jail.

But that did not stop us and we urged the fellows to fight on. The sheriff also tried to intimidate us by telling us that he was going to give protection to the contractor. We told him to go ahead, that we could accept the terms offered to us, and that if necessary he would call the miners of this district to our aid (already having been assured of their assistance). The sheriff and contractor fretted and fumed, but we maintained our picket line. They attempted to start the work four or five times, but each time we rushed the job and took the tools from the men attempting to work.

Finally they realized our determination and they submitted to our demands. We have won against the P.W.A. project only because the youth of this town have at last realized that the government is not going to do anything for them and that the only way to get anything is to fight for it in an organized fashion.

# Fargo Men Stick With Local 173

## Resist Attack Of Bosses and AFL Officialdom

From Fargo, North Dakota, comes news of savage blows struck by the bosses at the workers' attempts to better their conditions in strike struggles. 95 strikers arrested, their union headquarters tear gassed, books and records of the union seized by vigilantes and turned over to Bergerson, states-attorney, who is the out and out agent of the bosses; all these events clearly indicate that the Bosses' Association of Fargo (which is receiving financial assistance from the Minneapolis "Citizens" Alliance) is out to break up the union and is using the state force to do the job for them.

Vigilantes, referred to as "hired thugs" by the state legislature, are deputized, made special police who will serve the bosses in their fight against the workers. An ancient law "Rout," dealing with "an act in the direction of a riot" is dusted off, the worms shaken out of its pages and polished up for the occasion. Seventy workers who were at the union headquarters and chased out by a tear gas bombardment are charged with "obstructing an officer." (The landlord had taken out riot insurance the previous Friday.) William Cruden and Austin Swalde, president and secretary of the union, and one other picket, were sentenced to six months at hard labor. A total of \$47,000 bail was set for the prisoners. States Attorney Bergerson has refused to accept the bail offered by numberless sympathizers. Thus have the bosses arrayed their onslaught.

And they have received not a little support from the reactionary A. F. of L. trade union leader, Tobin, the president of the Teamsters International. At the height of the strike struggle of General Drivers Local 173 of Fargo, he revoked the charter and declared the strike illegal. This treacherous act evoked a fighting answer from the workers of Fargo and Local 574 of Minneapolis, who helped the Fargo Local and loaned them Miles Dunne, to act as their business agent.

The workers of Fargo have flocked into the union. The union has raised the cry of readmission into the A. F. of L. It has succeeded in winning the support of the workers in their fight against this monstrous frame-up. A movement to circulate petitions demanding the recall of Bergerson is under way. He has already moved to dismiss the cases of the 65 charged with obstructing an officer and the 14 charged with riot.

The American Civil Liberties Union and the Non-Partisan Labor Defense have stepped into the case to assist in carrying the appeal to the State supreme court.

But the Fargo workers are not relying solely on the legal fight. Already they have organized troupes of strikers who are busy raising funds to carry on the fight. They are mobilizing mass sentiment in support of their strike. They are succeeding in making the Fargo struggles re-echo throughout the northwest. The workers of Local 173 are determined to show the bosses that they can not stop the organization of workers into militant, class struggle unions. And the bosses are seeing plenty.

## Luxemburg on May Day

(Continued from Page 3)

liamentary manifestation of the will of the proletariat with a direct international mass manifestation, the laying down of tools as a demonstration and fighting tactic for the eight-hour day, world peace, and Socialism.

No wonder the whole development, the aggregate tendency of imperialism in the last decade has been to bring ever plainer and more tangibly before the eyes of the in-

# Frisco United Front Sets Nat'l Example

## Y. C. L. Joins Spartacus and Yipsels In United Demonstration

On the evening of the student strike, April 12, over 400 youth and adults filled Franklin Hall and listened carefully to the speakers of the different organizations. Representatives from different schools, who had led the strikes during the day, gave detailed accounts of the student movement. A speaker from the longshoreman's union connected the trade unions to the anti-war fight. Resolutions against the Hearst war propaganda and against the beating of two students to unconsciousness by the Los Angeles police at U.C.L.A. were enthusiastically adopted. The meeting which

was held under the auspices of the six youth organizations was undoubtedly a success.

The most encouraging, almost unbelievable, incident of this meeting was that the Spartacus Youth League and the Y.C.L., together with the Y.P.S.L. and the American Democratic Youth League spoke from the same platform. The audience was not slow in understanding the full significance of this and it proved by the applause it gave to the speakers that meetings of this kind would be endorsed and well attended in the future.

It was quite natural that the arrangements for the meetings, the conferences that preceded it, would not be without difficulties. There were a number of obstacles at first, but the tendency of all the delegates was to insure the unity of the body. We did not expect Y.C.L.ers, with the training of the Stalinist party behind them, to forget all they were taught in one or two weeks. So, while they conducted themselves much better than usual, on several points the Spartacus Youth League was forced to fight hard against them. For instance, the good manners of the Y.C.L. did not prevent a C.P. member, representing the American League Against War and Fascism, from including comrade Trotsky's name, in a leaflet as one who was helping Hearst to defeat the Soviet Union. This absurd document which most likely was written under the supervision of Darcy (West coast leader of the C.P.), was suggested as the leaflet for the united front body.

The malicious suggestion was quickly dismissed when the Spartacus delegate explained the real position of Trotsky and spoke of him as an international leader of the working class. It was suggested that, if we are interested in placing the names of the people who are responsible for the weakening of the position of the Soviet Union in our leaflet (which is not one of the requirements for a united front of this kind), then Stalin's name belongs at the head of the list.

Throughout the conferences, the revolutionary viewpoint of the S. Y.L. could be distinguished. While the delegates from the Y.C.L. expressed the essentially pacifist attitude of the C.P., the S.Y.L. carefully differentiated between an imperialist war and a revolutionary war against capitalism. The speaker from the S.Y.L., comrade Weiss, explained the role of the working class in the fight against capitalism and pointed out that the students must follow the workers in their fight.

The Spartacus Youth League has consistently fought for the unity of the youth organizations, especially the working class youth organizations. We have always been the first to sincerely work towards a united front of action. We point with pride to the actual achievement of a united front in San Francisco. Steps have already been taken to form a committee for a demonstration against war and fascism on May 30. San Francisco has shown the way, nothing should prevent the demonstration from assuming national proportions.

—HERMAN GLADSTONE

## A F of L Betrays Workers

The Akron rubber workers were sold down the river to the rubber barons by their own "leaders." They were delivered lock, stock and arrel to the factory owners without mous non-aggression pacts. They even having a single demand granted. This betrayal was made possible for several reasons.

1. By the actions of Green and Claherty who acted like strike-breakers, preferring the swivel chair and conference table to the picket line and the class struggle.

2. The policy of the government which was deliberately calculated to stall off the workers, delay action and involve them in all sorts of negotiations, hearings, etc. so that their energies were paralyzed, their painstaking preparations dissipated. When the decisive moment came, the scene was shifted from the picket line to Washington where the "settlement" was stamped through with comparative ease.

3. The "activities" of the Stalinists. While the New Militant carried editorials and articles warning the workers against their leaders, and in particular warning them against Claherty, the Stalinist press remained quiet. They even entered into one of their famous non-aggression pact and refrained from criticizing the leadership of the union because Claherty had promised that "Communists would not be expelled from the union."

4. The absence of an organized progressive group.

The rubber workers wanted to strike. Driven by intolerable living conditions they forced the leadership of the union to accept strike action. They were preparing for this struggle for 18 months, organizing themselves in the union by the thousands.

In the face of these facts the A. F. of L. leadership, instead of pursuing a militant class struggle policy—the only one possible for victory—called for conferences with Madame Perkins and other government officials. Years of experience has taught the class conscious worker that the government of any capitalist nation is on the side of the bosses.

The workers of Akron have received a set-back. Before one can proceed one must understand this and state it clearly and honestly.

international working class that only the independent action of the broadest masses, their own political action, mass demonstrations, mass strikes, which must sooner or later break forth into a period of revolutionary struggles for State power, can give the correct answer of the proletariat to imperialist politics. At this moment of frenzied military preparations and of war orgies it is only the resolute fighting stand of the working masses, their ability and readiness for powerful mass action, which still

maintains world peace, which can still postpone the threatening world conflagration. And the more the May Day idea, the idea of resolute mass action as demonstrations of international solidarity and as a fighting tactic for peace and for Socialism strikes root, the greater guarantee we shall have that from the world war, which will inevitably take place sooner or later, there will result an ultimately victorious settlement between the world of labor and that of capital. —ROSALIE DEWITT