

CLARITY! YOUNG SPARTACUS ACTION! WORKERS OF THE WORLD, unite!

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Militant Youth Call for Fourth International

FOUR GERMAN YOUTH DEPORTED

Four of the German youth delegates to the international youth conference were deported by the Holland authorities to Fascist Germany. Kurt Lieberman, Franz Bobzien, Hans Goldstein of the Workers Socialist Party youth group, and Heinz Hose of the Communist-Internationalist League of Germany are today in the hands of bloody Hitler awaiting "trial."

This criminal action of the Holland government should arouse all true anti-Fascist fighters. "Democratic" Holland handed over these militant German youth to the Fascist mayor of Laren, who in turn deported them to Fascist Germany. The other delegates to the Conference were also deported from Holland. The exploiting master class even of small, hitherto liberal countries like Holland is resorting to the most reactionary means to maintain its parasitic existence.

We must reply to this dastardly act. In England, France, Holland and elsewhere protest movements are being or-

ganized. In the United States this movement can become the starting point of a genuine united front against Fascism and reaction.

With this aim in mind, the Provisional National Committee of the Spartacus Youth Clubs has addressed a letter to the national committees of the Yipsels, Young Communist League, National Student League, Student League for Industrial Democracy and the American Workers Party for a united front conference for the freedom of our German comrades. (The letter is printed in this issue of Young Spartacus).

Time is pressing. Action is needed immediately. We urge quick action on the part of the national bodies appealed to. Meanwhile the movement must proceed. The Spartacus Youth Clubs should, without great delay, organize mass meetings in the various cities in defense of comrades Lieberman, Bobzien, Goldstein and Hose. All efforts must be made to attract the broadest masses of youth into this movement.

World Conference Organizes Committee to Win Young Workers for this Great Task

Spartacus Youth Must Carry On the Work In U. S.

The Luxemburg world youth conference of revolutionary Socialist and independent Communist youth organizations, held on February 28, marked an important step forward on the road towards a Fourth International and a new world union of revolutionary youth. After some frank and sharp discussion on the tasks of the working youth, the delegates adopted a common resolution which criticized the failures of the Socialist and Communist Youth Internationals and declared the need for a Fourth International and a revolutionary youth international.

The Conference represented the best of the militant youth of over fifteen countries of Europe and America. They included the Youth Secretariat of Communist-Internationalist League representing national youth groups affiliated to it that could not send delegates, the American, French, German and Swiss section of the C. I. L., the Socialist Youth League of Germany, the Workers Youth League of Norway, the Mot Dag group of Norway, the Revolutionary Youth League of Holland, the Socialist Youth League of Holland and the Youth Group of the Communist League of Struggle of the United States. A French revolutionary Socialist youth organization, the Youth of Proletarian Unity, the Roumanian League of United Socialist Youth and the Independent Young Communist League of Sweden were represented by proxy.

Despite the despicable action of the Holland government in breaking up the original conference at Laren and deporting four German youth delegates to Fascist Germany, the Conference succeeded in forming a permanent body, an

International Buro, representative of all the groups of the Conference, to carry on the work for a revolutionary youth international. It was further decided that a smaller committee, a secretariat of the Buro, consisting of one representative from the Socialist Youth League of Germany (youth of the Workers Socialist Party), the independent Young Communist League of Sweden and the Communist-Internationalist League would carry out the practical work of the conference. The headquarters of the Committees is Stockholm, Sweden.

Though representing only small groups of militant youth, the Conference can be a decisive stepping stone toward winning the young workers to revolutionary Marxism. It was a handful of youth at Berne, Switzerland in 1915 courageously defying public opin-

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TROTSKY IN DANGER!

Leon Trotsky is in serious danger of being murdered by reactionaries! The co-worker of Lenin in the Russian Revolution, the organizer of the Soviet Red Army, the inspiring leader of the revolutionary Marxists, has been ordered deported from France. The pretext given is his participation in the building of a world party which will overthrow wage-slavery and class exploitation, the Fourth International.

It is this revolutionary organization and its leaders that the governments of Europe and America fear. They are frightened that this new force will succeed in forming a united front of all working class organizations against reaction and Fascism. That is why the so-called democratic countries have refused Trotsky a place of asylum.

The decision of the reactionary French government endangers the very life of comrade Trotsky. Counter-revolutionary Russians are planning his murder. Immediate action is needed to save Trotsky. The Communist League of America has raised the demand that the United States government permit him to come to this country.

New Drive for C. C. C.

CHICAGO—Recently 10,000 youth responded to the call of the C.C.C. in this city for new enrollments. Unemployed, homeless, suffering under starvation and misery these youth were anxious to find a place where they could eke out an existence. They are the victims of the murderous system of wage slavery which throws the real producers of wealth into the streets and into poverty.

All militant workers and workers' organizations, all true fighters against capitalist reaction must raise their voices in protest against the action of the French regime. Without delay we must demand that the Roosevelt government extend the democratic right of asylum to Leon Trotsky.

Warships Ready for Action

Claiming that the battleships California and Tennessee are needed as fighting units of the naval fleet "at this time," the U. S. naval authorities have opposed the modernization of these ships since this would tie them up for two or three years. Such opposition clearly shows that the Roosevelt government seriously expects war in the near future.

Plan United Front for Four Germans

NEW YORK.—As we go to press, we can report the first meeting of representatives of youth organizations in defense of the four deported German youth. On Monday evening, April 9, delegates from the National Committees of the Yipsels, Spartacus Youth Clubs and the American Workers' Party met and outlined the preliminary work.

It was agreed that the purpose of the conference is: "To unite all working class and student youth organizations to protest the deportation by the Holland government of the four German youth to Fascist Germany and to struggle for their freedom."

Officers and a publicity committee were elected.

A "National Council of Anti-Fascist Youth for the Freedom of the Four Deported German Youth" was established consisting of two representatives from each of the participating organizations. It was decided to invite the Young Circle League, the Poale Zion Youth, the Left Poale Zion Youth and the Young Communist League (Opposition)—Love-stone group—to join the Council.

The Young Communist League, the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy have not replied to the original invitation to join the united front.

Dental Mechanics Win Strike

NEW YORK CITY—More than nine hundred out of a thousand striking dental mechanics are now back on their jobs under closed shop conditions. Their demands, which were: recognition of the union, a forty hour week and a sliding increase in the wage scale have all been agreed to by the laboratories that have signed up with the Dental Technicians Equity.

Several dentists who employ mechanics in the offices have refused to sign up with the union thus far. These are Dr. Bloom who has a chain of offices, Drs. Haines, Schorr, Davis and Rose.

The strikers have been holding open air meetings daily in front of these doctor's offices to gain public support for their fight. These meetings have been very successful.

The strikers have been conducting the struggle in a very militant fashion. This is due primarily to the fact that there is a predominant youth section in the union who although they are in a strike for the first time are very active.

The NRA, which has succeeded in breaking other strikes in recent times has failed here. They offered the workers a miserable code that called for forty cents an hour. And even this, only when the strike had already been organized and the workers threatened the bosses with a solid front. The strikers correctly decided to ignore the NRA.

The strike, however is not over yet. There are still a few dentists who are holding out. These however will not be able to withstand the might of the organized workers if the strikers continue in their present militant action.

Student Notes

ANTI-WAR CONFERENCES

A plague of anti-war conferences has hit the schools. These conferences are initiated by the National Student League and participated in by the Student League for Industrial Democracy and various pacifist student groups. It is the aim of the Stalinists at these conferences to affiliate the body to the American League Against War and Fascism. And, as would be expected, the resolutions are modelled after those of the latter League. In other words, what stands out in the resolutions is an abysmal ignorance of the problems of the united front in general, and of the united front against war in particular. They bear the stamp of muddle-headed militant pacifism. Not always of course. For sometimes, as at the first conference in Columbia University, an outright, unequivocal pacifist program is adopted.

Not that it really matters what program these conferences adopt. They exist solely during the period of their convocation. One week after they meet, in some cases with the approval of the administration, in some cases without it, nothing but a vague echo remains. Even where the conference is "successful," that is where it does not split over the question of affiliation with the American League, its life is short indeed. That is far from being a complaint, for their existence serves only to perpetuate confusion.

We have been successful in presenting our position only at the Hunter College conference where we appeared as the only group with an understanding of the problems involved in the struggle against war. The fact that we put across our position only at Hunter is no indication that other groups presented a correct position at the other colleges and high-schools. In most of the schools we have no comrades. In those where we do have comrades our position was only haphazardly presented. Credit is therefore due to our Hunter fraction for the energy and initiative they displayed.

UNITED FRONT ON SPECIFIC ISSUES

Where our comrades have participated in the conferences they have followed this outline in presenting our viewpoint: (1) The relation of war to capitalism, and the position of worker and intellectual in the anti-war fight. (2) The character of the united front, that is its organization solely on specific issues to accomplish specific tasks. The great importance of this point in the united front against war, war being a problem that can only be solved by the revolutionary action of the working class. (3) That the conference go on record as common action against war preparations, such as strikes and demonstrations favoring a united front conference of working class organizations to discuss them. At such a conference the students will play a subordinate roll. (4) That the conference limit its deliberations to specific phases of anti-militarist work in the schools.

THE OXFORD PLEDGE

At the anti-war conferences, referred to above the Oxford Pledge is presented for adoption. Accepted originally at Oxford University in England, it pledges not to support the government in the event of war. The idea that one can prevent war by promising not to fight in it is distinctly pacifist. It lends support to the pacifist conception of "conscientious objection" which proposes to combat war by refusing to fight in it. Einstein, for example, says if two percent of the population will refuse to fight wars will not occur. Similar pledges were made before the last war. Many even went to jail for their convictions. Most, however, forgot their pledge. Wars result from economic causes and have to be fought as such.

The Stalinists may argue that it is correct to sign the pledge because they

Organization Notes

Spartacus Youth Clubs

The day of his arrival in New York Sunday, March 18th, comrade Glotzer, the American delegate to the World Youth Conference spoke at a mass meeting in Brownsville. At this meeting a resolution was adopted in solidarity with the four German youth who were deported from Holland to Fascist Germany.

The next evening, he reported on the international youth conference at a city membership meeting of the New York Spartacus Youth Clubs. After questions and discussion the report was accepted unanimously.

KANSAS CITY

Jean Rall reports on the activities in this city: "The Spartacus Youth Club of Kansas City, Missouri, has made a very marked progress during the past two months in their splendid new study courses under the supervision of Fred F. Simmons. Visitors from various parts of the state attend these courses each Monday night. Including members (of the Club), twenty to twenty-five usually attend.

"The youth movement in Kansas City is the predominant factor in the radical movement. Its members are composed of young men and women in all trades and are doing very excellent work in the unions."

NEWARK, N. J.

A class in the fundamentals of Communism has been started in Newark, New Jersey, with Al Reiskin of the Manhattan Club as instructor. The class has an attendance of about eighteen. Comrades who desire more information should get in touch with R. Katz, 371 Belmont Ave., Newark, N. J.

CHICAGO

The activities of the West Side and Northwest Side S. Y. Cs. of Chicago are ably directed by the Expansion Committee—joint city committee of the two Clubs. Discussions on the tasks of the S. Y. Cs., anti-war work and problems of the youth are discussed regularly. A special committee is conducting work in the Negro neighborhood of the city.

On March 12th, the chairman of the Expansion Committee, Nathan Gould, addressed a letter to the secretary of

the County Committee of the Yipsels. The letter proposed the organization of a provisional committee for the release of Tom Mooney, to consist of representatives of the Y.P.S.L., S.Y.Cs. and the ference. Interesting questions and dis-youth section of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Plans are being made for the organization of regular monthly hikes, socials and the formation of baseball teams. A local internal bulletin is in preparation.

NEW YORK

The Clubs in New York have experienced an increased activity since the election of a city committee less than two months ago. The Manhattan club has been most successful, primarily through systematizing its educational work.

During the past month it has had discussions on the war danger, the problems of the revolutionary novelist and the revolutionary traditions of the American working class. All of these meetings have been well attended. The members of the club were very active in the food workers strike. Members participated in the strike of the dental mechanics. Members are now becoming active in the recently organized shipping clerks union, CWA organizations, unemployed unions, etc. Open air meetings are now being prepared. This club has been the greatest financial, and otherwise, supporter of YOUNG SPARTACUS. It is also responsible for the organization of two classes in the Bronx, and has gained new members.

Both the Brownsville and Bay Ridge clubs have moved to new headquarters. The Brownsville club has been very active in the unemployment movement, participating in the Workers Unemployment Union. The new headquarters of the club are at 1776 Pitkin Ave., about a block from the former club rooms. What hindered the Bay Ridge club most was poor club rooms. Now that it has moved it will temporarily meet in the Boro Park Labor Lyceum. It expects, as does the Brownsville Club, to increase its activities. Unemployed work, open air meetings and the like are on the agenda. So far the Bay Ridge club has shown the best response to the call

Students Get Federal Relief Jobs

Students have at last been recognized as people who have to eat. The federal government has allotted funds to various schools for the employment of students in the schools. Wages range up to fifteen dollars a month, and in a few cases as high as twenty dollars. The sum is paltry enough, but of extreme importance to the student who has been going to school hungry and in ragged clothes. However, at this writing, wages have not yet been paid—they are paid monthly and March was the first month—and indications exist that the FERA will either be disbanded, along with the Civil Works Administration, or continue on a rotating basis, different students being employed each month.

The organization of these student workers who do useful work has begun in some colleges, Brooklyn College for

example. The organization in Brooklyn College, which may acquire a legal status, has assumed broad aims than the continuation of the FERA and weekly payment of the workers. It demands a permanent job fund for students in the school.

This is one issue around which a united front can be built. It is certainly an important question, one that hits home to all students. A movement, properly conducted, could develop as a valuable adjunct to an unemployment movement of the working class. The equivalent of unemployment leagues can be constructed in the schools. Some time ago the student fraction of the New York Spartacus Youth Clubs addressed a letter to the National Student League and to the Student for Industrial Democracy precisely on this problem. We wrote with specific reference to Washington Irving High School where our comrades were trying to initiate such a movement on a local scale. We asked that a united front conference be planned. Neither of the two organizations responded, nor is it likely that they will. However, we will not be stopped by the sectarianism of so-called broad organizations. We will begin our work toward that end directly in the schools, as we have done in Washington Irving.

A Challenge to the "Challenge"

We read in the official organ of the American Yipsels, Challenge, (April 1934): "Throughout the war the Socialist Party with the Young Peoples Socialist League was the only large organization that resisted and continued to point out the true nature of the war and its results, prophecies which today have been verified, beyond all doubt." This statement of the National Executive Committee is supported by reference to the militant anti-war resolution of April 1917 convention of the Socialist Party and the arrest of Socialist leaders during the war.

Despite these references, which in themselves are accurate, the quoted section is not true. We claim that the S. P. abandoned its militant anti-war program during the World War, and that the activities of the arrested Socialists were actions either of individuals or of local Socialist groups.

Is it not a fact that the Socialist Party of America held no national convention from April 1917 to September 1919, that is, during the most critical period? That in New York Socialists in the aldermanic chamber in 1918, led by Algernon Lee, voted for the third liberty loan? Our position is well summarized by a Socialist authority, whom we have often quoted on this question in YOUNG SPARTACUS, Nathan Fine (Farmer and Labor Parties in the United States):

"In truth then, both as an independent Socialist body and through the liberal and pacifist Peoples' Council which it sponsored and supported, the Socialist party did not stand in 1918 where it stood in April 1917. Whatever the reasons, the fact remained that by the middle of 1918 important sections of the party were no longer seriously, if at all, opposed to the war. By this time, also, the Socialist needle trade unions came out quite openly in favor of the war." (Page 322—Our emphasis.)

We challenge the Challenge to challenge this challenge!

of the National Committee for a special fund by turning in \$10 for the war pamphlet.

A representative of the city committee of the New York Youth Clubs will participate in a symposium with the Young Peoples Socialist League and the War Resisters League on the lessons of the Austrian events to be held in May.

PHILADELPHIA

The two clubs in this city hold regular discussion meetings as well as study classes. Recently the Clubs were active in a local strike. The members are seriously discussing the tasks and organization form of the Spartacus Youth Clubs. Arrangements are being made to get a member of the Provisional National Committee of the S.Y.Cs. to speak in Philly.

TORONTO

A recent report from Toronto gives the following information: The publication of the two Toronto Clubs, Young Militant, has a circulation of 300 copies a month. The Clubs have fortnightly discussion meetings and, in cooperation with the branch of the adult comrades, conducts a "Workers' School for Political Education."

A number of the members are active in auxiliary organizations and the Garment Workers' Union. Plans are being made to organize a Ukrainian youth group.

For information on the S. Y. Cs write to Joe Carter, Secretary, Provisional National Committee, S.Y.Cs, 126 East 16th Street, New York City.

Support the organ of the Spartacus Youth Clubs YOUNG SPARTACUS.

Lessons of Austrian Events To All Young Workers

Every battle of the working class is rich with lessons for all militants. The events in Austria have once again demonstrated that there is only one way out for the workers: To struggle against the master class. Unlike the German working class, which offered no resistance to the Fascist beasts, the Austrians have shown how inexhaustible is the courage and endurance, how unlimited is the self-sacrifice of the workers once their wrath is incurred. They have pointed the way to us and have set an example which we must follow.

If the Austrian workers have accomplished nothing else, they have at least put themselves down in the annals of revolutionary history as outstanding and immortal heroes. If they have done nothing else they have shown the way of resistance to capitalist attacks. They have preserved that revolutionary honor which rightly belongs to the working class and they held their banner aloft as long as there was life in them.

But there is more than that. Austria shows that there can be no "peaceful growing into socialism," that the capitalist class will go to every limit—even if it has to massacre the entire population of a city—to protect and safeguard its wealth. Not by negotiations with Dollfuss were the workers able to defend themselves—no, they had to come out on the streets, with arms in hand, and fight it out in the good old-fashioned way. You cannot talk things over with and convince by words the capitalists that they should give up their property to the workers.

Despite the treachery of the Socialist party which taught the workers for years that they must not fight, that they must go slowly, take things easy, these brave workers, for whom the sacrifice of life itself was not too great, rose as one man in the defense of their rights, their unions and co-operatives. Without a Communist leadership, without help and advice, these martyrs fought and fell before the most extreme odds. With their rusty rifles and hand grenades and a few machine guns, with their homes as fortresses, with their women and children by their side, they faced the overwhelming forces of the enemy. For on the other side was arrayed the armed forces, with cannon and machine guns, the most trained and disciplined henchmen of the despotic and desperate masters. The capitalist rulers stop at nothing to hold on to their stolen booty—and the working class must fight for its rights! There is no other way! There is only one other alternative open to the workers—the alternative that was taken in Germany—to surrender before the enemy and to die at the hands of the Fascists or to lead a life of misery and horror. That is all capitalism offers to its slaves: either to die working in the factory, to die on the battlefield fighting for the masters and against their own interests or—to fight for themselves as the Austrian workers did.

How different it might have been had there been a working class leadership worthy of its name! Had there been a leadership which would have prepared the workers IN TIME; when the situation was in their favor, with arms and the lessons of armed insurrection which they learned later at such great cost, instead of a leadership which up to the very last moment sent instructions to the workers, who were tearing at their chains, to wait and be patient and maintain order, the red banner would today fly high and mightily over the City Hall of Vienna. The prison camps would be filled with the real enemies of the people, the Fascist hordes. And this revolt, having caught flame in Austria, would spread like wild-fire

throughout the length and breadth of Europe, bringing new strength and courage to the oppressed masses everywhere. The working class of Austria fought heroically and in its own blood it wrote indelibly for us a lesson which we dare not forget: That we must fight like men and women and that we need a leadership—a party—which will prepare and train us in advance for this fight. To build such a party—that is the need of the moment!

We must make our choice! On the one side there is certain death through exhaustion or war—on the other the working class struggle for life itself. We, the American young workers, must absorb into our very life blood the lesson of Austria and follow the glorious example set by these immortals. The poets of the future will sing the bravery, the will and the determination of these best sons of the working class—when Hitler and Dollfuss and all our rulers are gone—these heroes will live on. They have fought because there was no other choice.

The Austrian workers learned this lesson, but too late. We have time! Let us prepare now! Let us not lose valuable moments!

—REVA CRAINE

Philippines Get Fake Independence

The Philippines are at last to become "independent." With the passage of the Hawes-Cutting Bill the Islands acquire independence after a probationary period of ten years. Coming as it does after years of oppression of the Filipino masses, and the consistent refusal of previous administrations to pass almost identical bills, it may occasion some surprise. It may even appear as though "New Deal philanthropy" is extending beyond the borders of the United States and spreading its mantle of justice over the oppressed colonials. (It is, but it depends on what you would call it.) However, there is no spark of humanitarianism in Roosevelt's breast that was not present in Hoover's or Harding's. Independence, if you call it that, was granted essentially for the same reasons that have kept the Islands a territorial possession of the U. S. for more than thirty years—namely, big business interests. The change lies in the fact that a different set of capitalists has been able to exert decisive pressure on the government.

On March 26 The New York Times commented editorially: "That it (the bill) was originally framed out of commercial motives, and not at all in the altruistic spirit of giving liberty and independence to the Philippines was plain from the first. It was a project which enlisted the support of American beet-sugar interests (sugar is also grown in the Philippines and thus provides a competitor in the American sugar market—G.) and of industries concerned to lessen or stop importations of jute and oil from the Philippines. . . . The only concessions made to native sentiment are a pledge by the United States to abandon its military posts in the Philippines, and to leave the question of retaining naval bases there to be discussed with the independent Philippine Government after it has been set up." And that about sums up the situation.

The Philippine Islands were acquired after the Spanish-American War. Dewey, in command of the American army, used the forces of the Filipino Republic—a revolt against Spain had been half successful in 1896—in fighting Spain. When Spain had been defeated Dewey occupied Manila, turning the Filipino soldiers back. Later, on orders from the U. S., he extended the military domination over the whole of the Philippines, crushing the resistance of the Filipino fighters. Lastly, as a legal

(The declaration printed below was signed by the following organizations: Union of Young Socialists of Holland; Revolutionary Youth Union of Holland; Young Socialist Union of Germany; Young Workers Union of Norway; Youth Group of the Communist League of Struggle (U.S.A.); Bolshevik-Leninist Youth (International Communist League); International Communist Youth of Germany; Young Leninists of France; Young Bolshevik-Leninists of Belgium; Spartacus Youth (U.S.A. and Canada); Marxist Youth Action (Switzerland); Young Bolshevik-Leninists of Greece, Spain, Czechoslovakia, and Australia; Mot Dag Group (Norway); Federation of Young Communists of Sweden; Federation of Young Socialists of Roumania; Unitary Federation of Young Workers of France—Ed.)

A conference of representatives of independent proletarian youth organizations was called for February 24th to 26th at Laren, in Holland. The object of this Conference was to draw the lessons of the catastrophe in the German labor movement, of the crisis of the international labor movement, and particularly, the proletarian youth movement. Unemployment and super-exploita-

tion—evils which at the same time are contradictory and supplementary—are both the consequences of the terrible world economic crisis which effects especially the proletarian youth.

This youth, however, has not reacted to the blows of capitalism by revolutionary means. On the contrary. The crudest form of capitalist oppression, Fascism, threatens to attract to itself a great part of the youth and to submit them to two dangers: heightened exploitation and imperialist wars. The two international organizations claiming to represent the interests of working-class youth, the Young Socialists and the Young Communist International (Y. C. I.) are faced by these forces and these dangers. Their dependence on reformism and Stalinism has condemned these two organizations to impotence.

It was to find a way out of this situation, and to prepare and organize the consolidation of all revolutionary forces of the international proletarian youth that there assembled the representatives of independent revolutionary youth organizations and groups of Holland, Belgium, France, Sweden, Norway, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Roumania, Greece, Spain, United States and Australia.

But the Dutch bourgeoisie, reputed to be one of the most liberal on the Continent, is so afraid of the revival of the proletarian youth movement that, on the very first day of the Conference, it brought about the arrest of all the foreign participants and, after two days of imprisonment, expelled them. Four German anti-Fascists were carried to the German frontier and given up to the mercies of the paid butchers of Hitler.

Deeply conscious of the enormous importance for the world proletarian youth of the holding of this Conference, the representatives of various organizations and countries participating reassembled in Luxemburg in order to continue the Conference.

The present Conference calls upon the working-class youth of the world to support its protest against the actions of the Dutch bourgeoisie.

Furthermore, the Conference declares that no step, however reactionary, whether taken by the bourgeoisie of Holland or any other country, can prevent it from carrying out its international tasks. And it addresses the following call to the world working-class youth:

Beware of the danger of Fascism!

Fight its abominable demagoguery, and understand its real role as the mercenary hangman of capitalism!

Fascism destroys both the organizations and the social and political rights of the working class. It submits the working class, and especially the youth, to working and living conditions like those of ancient slavery. Fascism intensifies to a high degree the contradictions of the capitalist system and makes possible at any time terrible explosions, destructive wars over whole continents.

It is necessary to see the whole extent of the danger. It is necessary to begin the struggle against these dangers on every sector, and on the basis of the broadest united front.

The undersigned organizations represented at the Conference of Luxemburg therefore propose to all organizations of working class youth, a campaign for:

1. The most relentless ideological and physical struggle against Fascism.
2. Against war, against chauvinist and militarist propaganda, against the militarization of the youth.
3. For the defense of democratic rights of the proletariat and its organizations
4. For reductions in the working hours of proletarian youth without wage cuts.
5. Against forced labor of youth.
6. For the defense of the U.S.S.R. a the workers' State.

EDITORIALS

Organize the Young Workers

Steps are being taken in various industries to organize the youth. The young workers are part of that vast army of unskilled who have never been organized into trade unions. The official trade union movement, the American Federation of Labor, has taken little interest in unionizing young workers. The youth cannot pay high dues rates to support well-paid officials; they are usually too militant, once in a strike struggle, for the conservative trade union leaders who prefer collaboration with the bosses to a militant struggle.

The task of getting the youth into unions is a difficult one. Particularly today, with irregular employment, constant shift of places of work and unemployment, to organize the young workers requires careful planning and concerted efforts. Each industry must be examined; the position of the youth understood; their special needs clearly analysed.

Recently in New York City a Ladies Garment Shipping Clerks Union has been formed. At present it is small. Various radical youth organizations have members within it. The need is a conference of the radical youth organizations of the city to formulate a common program of action in organizing the shipping clerks in this industry. Those groups who can arrive at such a common program of action, and faithfully put it into practice should organize a youth committee for the organization of the young workers. This committee, beginning with the shipping clerks in the ladies garment industry, would then extend its work to the youth in all industries. While it is obvious that a shipping clerks' union should be an integral part of the general union in the industry, it is also necessary that the unskilled youth, who for a while

work in one industry and then in another, be connected by definite organizational ties. The exact forms depend on the success of the joint drive for organization and the ability to get the cooperation of other unions in the city. Similar steps should be taken in other cities.

The comrades of the Spartacus Youth Clubs in the factories should plan their work in building shop committees and unionizing the youth. The Clubs should guide this work with the close aid and cooperation of the local branch of the Communist League. In the factories and shops we can get contact with the mass of employed young workers, win them for the revolutionary youth movement.

This work is exceptionally important today. The virtual collapse of the NRA, the growing strike wave, which only forecasts the struggles of the coming period, make the youth extremely receptive to organization. They can play a tremendous role in these strikes. The youth can be a powerful force in imbuing a militant class struggle spirit in the American trade union movement. It is our task to act now.

We should never forget that in this work, as in all other, we do not play with the interests of the young workers. We do not call spectacular strikes in order to be able to chalk them up to the credit of the S. Y. C's. The work is more serious. The interests of the young workers are the interests of the S. Y. C's.

An indispensable aid in this activity is YOUNG SPARTACUS. Comrades should send in reports on their activities and problems. Through our collective experiences we will be able to arrive at a clear-cut policy for the organization of the young workers.

The Child Labor Amendment

A heated argument rages in the press over the proposed child labor amendment to the United States constitution. The Roosevelt government supports the amendment. It passed Congress on June 2, 1924 by more than the required two-thirds majority vote. Twenty states have already ratified it.

Big business men and professionals have opposed the amendment, "not because they are in favor of child labor" but because it involves "government regulation of the children." What is behind this amendment?

During the past five years of economic crisis, with large scale unemployment, thousands of children were thrown out of jobs. The NIRA codes threw thousands of more kids out of work. However the children employed in street trades, agriculture (particularly beet sugar fields) and in home work were not affected by the NIRA. The present proposed amendment states that: "Congress shall have power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age." This section (despite the unexplainable contrary statements of the Young Communist League) covers youth in all industry and agriculture.

Roosevelt and a section of the boss class favor the amendment for several

reasons: the importance of child labor has decreased; mature labor can be obtained at similar wages; they want to give more employment to adult workers; they want to utilize the present discontent of the workers by throwing them this liberal concession. Other sections of the boss class, viewing the problem from their narrow particular interests, are not ready to give up this fruitful field of exploitation and profits.

But how about the child laborer? It is well-known that even in the industries where child labor has been legalized, they still are working. They do so because their parents are unable to support them. They obtain employment by falsifying their ages. With a very simple result: The child laborer working "illegally" cannot even demand the minimum wages provided by the codes! For the boss holds a club over his head. Through this weapon the bosses have succeeded in reducing the wages of youth in the needle trades and similar industries. If the amendment becomes law this condition will still remain unless enforced by labor organizations. But what will the thousands of children who are thrown out of industry do?

Go to school? How can this be done if all the cities and states cut down on their educational budget, as they have been doing in the past few years! How will the children live? Where will they get their food, clothing and shelter?

This is not provided for. The American labor movement which has for decades fought for the abolition of child labor should raise two additions to the amendment: One, state maintenance of children replaced; two, against the cuts in the school budgets and for the extension of educational facilities. Otherwise the children will become an additional burden on the hands of workers' families.

Dr. Wirt Exposes "Red Plot"

Washington is once again the center of a burlesque. A Congressional committee is investigating the charges made by William A. Wirt, Gary, Indiana school master, of a big "red plot" to overthrow the American government. While William Randolph Hearst and Ralph Easley, prominent red baiters, employ the simple methods of forging documents and quoting the public press of the Communist party—as though only those on the "in" had access to it!—Wirt pulls a new stunt. This time the charge is that members of the "brain trust" are conspiring to overthrow the United States government by sabotaging recovery and increasing the misery of the American people. Wirt charges that these hidden "revolutionists" referred to Roosevelt as the Kerensky who will lead to the Stalin in America. This school teacher does not even know that Lenin, and not Stalin, followed Kerensky in Russia in 1917!

Who are these plotters? For weeks this was a dark secret. Now Wirt names them: Lawrence Todd, Washington correspondence of the Soviet agency, Tass (formerly of the Federated Press) and two women of the Department of Agriculture. The inspirer of this plot is none other than a leading brain-truster, Rexford Guy Tugwell, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture! All of them deny the statements attributed to them.

Poor Tugwell! What ingratitude is shown towards this able economist who is doing all in his powers to save capitalism and prevent a workers' revolution in the United States. Wirt claims that the only conclusion that can be drawn from Tugwell's writings is Revolution. Quite true! Tugwell's analyses of the plight of present day America clearly exposes how capitalism brings misery and starvation to the masses. So do the analyses of the same subject made by Hoover's economic committee, published several years ago! But neither Tugwell nor the authors of the latter aim at this logical conclusion. Their analyses are made in order to save, not destroy, capitalism.

Who is this Dr. Wirt? This ignorant red baiter is one of the heads of a patriotic organization which is devoted to struggling against militant labor, particularly the revolutionary movement. There is little doubt that Wirt is in the pay of the steel interests centered around Gary, Indiana. Since his accusations have been made public he has received wide-spread publicity throughout the country.

Though the present Congressional investigation is a burlesque, the forces behind Wirt cannot be laughed away. In the coming period he may well become the center of red baiters whose real aim is to destroy the labor movement.

A Letter to Youth Organizations

PROVISIONAL NATIONAL COMMITTEE SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB OF AMERICA

126 East 16th Street
New York City

March 26th, 1934

To the National Committee of the Young People's Socialist League, National Executive Committee of the Young Communist League, National Committee of the Student League for Industrial Democracy; National Youth Committee, American Workers Party. Comrades,

At an international conference of revolutionary Socialist and independent Communist youth organizations held at Laren, Holland, Feb. 24, to discuss the tasks of the world working class youth, all the delegates were arrested and deported. Among them were four German comrades, Kurt Liebermann, Franz Bobzien, Hans Goldstein of the Workers Socialist Party and Heinz Hose of the Internationalist Communist League of Germany.

A mighty mass protest must be the reply to the action of the Holland government in turning over the young militants to the Fascist mayor of Laren who delivered them into the hands of the bloody Hitlerites. They are now to face "trial" in the Fascist courts. Their fate is sealed unless we can arouse a powerful world wide movement for their freedom. These comrades are only the latest victims of the barbarous Fascist campaign of persecution and extermination of all working class fighters. Thousands of Socialists and Communists have been killed or imprisoned in concentration camps. The whereabouts of Torgler are unknown. Reports of the recent torture and maltreatment of Ernst Thaelmann, leader of the German Communist Party, should impel us to, without further delay, organize the united working class front for the release of the victims of Hitlerism and against Fascist reaction.

As a step in this direction we propose that a conference be held with two representatives of each of our organizations at which we would consider definite plans for joint action for the freedom of the four German youth, Liebermann, Bobzien, Goldstein and Hose. At this time we will consider the holding

throughout the United States which can involve other youth organizations.

We propose that the conference be held in New York City, Monday evening, April 9. We call upon you to act quickly in this matter and communicate your decisions to our committee.

Fraternally,
JOSEPH CARTER
Secretary

Y. S. CIRCULATION

Up to now the distribution of Y. S. in the various cities has been unorganized. The best system to follow is to divide the city or territory covered by the Club into sections. The youth organizations, places where youth meet or work should be listed. Then the comrades should be assigned to cover these places regularly. If the same comrades go to the places several times they will be able to make intimate contact with the youth. The radical youth groups especially should be covered with the papers. Attempts should be made to place each issue in the local libraries of these organizations.

BUNDLE ORDERS

It is important for the very life of Y. S. that all Clubs and branches of the Communist League pay regularly for their bundles. Since a number of copies are distributed free of charge, a small fund should be established to cover the expenses. Monthly social affairs should be arranged for our paper. SEND IN SUBS!

Subs are coming in—but too slowly. Regularity of publication of Y. S. should give the comrades a good basis for getting subs. The rate of 25c a year is within the reach of almost everybody. Get busy!

YOUNG SPARTACUS

General comment on the March issue was very favorable. The Austrian article was liked by many young Socialists; the C.C.C. reports found good response among young workers first awakening to class consciousness; the story "On the Snow Gang" aroused some discussion—many like it, others thought that we should not take up too much

YOUNG SPARTACUS

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Fascism in America

The Silver Shirts

The triumph of Hitler Fascism in Germany and the bloody suppression of the workers of Austria has strengthened the hands of reaction. The adherents of capitalist barbarism have acquired new courage and are pushing forward everywhere. France is the country next in order where the war between decadent capitalism and the proletariat is to be waged to a finish. How this historic struggle terminates will have profound consequences not only for all of Europe but also for the destinies of the Western hemisphere.

In the United States a number of organizations of a Fascist character have sprung into existence. The working class must be warned of the danger from them. Combined action of all workers' organizations must be initiated to annihilate the pestilent reactionary movement before it assumes serious proportions.

Among these American Fascist organizations is the Silver Legion. This outfit whose headquarters are located in Asheville, North Carolina and whose founder is one William Dudley Pelley, is believed to have a membership of 75,000. The Silver Shirts, as they call themselves, possess a military section similar to the Nazi Storm Troopers, known as the Silver Rangers.

The creation of the Silver Shirts was directly inspired, according to an announcement in its paper, *Liberation*, by the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor of Germany. But more than that. Four years before, Pelley had been mystically instructed that when a certain young house-painter comes to the head of the German people, then that was the time—symbol for bringing the work of Christ Militia into the open. The divine prophecy fulfilled, he launched the Silver Shirts.

The qualifications for membership in the Silver Shirts are:

"If you are eighteen years of age, of reasonably sound health, and not afraid to risk your life and limb for your country, you are asked to take the Oath of Consecration upon you and step out as a TRUE CHRISTIAN SOLDIER, garbed in a shirt of silver with the great scarlet 'L' emblazoned on your banner and over your heart, standing for Love, Loyalty and Liberation."

Like the Nazi hordes in Germany the Silver Shirts are violently anti-Semitic. They disseminate the following wisdom:

The Jews are responsible for the depression.

The President of the United States is the decedent of certain Dutch Jews and was elected to office on campaign contributions generously supplied by Jews.

The Recovery Act was written and sponsored by Jews.

The Silver Shirts enlighten a hoodwinked population with the following information:

"Do you know that the real control of the Federal Reserve System is ninety percent Jewish?"

"Do you know that the same elements that succeeded in capturing control of our Federal Reserve System furnished millions for the overthrowing of the Russian government in the setting up of Sovietism?"

"Do you know that military investigators have discovered that 1,670,000 Russian intelligentsia—gentiles like yourself—have been murdered by the OGPU or Russian Secret Police in order to set up the Soviet State?"

"Do you know that the present NRA was set up by the Jews, foisted on a political administration by the Jews, and that known Communists, war-time Seditious, or affiliates of the nefarious American Civil Liberties Union, are heavily sprinkled throughout NRA officialdom?"

Their paper is filled with such idiotic ravings ad nauseum.

I COVER THE WAR FRONT

BY SPARTACUS

ANNIVERSARY OF U. S. ENTRANCE INTO WORLD WAR

On April 6, 1917, the Democratic Wilson government led this country into the World War. On April 6, 1934, the Democratic Roosevelt government, repeating all the high-sounding peace talk of its forerunner, is arming to the teeth for a new war. In both cases, war preparations are proceeding under the guise of "defense," the need for peace, and the pacifist intentions of the American government.

A mighty array of military forces will parade the streets of all the large, and even small, cities in the country on April 6th. The press, radio, school, church and synagogue are playing thier role in making this event a lasting memory in the minds of the youth. Patriotic talk and more talk will be heard. All efforts are being made to win the youth for the next war.

To counteract this powerful campaign a necessary first step is mass demonstrations against imperialist war and American war preparations. Common demonstrations of all workers' organizations, of all radical youth groups would be the most effective beginning for such a counter-movement.

WILL WAR COME?

This is the question that H. R. Knickerbocker, a well-known American journalist, has discussed in a series of syndicated articles based upon interviews with the leading diplomats of Europe. His answer is clear: War will come. Everything and everybody is ready for it!

But how about the disarmament conferences? Knickerbocker replies: "In the last few months another conviction has become almost unanimous. That is the conviction that disarmament is impossible, that limitation of armaments is improbable and that armament upward is imperative to all."

How well this exposes the dreams of the pacifists!

It seems almost unbelievable that in our vaunted era of civilization, of science, of culture, and advanced industrial technique such bestial and degenerate organizations can exist. But Mussolini's Black Shirts, Hitler's Nazis, and Dollfuss's Heimwehr have taught us the bitter realities of the world in which we live. Capitalism in its moribund stage produces horrible monstrosities.

Here in so-called democratic United States the bloodhounds of dark capitalist reaction may be unleashed to tear to pieces the workers' organizations sooner than we expect. They are already actively gathering their forces. The need of the hour is the united front of workers' organizations against the common danger.

(Ed. Note: The coming issues of YOUNG SPARTACUS will contain more articles on Fascism in the United States.)

FASCIST GERMANY REARMS

Hitler is not far behind the other capitalist governments in rearming. Since he took power he has secretly and openly increased his military forces, sped up the production of munitions, organized for war. Though this was in violation of the Versailles Treaty (signed at the end of the World War) nobody has taken any action against it.

Recently the German government made public its military budget for the year 1934-35. This provides for a substantial increase of funds for military purposes. Why? Officially, for "defense"!

INCREASED PROFITS FOR MUNITION PRODUCERS

Who gains from wars? Who profits from re-armament? These questions are again answered in the recent report of the chairman of one of the largest munition firms of the world, Vickers, Ltd of England. In the past year, substantial increases in demand for light tanks, anti-aircraft equipment and other war material resulted in a big increase of profits for the share-holders of Vickers, Ltd.

Who buys this material? The report is silent—it is a secret! In "democratic" countries armaments are exported to countries without public notice. The munition companies are impartial as to whom they sell.

The chairman of Vickers, Ltd, in his report "could give no assurance that the company's munitions were not secretly being used for the rearmament of Germany and Austria, but 'nothing is done without the complete sanction of the British government.'" (New York Times, March 27, 1934).

Such sales are in violation of the Versailles Treaty (signed at the conclusion of the World War). But why should a treaty be an obstacle to the capitalist barons making profits? On the contrary, if Germany and Austria rearm in defiance of a treaty, then France England, Italy, the United States can use this as a pretext to increase their war materials. The munition producers are organized into an international ring. If the French buy armaments from firms in their own country, the English companies are not hurt. Just the opposite: They start a campaign for greater armaments for the British government—for "defense"!

The "old army game" undoubtedly got its name from this armament racket!

WHY COMPLAIN, SENATOR NYE?

Senator Nye of South Dakota, in speaking of his resolution for an investigation of the "propagandizing activities" of American armament producers, stated that such an inquiry would show "that American manufacturers of war implements resort to the same practices as European gun makers whose machinations have shocked the world. It will show that many a South American re-

volution has been deliberately fomented to make business for factories in this country."

Why the complaint, Senator Nye? After all, we are living under a system where profits are the driving force of man—and who is strong enough to resist the temptation of big profits at such an easy game as fomenting wars and "revolutions"?

WAR OVER CHACO

The war between the two small South American countries, Paraguay and Bolivia over Chaco, still rages. Behind this conflict stand the mighty imperialist powers, the United States and England, in support of their respective oil magnates. However, the munition firms of England are supplying both sides of the fight! Although there are no available facts, it would not be surprising if American munition producers are doing likewise!

JAPAN IN THE FAR EAST

Cautiously consolidating its strength in China, Japan is making overtures to the United States so as to make it neutral in case of a Japanese-Soviet war in the Far East. The plans of the Japanese military leaders are twofold: first, to fight the Soviet Union—with America as an impartial observer—and then settling its score with the United States for supremacy in the Pacific. We must not be fooled by the present stalemate in the Far East.

BRITISH QUESTION BERLIN

"Alarmed" at the rapid and open rearmament of Germany—which British concerns have aided heavily—the English government has made "inquiries of the German government on the subject." Why this sudden fright? The recent military budget of Hitler was hardly unexpected—particularly to the British rulers!

Two obvious reasons for the inquiry are: To give the appearance of being for peace, and as an excuse to increase the British military expenditures. Already Prime Minister MacDonald has announced that the government is considering an increase of its air force!

New C.C.C. Camps Open

Twenty new sites have been granted to New York State for additional Civil Conservation Corps Camps. This is a part of the enlargement of the project on a country wide scale. There are about 1500 camps in the country. Of this number, including the twenty cites just added 66 are in this state.

The enrollment which is going on at present is to refill the 300,000 quota. Half of the 14,000 enrolled in New York State are to come from the metropolitan area. Only those who have never been in the Conservation Corps and whose families are in need of relief will be eligible for enlistment.

In a few words all this means that at the end of October, when the term of the present enlistment period ends, there will be close to a million youth who have at one time or another passed through this huge machine which the boss class has set up to grind out its cannon fodder for the coming war.

WRITE FOR Y. S.

Practically all the articles in recent issues of our paper were written by New York comrades. To make Y. S. a national paper we need more reports and articles from the other cities. How about it?

Prepare for war by joining the Spartacus Youth Clubs!

OUT IN MAY!

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Young Workers, Mobilize Against Bosses' War Plans

The danger of a new world war is growing at an ever-increasing pace. The last world war has shown that the capitalist system is no longer progressive, that it can no longer serve the needs of humanity, that it can only bring about further destruction and more widespread misery to the masses. The robber system, under which a few own all the means of life, is ripe to be overthrown and replaced by a new order. The war of 1914 did not solve any of the problems of the world, it did not and could not bring about the establishment of democracy and everlasting peace. On the contrary, it carried in its wake further ruin and poverty for the great masses of the world, the crushing and ruthless suppression of these masses in revolt and at the same time increased the wealth and power of the classes at the other pole.

In the fifth year of deep crisis, the world is once more confronted with the prospects for a new war. The capitalists have found themselves in a blind alley. Every capitalist country is looking for an outlet for the products which the poverty-stricken population at home cannot buy. Each country competes with the others by means of tariffs, restricting imports, lowering prices and manipulating the currency. When these methods are tried, and fail, there is only one escape left for them: War. To take by force that which they cannot get by more "peaceful" methods—this is the scheme of every national capitalist group. Only in this way can they redivide the markets for their greater exploitation.

That this is the way the wind is blowing is seen by the general slogan of preparedness which the capitalists of all countries are adopting. Japan has set aside 44% of her national income for war purposes. Germany is openly rearming and her Fascists have raised all the nationalistic prejudices to a pitch. And under our eyes, the United States has set aside over a billion dollars for war purposes. "We" are to construct a navy "second to none." Plans have been made for the building of some 95 new warships, over a thousand bombing planes. In the C.C.C. the youth are being trained to that discipline required by war. These are preparations—not for peace—but for war! Every tool of the capitalists, the press, the schools, and the church are coming to the fore in their characteristic roles to prepare the minds of the working class and especially the youth for the next war.

WORKERS' RUSSIA AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

Only one country has shown how to do away with capitalist crisis and capitalist warfare. This is the Soviet Union, where under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the working class has wrested the power from its rulers and set up the dictatorship of the proletariat. Despite the destructive actions of the Stalinist leaders which has weakened the Soviet Union, it is the beacon light of the world proletariat, a deadly menace to the world exploiting class. The example set by the Russian working class inspires workers in all countries, but throws terror into the hearts of the masters who are constantly looking for excuses to destroy this mighty fortress of world communism. On one side, Japan, who has marched into and taken Manchuria, is waiting for the opportune moment to strike. The victory of Fascism in Germany, added to the general hostile environment in the Soviets find themselves, has greatly increased the danger of war against the workers' fatherland. Hitlerism cannot solve the problems of German economy which is overripe for the workers' re-

volution. In order to still the fears of the other nations caused by the nationalism and expansionism of his movement, Hitler is offering to become the center of the world crusade against the Russian revolution. The crushing of the German and Austrian working class, the tightening up of the French bourgeoisie, the spread of Fascism in all the European countries—all this has strengthened the side of reaction and weakened the working class power of resistance. The Soviet Union is in danger! No matter what the direct cause of the coming war will be, no matter whether it starts directly against the Soviet Union or first as a scramble among the imperialist thieves for a greater share in the ever-shrinking market, the capitalists will not miss the opportunity to fire at Soviet Russia. It is the duty of every worker, of every person interested in peace, to come to the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union.

THE ROAD OF STRUGGLE

Modern wars are the direct outgrowth of capitalism; they are a continuation of capitalist politics by violent means. To struggle against war, one must at the same time wage a merciless and relentless struggle against capitalism. The only class really capable of doing so is the working class. This class derives no benefit from imperialist warfare, it gains nothing but untold misery and suffering as a result. It is the only class which on an international scale is capable of successfully destroying capitalism. It must therefore, be the leader in the struggle against war.

The working class must exert all its energy to avert the coming bloody

slaughter. The growth of working class solidarity, aggressive action for immediate demands, for higher wages, for shorter working hours, for relief will constitute a threat to those who are preparing us for the battlefield. The ruling classes do not fear anything more than they fear the rise of the slaves. Especially during wartime do they fear this revolt. It is our task to make it more difficult for the imperialists to start their war.

Our struggle against war does not cease once the war is declared. On the contrary, it is precisely then that we must intensify our efforts and bring the capitalist system to its grave. We categorically reject the slogan of "defense of the fatherland" as was issued during the last war by the Socialists. The working class has no fatherland in the capitalist world and it cannot come to the defense of its arch enemies. Our struggle against them does not cease when they play their most bestial and murderous role. The class struggle goes on before, during and after the war. Any slogan which tends to bridge the gap between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is nothing short of outright betrayal.

Also the slogan of disarmament can have no other effect than to mislead the working class into believing that peace is possible under capitalism. The failure of the League of Nations, as well as the collapse of every peace conference called by the imperial powers have proven that there can be no disarming. The capitalist system is maintained through the use of various degrees of force which is applied both to suppress

the toiling masses and for imperialist conquests. Capitalism without armaments is as conceivable as capitalism without capitalists.

Once war is declared, the working class must bend all its efforts to force the speediest possible conclusion. The most effective method of doing this is to prepare and actually overthrow the masters at home who make war. The working class—by conducting anti-war strikes, by boycotts, by refusing to ship munitions and the soldiers and sailors—by fraternizing with the workers in the opposing trenches—can together so weaken their own imperialists that it will become impossible to continue the war and possible for the proletariat to overthrow them.

This must be the working class answer to imperialist war. With our last bit of strength to oppose this war—but to support every war waged by an oppressed colonial nation against an oppressor and the war waged by the working class against oppressors.

PREPAREDNESS—AGAINST WAR

In order to make good our threats against the bourgeoisie, we must begin now—while there is yet time—to build a movement against war. The united front is the means through which we can reach the broadest layers of the working class. The united front is made up of organizations which have fundamental disagreements (if they all agreed fundamentally, there would be no need for united front). Just as we cannot unite with pacifists and Socialists in the struggle against capitalism in general because the differences are too great to be tied over, so we cannot unite with them against war in general, which is the most concentrated manifestation of capitalist exploitation. We can, however, unite with them on certain concrete and specific issues of capitalism and war, such as strike actions, protest demonstrations, stopping of munition shipments to warring countries, struggle against the militarization of youth for capitalist purposes. In the factories—for better conditions, for higher wages, for the right to organize freely, against company unionism. In the C.C.C. and in the schools,—against military training, against expulsion of the militant students, for freedom of speech.

For this movement a well-organized, courageous revolutionary leadership is of paramount importance. Such a leadership can be supplied only by a Communist party which will lead the workers in every phase of the class struggle. The collapse of the Communist International and its national sections necessitates the building of new parties for the working class. This is the task of the moment. All our efforts are in this direction.

At the same time a great task falls upon the Spartacus Youth Clubs. It is up to us to build a powerful Communist youth movement in this country, and internationally as well, so that there will be forces enough to defend communism and to spread it and in this way organize, educate and prepare the working class youth in its struggle against war.

War is on the order of the day. Not only Europe, but the entire world is an armed camp, each country waiting for that little spark which will start the huge and destructive fire. Preparedness has become the slogan of every capitalist country. Preparedness—against war—must become the slogan of the working class, especially the youth—preparedness against war and against capitalism!

Anti-Militarist Sub-Committee, National Committee, Spartacus Youth Clubs of America.

French Workers Resist Reaction

Only a few days before the Austrian working class heroically defended itself against the onslaught of Fascism, the French workers stormed the Chamber of Deputies in an anti-government demonstration. Beginning with a demonstration of royalist and Fascist groups before the Chamber, the protest mounted until it had involved the entire Parisian working class. Daladier, then the French premier, ordered the militia to fire on the demonstrators. A short time later Daladier resigned—making way for the arch-reactionary Doumergue.

The immediate cause of the stirring events was the disclosure of the Stavisky affair. A pawn-broker, Stavisky, had organized a gigantic apparatus for the swindling of workers and hard pressed middle class people, with the assistance of high government officials. The royalists in organizing a protest against the corrupt government, did so with the aim of forcing their way into government leadership. However, the workers' resentment went beyond the Stavisky scandal. It embraced the increasing oppression of the French masses under the blows of a crisis in French and world capitalism: wage cuts for workers, falling prices for farmers, opposition from the big monopolies for the lower middle classes. Again, on February 12th, they demonstrated in a general strike against Fascism.

Future issues of YOUNG SPARTACUS will contain further material on the World Youth Conference. The declaration of principles of the International Communist Youth and the programmatic resolution of the conference itself will be included. It is imperative that all this material be seriously discussed by the Spartacus Youth Clubs and popularized among the radical youth.

Of all the groups, that which gained most from the rioting in France was the growing Fascist movement. Doumergue, the present premier, is preparing the way for the complete fascisization of France. He has always been known as an ardent enemy of Communism and the Soviet Union. This means both increased suppression of the workers in France and speedier preparation for an anti-Soviet war. Even before Doumergue, millions were spent in military preparations for a war against Germany, whose capitalist interests conflict with those of French capitalism, or for a war against Soviet Russia, while the impoverished workers starved. Militarization will now go forward with unchecked strides.

But the French workers will not yield to Fascism without a struggle. That they have already demonstrated. The traditions of revolution in France as well as the general strike of February 12th, show how its workers will fight. Yes, they will fight—but to do so successfully they need organization. The existing Communist Party and the Socialist Party have displayed their inability to lead the workers against Fascism in Germany, in Austria, and in France. Both of them are holding the workers back from action. Only our comrades who are now working for the creation of a new Communist Party and Young Communist League, sections of the Fourth International and new Communist International of Youth, can lead in the battle against Fascism, and lead to revolution. Our comrades fought valiantly in the struggles of a few weeks ago. They have called for the formation of Soviets. They have pointed out that a dictatorship of the proletariat in France would mean the crushing of Hitler, Dolfuss and every other Fascist or near Fascist influence. The fate of the French proletariat, the fate of the workers of the world, lies in the building of new Communist parties, the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

Crisis Hits Schools *Pelle the Conqueror* by M. A. Nexo At the Movies

"Schools and the Crisis" by Rex David. International Pamphlets No. 39. International Publishers—10c.

Factual information as to the economic status of the student, teacher and school system before and during the crisis, is sadly lacking. To the extent that Rex David supplies that need, his pamphlet is highly commendable. Scattered accounts covering this or that specific points have appeared in the past. But David has attempted to unite all the material, so far as it is available, into the single pamphlet.

Education, as everything else, has been severely affected by the crisis. In fact, it has been hit harder than a good many things. During the period covered by 1930-1934, expenditures per child, for the whole United States, decreased from \$90.22 to \$66.53. Similarly, teachers' salaries have declined, in some cases as much as 55%. And, characteristically enough for our democratic United States, those who bear the burden of the restrictions on education are the negroes. Negro teachers have received the greatest salary cuts. Appropriations for negro schools have been cut most. At present the capitalists are preparing for further limitations on free education.

David makes a correct point when he states that the vast majority of the high school and college students come from the well-to-do middle classes. He does, however, fail to take cognizance of the fact that there is an increase in the number of working-class students, in the big cities at any rate, as a result of the exclusion of the youth from industry. Even were this change in the composition of the students widespread it would hardly justify the organization of separate student organizations such as David supports (National Student League) to meet the offensive against education. Precisely because the students are predominantly middle class in origin is separate organization wrong, in the opinion of this reviewer. The Communists in the schools have to teach these students communism, and the planning for that can only be done by functioning fractions of the Communist youth organization. This does not mean that students cannot be mobilized into temporary organization for mass action against militarization and retrenchment in education. (Incidentally, we notice that the name of comrade Yetta Barshefsky, an active member of the Chicago Spartacus Youth Club and one of the students expelled from Crane Junior College for urging students to strike against the failure to pay the teachers, is misspelled. Not that it really matters.) These qualifications on student organization do not of course apply to the teachers. David summarizes the progress of unionization in the ranks of the teachers.

Finally, the program of action suggested in the pamphlet is fairly adequate for the organization of students and teachers in militant action, though it is a mistake to omit a plank on war preparations in the schools. While David's pamphlet is a good start, it necessarily suffers from the attempt to cover a broad subject in a small work, and from the scarcity of information. A larger work on the entire subject, or smaller comprehensive surveys of the subordinate sections is now in order.

"Pelle the Conqueror" by Martin Andersen Nexo

Pelle is a novel that will interest every class conscious worker. It is a "labor" novel—telling the story of a Danish Social Democrat and trade unionist—his boyhood on a farm, his early youth as a shoemaker's apprentice, his struggles in the city of Copenhagen as a leader of the proletariat and finally his "solution" of the worker's problem. The story is coincident with the progressive tradition of the Second (Socialist) International, i.e., the last decade of the 1800's and the years immediately following the turn of the 20th century.

The first two books, "Boyhood" and "Apprenticeship" have been well described by one reviewer as "The Iliad of the poor." The books indeed possess the grandeur of the Greek classic. The vivid and broad depiction of the struggles and psychology of the masses—of those who submit humbly to their lot as "the will of God"—of those who understand how they are exploited and robbed by the rich,—and consequently rebel—of wives who betray their husbands, of children whose lives are destroyed before they have begun—of the contempt of the sons of the rich for the shabby and noble working class youth—of those few who rise above their class and become through some psychological process its fiercest exploiters; all these varicolored impressions of his class does Pelle gain in his boyhood and early youth. His intelligent, fertile mind and noble heart profit by these experiences to aid him in the struggle for his class, the class he loves.

It is in "The Great Struggle" that Pelle begins his conscious struggle as a leader of the Danish working class. Pelle is a true leader; he is courageous and forceful, an excellent strike strategist; he inspires confidence and love in the masses. With no theoretic knowledge at all, he arrives through experience at many of the fundamental truths of socialism. The class struggle teaches him international solidarity and the meaning of patriotism. Listen to this: "There were all sorts of things that they (the workers) could understand now. People used to go about saying that the Germans were the hereditary enemy. . . . But now the employers were sending to Germany for troops of hirelings, and were employing them to drive their own countrymen into a state of poverty. All that talk about patriotic feeling had been only fine words! There were only two nations—the oppressors and the oppressed!"

The most exciting part of the book is the great lockout of the workers in the basic industries of Copenhagen, involving almost half a million workers.

The wily bosses had forced this lockout at a strategic moment—after a critical winter of bitter cold, hunger and widespread unemployment. Union funds were low. The morale of the workers seemed to be broken. Now with the advent of the busy Spring season the bosses decided to deliver the smashing blow against the "damned union" by declaring the general lockout. But they reckoned without the inexhaustible courage of the proletariat in the fight to the death.

Pelle's brilliant leadership of the strike is marvelous. Every strike-breaker is looked after personally. The working class districts are scoured for relief—the aid of the petty shopkeepers is enlisted. Courageous bulletins are constantly issued. Appeals for international solidarity and aid from workers in other lands are made. The children of the strikers are sent out to the country to the homes of sympathetic farmers. Finally, in sheer desperation, the bosses lock the "blacklegs" (scabs) into the factories so that the strikers cannot get at them. How Pelle succeeds in getting to the locked-in workers (as they are grimly called by the locked-out workers) and pulled them out—this dealing the death blow to the lockout—is too exciting for me to give away. It is as thrilling as the proverbial murder thriller. But Pelle doesn't escape the forces of "law and order." He is framed and sent to prison for several years.

The conclusion is disappointing and a distinct let-down. Pelle becomes a co-optivist. He will peacefully evolve into a state that is just for the workers if they organize their own little business enterprises in opposition to the capitalists and share equally. What a pitiable ending! It so happens, by the way, that Pelle is enabled to do this because he makes friends with an eccentric old millionaire who gets a big kick out of supplying him with unlimited capital for his business, so that Pelle can set up a shoestore with a few comrades. But how many eccentric old Moneybags are running around loose? And even if Pelle has a shoestore, what of it? The masses of unemployed still stand outside his door in their broken shoes "because they can't afford to buy new ones." If Pelle's shoestore were to become a threat to private capital, couldn't it crush him like an egg, as it has crushed more formidable competitors? The history of the Social Democracy is thus embodied in the story of Pelle—its progressive and its reactionary role. But Nexo has probed too deep for such a shallow conclusion. I feel, and hope, that this will be as clear to every worker who reads "Pelle the Conqueror" as it is to the revolutionist.

—MIMI DANIELS.

"Massacre" is no masterpiece of cinematic art. It has a plot that is distinctly Hollywood. It has nothing unusual to offer by way of photography or technique. But, though it hasn't that intention, it presents a clear picture of the exploitation to which the Indian is subjected.

The story is wound around Chief Thunderhorse, a World's Fair attraction, who left the Indian reservation many years before. Thunderhorse, played by Richard Barthelmess, learns that his father is near death and leaves Chicago to see him. At the Indian reservation he learns, slowly, how the white government officials have been consistently cheating the Indians of their land, their rights and everything else of any value. White religion and law are used to keep the Indians in a state of terror and starvation.

Eventually Thunderhorse's father dies. At the funeral ceremony the undertaker who has overcharged about one hundred times for a coffin and burial plot, and who is working hand in hand with the government agent and a degenerate doctor, rapes Thunderhorse's little sister. Thunderhorse kills the undertaker, is arrested and given a mock trial. With the aid of an Indian girl, played by Ann Dvorak, he escapes and makes his way to Washington while the police hunt for him. In Washington the official in charge of Indian affairs says that he is powerless to act. Utility and other interests live on the exploitation of the Indian. Contracts for projects of which the Indian has no use must be given to contractors in payment for political favors. Of course they agree to fight together and the picture ends with the triumph of the New Deal.

Thus, while the picture has as its aim the glorification of the New Deal attitude toward the Indian and the bravery of Chief Thunderhorse, it does nothing more than expose the miserable manner in which the Indians are treated, and the reason for it.

European Youth Defend Deported Austrians

In a number of European countries the movement for the release of the four youth deported to Fascist Germany by the Holland government is well under way. In England the initiative has been taken by the Independent Labour Party and the I. L. P. Guild of Youth. In Paris, several weeks ago a mass protest meeting with over 650 attending was held by a joint committee of our comrades of the Leninist Youth League, the Socialist Youth League, the Socialist student group and the Youth of Proletarian Unity. In Holland efforts are being made to arouse the workers in defense of the German comrades.

In this entire movement, the official "Young Communist Leagues" are standing aside. They cannot participate in a genuine movement against Fascism—because the "Trotskyites" are involved! The lives of these comrades and the victims of Hitlerism whom they symbolize means nothing to these self-styled "revolutionaries." Despite this disgraceful conduct, this movement will go forward!

The Soviet Union
and the
4th International

by
LEON TROTSKY

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PLAY BALL

The most popular American sport, big league baseball, will officially open its 1934 season on April 17th. The teams of the National and the American Leagues have just finished their spring training. The close fight of the Giants and the Senators in last year's world series aroused great interest. Bill Terry, proud manager of the victorious Giants, was hailed everywhere as the hero of the year.

At the beginning of each season baseball fans are on the look-out for some new recruit. This year twenty-one year old Harland Clift of the Boston Browns, Roger Hornsby's new find, is already being compared to Fred Lindstrom of the Giants. Lindstrom is remembered as the youth of nineteen who played a sensational ball game in the 1924 series. From obscurity he became after a few games a full-fledged star. As third baseman and batter he outranked the veterans of the game. Clift is likewise a third baseman, a fast runner and a hard hitter. Whether he will duplicate Lindstrom's record is yet to be seen.

Song For Courage

Rouse from hovel, break the prison,
Eyes alight and voices gay—
Behold! the splendid sun is risen,
And the clouds dissolve away!
Wakened giant! cry defiant
Truth to turn resolve to steel!
Truth to keep our spirits buoyant
While we rise beneath the Heel!

Now our goal draws nearer—nearer,
Carried on the destin'd flood;
And our vision ever clearer,
Tinted crimson with our blood!
Spite of trouble, strife redouble,
Once and ever smash the Lie—
Once and ever break the bubble!
Hope ahead and courage high!

Children! fill the world with singing:
"Martyrs did not fall in vain."
Everywhere the message bringing:
"IT MUST NEVER BE AGAIN!"
Crush the Hessian! Down oppression!
Rise! and breathe no more with pain!
Rise and give your joy expression:
"It can never be again!"
—QUENTIN PARKER.

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National Strike Wave Defies Roosevelt's N. R. A.

A wave of strikes that may become the greatest in the history of the United States is now spreading. Roosevelt and his NRA machinery are working day and night to stem the tide of working class movements. These faithful servants of the bosses do not spare themselves in their efforts to hand over the workers, bound and gagged, to the boss class. General Johnson, fearing a tremendous series of strikes that will shake capitalism to its roots, is bringing every power to bear upon the workers in order to beat them into line.

Detroit Auto Strike

Thousands of workers in one of the major industries of the U. S. threatened to strike. Compelled by the movement of the auto workers towards unionization, the American Federation of Labor entered the field and proceeded to organize the men. The struggle against the bosses centered around the question of union recognition. The auto manufacturers had set up their own little company union, that is a union functioning under the direct control of the bosses. To attract the workers away from organizing themselves into powerful unions, they offered some slight wage increases.

However, the workers were not to be fooled. They realized that the strength of their position lay in the strength of their organization. No sooner had they indicated their desire to strike than Washington, the bosses and the A. F. of L. officials got busy. True to its role the A. F. of L. fakers acted as though they were representing the interests of the workers, who were exerting pressure on them, while they were actually betraying those interests in dickerings with the bosses. Instead of calling the strike, instead of relying on the power of the workers to win union recognition, they relied on Roosevelt and Johnson. Green, Collins and the rest of the A. F. of L. misleaders knew very well that a successful strike in the machine industry would be an encouraging signal to workers in other trades to follow the example set by the mechanics. So zealous were these "labor representatives" in betraying the workers that the capitalist press comments that the agreement they signed strikes a blow at the A. F. of L.

WORLD YOUTH MEET

(Continued from page 1)

ion, the war hysteria and the traitorous Socialist leaders, who inspired the movement for the Young Communist International.

The future of this movement depends above all on the development of the Communist-Internationalist youth organizations. Through strenuous efforts we succeeded in sending comrade Al Glotzer as our delegate to the Conference. We have been repayed by his excellent work there in hammering out a sound revolutionary program. The Spartacus Youth Clubs must bend all efforts to continue this work.

The present period is no less trying and difficult than that of 1915. Reaction is growing throughout the world, including the United States. Let us consolidate our forces, popularize the Luxemburg conference, participate in the organization of the youth in the factories and in the schools, build a united front movement against Fascism and imperialist war. Self-education and clarity will be the result of this activity. With determined will and boundless faith in our future we will go forward to a revolutionary youth international which will inspire the youth and win them for working class revolution.

(For a more detailed report of the International Youth Conference see the *Militant* of March 24, 1934).

Roosevelt's masterly plan was to set up an arbitration board of three—one representing labor, one representing the manufacturers, one representing the government. Professor Wolman, the latter of the three and chairman of the board, proved himself fit for the job by serving the bosses in other strikes. The open shop is maintained. The company union is given legal sanction. All the workers got was a promise to rehire those who had been fired for union activities. What promises mean in cases like this is well known in labor history—nothing.

Thus instead of a strike hitting the bosses in the peak of the season and giving inspiration to other workers, a temporary lull has set in. Strikers in the Budd plant have returned to work. Senator Wagner, believing this a proof that workers can be fooled easily and permanently, wrote into his Unemployment Insurance Bill a provision for company unions. But it is Wagner and the bosses who will be fooled. The working class once it starts moving is too great a force to be stopped by fake agreements.

Taxi Strike

Rarely has a more militant fight than that put up by the cab drivers of New York been seen. Coming only shortly after a general strike in the industry,

4,500 drivers in the Parmelee System struck for union recognition. This in a few days involved the majority of the taxi drivers in New York. Just as in the first strike Mayor LaGuardia tried to appear as the champion of the strikers. This time he was not very successful. The strikers learned early that the police were far from being their friends. They also learned that, while the companies might criticize the Mayor he, nevertheless was proposing measures that would injure their cause. For example, LaGuardia and Golden, head of the regional labor board, proposed a conciliation board on which the strikers would have their representative, whereas the companies would have their own men plus those of the company unions, plus those of the government.

To win a strike scabs must be treated as scabs. The militancy which the cab men displayed in carrying out this task called forth the horror of the capitalist press. Much less attention was given to the brutality of LaGuardia's police. The heroic battle that they have put up twice in one month was an inspiration to other workers. They ought to remember their experiences. It may be necessary to accept a somewhat unfavorable agreement today. But only in the manner which they have demonstrated can they accomplish their aims. They have to and will stick to their

union. They have to and will repeat their struggle.

Minor Strikes

The entire issue could be devoted to a mere recitation of strikes that are occurring all over the United States. Longshoremen in San Francisco are on the verge of strike. The shipyards in Camden, New Jersey,—where the ships for the U. S. navy are being built—have struck. The railroad workers may strike against a proposed wage-cut and for a wage increase. A strike situation is developing in the soft coal fields. Smaller strikes are spreading all over the country. In all those where youth are employed in the industry they are the most active fighters. NRA mediators are trying to "conciliate" the conflict between worker and boss.

An unexampled opportunity is present in these strikes for the work of revolutionists. The militant workers must be organized in those unions which have the majority of the workers in order to lead the fight against the agents of the boss class, Green and Co., and to lead the workers in the great struggles that are now brewing.

Students Strike Against War

NEW YORK CITY, April 13.—A militant expression of the anti-war sentiment of the students of this city was expressed today by the one hour strike the students assembled near their high schools and colleges in response to the call of the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy.

Despite police interference, the demonstrations showed that the students are alert to the growing danger of war. To convert this healthy sentiment into definite organizational channels is the task of the Spartacus Youth comrades in the schools. The revolutionary position on war must be brought to the attention of the students. Through the existing student organizations they should present the Marxist program of struggle and propose further united action of all student groups on the basis of a common minimum program.

The students can become allies of the working class or of reaction and Fascism. Which it shall be depends to a large extent on our work in the schools.

war can it be on the part of Japan, when she has already dismembered China, entrenched herself in Manchuria, and is plotting against the Soviet Union? Or perhaps England is afraid of being attacked by India? Or any other imperialist power, Italy, France, Germany—against whom precisely are they "defending" themselves? Defensive war—bosh! One more imperialist bugaboo to make us forget our hunger, so as not to see the capitalists running for markets exploit. China, you see is still undivided. And in the Soviet Union the capitalists do not have a free hand. A workers government, that's what they fear! That's what they want to attack! Fear of revolution, yes! Against the fatherland of the workers, the Soviet Union—and for that they will be ready to sink all their differences, these patriotic "fathers of the country."

BUT the other side of the picture of war is REVOLUTION. Lenin said: turn the imperialist war into a civil war. And Trotsky said: Bolshevism is the method of teaching the proletariat the art of insurrection. Exactly! To concretize that, to apply it against our own bourgeoisie, that is the problem, the duty of the revolutionary youth movement.

Speed Up Munitions Production

War is coming. Preparations for the coming war are being laid by our bosses. If you do not believe that, just look at "our own" country, the business our government is giving to "our" industrialists:

Sperry-Gyroscope Co. received orders from U. S. Navy amounting to \$743,000. This was an additional order to the one they had already received from the Army for searchlights to the amount of \$2,015,900.

Glenn-Martin Aircraft Plant in Dundalk, Md., has just received an order from our Navy for 52 planes of the new type of bombing plane. This plane will have the speed of 210 miles an hour and be able to carry two tons of explosives. Planes have instruments to control the dropping of the bombs in all weather. And this company, let us not forget, which employs 1,700 workers, gives them the grand wage of 40 cents an hour.

The Army ordered 450 cars from Chrysler, and the War Department has a contract with General Motors Co. for \$254,473, for 386 trucks and 123 station wagons to be used in connection with its program to motorize the field artillery units in the National Guard.

We do not have to go far to see signs of war in the air, just take a walk to 1 Bethene Place, N.Y.C., to Aerial Machine Co. and you will see how busy they are on the order from the Navy to manufacture 1,000 machine gun parts. We might add that 50 to 75% of all orders of United Aircraft, Wright Aeronautical Co., Wright-Curtis Corp. are orders for military purposes. (Or perhaps you thought the recent flight to Hawaii was just a pleasure—or even impartially scientific flight? No, Japan understood it as a war gesture, and such it was.)

Yes, indeed, why the rush? Why has the Pressed Steel Co. of West Atlis, Wis. changed from manufacture of beer barrels (and we thought that was supposed to bring us prosperity!) to production of torpedoes? And why the installation of mechanical appliance to increase production of torpedoes from 100 a day to 4,000! Why does Chase Brass & Copper foundry of Bridgeport, Conn. employ three shifts a day? Formerly they used to make ash trays, now they

make heavier pieces, designed to fit the end of guns.

Why, though business is slow, has the Columbian Enamelling and Stamping Co. installed a new monster automatic furnace, construction cost of \$48,000, which, aided by chain conveyer, has eliminated three crews of workers and two whole departments (perhaps to help the over 11 million unemployed!)? One guess: THAT PLANT CAN BE CONVERTED OVERNIGHT TO MANUFACTURE WAR MATERIALS simply by changing dies or presses, as was the case in 1917, to produce helmets and trench implements.

Not only are the capitalists preparing another slaughter of the masses by the preparations, but IDEOLOGICALLY. Schwab, the \$1. a year man, who made millions in steel (the U. S. Steel Corp. in 1916 made 363% of its net 1911 earnings!) and his sons do not have to worry about the next war. But we will have to shed our blood for their millions. So they must be very careful to have us doped, to have us fight in the war for patriotism to our country. Just note how they instill discipline and obedience to the capitalist government in the C.C.C. camps. Note the R.O.T.C. and note that though it is "voluntary" and you have a right to object to it, the students who were expelled from C.C.N.Y. for demonstrating against it haven't yet been reinstated. And, of course, Secretary Wallace tells us that the men were really happy during the war for they did not have to worry about food, shelter or clothing. He forgot to mention your chance of coming out alive—out of 65,000,000 in the war 58% were either killed or wounded!

WHY WAR PREPARATIONS?

Why all these measures of "defense"? who is going to attack us? What kind of defensive war is it going to be, when our government, in addition to exploiting the millions here, is exploiting more thousands of workers in the territory we have annexed outright, or have a virtual protectorate over: Haiti, Cuba, Hawaii, Porto Rico, Philippine Island, Guam, Samoa, Panama, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, Virgin Islands and Alaska, not to mention the "spheres of influence" in China? Or what kind of "defensive"