

clarity! action! Young Spartacus

Published Monthly by the Spartacus Youth League of the United States

Vol. 4, No. 4

NEW YORK, AUGUST 1935

PRICE THREE CENTS

New Youth Sop Menaces Labor

War Is Certain As Black-Shirts Muster Troops

Abyssinian Venture Heralds New Carnage

By FRANCESCO

Once more the stage is set for the drama which has divided Africa and Asia among the sub-imperialist robbers in the last century. This time it is Italy preparing to devour one of the last independent states in Africa—Ethiopia.

Already over 500,000 Italian workers have been sent to Italian Somaliland and Eritrea in preparation for war. Manufactures of armaments and war materials are increasing daily in Italy. The entire Italian population has been agitated to a high pitch of patriotism to "avenge la patria." In short, war is imminent, Il Duce is resolute. Although the division of backward territories by advanced capitalist nations is an old story, the history of Ethiopia is unique.

For years Ethiopia has been the desire of the Italian ruling class. As early as 1896 Italy attempted to ensnare the black state only to meet defeat at the hands of Menelek II and his followers. In 1906, in the tripartite treaty signed by France, England and Italy, each nation had selected a healthy slice of Ethiopia for itself. France was allowed her concession—the only railroad in Ethiopia from Addis Ababa to Gibuti. England wanted the territory of Lake Tsana with its plentiful water supply for cot-

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Spartacus Fights Pacifism at Detroit Meeting of AYC

The American Youth Congress, a successful attempt at the mutilation of the Leninist united front tactic, held its second national convention in Detroit, Michigan on July 4, 5, 6 and 7. The congress opened with the singing at an outdoor mass meeting, attended by 2,000, of "America." In consideration of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, ten o'clock mass was arranged at which Reverend Ward preached a delightful and most interesting sermon.

This second convention was characterized principally by its moving to the right of the New York congress (August, 1934) and the Washington "plenum" (January, 1935). Having completed its gradual capitulation to pacifism, the congress was no longer dignified by a reluctant opposition to IMPERIALIST war. Resolutions congruous with revolutionary spirit were supplanted entirely by the slogans of the pacifists. Thus, at last, the congress came out flat-footed for a program of national and internal social harmony, and international peace among nations. The congress reeked from beginning to end with "peace." (Amen!)

The Stalinists, chief sponsors of the congress, blocked every formulation, motion, resolution or amendment that stood to the left of the proposed program. Every resolution introduced to the right of the program was carried with passionate enthusiasm and exhilaration. With the Y.P.S.L. they were terribly concerned about not offending pacifist and liberal elements. They

were consequently little concerned with offense to revolutionary elements by passing a pacifist, liberal and non-labor program. Every left semi-left proposal was combatted by a classically opportunist argument: "Everybody knows that my organization is heartily in favor of that resolution. However it must be defeated because its acceptance will narrow the congress to purely labor organizations."

In compliance with the character of the congress, a weak, innocuous and ambiguous document, a clumsy attempt at evasion, was presented. This message of liberalism, submitted to the four seminars for discussion and "correction," was labelled "The Declaration of Rights of the American Youth." Its most radical feature was a recognition of the existence of a number of ills in present day society. The terms "capitalist," "working class," "class struggle," "imperialist war" were scrupulously avoided. The "few" ills were mentioned with liberal indignation, without explaining their origin or proposing a solution other than vague references to freedom of speech, press and assembly. The Spartacus Youth League proposed rejection of this "moral indictment" of capitalism. If a programmatic declaration, going beyond proper united front agreement on action, was to be drafted, argued, the S.Y.L., the declaration must include the responsibility of capitalism for the evils listed in the document (which should be analyzed with specific reference to the youth), and that only the destruction of this society could solve these evils. Such a program alone could be a true Declaration of Rights.

The document reads: "We propose to realize in actuality the ideal of free America." (How?) "We propose the maintenance and the extension of our elementary rights of free speech, press and assembly, with full academic freedom in the schools, and the unhampered use of the streets, parks and public buildings for the expression of opinion."

As revolutionaries we distinguished ourselves from the liberals by qualifying our interpretation of civil rights. We aim to deny these rights to our enemies. Reactionary and fascist organizations confront occasional difficulties (see *New Militant*, June 13, for example of Father Coughlin in Chicago). The formulation of the A.Y.C. allowed freedom of speech for the fascists—a resolution consistent with C. P. policy, as evidenced in the Father Coughlin incident. Hence, the following amendment was introduced by the S.Y.L. and met with defeat after having been viciously attacked by the Y.C.L. spokesman:

"We propose the maintenance and the extension of the elementary rights of the WORKING CLASS AND THEIR PROGRESSIVE ALLIES to free speech, press and assembly with full academic freedom in the schools, and the unhampered use of the streets, parks and public buildings for the expression of opinion. WE REFUSE TO STRUGGLE FOR OR TO DENY THE CIVIL LIBERTIES OF THOSE MOVEMENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS WHICH AIM TO DENY US (the

working class) civil liberties and rights (Fascists)."

The Declaration continues: "We affirm the right of workers to join trade unions and to use the weapons of strike to advance their economic interests." At Washington and New York the congress demanded the right of workers to join political organizations as well as trade unions. Why this exclusion of political activities for the working class today? Even the liberals do not deny us that right. The defeated amendment of the S.Y.L. read:

"We affirm the rights of workers to join trade unions and POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS and to employ strikes and OTHER POLITICAL WEAPONS to advance the ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTERESTS OF THE OPPRESSED CLASSES."

The document of the conference concludes: "... taking our stand squarely upon the principles announced by our forefathers on July 4, 1776." In vain did the S.Y.L. argue that the principles of 1776, revolutionary as they were for the time, are the principles of capitalist rule. For our proposal to delete this section from the document we were violently attacked by the Y.C.L. as sectarian, opposed to the document (which we were), confusing the issue (which we were not) and offending the liberals and pacifists. The S.Y.L. motion was defeated with a few Y.C.L. and Y.P.S.L. members voting for it. Significantly, despite the attack on the S.Y.L.,

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F.D.R. Decree Sets Miserly Pay Standard

White House Plan Is Greek Gift to Workers

Roosevelt's got a new plan. Boys and girls, Roosevelt has determined "that we shall do something for the nation's unemployed youth because we can ill afford to lose the skill and energy of these young men and women."*** The yield on this investment should be high. And what did Franklin D. do? He created the N. Y. A.—the National Youth Administration, or more nuts in the alphabet soup.

But F. D. is due for a big disappointment. The yield won't be so high, because the investment doesn't come near scratching the surface of doing "something for the nation's unemployed youth. More than that, it goes pretty far towards doing a lot for the nation's employed workers that should have the workers storming the Capitol with protests.

Of the four parts of the plan, the first proposes to ask "Employers in all types of industry including agriculture... to accept youths as apprentices to be worked out with the State Committee on Apprentice Training." And the pay for these apprentices in modern machine industry? Oh, they'll be given "a minimum allowance... during the period of probation."

It looks all right. It will teach young men and women a trade, so the nation will not lose that energy

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Pa. Unemployed League Forms 'Workers Scouts'

Children Boycott Politician's "Haven"

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—The sixth ward children's group of Allentown has decided not to go into the Boys or Girls "Haven" anymore because the "Haven" supplied scabs to break the strike of the caddies on a nearby golf course. Instead they will get all the boys and girls who play in the "Haven" to come to their meetings and go out with them on their hikes.

The "Haven" was started by a politician in Allentown who wants to get the children under his influence in order to choke them with the bosses' propaganda. It shows up the methods that the bosses will use in order to maintain their profit system.

The children in the "Haven" all come from unemployed families. They can not afford to go to the movies, or other amusements and therefore fall easily for the pool table and other games at the "Haven." Instead of educating the children so that they will understand the causes of unemployment, they are gradually infused with propaganda of the capitalist class.

It was to combat this that the Unemployed Leagues set out to organize the children. The League decided that it was necessary to give the children a working class education so that when they enter industry, or mature into unemploy-

ment, they will know how to fight for the workers' (their own) demands.

Comrade Nina Ramuglia of the Unemployed League first started to organize the children's groups about three months ago. She, unfortunately, was unable to continue the work and the organization committee (composed of representatives from the different wards who are the leaders of the children's groups) elected Comrade Bob Stiler to direct the work. Comrade Wayne Morton is taking care of the sports activities.

The name recently decided for the organization is the Workers Scouts of America. The children, besides having their weekly meetings of the different groups, have an outing or a hike every Saturday.

Visits have been arranged for them in the various factories around Allentown where the children have a chance to observe the workers engaged in industry and understand the workers' position. They have visited the Frierhoffer Bakery, the Lehigh Valley Dairy, and the Arbogast and Bastian meat packing company. At their weekly meetings they discuss these visits and ask questions about things they did not understand. These tours have proved very educational and are popular with the children.

Yipsel Nat'l Convention Elects 'Militant' N. E. C.

Avoid Discussion of Political Issues

By BILL STREETER

The national convention of the Y.P.S.L., held in Pittsburgh July 19-21, was an organizational victory for the Militants who captured control of the national apparatus. Their preparations for the convention were carried on with the aim of attaining this victory rather than carrying on a political struggle. As a result the convention is noteworthy for the extreme paucity of its accomplishments.

They elected a new N.E.C. with Ernst Erber of Chicago as national chairman and Ben Fisher of New York as national secretary. This organizational victory against the right wing in the S. P. was strengthened by the decision to raise the age limit of Y.P.S.L. members from 25 to 30 years, giving the Y.P.S.L. a broader base and a better chance for operating and fighting the Old Guard. These two points, together with the selection of August Tyler as delegate to the International Socialist Youth Congress next month, comprise the sum total of the achievements of the convention.

Political reports, resolutions, even reports on organizational activity and the internal situation were brushed aside, referred to the incoming N.E.C., or hastily disposed of in sub-committees. For lack of material, even the original plan to

send out press releases was dropped.

Political Disorganization

The convention followed within a week of the N.E.C. meeting of the S. P. and the capitulation of the "Militant" leaders to the Old Guard forces. The heavy blow delivered by this act to the leftward moving elements in the party and the youth was reflected in the political disorganization at the convention. The political caucus resolution prepared by Erber for the convention was never presented. A leading comrade, signatory to the "Statement of 14," who was on the N.E.C. slate of the New York caucus, was dropped at the last minute. Fear of bringing to the surface the sharp disagreements, fear of giving an "opening" to the right wing now dominating the party N.E.C., a desire to wait until the new situation takes clearer form—these underlay the entire convention.

The "Militants" were by far the dominating force. But within their ranks is to be found the same divergence as in the party "Militants," from the extreme right ready at the first decisive test to follow Thomas and Hoan, to the left elements such as Erber.

The other forces in the movement, the Revolutionary Policy Publishing Association and the real right

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Student Notes

Expulsions and Expulsions

The continued participation of school instructors in the working class movement has prompted boards of trustees to take "high and fast" action against them. At Cedar Crest College, Prof. Winslow Hallett was given his "walking papers" for daring to aid the Lehigh Unemployed Leagues in their struggles. As a result the National Teachers Union, labor unions, the Spartacus Youth League, W. P., N.P.L.D., and other groups, as well as the student body, have begun a campaign for his reinstatement. The summer vacation has temporarily blocked any action by this defense committee, but when the college reopens a vigorous campaign will be resumed.

S.Y.L. LEADS STRIKE

Out in Ohio, at Struthers Junior High, the S.Y.L. was successful in arousing all the students and their parents to protest against the dismissal of four teachers. The teachers were active in organizing a teachers' union which the reactionary school superintendent opposed—hence their dismissal. Immediately the S.Y.L.ers passed out petitions urging the students to strike for reinstatement of the instructors. The next day, under the leadership of the S.Y.L. militants, over 1,500 students left their classes shouting "We want our teachers." So successful was their protest that the superintendent invited students, parents, and teachers to a board meeting where the board voted for the reinstatement of the teachers. It was the first time our comrades had showed their colors and with what success! Keep it up, comrades!

FROM N. S. L.

Not only have their been expulsions from instructional staffs of late, but also from the N.S.L. At Champaign, Illinois, Comrade P. was expelled for . . . "Trotskyism." How odd it is that the "non-political" N.S.L. can expel a leading militant because of his anti-Stalinism! But the expulsion of the "renegade" produced repercussions among the N.S.L. rank and filers. Five leading members, who were disgusted with the high-handed methods of the Stalinist stooges in the N.S.L., resigned and joined the S.Y.L.!

At Harvard, Comrade Y., member of the executive committee of N.S.L. and editor of Harvard-Radcliffe "Student News," was expelled for "Trotskyism." This purge of leading Marxists from the N.S.L. can only remind us of the expulsions by school boards of instructors for union and labor activities. In fact,

'PARIS' ON THE BARRICADES'

The stirring story of the first proletarian uprising—the Paris Commune of 1871—is now available to all comrades. Embodying the entire spirit and fight of the working class, "Paris on the Barricades" by George Marlen vividly portrays the unforgettable experience of our French comrades against capitalism.

The pamphlet of 60 pages contains an introduction by Max Schachtman. Single copies are available for ten cents. Bundles order: over ten copies sell at seven cents per copy. Don't delay, order your copy im-

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Published monthly by the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE 55 East 11th St., New York City Phone: ALgonquin 4-9058 MANNY GARRETT Editor JANE OGDEN Business Manager Subscription rates: 25c per year; Canada and foreign 35c. Bundle orders, 2 cents per copy; single copies, 3 cents.

Vol. 4 August 1935 No. 4

NEXT MONTH

The first installment of Trotsky's "My Flight from Siberia" . . . More on France—articles from La Revolution, organ of the Left Socialist Youth. . . Our slogans on the R.O.T.C.

the N.S.L. actually allowed a non-N.S.L.er to press charges against comrade Y. as "a strike-breaker, stool-pigeon, etc." although it is a known fact that the S.Y.L.er was most active in the entire chapter. To those who still cherish the belief that the N.S.L. is non-Stalinist we leave these facts adn pass on to more serious business.

N. Y. U. PREPARES FOR NEXT SEMESTER

The enthusiasm which has gripped our N.Y.U. comrades over their work in the discussion club deserves mention. In a report submitted, they cite large gains at discussion meetings, favorable literature sales and a growing membership. The C.C.N.Y. student fraction of the S.Y.L. likewise has the formation of a discussion club among its plans. A complete plan of action is being drafted not only for New York City, but for the nation. Meanwhile comrades in Chicago, Frisco, Los Angeles, Youngstown, Allentown, etc. are urged to send in complete reports.

—FRANK VISCONTI.

Fertile Feild In Settlement Houses

The Settlement Houses in the State of New York are tax exempt, and for the most part private philanthropic institutions. Sections of the bourgeoisie in order to mitigate the broad unrest of the working class, caused by the capitalist system, set up federations, controlled by themselves, to which they contribute a yearly income and scholarships.

They obtain the money for the operation of these institutions from the very same working class whose ills they claim to eradicate. Settlement Houses are to be found in every working class neighborhood.

All social agencies are composed of various departments. The Recreation Department is divided into several divisions:

1. Girls and Boys clubs — according to the age level.
2. Paid workers — volunteer workers.
3. Play School for children from 2½ to 5 years of age.

The heads of the Department are the paid workers. The club leader who is the real organizer of the club and the activities, is usually a college graduate who can find no employment in his own profession or trade and has to resort to social work. His pay is in the form of room and board. The volunteer worker contributes his labor in exchange for a scholarship which averages very low. There are no set hours or days of work.

Social Service is the charity division of these agencies. This department does not give the worker his full economic necessities, but merely throws him enough crumbs to keep him quiet and servile. Instead of organizing mass action in front of Home Relief Stations, all they need do is phone the supervisor at the station, and in this way the favorite client (after much red tape) gets his meal ticket and rent paid. The Communist and Socialist Party give full support to these bureaus by participating, in the unemployed field, in very much the same manner, and by using this agency for the same reasons.

Cultural, Educational and Sports activities are very popular with the youth as well as their adults. Open Forums on political and educational subjects are held, but the tone is one of liberalism and reformism. The neighborhood houses cater to the liberals of the Socialist Party. This can be seen especially at election time.

It is necessary, for the economic betterment and political development of the youth, along correct and concrete lines, that our comrades concentrate on these places in order:

1. Through the settlement house to spread our program into the neighborhood.
2. To win the youth for the working class.
3. To direct and lead their struggle along revolutionary lines.

—E. MARTIN

Lets Go, Spartacans

Yes, again two months late! Our readers must be wondering why the long delay between issues. The answer: NO FUNDS. This time it is thanks to a Boston comrade that we have this issue. No fooling, comrades, the situation is grave. All our readers, all Spartacus branches must immediately help us solve this intolerable "vicious circle."

All branches must place YOUNG SPARTACUS as the first point on the agenda. Bundle orders must be paid for immediately. Weekly contributions made. Our sympathizers must send contributions to assure the early appearance of the next issue.

It really is puzzling—here our League is making great headway by doubling its membership in six months and new branches being formed. Yet less and less money is paid for Y. S.! Comrades, this is the first time that Y. S. has made a public campaign for funds. Unless YOUNG SPARTACUS appears the ideas and program of the only revolutionary youth organization cannot be disseminated.

Just think of the great opportunities we have to influence and win members. But we need our paper to help. Think of all the youth we can reach in the summer months at our street meetings! Yet already one month and a half of the summer has slipped by with no SPARTACUS.

Comrades, friends, what's your answer? Let's go, Spartacans. Rush funds to:

Business Manager
Young Spartacus
55 East 11th St., N. Y. C.

SYL Protests to International Bureau on Delegate's Action

The International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth organizations (of which the S.Y.L. is a part), committed to a program for the Fourth International, participated in the congress of the International Workers Alliance held in Paris in Feb. of 1935. The Secretariat selected as its delegate to the congress comrade Willi Brandt of the SAP youth Group which embraces reformists, centrists, and revolutionists. This congress concerned itself with the problems of war, fascism, and the attitude towards the existing Internationals. The basic discussion revolved about the resolutions and speeches of comrades Sneevliet and Schmidt of the newly formed Independent Workers Party of Holland. The speeches and resolutions of these spokesmen of the 4th International criticised the existing Internationals and established the need for a new Revolutionary (4th) International.

Willi Brandt, in violation of the principles of the Bureau and disregarding the mandate from the Secretariat which bound him to a support at this congress of the 4th International, delivered a speech at the congress attacking the speeches and resolutions of the Dutch representatives.

The S.Y.L. of the U.S. considered this act of Brandt to be a gross violation of the principles of the I.B.R.Y.O., which principles were clearly defined in favor of the 4th International at the first congress held in Feb. of 1934. It was because of these principles that the S.Y.L. affiliated itself to this Bureau. We considered that this act on the part of Brandt, coming as the culmination of a series of acts committed by the S.A.P. and the Secretariat of the Bureau, which contradicted the line and purpose of the I.B.R.Y.O., could come to pass only because of a false relationship of forces in the Secretariat: a relationship in which those most interested in the movement for the 4th International find themselves in a majority in the Bureau (i. e. the organization) but are a minority in the leading body of the Bureau (the secretariat).

The S.Y.L. communicated a sharp letter to the Secretariat, disassociat-

Students at Edinburgh Offer Trotsky Rectorship

June 7, 1935.

To the Students of Edinburgh University

Dear Sirs,

I am indebted to you for your so unexpected and flattering proposal: to put me up as candidate for the rectorate of your university. The freedom from any nationalist considerations which you show is a great tribute to the spirit of the students of Edinburgh.

I appreciate your confidence all the more since you, as you yourselves say, are uninfluenced by the refusal of the British Government to grant me a visa. Nevertheless I do not feel that I have the right to accept your proposal. The elections to the rectorate, you write, are conducted on a NON-POLITICAL basis and your letter itself is signed by representatives of every political tendency. But I myself occupy too definite a political position; all my activity has been and remains devoted to the revolutionary liberation of the proletariat from the yoke of capital. I have no other right to responsible posts. I would therefore consider it a crime toward the working class and a disloyalty toward you to appear on no matter what public tribune not under the Bolshevik banner. You will find, I have no doubt, a candidate much more in conformity with the traditions of your University.

I wish you with all my heart the greatest success in your work.

Sincerely yours,

—L. TROTSKY.

JOIN THE SPARTACUS
YOUTH LEAGUE.

Organization Column

Greetings from Nat'l Tour

By NATHAN GOULD

TOM MOONEY

For one hour I sat with Tom Mooney in the "reception" hall of San Quentin prison discussing with him the latest developments in his case and other current working class problems. His was an inspiring exhibition of revolutionary speech and determination. Comrade Mooney asks that I convey to the National Committees of the S.Y.L. and of the W.P., and to all members of both organizations, his heartiest revolutionary greetings.

Comrade Mooney is confident that revolutionary and workers organizations that have rallied to his support and saved him, and who have for 18 years battled for his freedom, will continue to do so as part of their general struggle for the emancipation of mankind from class rule. The Spartacus Youth League, impressed with the need of increased efforts for the freedom of this victim of capitalist frame-ups, places itself at the disposal of the movement for the freedom of this comrade. We return Mooney's message of greeting to the Spartacus Youth League with the fighting message of determination and struggle for the freedom of Tom Mooney.

NORMAN MINI

Just prior to my visit of Tom Mooney, I spent one hour in the same reception hall of San Quentin prison with number 57606. Number 57606 is prisoner Norman Mini, member of the Workers Party, sentenced to serve to from 1 to 14 years in San Quentin for his revolutionary activity in the organization of the California agricultural workers. The revolutionary courage displayed by Mini notwithstanding the intolerable prison conditions imposed upon him should serve as an example to all young militants. Comrade Mini, himself not yet twenty-five years old, expressed the greatest interest in the work and progress of our youth organization.

Upon Mini's insistence much of our brief discussion was devoted to the problems of the Spartacus Youth League. Comrade Mini too sends his revolutionary greetings to the Spartacus Youth League and to all of its members. His greeting, like Mooney's, was a fighting message and an example of his devotion to his class and to his comrades. It encourages us in our struggle for his freedom, which task, through the determined efforts of the Workers Party, the Spartacus Youth League and the entire organized working class, shall be accomplished. Comrade Mini asks that all Spartacus members write to Norman Mini, number 57606, San Quentin, Cal. We too urge this upon all our members and executive bodies.

NEW BRANCHES

In the course of the last two months three new branches of the S.Y.L. have been formed: Champaign, Ill. (8 members), Minneapolis, Minn. (13 members), and New Haven, Conn. (7 members). The National Committee sends Spartacan greetings to these newly formed branches and expresses confidence in their ability to achieve leadership of the toiling and student youth in those cities. We rejoice that in three more cities and in two more states in the U.S. the banner of the Spartacus Youth League shall flourish and serve as a guide to action to the youth in these cities.

CANADIAN SPARTACUS

Our Canadian brother organization, the Spartacus Youth League of Canada, received with enthusiasm the greetings of the American SYL, presented in the name of the N.C.—S.Y.L. Greetings were returned and measures for the strengthening of our fraternal relations were discussed.

The Canadian S. Y. L. has three branches, two of which are located in Toronto and one in Vancouver. Also, there are the prospects for the formation of branches in Hamilton and in Montreal. The membership of the Toronto branches approximates 35 spirited and youthful comrades devoted to their organization and to the cause it represents.

8 Page New Militant

The NEW MILITANT, the official organ of the Workers Party, will soon appear as an 8-page weekly, much enriched in contents and make-up. Party members and the supporters of its official organ appear determined to put it over and this projected advance should have its importance also for our youth movement.

Evidently the Chicago Youth Leagues have already caught this spirit. They have entered the campaign and are working hand in hand with the Party branches. If you know what this means, you can be sure that results will follow.

We do not ask our comrades to start collection of contributions amongst themselves out of the meager earnings of those who may have a job. But there are other ways in which our comrades can help and follow the example of the Chicago Youth Leagues.

One feature of the campaign is the club subscription card system, of four three-months subscriptions to be obtained at \$1.50, paid in advance, for each club of four sub-cards. When the sub-cards are disposed of at forty cents each.

In addition the club cards carry five valuable prizes for the active Collected Works in 8 bound vols.

Unemployed Boys and Girls Neglected By Boss System

A report by secretary of labor, Frances Perkins to the U. S. Senate on the problem of unemployed youth in the U. S., analyzing the situation and making "suggestions" for meeting this problem, reveals the total inadequacy of all that has been done up to now. The report, which also contains an outline of what has been done to meet this problem, is filled with such facts as emphasize the hopeless position of the youth under capitalism.

The report estimates that in July 1934, out of the 6,800,000 employable high school and college graduates, between the ages of 18-29, 2,450,000 were out of work. Within this same group the younger elements were hardest hit. The figures take no account of non-student unemployed, nor does it include those leaving school in the last year.

Similarly, a survey of unemployment in Pennsylvania shows that 42 out of every 100 employables between the ages of 18-24 were out of work as against 28 out of every 100 for all ages. House to house canvasses conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the Spring of 1934, in three representative industrial cities, reveal that out of every 100 employables between the ages of 16-24 24 were unemployed, as compared with an average of 21 for all ages.

One of the chief methods which has been employed to solve the problem of unemployment among the youth is to keep them in school! In the report this section is given a more imposing title: "Extension of the Period of Education and Training." Thus, those young people from 14-16 years of age who leave school to look for jobs are now forced to stay in school by the minimum age provision of the NRA. By itself the proposition is a good one. But, in reality this helps matters in no way, since no income is established for them to enable them to stay in school. In the colleges, the report points out, 100,000 students have been given FERA jobs at \$15 per month to help meet expenses and tuition. However, even if these jobs really aid students to stay in college, they do nothing to solve the problem of jobs for the unemployed youth, or for the students beyond the 100,000.

In short, the problem has been solved by a series of half-measures which do nothing towards providing young people with jobs, but whose purpose it is to keep them off the job market. The only jobs that have been provided are those in the C.C.C., which according to the report has kept about 350,000 young men at work during the past two years. These C.C.C. jobs at the miserable wage of \$1 per day, really serve the same purpose as the educational system which has been set up to care for the unemployed. That is, they take the youth off the job market, and substitute for this transitory jobs which offer no future for the young fellows in the camps.

The latest plan of the Federal Government is the much vaunted National Youth Administration. This plan provides a subsidy of \$50,000,000 in order to put some of the unemployed youth to work, and to help keep high and college students in school. Like all the other plans cited above it is another futile attempt to solve a problem which the capitalist class is really never going to solve unless an organized movement of the youth forces it to throw more than the crumbs off the table to the unemployed young workers. These jobs cannot give to the youth who hold them any hope for security in the future, or any prospect of a decent life ahead. At the same time they fail to reach the vast majority of youth who are now in need of jobs.

—RUTH JAGER.

Facists Militarize Italian Youth Under Lash of Economic Oppression

The history of the twelve years of Fascist dictatorship in Italy is a grim tale of persistent intensification of the ruthless suppression of the Italian people, young and old, by the capitalist class headed by its most effective instrument of exploitation: Il Duce and his Black Shirts. The working class of Italy exists on the barest physical minimum of subsistence. The youth finds itself in a similar position.

To alleviate the crisis at home, Mussolini must resort to imperialistic ventures in Africa and the most thorough militarization of the population, in preparation for a new war.

These war aims, which Mussolini make no effort to conceal, place their heaviest burden upon the youth. Almost from the day he opens his eyes, the Italian youth is placed in the system of compulsory military training which does not end until he reaches the age of 32. The underlying principle of this scheme is that "all male citizens shall be regarded as actual or potential members of the military forces."

At the ferocious age of six (!) he is placed in the Wolo Balilla, which is said to embrace about 1,500,000 boys, and learns to wear a uniform. From 8-14 he is a member of the Balilla proper, where he is prepared physically and mentally to bear arms. He then enters the Avanguardisti (14-18) where he receives "technical training to transform the citizen into a warrior." From 18-21 years he becomes a soldier and serves in the fascist Militia, so as to keep in readiness a military reserve trained in the latest developments of the "art of war." Compulsory vacations of the workers are utilized as training periods, and severe penalties are

imposed for non-attendance.

In addition to this, all Italian boys receive compulsory military instruction at school from the moment they leave the elementary school until their graduation from higher schools. Most of the elementary school teachers are required to wear officers' uniforms of either the Balilla or Militia during school hours.

Militarism in Education

The education of the Italian youth—whether he be in elementary, secondary, or high school, even university—is characterized not only by the militarist spirit, but by that regime of iron clad, rigid uniformity, which brooks no opposition, which tolerates no difference of opinion, which demands absolute subservience to the Dictator and unconditional admiration of Fascism.

The entire educational system has been "fascistized." All primary school teachers, under pain of dismissal, must be members of the fascist organizations. All secondary school teachers who refuse to inculcate the fascist ideology are summarily dismissed. The universities, long regarded as the last stronghold of anti-fascism, have been brought into harness. No professor can hold his chair without taking the oath of allegiance to the fascist Government. Elementary school text-books are edited by the government. Writings of liberals, even of bygone years, are removed from the libraries.

This stifling, absolute censorship of the educational system has not failed to leave its imprint on the intellectual development of the Italian youth. An anonymous Young Italian, writing for the *Contemporary Review* (June '34),

states: "On the whole the new generation which has been brought up under the Fascist regime is, weak and lacking in energy. Nothing is more sad than to frequent the Italian universities, as I did until 1932. With but a few exceptions I have found no interest in intellectual problems. One may say that the dictatorship has attained its object; it has destroyed the personality of the young people of today, together with their spirit of initiative."

Once out of school, unless he is willing to prostrate himself in advance to the fascist state and every decree that it issues, the youth who aspires to a career finds himself up a blind alley. Nobody can rise above the general level unless he possesses the fascist tessera (membership card). Without it all professionals—lawyers, doctors, engineers, etc.—are reduced to starvation. No one is eligible for state employment—civil service, army, judiciary, education—unless he is a party member.

Economic Oppression

The economic position of the Italian young worker, inseparable from that of the working class as a whole, has steadily sunk to lower and lower levels. Twelve years of the Fascist dictatorship—having crushed all independent trade unions and other labor organizations—have reduced the Italian proletariat to subsistence at unparalleled levels.

Unemployment at the end of 1934 was over 1,200,000. Wages have decreased steadily. Official figures state that in 1931 the average agricultural hourly wage was 1.30 liras; in 1934 (first seven months) it was 1.15 liras, i.e., at current rates of exchange, the magnificent sum of 9.7 cents per hour! In

industry there has likewise been a steady decline. The average hourly wage in 1930 was 2 liras; in 1934 (six months)—1.67 liras, equivalent to 14.1 cents per hour! In addition the worker must pay, on the average, almost four weeks wages per year in the form of assessments, etc. to maintain the fascist corporations.

Despite various gifts to newly-weds and taxes on bachelors, the Italian birth rate has fallen continuously since 1922. Il Duce has been "defrauded" of a million soldiers.

Dissatisfaction is Rife

Mussolini can take no chances in making public appearances, not to speak of walking in the street, without the protection of a heavily armed guard. G. Modigliani reports the following (New Leader, Dec. 29, 1934): "During his (Mussolini's) last exhibition in Milan there were five thousand preventative arrests, without counting those who had gone on journey a few days earlier so as not to be locked up. At Florence, for the ceremonies at the end of October, several schools were closed for a week so that they could accommodate the soldiers and police officers who had arrived in order to assure the safety of the Duce. . . . When he has to parade in the big towns, there is no lack of armed men to line the route, or else the greater part of the space is occupied by compact military formations."

Mussolini requires heavy protection for he knows only too well that there is no love for him in the hearts of the toiling masses of Italy. Neither demagoguery about the Corporate State, nor propaganda by the apparatus can conceal the brutal realities of life under the Fascist slave system.

—H. ZACKHEIM.

The Army — and the C. C. C.

(The writer of the article that is printed below spent six months in a Georgia camp. His conclusion that the slogan for the abolition of the C.C.C. should be supplanted by a slogan for the removal of the army administration is printed as discussion. We believe that the two slogans go hand in hand.—Ed.)

* * *

In March, 1935, congress extended the C.C.C. for two years with the possibility of making it a permanent organization. It also increased the standing strength from 300,000 to 600,000 men. In the past two years one million young men have been under its direct influence and one million five hundred thousand for the next two years will know what army discipline is like. In passing this bill congress also ruled that only those whose families are on relief or eligible for relief can go to camp, consequently the composition will be entirely proletarian youth.

There is no doubt left in the minds of those who have gone through an enlistment that the army is the dominating factor in their lives while in camp. Although supposedly organized as a civilian conservation corps it is in reality an army conscription corps with no pains taken to hide the fact that this presented an opportunity for a real test of the effectiveness of the army set-up under the national defense act of 1920. The enrollment and command of first 300,000 and now 600,000 men of the C.C.C. is greater in size and scope than that mobilized during the Spanish American War.

During the first three months of the world war the army mobilized 181,000 men. During a like period in 1933, it enrolled 275,000 men, organized them into 1,315 companies of 200 men each. Each company was provided with two regular army officers, one reserve corps officer, and four regular army enlisted men, mostly non-commissioned officers. There are 12,000 officers in the regular army scattered throughout the U. S. More than 3,000 of

these officers were called from duty and placed on C.C.C. duty. In addition 1,800 reserve officers were placed on active duty with the C. C. C., and 500 regular Navy and Marine corps officers were "drafted" to help organize C.C.C. outfits.

These officers are responsible for every phase of life of the men in camp; for the physical camp, for the purchasing of food, and for the clothing. They set the time going to bed and waking. They buy the magazines and newspapers, and direct the recreational and educational programs.

A mess lieutenant supervises the menu and the buying of food. Since each camp is allotted 43 to 48 cents per man, it is a simple matter if the lieutenant works together with the captain to misappropriate funds. He is also in charge of the company canteen or store, the profits are supposed to go towards recreational enjoyments in whatever form the men vote for. As most camps do not publish a detailed account of the money spent for food or money taken in at the canteen, it is impossible for the men to check up on the officers. However, in many instances, overcome by their greed, they go too far, the food becomes intolerable, a strike or protest takes place and a major or other high official in the Corps Area headquarters scurries down to the camp. He transfers or dismisses the mess lieutenant according to the extent to which funds have been misappropriated. A new officer is placed in charge—he promises a new deal and for a few weeks the food is improved.

In each camp there is a forestry department with foresters or foremen supervising the men at work. They have little contact with the men. For this they choose from the ranks certain individuals whom they think are trustworthy and capable of extracting the greatest amount of work. These men are given leaders or assistant leaders' ratings, for which they receive \$6 to \$15 per month extra. Every camp forestry head strives towards a record. If records are accom-

plished it means promotion to a higher position, and also promotion along the line for other foresters. Consequently it is their desire that the men accomplish the greatest amount of work in the shortest possible time. Prior to the establishment of the C.C.C., laborers would receive \$5 to \$8 per day for the same work that the C.C.C. men are doing for \$30 a month, of which \$25 is sent home to the family.

We have been told by individuals who have visited certain camps that they are wonderful to behold, a sort of six months vacation. What is generally not known is that scattered throughout the country are 25 to 30 "show camps" conveniently located near large cities. They are kept neat and clean, a regular doctor in attendance at all times and—unheard of thing in the majority of camps—they are allowed to attend nearby schools, universities, and colleges if they wish! These camps are for the Mr. Citizen who perhaps wants to see what Uncle Sammy is doing for his boys, or perhaps to ease his conscience, for he may have heard the rumblings and frequent strikes and protests that are taking place.

The head of the C.C.C. is strangely enough not an army man—he is Robert Fechner, vice-president of the International Association of Machinists. An A. F. of L. official placed in charge by the government to stem any protest from organized labor against the low wage scale that in many instances has lowered the prevailing union wage rates in the surrounding territories. Especially severe has this been on the farm help.

The immediate task of the S.Y.L. is to set up an organization, to deal with the C.C.C., drawing into the work a number of young comrades from the Workers Party. The present theory of abolishing the C.C.C. as its main issue, a policy that tends to isolate the League, should be shoved to the background. Instead, the main demand must be: the removal of the army administration, and abolition of all army control. To raise the basic pay to

A Letter From The Three C's

(We were given this letter by the writer's mother.—Ed.)

* * *

Dear Folks:

I have finally come to the conclusion, that I wish to return to the land of my birth. I am about fed up with the C.C.C.s. However, I do not want to come home until June. So please try again to find a berth for me in some reliable New York firm. I hate to see myself selling ice cream on the beach this summer.

We have been having a little trouble in camp lately. Owing to the lack of enough food, and decent food, most of the fellows in the camp went on a strike, refusing to work until this situation was remedied. Out of 92 men 55 went on strike. Twenty of the men who did not go on strike were camp overhead men, who are obligated to the army. The rest, some 13 to 14 including myself, who worked in the field were also not in the strike.

The result of it all was that each man was fined \$3 and the rated men were stripped of their ratings. I believe this to be a grim injustice. The men were told that if they didn't return to work they were to be sent home on Dishonorable Discharge immediately.

However, the mess office was fired, new cooks replaced the old, and we are getting better food.

Today I can't boast of many friends due to my staying out of the argument. I still have a rating, but I've lost out plenty in the eyes of the men, and in my own mind.

Well I guess that's about all I have to say, just now—

Love and everything that goes with it,

STAN

April 4, 1935

\$50 per month; the right of the men to select their own leaders; To organize a union, for instance the conservation workers union to be affiliated to the A. F. of L.

An immense and fertile field for revolutionary work lies in these camps. A wedge must be forced into the C.C.C.

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Tom Paine and the American Revolution

The story of Thomas Paine reads like a fairy tale—or perhaps like a story of the “man who made good.” From a poor, unknown, unimportant man, at the age of thirty-seven he suddenly became a figure of historic importance. To this day writers of different trends are busy vilifying or justifying him.

It is not an exaggeration to say that Paine was the soul and fire of the American Revolution. Overcoming the restraints of his Quaker upbringing, he threw himself wholeheartedly into the midst of the battle America was waging, foreseeing and urging the necessity of complete separation from England even when those in the very heat of the fight did not realize the full significance of the situation. Discovering a surprising eloquence and persuasiveness, he put his pen at the service of the nascent nation; his very misconceptions and idealistic theories, fitted so well to the times, helped the cause he fought for.

Early in 1776, the New World was suddenly electrified by an anonymous pamphlet, written by Paine, signed “Common Sense.” It voiced all the grievances the people had been feeling against the throne of England, and playing on all the strings of the fiddle, put the case for complete separation from the parent country. “England consults the good of this country no further than it answers her own purpose. . . . Wherefore, since nothing but blows will do, for God’s sake let us come to a final separation, and not leave the next generation to be cutting throats. . . . Everything short of that is mere patchwork. . . . Dearly, dearly do we pay for the repeal of the acts (the Stamp Acts.—L.B.), if that is all we fight for. . . .” It presented a plan for a model democracy that was to unite all the colonies into one nation, ruled by the whole people. This pamphlet took the country by storm, and was an important pushing force behind the outbreak of the Revolution.

All during the Revolution, Paine plied his pen, raising the courage of the army, pleading with the people for support, warning, urging, reasoning and cursing. As a special ambassador to France, he succeeded in securing money and supplies for the struggling nation, in addition to supplying moral bolstering. In a passion of idealistic fervor, he served well the progress of history, although little realizing how wide a chasm existed between his beliefs and wishes, and what the laws of economics and politics would actually transform the continent into. Paine pictured government as arising from the mutual agreement of the governed. Once the King and the nobility, who had misused and abused the powers given to them, were removed, there would be nothing to stand in the way of a government “by the people, of the people, and for the people”—(to quote another). All that was necessary was that the people themselves understand this.

He hardly foresaw that those arch-patriots, who took him under their wing and urged him on, would form the new ruling class of the nation. It was all very well during the struggle itself to get the support of the people by painting to them a righteous, reasonable world, which was to be theirs at the cost of just a little exertion. While the poor people, the farmers, artisans, servants, were fighting, the propertied classes, the financiers, industrialists, the land owners, the traders, were laying the basis for a very realistic world of and for the moneyed classes.

Immediately after the revolution had ended, the real forces behind the newly born nation became evident. The high falluting phrases under which the war had been fought gave to speculation, fraud, and non-popular, aristocratic tendencies. Although Paine continued to write on political and economic matters, the disillusionment he suffered drove him to spend most of his energies to the invention of a bridge—which he had been working on long ago, but had abandoned for politics. Indeed, so brazen was the ingratitude of the triumphant “nation,” that although Paine had given all the proceeds from his var-

ious writings and whatever other money he managed to secure to the government to help in the revolution, he was now left almost penniless. Resolutions of thanks were fairly plentiful, but government bodies were reluctant to reward this devoted revolutionist by some sorely needed cash. At last he decided to go to England to try to market his invention.

He reached England just at the time when the great French Revolution was maturing. Zealously taking up the defense of this Revolution—inspired to an extent by the American one—Paine wrote his “Rights of Man.” This earned him the hate of the British ruling class, and drove him into exile into France, to escape arrest. By this time the anti-popular reaction in America had gone so far, that even in that country Paine’s activities were regarded very coolly by his former friends.

Arriving in France, Paine was greeted as the father of the American revolution and the valorous champion of French freedom. His “Rights of Man” were acclaimed throughout the land. Paine was well on the way to fathering another revolution.

And yet, quixotically enough, by reason of the very ideas with which he had helped America, Paine became one of the dangers to the revolution, one of the enemies who had to be jailed. The humanitarian, super-historic theories that had been so effective in fighting an enemy which was an ocean away, and which itself contained a goodly section supporting the insurrectionists, were nothing less than reactionary in the conditions facing the French people. He actually got up in the

Convention to plead for the life of the French King, on the grounds of humanity and because of the debt of gratitude the American nation owed the King who had supported their own revolution (with a shrewd eye to his own profit!). A revolution such as the French people had to fight, against the age-old domination of the church and aristocracy, against the literal enslavement of the peasants and workers, against the crushing of blossoming capitalism; a revolution which had to be fought by the tolling masses, who had the least to gain against the opposition to the bourgeoisie itself; such a fight could not be handled with the silk gloves that Thomas Paine offered.

The American continent had been settled by the rebels of the Old World. The American people were imbued with the ideas and habits of independence, of self-reliance. The frontier, in spite of the restrictions placed upon it by the grasping financial interests, formed a way of escape from destructive submission. The fact that class relationships were first being crystallized, that the people were by no means firmly stratified, and the ways of life much easier and freer, stamped its character on the American Revolution.

In France, on the other hand, the oppression, the cruelty, the immediacy of the enemy made necessary and inevitable the most ruthless stamping out of the old society and all of its symbols. The Terror, which casted all the kind sympathizers of the revolution to hold up their hands in horror, was a necessity. The old society could be washed away only in its own blood. Paine, along with many of his

humanitarian friends, were imprisoned; only his past reputation saved him from the guillotine. While the revolution proceeded, Paine languished in jail, sickening and souring. But true to his character, finding one field of activity closed to him, he took to another. While in prison, he wrote his famous—or infamous—“The Age of Reason.” This book is one of the classics, which is still widely read throughout the world. Paine set himself the task of knocking down all the symbols of religion—the church, the different books of the Bible, etc. He himself was a religious man, but believed that all these trappings with which religion had decked itself out only went to discredit the idea of a god. The world at large of course set up a howl, and abuse rained down upon Paine, as an atheist and what not.

At great length, after much effort, Paine succeeded in getting his adopted country to take notice of his plight, and, on the request of the American ambassador in France he was released from prison, a man broken in health and faith. He returned to America where he spent the remainder of his days actively but hardly the man who had helped to create the nation which now treated him with such scorn.

Paine should thus take his place in history as the moving soul of the American revolution, a revolution which used him and then discarded him when his time had passed; as the great humanitarian, who was betrayed by his own principles into becoming an enemy of the French Revolution, a revolution which he had helped to foment; in short, as a symbol of the times in which he lived.

—LILLIAN BORD.

The Birth of this Nation

By AL RUSSELL

America. The Land of the Free! Was it ever thus? Hardly. As in Europe where capitalism was born “in blood and filth,” America’s natal period belied its remarkable future. The story of the social forces behind the amazing chrysalis, in other words the real history of America, must necessarily exceed the bounds of this essay which can only deal with one aspect of it; i.e., THE FIRST MOVEMENT OF LABOR IN AMERICA, ITS SOCIAL CONDITIONS, ITS INFLUENCE ON DEMOCRACY.

America was colonized by masses of humans driven from their native lands by conditions of life fitly described as “blood and filth.”

(1) “The years 1635 and 1636 mark the period of the most terrible misery. In the years 1636-38 famine and pestilence came to add to the suffering. The people tried to satisfy hunger with roots, grass and leaves; even cannibalism became more or less frequent. The gallows and the graveyards had to be guarded; the bodies of children were not safe from their mothers.”*

Pressure on the Poor

1674 saw war between France and Holland. Macaulay tells of the commander who “granted 3 days grace to half a million human beings to evacuate their country side.” Religious heretics, and prisoners swelled the flood of crushed humans. The Scotch and Irish were displaced from their ancestral homes by sheep. 1740 witnessed famine, and John R. Commons, (2) informs us that the Scotch-Irish “Contributed far more than any other race to the population of the U. S. in the 18th Century.”†

Is it a wonder then that Swift could say to the Irish folk: “Raise your babies to the age of one year and sell them to the rich as delicate provender; they will pay you enough to enable the production and maintenance of another baby which you can raise to the age of one year and then sell . . .”; is it a wonder, then, that masses of humans looked to the new world for succor? “Spirits were engaged in the lucrative game of persuading others with a blackjack to visit the states. Shipping agents spread fantastic fables about gold paved streets and milk and honey running from faucets.” The ship-captains took these masses and made gold out of their flesh by selling them on the auction block, as indentured servants, in the market places of the coast towns. Herman Melville tells the tragic tale of these poor voyagers; of the hundreds who died, of the mass misery of men, women and children penned within the hold of a ship like dead cargo. Yet even this was better than the “middle passage” which was reserved for the Africans stolen by the respectable slave traders.

We learn from Herbert Asbury of “20 people occupying one room in houses of indescribable filth. Bones of humans are to be later discovered; hidden between walls. We hear of children at the age of nine who never took a bath. Prostitution and crime were rampant. Streets bore edifyingly illustrative titles, Poverty Lane, Paupers Row, Misery Lane, Den of Thieves, etc.”‡

A committee appointed by the Massachusetts council in 1706 reports “Negro slavery should be abolished because white servants are cheaper and more profitable to the colony.”

Ellsworth of Connecticut proclaimed, “Let us not intermeddle [with slavery]. As population increases poor laborers will be so plenty as to render slaves useless.”§

(To be continued)

*Oscar Kuhns—“The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania,” pp. 3-9.

†“Races and Immigrants in America,” pp. 34-36.

‡“Gangs of New York.”
§J. Allen Smith—“Spirit of American Government,” p. 27-39.

France Faces Barricades

(We print below excerpts from a manifesto issued by the Bolshevik Leninist Youth faction inside the French Socialist Youth to the national conference of the latter. The Bolshevik-Leninists have won to their side a good section of the youth, especially in the Seine district. The leadership of the Socialist youth has announced an expulsion campaign against them.—Ed.)

In the great army of unemployed there are six million youth. A large part of them never knew what it is to have a job. The young workers, under the pressure of competition from qualified adult workers and the enormous army of the unemployed do the hardest work for the lowest wages. The young agricultural workers, the young civil service and office workers, if they have jobs, are also subjected to the most brutal exploitation. The severest work and the strictest discipline is imposed upon them. Without hope of finding employment, or in constant fear of losing their jobs, the great majority of young exploited workers are condemned to a bare existence, uncertain of the future and without the least hope of advancing themselves.

What can capitalism offer them? Forced labor camps as in Germany or the United States. Death in a colonial military campaign as in Italy. And under the French “republic,” two years conscription in the army under the threat of losing their unemployment insurance. In the present capitalist world the youth are exposed to hunger and misery. The system can offer them only war, mass murder, that will create new contradictions, new wars.

In France, bourgeois democracy is fast becoming a myth. The presence of fascist bands proves the inability of the parliamentary republic to guarantee the normal functioning of capitalist exploitation within the framework of democratic institutions. The robber barons, understanding this, struck the first blow against democratic institutions on February 6, 1934. The Chamber of Deputies (elected in 1932) resigned at the threat of the armed bands of finance capital. By means of a majority bloc it found the National Union (coalition gov-

ernment.

Since then, the advance of the reactionary offensive has not ceased but is gradually tearing away all the liberties and social reforms originally wrested from it. The Parliament shows its total inability to find a way out. Although supported by the working masses, it retreated after the fall of the Flandin, Bouisson cabinets (which was engineered by finance capital) under a broadside of fascist leaflets threatening to mobilize their armed forces. It submitted to Laval’s National Union ministry and a policy of large scale deflation, increased militarization and stronger repressions against working class organizations.

In order to lead the workers in an immediate struggle, in order to create the organizations of revolutionary war and the new state power, it is necessary to organize around clear, immediate slogans. Since the capitalists have proved themselves incapable of managing their own industries we must demand from them the managership through the Workers Control Committees.

The patriotic organizations, aided by the reactionary bourgeois press, attempt to bribe the most exploited section of the working class, the unemployed, by instituting employment exchanges which are also recruitment centers for the fascist gangs. At these exchanges they give free meals, lodging, etc.

The military demonstrations of the Croix de Feu (at Alger, Chartres, etc.) with the complicity of the government officials decisively influence the policies of the government. The reactionaries have captured the higher organs of the regime. To the public they appear as the only active force. In so doing they accustom the masses to their presence and neutralize the hostility of large sections of the masses.

In the present crisis of the economic structure and the political institutions of the state, to wrest reforms from the regime is to enter into the final struggle for its destruction, and the creation of a new social order. Today, because of the large number of unemployed, the workers will not struggle exclusively for economic demands. They will not enter the struggle except with

the assurance of definitely ending their misery by means of the struggle for the complete overthrow of the system.

That is why the struggle for power must be led towards the complete economic transformation, under the slogan of nationalization of the trusts and the basic branches of industry and commerce.

The vanguard of the exploited masses, the workers, must link their struggle with that of the other sections of the toiling population. The crisis in the last few years has driven the peasants into the political struggle. We must organize a broad agitational campaign for the expropriation of large landed proprietors, for the socialization of the grain trusts, flour mills, and the large dairy interests. The peasants in each commune must be organized into defense and peasant control committees. This is the only guarantee of success.

The culmination of the struggle for power can only be insurrection. It would be deceiving the exploited masses to make them believe in the possibility of any other way out. To accomplish our aim, to lead a victorious struggle, we must advance the means to the ends which we have in view. At the present time it is necessary to repulse the fascist attacks against working class organizations, to create and strengthen the fighting organizations for workers’ defense. All the youth who are physically fit should enter the defense organizations of the party.

But these organizations are not the instruments of victorious struggle, they only constitute its nucleus. To assure their effectiveness, to avoid adventurism, the Young Socialists must link these organizations with the working masses. They must carry on intense agitation to win the sympathy and active participation of the workers and peasants in the workers’ militia against fascism and the forces of reaction. The Young Socialists resolutely oppose the formation of military organizations independent from the masses and having adventurist aims. But convinced that the bourgeois state will not be overthrown except by armed force, while they will unceasingly agitate for the arming of the people, they will organize the workers’ militia.

EDITORIAL

A New Deal Crumb

WHY does Roosevelt toss the youth of this country a bone at this time? \$50,000,000 is a lot of money. When allocated to answer the crying needs of the young students and unemployed youth, it is a contemptible insult. But, slight as it is, it is a gesture towards recognition of the youth problem, and many individuals may be taken in. Is it sudden generosity?

"One of the most tragic results of the depression is the effect it has upon the lives of young men and women emerging from our educational institutions. There are several million young people between the ages of 18 and 30 who have graduated from our schools and colleges and entered into a work-world where no opportunities have been open to them to obtain a start in business or to commence the practice of their profession. *This large group may become demoralized and disheartened and thus constitute a dangerous addition to the discontented and radical-minded elements and also offer a challenge to the system which permits the minds and ingenuities of its youth to be wasted.*"

There, in Senate Resolution No. 67, January 30, 1935, lies the answer. Fearful of the spread of a "challenge to the system," the bosses hope to stop it by feeding bird-seed to the hungry millions of young people whose ingenuities are being wasted: This is what the bosses have to offer us, and no more.

Every detail of the National Youth Administration is to us a challenge. Every detail must be opposed. It sets miserable wage standards for young workers. It menaces the wage levels of the adult workers. Far from stemming the tide of discontent, the N.Y.A. should serve to smash the floodgates of restraint.

The Spartacus Youth League proposes that workers, young and old, unite in opposition to the plan. A bone to the youth—it slams at the conditions of every worker. The N.Y.A. is a step towards reducing the American working class to a lower standard of living and further penury. Opposition to it is therefore the obligation of every laboring man and boy, woman and girl. *Our demands are: Trade union wage-scales; regular jobs on a five day week and six hour day; adequate provision for support while attending school academic and training schools; settlement houses in the cities for homeless youth under civil and youth administration; unemployment insurance; the right to vote at the age of eighteen.*

Roosevelt hopes to regiment the young people into channels of patriotic devotion. But the bone he has offered is no temptation. We are not dogs. The system that wastes "the minds and ingenuities of its youth" cannot be made attractive by pittance. Boss rule cannot provide any "opportunities" other than starvation and meagre subsistence. The youth do need a plan. This is not the one. Yes, the youth are disheartened. But that cannot be overcome by the Roosevelt proposals.

The way out is to use our minds and ingenuities for the destruction of the system of mass poverty in order to replace it with a system of plenty. More and more dangerous must become the addition to the "radical-minded elements." Mobilize in trades unions, unemployed leagues, political, fraternal and sports organizations, for united struggle—that is the first answer. Into the Spartacus Youth League, for revolutionary struggle—that is the second answer. Destroy capitalism—that is the final answer.

Questions and Answers

War and the Franco-Soviet Pact

Question: What causes imperialist war?

Answer: Industrialists are constantly looking for markets for their goods, and for sources of raw material. Bankers are constantly looking for places to exploit with their loans and investments. Since the capitalists of all countries are faced with the same necessity for expansion, and since the world is limited, they cannot avoid stepping on one another's toes.

Question: Should the workers take sides with the "good" capitalists against the "bad" capitalists in case of a war?

Answer: Since imperialist wars are an inseparable part of capitalism, it is incorrect to blame one or another country for starting a war. In spite of patriotic propaganda, every country is in it for what they can get out of it. No matter which combination of countries wins, it simply means that the victor will be free to exploit its own workers and those of the vanquished nations still further. The workers always lose, no matter who wins.

Question: What can the workers do to get out of this mess?

Answer: Since it is the economic and political system under which we live that inevitably brings on wars, the only way to permanently

abolish war is to wipe out the capitalist system. The workers have to aim for the defeat of their own capitalist government in a war.

Question: What should be the attitude of the Soviet Union towards the question of imperialist war?

Answer: The Soviet Union, the only proletarian country, should take advantage of its position to explain the above to the workers of the world and should especially impress upon them that the only real defense of the workers' fatherland will be the defeat of their own capitalists and the creation of Soviet governments throughout the world. Even though one a group of capitalists countries may be willing to fight together with the Soviet Union for an immediate goal, they will always be ready to turn upon the workers' government and stamp it out. They fear the Soviet Union as a living inspiration and example for the workers in their own countries. The interests of the Soviet Union are identical with the interests of the international proletariat. The Soviet Union should be the spearhead of the proletarian revolution, all over the world.

Question: Surely the Franco-Soviet Pact is not in line with this?

Answer: No. The Franco-Soviet Pact has been hailed by the Soviet

Union as a guarantee of peace. The Soviet Union blames Hitler alone for the coming war, and says that the Pact signifies the peaceful intentions of the French government. The Soviet Union further states that it's in complete agreement with the "defense" plans of France, justifying the greed of France in advance, and urging the French workers to support the imperialists of their country in the coming war, instead of overthrowing them.

Question: How do you explain this contradiction?

Answer: The bureaucracy of the Soviet Union has constantly been turning away from the support of and dependence upon the international working class, to dependence upon the good will of their mortal enemies, the capitalist governments. They have placed the immediate, narrow interests of the Soviet Union above the fate of the international proletariat and the ultimate fate of the Soviet Union itself. Now they have openly urged "national defense" of the imperialist robbers upon the French workers. They have deserted the international revolution, have rendered the Communist International impotent, and are thus attempting to close to the workers the only road to the abolition of the breeding places of war.

—L. B.

I Cover the War Front

by Spartacus

Ethiopia Mobilizes

Having failed in his attempts to secure sufficient imperialist backing to spike Italy's plans, Emperor Haile Selassie called upon his subjects "to fight to the last man." By word of mouth and improvised signals the call ran through primitive Ethiopia that rallied to defend itself. Tribal chieftains held war councils. Thousands of fighting men flocked into the capital, Addis Ababa, to exist in the army. Mobilization of the black warriors has begun.

Ethiopia has to its advantage those conditions which made for its success thirty years ago, against Italy at Adowa—climate, topography, native sincerity. Living under the primitive conditions, many of them slaves, the natives are nevertheless prepared to lay down their lives in their own defense. While Selassie guarantees them no freedom, they are in accord with his plea: "Better die free than as slaves."

Duce Drills Soldiers

The cards are stacking up on Mussolini's side. Confident that he cannot be halted Il Duce is proceeding at a terrific pace. Backed by a military pact with France, already operative though unsigned, and Britain's submission to Italian aggression in territory that it wished to preserve for itself, he has in addition, to go through with his intention or face ruin in Italy. With 200,000 already under arms in Africa, and a population at home that has been frenziedly driven towards militarization, he faces the discontent of the hard-pressed Italians.

To fulfill what Britain in 1891, and France in 1906, guaranteed Italy in secret pact, Il Duce has mobilized his maximum strength. 120 war generals met with Mussolini in war council on July 10 to map out the African campaign. Fall, when the rainy and torrid season in Abyssinia ends, is dead certain to mark the outbreak of official hostilities. Recently the frontier of Eritrea (Italian) was the scene of a clash that inflicted heavy losses on both sides.

Adding the Engineers, fliers and transport men of 1909-10-12 to the reservists already called to the colors, Mussolini now has an army of almost 200,000 ready for immediate service. With the native troops recruited by Italy, the latter's effectives now total 245,000. Ten new submarines of unstated tonnage have been ordered by the navy.

Roads in Africa are being pushed. Three of the five regular divisions are already in Africa. Five black-shirt divisions are prepared for service. 600 planes will be used in the attack.

"Italy can allow no diplomatic formula to interrupt the action she has begun," says *Giornale d'Italia*. Nor will she allow the sufferings of its soldiers to do so. Reports that the Italian soldiers in Africa, unused to the climate, are down with the draught malaria and heat, are not likely to ease Mussolini's intentions. Correspondingly, Il Duce does not plan to let Ethiopia off scot free of dissension. Applying an old American custom, he is reported to be agitating a revolt among the tribal chieftains.

Our Enemy - Uncle Sam

Under cover of pacifist protestations, Uncle Sam is proceeding as a rapacious imperialist bandit. Dear Old Uncle, he's a peaceful guy—take Hull's or smiling Franklin's word for it. Of course, if compelled, "we'll" fight.

Strict censorship was clamped down on the naval maneuvers conducted in the Pacific. One of the reasons may well have been the toll of sailors' lives that were lost in the war "games." Six were lost in a plane on May 23. The extensive operations lasted in until June 10. Objections of Japan were ignored. \$457,805,261 was voted by the House for the Navy. The measure calls for 24 new ships, 555 airplanes, and an increase in personnel of 11,677. One dreadnaught is part of the 1936-1937 program. The appropriations "reach a total never known before in times of peace." (N. Y. Times, April 25, 1935.) 3,735 in the navy get above \$5,000 in yearly salaries. That gure does not include the sailors.

On July 4, Independence Day, the Army announced that it had perfected a new four-motored bomber that can hit a speed of 230 miles an hour. It is built for high altitude, and can carry six tons for 6,000 miles without refueling. On July 14, on Bastille Day, the Army published its request for \$2,000,000 to make war maps.

John Bull Buys Arms

Having played the role of pacifist arbiter for a long time, Great Britain is constantly shedding its "pacifist" halo. Bargaining shrewdly for his own military positions, John Bull has spurred European armament. Himself not to be outstripped, British practicality quickly grasps what is, and proceeds with her own plans. She condemned Japan's annulling of the Washington Naval Treaty, and followed it by dropping all naval quotas, this proving her intent to continue the boast that the sun never sets on her territory. She did, of course, say that another parley will be held in 1942.

First charging that the Reich bars peace, England turns about and sanctions the rearming of Germany, so hastening her own program. "British reply to U-Boats likely to be new arming." By 1937 Britain hopes to triple her air-force, with a fleet of 1,500 planes.

Now that the quotas have been dropped, everything is in tip-top shape for an arms race. The arms manufacturers do not have to rely on domestic trade alone. According to charges made at the Royal Commission, a great deal of military equipment has been passing to Germany—including engines, ignition screens, and air-plane accessories. New types of planes are being developed, a central supply board is planning the sudden expansion of the war industries.

Japan Jars East

The Land of the Rising Sun is also the land of rising imperialism. Why, you'd think that Japan would confine herself to making a meal out of China, and the Pacific islands. But here she is, way down in Africa. For many years, it develops, Japan has been worming her way into Ethiopia as the guardian of the colored races. It all came out when Rome raised a squawk, in

order to justify its own policy. (The Italian propaganda department is making excellent use of this. Rome, it appears, will become the savior of the white race.)

As a matter of fact, the Japanese are concentrating on their eastern aggression. With attention focussed on Abyssinia, the developments on the eastern front may be overlooked. Threats of war flared up only a few weeks ago when, seizing upon a slight pretext, Japan moved to gobble up Peiping and Tsientsin. After apologies and concessions—by China—the affair subsided, temporarily anyway.

Similarly the disputes between Japan and the Soviet Union continue. Japanese ambitions to gain Soviet islands in the Amur river were responsible for a recent border episode, during which Japanese troops and Manchukuan gunboats entered Soviet territory.

Charging that the growth of the United States fleet constitutes a peril (as it does), the Japanese navy has published a pamphlet explaining its position. Tokyo contemplates doubling its air force, and building a navy that will rival "ours," and assure domination of the Pacific.

Among the factors charging the world atmosphere is Japanese inroads into Australian trade (which has England looking askance), and U. S. trade (which has occasioned an investigation of Japanese textiles in the U.S.) Another factor which contributes towards making this the peaceful world it is, is Japan's poaching on U. S. preserves—namely, the Philippines. The Japanese have extensive land-holdings in the province of Davao, and are active in fisheries and retail trade. During the outbreak last month of the Sakdalistas, the insurgents appealed to Japan for aid. They received "moral support."

Nazis Spur Navy

Leave it to German efficiency. No half-way measures. After rushing headlong towards military development Hitler secured imperialist England that allows Germany to build up to 35 percent of the British naval ratio, and up to 45 percent of the submarines. The program for 1935 calls for the building of two 26,000 ton battleships, two 10,000 ton cruisers, and 20 submarines (to compete with France). By the end of 1935 16 new destroyers already under construction will have been added. In total tonnage the fleet will be sixth in world size; in fighting strength it will not be inferior to France's or Italy's. Germany will also build its first air-plane carrier (France and Italy have none.) At present the Reich also has 450 "Vest-pocket" Torpedo boats. At Kiel a submarine school has been opened. Chilean nitrates are being bought.

For air attack, Goering has admitted that his army is adding a new plane every three days. Reports that leak out indicate that figure to be low. As are the other powers, Germany is developing a fast-moving army in which tanks play a great part. One motor vehicle, capable of moving at 80 miles an hour for every two infantrymen is the ratio of the new army. Reserves are being created by putting the classes of 1900-1910 through 8 weeks of training, and then placing them in the second replacement reserve. (Americans born in Germany owe military service). The country had been divided into military districts, each under the supervision of an army corps and one commander. Highway construction is part of the plan. By 1936 Germany should have the most efficient highway service in the world.

Defying the Versailles Treaty, which they have dumped into the ash heap, the Germans have undertaken the fortification of the Schleswig region on the North and Baltic Seas. Further, it is asserted that Germany owns a base in the North Sea—the island of Sylt. Activity is particularly emphasized in the North Sea region because it is the avowed declaration of the Nazis to constitute a bloc against the Soviet.

(αβγδ εζηθ ικ λμ νξ οπ ρσ τυ φχ ψω)

I Cover the War Front

(Continued from preceding page)
That for example was the purpose of Goering's visit to Jugoslavia.

However, her energies are not concentrated exclusively in the North. Southwest Africa, as well as central Europe, intrigues der Fuehrer. The former head of the Reich South African colony recently conferred in Berlin with ex-colonial chiefs. Liberia is being urged for German mandate. And not so long ago it was charged that Germany was sending tanks and other war supplies, including experts, to Abyssinia.

France Still Frisky

It is true that la France, which held distinction for many years of being the most militaristic nation in Europe is somewhat overshadowed currently. But it is still holding its own, despite the assurance of Soviet and Comintern diplomacy that France has mended her ways and has become a home-loving gal like you or me. Why, a leader of the Young Communist International went so far as to refer to the "countries that are struggling for peace: France and Russia." Well, Russia does sincerely want peace, and France would like to maintain things in Europe as they are. But don't go taking France for a sissy now.

In the first place, Italy finds a lot of comfort in France's support. In the second, France is pretty much riled by this German rearmament, and British encouragement of it. So what does she do? First she helps block League action on Abyssinia and then she ups and decides not to play with the British "until they become more realistic"—as the N. Y. Times reporter put it. France placid much stock in an alliance with Poland, but it didn't seem to transpire. Her whole air force of 2,167 is declared outmoded and will be replaced in three years.

What is of greatest interest about the French war front is that here the front may cross through the country with the proletariat pitted against the capitalists and their war lords.

Soviet Surrounded

The U.S.S.R. stands hemmed in by imperialist vultures that wait for the first opportunity to sail in and destroy the workers' dictatorship. To prepare against an alleged alliance of the Reich, Japan and Finland, the Soviet has developed its defenses in the Baltic. Russians note that the new German warships are of a type that can penetrate the narrowest parts of the Gulf of Finland. Sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway has by no means settled friction in Siberia. There have been repeated border disputes with Japan. It is common knowledge that many Finns dream of establishing a "greater Finland" through conquest of Northern Russia.

However, the Soviet Union will not be an easy target. The U.S.S.R. is well prepared for attack. On May Day, 3,000 planes and nearly 3,000 tanks paraded before the Moscow working class. Unfortunately, the defense of Soviet Russia is not assured by military force, but by world proletarian support. That Stalin is destroying by bargaining away proletarian internationalism for diplomatic pacts with "peace-loving" nations that only bide their time for open attack on the workers' government.

Around the World War Front

Though Litvinoff defended the League as an "instrument for the preserving of peace," she does look sorrowful, doesn't she? She was going to do something about stopping Italy, but Mussolini barked at her. And, comrades, Italy is a member. Albeit, the League does put out an informative year book. The latest presents the following picture of world armaments. (The figures are in millions units.)

Nation	1930	1932	1935
Britain (pounds)	95	88	107
France (francs)	11,600	12,022	10,623
Germany (mks.)	681	634	*894
Italy (lire)	4,960	5,444	4,300
Japan (yen)	495	455	1,021

A 'Champion of Democracy' Wields Cudgels in Letter To Us - And We Answer

(Some time ago our Lane comrades received a letter from a Mr. Anthony Love which we print below with the major part of the reply.—Ed.)

His Letter

Gentlemen,

I am a graduate of Franklin K. Lane, and I therefore am interested in my alma mater. Why you use the good name of Lane for the name of your newspaper (or trash page I should say) is more than I can understand. I presume that the members of your S.Y.L. or Spartacus Youth League are students in the high schools of our city. It certainly is ungrateful of these students ("Reds") to preach against the very organization that gives them their education. You probably learned in your study of geography that Russia is the largest country in the world, and that it is also a communistic country. Why waste your brilliant (?) propaganda on the people of this country, who are the most patriotic in the world. With your intellectual brilliancy (?) a high position in the Soviet government awaits each and everyone of you, so please do yourself a big favor and preach your communistic bank to those who believe in it.

Our country was formed and molded by the vigor, vitality and courage of the hardy pioneer, whose sole object of government was democracy. For over 150 years our country has prospered under this ideal form of government until it now is the greatest nation in the world. If democracy can accomplish this, then "vive democracy," and down with communism. Get wise to yourself and be thankful that you are citizens (if you are) of this great country. Hoping this letter will be read (but doubting it). I remain,

A Champion of Democracy,
ANTHONY LOVE.
(Graduating class Jan. 1935)

Our Reply

Dear Sir:

Our paper is called the LANE Spark because it is published for Lane students, treats LANE problems, is distributed at Lane, and is written mostly by Lane students and grads (who happen to be citizens, although that fact is unimportant.)

Moreover, it is generally known (as you point out) that the people of this country are patriotic, and that they have been, "for over 150 years," believers in democracy. As I see it, what is elementary in a democracy is the right to advocate whatever kind of politics you believe in. If you can on one page sign yourself A Champion of Democracy, and on the other, write: "... preach your communistic bunk to those who believe in it," and intimate that people who don't agree with you ought to be shipped to the U.S.S.R., then I submit that you are inconsistent, and that you are not clear as to what democracy implies. As for my part, I am more

Russia (rubles) 1,046 1,279 6,500
U. S. (\$) 704 642 902

The British figure does not include the dominions. That for Germany is of 1935, undoubtedly increased since; and that for Italy is of June, 1934.

Baltic states, with Finland in the lead, are pushing their air forces. 500 planes are now ready for use in the Baltic. . . . Sweden's new cruiser, the Gothland, is equipped with catapult facilities for eight seaplanes. . . . Denmark has 25 modern machines and two balloons. . . . Lithuania claims 65 machines. . . . Schusnigg agrees with Mussolini on Austria's rearming. . . . Delegates to a Balkan conference approved limited arms for Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria. Hungary balks at "armed front against Reich" . . . Yes, again we repeat. A peaceful world.

than glad to hear you express your views, in letters, in personal conversations, etc., because I have such faith in the logic and truth of my "bunk" that in the long run I fully expect to see you agree with me, or at least to appreciate and understand the views my organization stands for. (Not so. We do not expect to, or want to, convince anti-working class "patriots" who drag a red-herring over every issue.—Ed.)

Now we come to the central idea of your letter. What you say in brief is this: "Our government is a democratic one which is firmly and patriotically supported by the people. It allows everyone thousands of opportunities. It provides us with an opportunity to get a high school education. But some reds who have been sent over by the U.S.S.R. or who have been inflamed by communistic propaganda misuse the opportunities and the training, and attempt to spread notions of revolution in order to install a vicious dictatorship of the sort that's been set up in Russia. Those ideas may be good enough there where they've never enjoyed democracy but they can't work here."

Let's see. First, this country of ours was born in revolution; after it was over, one of its presidents said: "We ought to have one every 20 years." Even as late as 70 years ago, another said: "Revolutions are sometimes not only good, but necessary." The first president was Jefferson, and the second, Lincoln.

Secondly: don't believe for a moment that the government hands us our education as a gift. The schools were built by workingmen. The textbooks are printed by union printers—workingmen. And the cost of building and printing and teaching is met by taxation, which means that you, Anthony, and myself, or our fathers and millions of others who work pay for it. You support the schools every time you pay rent, or go to the movies, or buy groceries, and every other time you spend or earn a cent. If we support the educational system, haven't we the right to say a word on how it should be run? Even further, since we are the hard

workers who pay the running expenses of the government, haven't we also the right to say what kind of a government we want?

It's not a question of reds and communism and revolution. To most people it's a question of bread and butter. The San Francisco general strike was called, as you know, in order to stop the killing of strikers who wanted a decent hiring system. Hbe four strikers who were killed a short time ago in Eastern California were making ten cents an hour and wanted a few cents more. Figure their weekly wage, and you'll understand why these hired workingmen, who were far from being reds, were willing to lay down their lives in the fight.

If I were to ask you now why the U. S. entered the first World War, I think you'd give the answer almost everyone else would give: to save Morgan's millions. But your father and mine didn't know that 20 years ago, and the people who said it were howled down as Socialists, pacifists, and whatnot. What they said was correct, wasn't it? It may very well be that what we are saying about the coming second World War is just as true.

In any case, sit back for a minute and ask yourself these questions: is EVERYTHING in our country perfect?, is there nothing in it that needs improving?, will the crisis last forever, or will Roosevelt cure it?, and can he?, and so on.

Whatever your answers are, I expect your methods of thinking to be as cool and logical as I try to make mine. There is no point in calling people reds and unpatriotic and russian, and expecting to answer their arguments that way.

I am sending you a copy of our monthly paper, YOUNG SPARTACUS; look into it. Write me if there is anything in it you disagree with, or if it raises any questions in your mind. I shall always be glad to answer your letters (on time, of course).

Address them to
SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE
55 E. 11th St., N. Y. C.
Sincerely yours,
SAM GORDON,
City Educational Dir.

this 'n' that in science

Have you any idea of the vast amount of time and money spent by people on foolish medical fads? Medical quacks and fakers prey on a large percentage of our population, extorting money from them not only without giving them anything in return, but actually aiding their physical and mental degeneration. When the patient finally realizes he has been tricked and goes to a recognized medical practitioner, the disease has very often progressed to a stage where even the vast amount of medical knowledge at our command can avail nothing.

What are some of these cults, and where do the fallacies in them lie?

Osteopathy

Osteopathy was born in 1874 in the fertile mind of one, Andrew Still. Through profound meditation he became convinced that the bones are the most important elements in the functioning of the human body, and that the backbone is the bone of all bones in the control of disease. In this point he considered himself the recipient of a divine revelation.

Osteopathy is based upon the false premise that the primary cause of every disease is some interference with the blood supply, or nerve function, always caused by a dislocation of one of the small bones which make up the spinal column. The dislocated bones exert pressure on the nerves and blood vessels, and thus cause disease at whatever distant point in the body, the nerve or blood vessel may lead to.

This theory cannot have a semblance of plausibility even to the most childishly naive person. Is a nerve like a rubber waterpipe? Certainly not! An impulse passes along a nerve fiber similarly to an electric current along a wire. And just as pressing a wire will not affect the current, so a dislocation of a bone even if it could press upon the nerve (which medical science has definitely proved it cannot), would not affect the nerve supply to a particular organ. Thus Still with one divine revelation overthrew all the accumulated knowledge of decades concerning disease-producing bacteria, interactions of toxins and anti-toxins, contagious diseases, hereditary diseases, and other such medical phenomena.

Chiropractic

The basis of chiropractic is practically the same as that of osteopathy except that it is somewhat more naive and a little further removed from actual facts. Osteopaths claim that chiropractic is the first three weeks study of osteopathy. Chiropractors insist that there are vital differences between the two tenets. But no neutral student has ever been able to discover these differences.

The chiropractor's explanation of disease runs in a vein somewhat like this. The nerves are like wheels with the spinal column as a brake; when the brake presses on the wheels (the nerves), it prevents them from functioning. This may sound very "logical" and "reasonable" to the layman but is wholly out of accord with all the facts of anatomy and physiology. The holes from which the nerves emerge are much larger than the nerves themselves. In addition Nature has very generously protected the nerve by padding it with soft and fat tissue. Everybody has seen acrobats and dancers bend their backs into all sorts of angles and postures, and yet their nerves are not squeezed or damaged. X-rays have been used to search for the dislocations which chiropractors assert are present, but those dislocations cannot be found. As a matter of fact, a force of almost a ton, while it will certainly fracture one of the spinal bones, will not dislocate it or cause it to press on the spinal nerves.

—HAROLD BARRETT.

(Ed. Note: Other medical cults and false popular notions concerning medicine and health in general will be treated in forthcoming issues—if so desired by the readers.)

Howard Waley: - Bridge Builder

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., June 2. —Howard Waley, one of a family of bridge-builders, slipped and fell to his death while working on the Trans-Bay Bridge.

Such a simple little news item might meet your eye any day. What would you think of it? Nothing? No I don't think so, for bridges are fascinating and inspiring. Perhaps in earlier days you yourself had set your heart upon working on the beautiful high bridges.

Such a little item did appear the other day. San Francisco, the City of the Seven Hills, is situated on a long neck of land. Across the east is Berkeley and Oakland. A ferry now spans the bay which those points encircle. It is necessary to have a bridge to bind in steel ties these populous centers. The much talked of bridge is being built—San Francisco to Oakland. And a truly marvelous bridge it is. Tall, steel towers mounted on huge concrete anchors provide the framework for the cables that are even now being spun from tower to tower, a tunnel through the island in the center of the Bay, and then more towers until the Oakland shore line is met.

Dick Waley sat on Rincon hill on the San Francisco side. He had just come from school. His eager face was turned up to where high on the cat-walk, his dad, Howard Waley, had been working on a treacherous task.

Dick's heart beat proudly. Only his dad could be trusted in this ticklish job. He looked keenly at

that tiny figure, 600 feet up, moved along the narrow walk to a junction of the cables. From tower No. 1. A little knot of men watched him reach up, strain upon a bolt. Ah! he had finished. Now back, step by step, along the narrow, all too narrow cat-walk.

Dick felt the cool caress of the afternoon fog rolling in like a huge wet mantle. He frowned. The fog was covering with the bridge, making it wet. The cat walk would be slippery now.

A rift in the fog. Waley walks slowly. A foot slips. But he rights himself. All eyes on Howard Waley as he essays the slippery slimy walk on high. He nears Tower No. 1. The fog rolls on slowly, filling every nook with its awful wetness. Waley steps along, left foot, right foot, left—he slips!, desperately attempts to balance himself—clutches for the safety line that is not there (the big company can't afford to pay for one—men are plentiful) and catapults over and over to be smashed into nothingness by the grey waters of San Francisco Bay.

Dick groans, hides his eyes. His dad will not come home tonight. The men on Tower No. 1 look at one another with stern eyes. The cat walk sways. The Bridge stands moodily silent.

There was no safety line.
—BILL MONROE.

SUBSCRIBE TO
YOUNG SPARTACUS
(Organ of Spartacus Youth League)

Spartacus Fights Social-Patriotism of AYC

(Continued from Page 1)

the section was deleted from the final draft.

In the Illinois seminar, Ethel Shachner of the Y.P.S.L. made a stirring defense of the document, acknowledging the correctness of our criticism, but insisting that the "program of Karl Marx could not be presented for adoption at the A. Y.C." Thus, the Y.C.L. and the Y.P.S.L. are jointly responsible for the Declaration. The document was accepted by all the seminars without one basic change.

Y. C. L. and Y.P.S.L. members, nauseated by an overdose of liberal sweetmeats, reacted very sympathetically to the position of the S. Y.L. Members of both organizations confined to us their disgust with the innocuous and pacifist character of the congress. The pressure they exerted upon their respective caucuses warranted a "basic" revision of the document. The second draft contained many fundamental changes and some improvements. But it retained the false, ambiguous character of the first—including over half of the first. The S.Y.L. voted the rejection of the second draft, along with the Proletarian Party youth.

The Stalinist chairman of this democratic conference exposed the Stalinist-control by announcing (through error, of course) that the final form of the "Declaration" was already being mimeographed while the congress was discussing its merits and presenting amendments. All amendments were defeated.

The point of greatest controversy at the entire congress arose on the three point resolution introduced by the S.Y.L. on the question of social-patriotism. The resolution was prompted by the growing social-patriotic sentiment in the working class movement, evidenced by the sections of the Communist International, and other centrist and reformist groups. The resolution introduced in a seminary contained three points:

a. Against war engaged in by American imperialism.

b. Against the theory of the lesser evil in the wars of so-called democratic nations against a fascist nation (i.e. refusal to support a war of American imperialism against another capitalist state with a fascist government.)

c. Refusal to support war or "peace" pacts engaged in by American capitalism.

Wars of capitalist states, whether "democratic" or fascist, argued our comrades, are profiteers' wars. To support American imperialism in a war for the conquest of fascist Germany, Austria or Italy would be a betrayal transcending that of the Second International in 1914.

On the floor of the Congress the resolution was introduced by the Yipsels.

The big-guns of the Y.C.L. top caucus went into action against the resolution but could not keep all their members in line on their obvious non-Marxian position. In opposing this resolution, the Y.C.L. applied the Franco-Russian pact and the social patriotism of the Czechoslovakian and French C. P.'s to the American scene.

Y.C.L. members violated party discipline and voted for the entire resolution. The representatives of the Y.P.S.L. announced their support of the resolution. In the seminar on "Peace and Freedom," where the resolution was presented, it was defeated by a vote of 75 to 25.

The three points were then voted upon individually. The Y.C.L. caucus leaders even fought and voted against point 1 which read: "The congress goes on record against any war engaged in by American imperialism." Pray, tell us, what war engaged in by American imperialism does the Y.C.L. support? The answer is clear. Should the U. S. enter a multi-lateral pact similar to the Franco-Russian pact, the Y.C.L. stands ready to suspend all activity against a war waged by American capitalism with, possibly, Germany. "Defend the Fatherland" replaces "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war" as the slogan of the C. I. Therein lies the significance of the Y.C.L.'s opposition to our resolution.

Yipsels Asked to Break With United Front Mockery - Analysis Urges Dissolution of Congress - For Councils of Action

Sections 1 and 2 of the resolution were defeated by a vote of 40 to 30, with many Y.C.L.ers voting "aye." Section 3 was defeated by a vote of 60 to 25. Let the Y.C.L. explain its vote.

The enthusiasm that marked the New York and Washington congresses was lacking at Detroit. The futility of this giant symposium becomes clearer to greater numbers of participants. On several occasions the sessions were interrupted by delegates who demanded to know what the congress had accomplished in the year of its existence. Yipsels and Y.C.L.ers refer with skepticism to the congress. Its collapse

is inevitable. It is no secret that the congress continues only thanks to the presence of the Yipsels in it.

There is however reason to believe that the Y.P.S.L. is no longer desirous of remaining in the A.Y.C. The right wing of the S.P. certainly wishes the Y.P.S.L. to break away because of its (the right wing's) reactionary opposition to the united front. The left wing wishes to break because it has begun to recognize the inability of the A.Y.C. to conduct actions, and that its broad, pacifist and permanent character acts as a detriment to the proper education of the American youth to radicalism.

The Yipsels therefore are seeking to break from the congress; but on organizational, not on political issues. They cannot break on political issues because they bear equal responsibility for its creation and permanent status. In breaking from the congress they have then this alternative before them: break on the real issue—the false character of the congress and educate the membership, so as not to duplicate another such caricature of the united front; or, break on some technicality, some small organizational question, and thereby reap no benefits from the experience—disillusion the Yipsels in the united front, and thus play into the hands of the old guard of the S. P.

It is necessary now for the Y.P.S.L., which bears co-responsibility with the Y.C.L. for this farce, and for all Y.C.L.ers to speak out. It is necessary that the inability of the A.Y.C. to serve the American youth be exposed, and that the A.Y.C. be dissolved. It is necessary to establish, wherever possible, local youth councils of action which can act as the apparatus of labor youth organizations in the conducting and initiating of united action of the toiling and student youth in the United States.

The Spartacus Youth League has, as has the Workers Party of the U. S., indicated long ago its opposition to such "united fronts." We interpret the united front as an in-

war and fascism. Such organizations should be fought and not sponsored.

United fronts with pacifists are possible on specific anti-war issues (against shipment of munitions, against a war budget, etc.). But such united fronts are temporary; are terminated with the execution of the specified tasks. They do not (and correctly so) enter into the programmatic concepts of war, fascism, freedom, etc. No permanent alliance on program (organic unity) but temporary alliance on action; therein lies the Leninist concept of united front. The A. Y. C. transcends the bounds of the united front. It is a permanent organization meddling with program.

Ineffective because its heterogeneity of composition makes common action almost impossible.

Detrimental because in 'posting' as a united front of the highest kind it actually substitutes the united front of action, incapacitating the united front.

Dangerous because its program is not revolutionary but pacifist; because it detours the youth moving to a revolutionary position to a pacifist course; because millions of youths shall be taught to entrust to this institution the struggle against war-fascism and for the emancipation of society. Such a hodge-podge as the A.Y.C. can at best only shiver and crumble in the face of these momentous tasks.

The A.Y.C. stands today as a living monument dedicated to the stupidity of its sponsors. Tomorrow the monument of the A.Y.C. shall become its own sacophagus.

—N. GOULD.

Let the Y.C.L. Answer

"If war occurs against the U.S.S.R. and you make your revolution, you will be traitors."

Those are the words of the leader of the Young Communist International. In France where the armed workers' militia, barricade battle is the order of the day, Tchomodov, in conference with a group of French Socialist youth, labels revolutionists "traitors." Traitors, to what? Let the Young Communist League answer.

Does the Y.C.L. defend its international spokesman? It does. And it goes further. It undertakes more. It advances its own social-patriotic program. At the Detroit American Youth Congress it pitted in sharp attack the program of national defense against ours of anti-capitalist assault.

In moments of crisis an organization is tested. How does the Stalinist movement meet the crisis of impending war? In the manner of the social-democratic betrayers of 1914! CLARITY is needed to translate the revolutionary program into ACTION. The Y.C.L. brings pacifist confusion and reformist delusion.

For years the Y.C.L. repeated by rote Lenin's formula, "Turn the Imperialist War into Civil War," "No Defense of an Imperialist Government," "For the Defeat of Your National Government." But in the years of Stalinism these slogans have been reduced to phrases for text-book use. Not so with the revolutionists. Not so with the Spartacus Youth League. For us, these slogans, hammered out in constant conflict with the social patriots of the war years, are still the key to our revolutionary struggle against war.

The youth of the world, the working class of the world, cry for an answer: War is near, what shall we do? The Y.C.L. which has placed Stalinism where Leninism once stood, advises support of the national, democratic governments that stand for "peace." Those who when Hitler threatened could see no difference between socialists and fascists now see two kinds of capitalism: democratic, peace-loving capitalism like that in the United States and France, and fascist, war breeding capitalism like that in Germany and Japan. What shameful degeneration!

Tchomodov calls revolutionists traitors. Oh no. Those who prepare to duplicate the perfidy of 1914 are the betrayers. Those who bargain away proletarian internationalism for a "peace" pact, a military alliance, or a trade agreement, are the traitors. Those who counterpose the defense of the Soviet Union to the revolutionary struggle, are the enemies of the workers' revolution. Those who commit the betrayal of today, who yesterday turned the German workers over to the Hitler hangmen, must be scourged with a proletarian lash.

At Detroit a number of Y.C.L.ers refused to follow their leadership into the morass of non-communism. Will the remaining Y.C.L.ers likewise break from Stalinist treachery, or follow their leadership into the crime of social-patriotism?

The defense of the Soviet Union does not rest on supporting an imperialist nation whether it be France or the United States. Revolutionary defense rests principally in the proletarian fight against imperialism. That is what the Y.C.L. has forgotten, that is what its membership must remember. They must remember that to sell revolutionary principle in anticipation of a war alliance is betrayal, that the duty of every class conscious worker and young rebel is to labor for the revolution in his own country.

Yes, the MAIN ENEMY IS AT HOME. We have not forgotten. The struggle against war and for a workers' world cannot be trifled with. No alliance with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. Stalin has destroyed the Third International. He has not destroyed the working class, nor its champions. We build with the instruments of CLARITY and ACTION the Fourth International. That is where the rebels in the Y.C.L. and in the country belong—in the movement for the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

Y.C.L.ers, demand an accounting of your leadership! Spike the betrayers before their infamy is done! Make the Y. C. L. answer!

THE S. Y. L. RESOLUTION

1. There exists at present a danger in the workers movement and all anti-war organizations, a tendency to distinguish, in their struggle against war, between Fascist countries and the so-called democratic countries and lend their sympathies to the democratic country. This Congress goes on record against ANY war engaged in by American imperialism.

2. The Congress does not recognize such a thing as a "lesser evil," i.e., the idea that justifies support of one's own country, or any country, whose political form

is still a so-called democratic one, against a country in which Fascism or reaction is in power. Such a war could not and would not be in the interests of the masses and to countenance this theory could only lead to creating a support of the masses to such a war.

3. The Congress recognizes that any pact engaged in by this country, would be so engaged in only to advance the interests of American imperialism, and under no circumstances can the workers movement or any anti-war movement support any pact entered into by the ruling class of this country.

strument of ACTION conducted through a TEMPORARY alliance of organizations having programmatic differences, for the purpose of the execution of a single or a series of immediate TASKS common to all participants. A united front of different organizations seeking unity on programmatic and principle issues (the united front presupposes organizations with basic differences in program) can be accomplished only at a compromise or sacrifice of revolutionary principles; hence, a non-revolutionary product. Such a product is the American Youth Congress.

For example, on the programmatic question of the struggle against war in general it is impossible for a revolutionary to get together with a pacifist organization. Here two basic and irreconcilable conceptions are involved. The pacifist opposes all wars including the social revolution. The revolutionary believes in the necessity of converting the imperialist war into a revolutionary war. A permanent "united front" of pacifists and revolutionaries involving the general question of war, must of necessity adopt one or the other's conception.

It must always be remembered that in the general struggle against war and fascism, problems inextricably bound up with the struggle for power, a clear cut and complete revolutionary program is indispensable. Its principles are not to be played with or compromised. Any organization that does not have the full and correct revolutionary program on these questions has an anti-revolutionary conception. Such organizations should not be entrusted the important and responsible tasks of struggling against

A Quotation From Tchomodov

(Three weeks before the Stalin Laval Communiqué, towards the end of April, Tchomodov, secretary of the Young Communist International, and Kossarev, secretary of the Russian Comsomols, met with Lissansky, Meme-ton, Rancier, and Fred Zeller, leading Militants in the Seine organization of the French Young Socialists. We quote that section of the conversation which we refer to in the editorial on the Y. C. L. For a full report of the conversations see the New Militant of July 6.—Ed.)

"WAR? IF WAR OCCURS AGAINST THE U.S.S.R. AND YOU MAKE YOUR REVOLUTION, YOU WILL BE TRAITORS."

A war provoked against the U.S.S.R. can be simultaneously directed against the U.S.S.R. and France; if there is such a war, it will be one of German fascism against communism. The comrades ask us: what must we do in that case? The revolution is not made on command; you will not make it today nor on the day of the mobilization because there will then no longer be any organizations. If war comes, the comrades must participate in it. German fascism is arming and preparing for war. How shall we struggle against it? By meetings? By gatherings? A hell of a lot of Fascism worries about that. Paper stays paper, whereas gases and airplanes are being manufactured. German fascism must find itself confronted with the countries who are struggling for peace: France and the U.S.S.R."

War Signals Blaze in Ethiopia

'Hands off Ethiopia' is Working Class Answer to Black Shirts

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ton irrigation in the Sudan. And Italy claimed Southern Ethiopia for dams, railroads, and rich minerals. "In 1925 England and Italy again reaffirmed their intentions in Ethiopia. The fate of Ethiopia long since has been sealed.

Last December, at Wal-Wal, a conflict occurred between Italians and Ethiopians resulting in thirty deaths and many injuries. Italy seized this opportunity to raise the cry of Ethiopian "aggression." She demanded that Ethiopia be expelled from the League of Nations and that Italy should be paid \$50,000 indemnity.

At the refusal of Ethiopia to submit, Italy suddenly discovered a "fact"! The site of Wal-Wal, according to Mussolini, belonged to Italy and not to Ethiopia. This, in spite of the fact that the official Fascist paper of Italy (Il Popolo D'Italia) in 1934 published a map of Africa with Wal-Wal situated in Ethiopian territory! Yes, the imperialists will even change geography to accomplish their rapes.

The official reasons for the invasion are: firstly, Italy must "civilize" the land of "barbari"; secondly, the Ethiopians are incapable of self-rule; thirdly, the Ethiopians as "aggressors" have provoked Italy.

Let us see how valid, or more correctly invalid, these "arguments" are. If Ethiopians are barbarians, why is it that Italy allowed them membership to the "civilized" League of Nations in 1923? Secondly, why is it that Italy, "civilizer" of colonies, cannot and does not provide for the most elementary needs of the Italian masses? Why are there millions of Italian workers and peasants unemployed and poverty-stricken? Why is it that the workers of Italy are lowest paid in all of Europe? Is the "civilization" of Mussolini in Italy an indication of what fascist rule in Ethiopia will mean?

The entire case of Italy is a fraud from start to finish. The main reason for Italy's adventure is to exploit the oil and coffee fields, platinum, gold, copper, lead, ivory and

offer rich minerals which will bring huge profits to the Italian ruling class.

But that is only one side of the picture. In Italy we find that the fascist government with its immense bureaucracy is draining the treasury, and imposing higher taxes upon workers and peasants. The increasing unemployment, the seething unrest of Italian workers under the heel of fascism, the decline of foreign trade, the steady all of profits, have so crippled the decadent economic system that the only solution is war. The Italian industrialists are desperate or new markets, for raw materials and cheaper labor. They seek relief in Ethiopia.

What will the outcome be? That no one can predict. However, we can forecast several possible roads. First, if the working class of Italy blindly supports Mussolini, and the world proletariat does not aid Ethiopia, the latter will be coveted by a combination of robber capitalist nations, if not by Italy alone.

On the other hand, if the Italian workers tear down the illusions sowed by the fascists of "black versus white rule," and understand that the issue is not one of color but of class, great possibilities may be expected. (Reports from Italy show that a definite anti-fascist and anti-war movement is afoot. In fact, hundreds of workers have been jailed for refusal to serve in the army.) If the workers of Italy, supported by workers elsewhere, follow the advice of Karl Liebknecht, "The enemy is at home," and destroy the fascist dictatorship, the entire perspective for the workers of the world will be changed from world fascism to world communism.

What is the task of class-conscious workers in the United States? It is a difficult one. We must arouse the workers, especially Negro and Italian, to the realization that this war will not benefit either the Italian or Ethiopian masses, but will strengthen Italian fascism and the fascist movement throughout the world.

HANDS OFF ETHIOPIA!

Yipsels Elect 'Militant' NEC

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wing organized separately by the N. Y. Old Guard into the Young Socialist Alliance, played practically no role at the convention. The R.P.A. had only one delegate at the convention from St. Louis. Its statement, distributed to the delegates and centered around the concept of reforming the Y.P.S.L., mirrors the illusions that still exist in its ranks.

It would be unkind to omit reference to the Y.C.L. who appeared in the persons of Mac Weiss and Dave Doran with the usual offer of "united front." They took occasion to warn the Yipsels against "Trotskyism." But having mentioned them, let us pass on.

More than anything else, what is characteristic of the new leadership is the manner in which the convention was run. There had been no pre-convention internal discussion, no resolutions presented to the membership. Delegates were elected by the circles not on political lines but on the basis of those who had time and could manage to pay their way. The convention itself was closed, a procedure adopted from the revolutionary movement for the first time by the "left" Yipsels. The top caucuses ran the show with a breath-taking contempt for their own membership. Without resolutions, with only organizational steps before them, the discussion revolved around personalities, hearsay, and individual opinions of where people stood.

The rank and file delegates present represented by and large the

core of the organization, yet they returned from the convention to their circles with but the faintest comprehension of what had happened and what it all meant. The education of the membership went completely by the board. Even the victory of the "Militants" expressed in the election of Erber and of Fisher against Dancis, was thought by many to be simply a victory of some individuals against others, not of one political tendency against another.

As compared to the Reading convention of 1933 the Y.P.S.L. has suffered a considerable decline. The long-drawn out internal fight has resulted in a loss of energy and enthusiasm. Of about 100 delegates to the convention, almost half were from New York City. The rest of N. Y. State went almost wholly unrepresented.

Opportunity for Left-Wing

The Y.P.S.L. "militants" now control completely the national apparatus. They have before them the lesson of the S. P. N.E.C., and its shameful capitulation. The leftward moving elements have a new opportunity before them. To utilize it they must break with their past policies and methods. They must break with the policy of leaning on individuals and personalities for leadership, and seeking to make deals behind the backs of the membership. But primarily they must proceed to hammer out a program—a bold program of revolutionary Marxism which alone can provide a principled base for a revolutionary current. The Spartacus Youth League is the only organization that does stand on such a program. Members of the Y.P.S.L. who fight for these principles must draw the logical conclusion from their position.

Green Pastures And the Home Relief Bureau

Mr. Edward Corsi, H. R. B. Administrator, sits in his pastoral surroundings at 902 Broadway, and years for the green pastures. Or to put it more precisely, he yearns for a bit of the "ol' cunthry" for the clients. You see, Mr. Corsi is employed; he has a very good job and gets a month's vacation every year, during which time he can regale himself with bucolic delights—and his weekly pay check. The unemployed of New York City, however, are doomed to barren urbanity and this absence of green grass is injurious to the morale.

Mr. Corsi, aided by his lieutenants, steeped in psychological lore (among them Miss Alice E. Mertz of "the privileged class") has arrived at the following plan:

- Create a garden project.
- Stimulate the back to the land movement.
- Deport those aliens who are willing to return to their native land.

This garden project has met with well-merited derision by the overwhelming majority of the clients. Workers on relief are given a 2x4 plot of ground to cultivate near their homes. Armed with a fork and a Woolworth package of seeds, they trudge off to Lenox Avenue or Orchard Street, and start coaxing an onion to sprout. This ridiculous plan is supposed to give the unemployed workers the illusion of activity, achievement, and social usefulness. Who knows? We may any day step out of our headquarters, and see cows grazing along Union Square, as in days of yore.

The reaction of most H. R. clients was expressed simply by one of them, more conscious and understanding: "What the hell do they want to give me a garden plot for? I'm not a farmer. I've been working for 15 years as a carpenter and I'm a damned good one. There are enough farmers—too many of them, and they can't get rid of their stuff. Do they think I'm a pansy, going around picking flowers? Hell, I want a job."

This plan, whether consciously or unconsciously, purposes to close the eyes of the workers to their real needs, and curb the rising tide of indignation and discontent with the miserable conditions in relief.

Finally, we reach the most insidious scheme of all—the deportation scheme. This plan is not humorous; it is fraught with sinister dangers for the foreign-born unemployed worker. This is Corsi's pet plan. He has given many interviews to the press, and has stated openly at the Aldermanic investigations that it would be an excellent idea for an allotment to be made to deport to their native countries aliens on H.R.B. rolls who were willing to go.

This plan must be vigorously opposed by every worker. Any reference to workers being "willing" can be completely discounted. Workers in Fascist Germany have been known to "commit suicide" by Nazi "suggestion." And the foreign-born worker, ignorant of the language and customs, broken, demoralized, lives in bewildered terror of all of the rules of the Bureau, and scarcely knows whether he is "willing" or not. This plan is an attempt to shift the unemployed army of alien workers, who have struggled, suffered and given their best to help construct the billionaire fortunes of the Rockefellers, Mellons, Schwabs (who now no longer need these workers) to the Fascist dungeons of Germany, Italy, Poland, Austria, etc.

To all these plans, reactionary and against the interests of the unemployed workers in every case, we must counterpose our program for the workers on relief—higher relief budgets, a work relief program on prevailing wages, social security at the expense of the state and the bosses.—MIMI DANIELS

Young Coal Digger Describes Bootleg Mining In Anthracite

After the stock market crash, the anthracite industry started to slacken. Most of the coalmines worked slack time, and some shut down permanently.

During prosperity, anthracite people saved some money for a time of old age or some incidentals which arise in life. After being out of work for some time people used up their savings and were on the verge of starvation.

In the anthracite region, there were two things to do: one was to take the necessary food and clothing by thievery, or go out to the hills and start miniature mines which is commonly known as bootleg coal mining.

Bootleg mining is a primitive way of taking coal out of the earth. It merely consists of a group of miners, or a miner and his family, going into the hills and sinking a shaft to a vein of coal close to the earth's surface.

The miner going out to sink a shaft finds out from the older miners where he would strike coal soonest and then goes out there to dig a hole. Almost always he will first find a buddy to work with him.

Youth Project Offers Little

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and skill. But what it means is a vicious stab at the standard of living of the working class.

At present the Federal-State apprentice training program requires an apprenticeship period of not less than 2,000 or more than 10,000 hours. In all likelihood these requirements will be continued in the new plan. Thus for a year or more the employer has at his disposal an apprentice, at cheaper than full-scale adult labor, who has probably learned his job in far less than 2,000 or 10,000 hours. When modern industry tends ever more to eliminate the apprentice, the monarch of the erstwhile New Deal incorporates it in his latest scheme.

Further, the plan provides for work relief jobs to be "limited to unemployed youths in families certified for relief. This work shall be adjusted as to enable them to earn \$15 per month. This is to be in addition to work given to the head of the family." Magnanimous indeed! In the first place, unemployed youths are to be used to blast the wage standards of the adult workers. In the second place, the young workers are to be developed at a starvation standard.

Other features of the plan provide relief for high-school students at \$6 per month average, and relief for college students, up to 12 percent of the college enrollment, by jobs paying \$15 a month. This is intended to make it possible for students to continue their education. The college aid is an extension of the F. E. R. A. job system which was under college supervision, and is now placed directly under a governmental authority. Heretofore there were a number of instances of students refused jobs because of radical inclinations. That can be expected to increase.

To supervise the handling of the \$50,000,000 fund allocated for this program, a National Youth Administration was established. This Administration will be headed by Josephine Roche, Colorado mine owner and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. Miss Roche will be assisted by a national advisory committee consisting of "representatives of labor, business, agriculture, education and youth."

500,000 are expected to "benefit" from this plan. Assuming that what the 500,000 youth get is a benefit, there are still 2,500,000 unaccounted for, according to Labor Department statistics which are generally "con-

They have no way of using modern geological instruments to help them find the coal. It's all guesswork.

Sometimes a pair of miners will work on a hole for a week without reaching coal. They may abandon it then for someone else to continue or take a chance by striking in horizontally.

At times too, they are compelled to leave their fruitless labor and try another spot, where they begin all over again.

The shafts vary in depth from 10 to 80 feet. After reaching the vein of coal he digs it with a pick and shovel, but in most cases he uses a slight charge of dynamite.

After the coal is dug it is shoveled into lard tins or other containers of the same size. Then it is hoisted to the surface and it is then screened and put into a pile. Then it is loaded into trucks and brought home from the hills. After unloading it any one from six year old to seventy years is put to work breaking the larger lumps of coal grading it into different sizes. After this back breaking, tiresome and socially unnecessary work it is put on a stock pile and it is ready for the market.

About 90 percent of the coal is shipped to the cities by trucks. A miner can average from one half to one ton a day. The price he receives varies from \$4.00 to \$5.50 a ton, depending on the season. From this hard earned income he must a dollar for the hiring of a truck for bringing it from the hills. Then there is an additional expense for supplies and wear and tear of the tools, all of which amounts to approximately 35 cents a day, which reduces his income to \$2.65 or \$4.15 depending on seasonal price. The dangers which a bootleg miner undergoes are great and many. The coal which he mines has been rejected by the company because its closeness to the surface of the earth makes it very dangerous to mine because after a rainstorm the ground absorbing the water has created a surface pressure which causes the roof of the mine to collapse.

This has proven fatal to many young workers who have been forced into the bootleg mines due to economic conditions and, lacking the experience of the older miners, were not able to detect the dangers involved.

With all the modern mining machinery invented and used by workers which shall give untold wealth and leisure to the working class under a socialist order of society we find that the workers instead are reduced to poverty and long hours of enslavement under capitalism.

Even now the workers are taking part in bitter struggles against the capitalist class in order to better their conditions in the near future. The workers learning in their struggles that the only way to secure and guarantee a decent standard of living is to do away with the capitalists and take over the wealth producing machinery and run it for use and not for profit.

—D. J.

sidered conservative." What is to happen to these 2,500,000 youth, (who actually must number several million more)? The Roosevelt plan forgets them.

What is the yield Roosevelt expects, what accounts for his sudden concern over the lost energies of the youth? Everywhere there are radical rumblings among the youth. Roosevelt proposes to stem the tide with a feeble straw.

No, it won't work, Mr. Roosevelt. The millions of unemployed youth are offered nothing except a miserable pittance in the N. Y. A. The employed workers are faced with a compulsory competition that strikes at their conditions.

To our knowledge only the National Students League, of the so-called radical youth organizations, gave any support to the project.