

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

Published by the National Youth Committee, Communist League of America (Opposition) -- Endorsed by the Spartacus Youth Clubs

VOL. 3 No. 1

NEW YORK, MARCH 1934

Price 3 Cents

Defend the Heroic Austrian Working Class

GET READY FOR WAR SERVICES! Its Militant Struggle Against Fascism Shows Bankruptcy of Socialist Reformist Program

Shoulder arms! Right face! Forward march! Those are the orders that we young workers and students are going to receive in a few months. That is the plan of the Roosevelt government as dictated by big business interests! You who have produced wealth for others to consume, made profits for the bosses and then thrown on the street, jobless and homeless, are to be called upon to reply to the call of the "stars and stripes". You were told in schools, by your preachers and rabbis, by the daily press, that the World War of 1914-1918 was fought to make the world safe for democracy. Millions were killed and wounded in that war; the entire world still suffers as a result.

The capitalists are ready for war for

Child Labor Thrives Under N.R.A.

"What are you Reds yelling about, hasn't Roosevelt abolished child labor?" Who has not heard this argument? Another myth manufactured by Roosevelt's ballyhoo machine. The daily newspapers give wide publicity to this nonsense. Let us see what the facts are.

Certain codes provide for the abolition of child labor under the age of 16. Let us take the textile industry as an example. Between 1920 and 1930 there was a decrease of 59.6 percent in the number of children employed in textiles throughout the United States. South Carolina and Georgia showed an increase in child labor in the same period of 23.7 and 11.9 percent respectively. The decline in the employment of child labor was due to the decrease of the wages of the unskilled adult labor used to replace it. Why hire a child when an adult can do more efficient work at the same or a lower pay?

But are the child laborers, eliminated in textiles? Many of them fake their ages—for those replaced are not provided for—and become learners, apprentices and helpers. The codes do not provide minimum wages financially for these workers. A typical example of what happens is given by Courtenay Dinwiddie, Secretary, National Child Labor Committee (*American Federationist*—January 1934):

"A Joint Committee to Investigate Wages and Labor Conditions of Children, appointed last spring by the Pennsylvania Legislature, has recently submitted its report; this Committee interviewed a 16-year old girl who, in April, had been working at the rate of 9 cents an hour, and in August (when the plant was under the NRA) was working in the same plant as a learner for three weeks without any pay."

(Continued on page Eight)

more profits! Roosevelt has his NRA machinery well oiled for war purposes! How about you, the young worker who will be used as the cannon-fodder? What will you do? Are you going to shoulder a rifle for the "stars and stripes"? Will you who have produced profits for the bosses, who have been thrown on the streets, into hunger and misery, are you going to fight for the bosses?

"Nope, I won't fight for the fat-bellied parasites", many of you will say. Maybe! What are you doing now to prepare yourself for the war? All the means at the disposal of the bosses will be used—as in the last war—to show you that your place is in the trenches to fight for democracy and freedom. Many, if not most of you, who now are cocksure that you will not fight will be made punch-drunk by this powerful propaganda. How are you going to avoid it?

There is only one way. Find out the causes of war, the fundamental causes that will lead to the next war, take your place with those who are fighting the war against war. In your shops, factories or schools you should gather around you those who are against bosses' wars. Join the organization which is preparing a war against war. Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs!

YOUTH SUPPORT HOTEL STRIKE

New York.—Supporting the militant strike of the hotel and restaurant workers, various youth organizations organized a United Youth Tag Day Committee to raise funds for the general strike. These organizations include the Yipels, Spartacus Youth Clubs, Young Circle League, Paole Zion Youth, Young Communist League (Opposition)—Lovestone group—and the Student League for Industrial Democracy.

The general strike was precipitated by the Waldorf Astoria Hotel management firing of a member of the Amalgamated Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union. The Union issued a call for a general strike for union recognition, the forty-eight hour week maximum, minimum wage of \$20 and a scale for different kind of work. The workers responded in thousands. For the first time in many years these wage slaves challenged the powerful bankers who control the large New York hotels. Unionized for the first time, the workers enthusiastically organized their mass picket lines and strike action. They are determined to change their miserable working conditions.

NRA ACTS AS STRIKEBREAKER.

Recently the NRA board intervened in the strike and put through an agreement between the Amalgamated and the hotel association which included provi-

sions for the return of the strikers to be handled by shop committees, the firing of scabs and the examination of the workers' demands by NRA board two weeks after the agreement. The Amalgamated was recognized by the board as the organization which would present the organized workers' demands.

The hotel owners broke their agreement. They refused to deal with the shop committees or rehire the mass of strikers. The NRA board, true to its role as a strike-breaking agency of the bosses, immediately launched an attack on the Amalgamated and supported the hotel owners.

The Communist and Left wing elements in the Union, grouped around the Communist League, who have been and are active in the strike, are hastening the process of disillusionment in the "pro-labor" character of President Roosevelt and his program. In this way they serve to strengthen the strike and build a militant, class struggle union.

With a heroism that is an inspiration to all militant fighters against capitalism, the Austrian workers fought an armed struggle against the reactionary Dollfuss government and its Fascist henchmen, the Heimwehr. For several days, commencing Feb. 12th, the Socialist workers despite all obstacles conducted a revolutionary defense of their organizations and institutions. Provoked by the Heimwehr, the Fascist military organization in Austria financed by Mussolini, they barricaded themselves in their homes, cellars and public buildings and gave battle to these barbaric defenders of wage slavery.

Defenseless women and children were murdered by Dollfuss' troops. Any worker caught with a rifle in his hand was executed. Hospitals were bombarded. Uncounted thousands were killed. All for the preservation of the dog-eat-dog system of capitalism!

LEFT WING FIGHTS FOR CLASS STRUGGLE POLICY

The Union replied by reopening the strike, organizing a mass demonstration, and reinforcing the picket lines. Many of the workers who are supporters of Roosevelt and the NRA are now seeing the real meaning of the "New Deal".

The Communist and Left wing elements in the Union, grouped around the Communist League, who have been and are active in the strike, are hastening the process of disillusionment in the "pro-labor" character of President Roosevelt and his program. In this way they serve to strengthen the strike and build a militant, class struggle union.

in early 1933, and today in Austria!

Hitlerism became victorious without any mass resistance of the workers. The Social Democracy and the Stalinized Communist Party of Germany had made the workers incapable of fighting. But who is responsible for the defeat of the Austrian working class?

The Stalinized Communist Party of Austria had been wiped out by a paper decree months ago. The Austrian Social Democratic Party had a powerful organization, complete control of the trade unions, 60% of the voters of Vienna, and 40% of the voters of Austria. How is it that such a tremendous organization which had behind it the decisive section of the working class could not defeat the onrush of reaction and Fascism?

This is the question which must be posed by all true militants in the class struggle. Upon the understanding of the answer depends the entire future of the world working class movement, even more, the entire future of humanity. For if Fascism is victorious throughout the entire world it means the cultural setback of humanity for tens of years, untold misery and degradation.

The problem must be tackled fundamentally. All sentimental and emotional considerations must be brushed aside. The young Socialist who tries to substitute blind admiration for such leaders as Bauer and Deutsch, who were in the midst of the fighting for an examination of facts and policies, is not doing justice

(Continued on page Eight)

"YOUNG SPARTACUS" IN DANGER

This is the first issue of YOUNG SPARTACUS since last November. Despite the need and demand for the paper the financial response of the Spartacus Youth Clubs and our sympathizers has been extremely poor. Swiftly we are approaching a war crisis and yet we cannot get our national voice published regularly. In this time of great events, YOUNG SPARTACUS, should reach thousands of youth who are being taught loyalty to the system which oppresses them. It should appear far more often than once a month. Yet we have been unable to sustain it as a monthly.

Our paper is the national coordinator of the activities of the Spartacus Youth Clubs; can become their active spokesman and organizer. A real organization is impossible without a national newspaper. Organization is what is needed to meet the demands of today and in preparation for tomorrow.

Are we to have a regular appearing YOUNG SPARTACUS? The answer depends upon the financial replies of the readers!

Students' Activities Against Reaction

Seven students have been expelled from Ohio State University for refusal to take military training. The University has for many years had compulsory military education regulations. During that period it was relatively easy for a student to claim exemption on religious grounds or as a conscientious objector. This year, however, a greater number applied for exemption than had been the case previously. Sixteen applications were rejected—sixteen who were suspected of being a bit more radical than the others. Of the sixteen, seven remained firm in their refusal to capitulate. Much can be said in criticism of the stand taken by the seven, a stand that is distinctly pacifist and consequently shows an incomprehension of how to fight capitalist militarism.

What is significant in the above case is the increasing emphasis that schools have been placing upon military education in the past year. Last year President Robinson of City College of New York expelled twenty-one students for participating in an anti-R.O.T.C. (Reserve Officers Training Corps) demonstration. None of these has as yet been reinstated—nor is it likely that anyone will. And at about the same time, Morris Oshatz, a student in New Utrecht High School, was expelled for distributing an anti-R.O.T.C. leaflet. Oshatz was reinstated after wide spread student sentiment had compelled it.

Militant Student Expelled

Today, Oshatz is again under attack by the corrupt school administration. Not as the result of anti-war work this time. But the R. O. T. C. was used to keep him out of the school.

For many years students in New Utrecht High School (Brooklyn) have been complaining of poor food and exorbitant prices in the school lunchroom. The profits of this management at the expense of the students, who are not permitted to leave the building for their lunch, and the workers who are paid miserable wages were, and are, pocketed by private individuals. After petitions for reform had been contemptuously rejected by Principal Potter, with the aid of student police, teachers and uniformed policemen, the students decided upon a boycott of the lunchroom.

On Tuesday, Jan. 9, Oshatz, a leader of the National Student League chapter in the school, spoke to the students encouraging them to continue their fight. Potter himself superintended the dragging of Oshatz to the office. Oshatz, together with eight protesting students, was suspended. The eight were subsequently reinstated, but Oshatz was after investigation by the Board of Education transferred to another school.

The New Utrecht students carried their fight to Mayor La Guardia who brusquely ignored the delegation of the students. However, lunchroom conditions have been improved—the direct result of student action. But Oshatz has not yet been taken back to New Utrecht, though the students have demonstrated for the purpose.

Wash. Student Conferences

During the Christmas vacation several student groups held national conventions in Washington, D. C. It is impossible to obtain a clear picture of what happened at these conferences from the printed reports. One thing does however stand out clearly, and that is the lack of clarity which characterizes them all—from the patriotic National Student Federation to the most radical, the National Student League. All the groups were to participate in a united front Student Conference On Politics which was to plan a program of joint action on student issues. Nothing came of the latter conference, except a committee. What appears to be

Take Steps to Unify S.Y.Cs.

Our movement must reach and organize the American young workers and students. All efforts must be made to consolidate our ranks, clarify our members, educate them in Marxism. In the shops and factories our comrades should organize committees to fight for the workers demands, win the youth for the class struggle and the Spartacus Youth Clubs.

Today anti-militarist work must immediately be put on the agenda of every Spartacus Youth Club. The current issue of YOUNG SPARTACUS offers material that should help in this work. It will be supplemented by an internal bulletin for Club members on anti-militarist work. If this task is taken up seriously the Clubs will become the center of the militant youth movement.

CLUBS MUST SUPPORT SPARTACUS

To make this possible it is necessary to have the closest cooperation among the Clubs. At the present stage this can be done only through the National Youth Committee of the Communist League which has been instrumental in organizing the Clubs. The committee will function as the provisional national committee of the S. Y. C.'s pending a national conference.

The Committee has already sent out the first internal bulletin—on the International Youth Conference—and two circular letters to the Clubs. Through bulletins and letters, which are intended for discussion and comments, field organizations and speakers the committee will aid the development of a national Spartacus Youth League.

Above all, YOUNG SPARTACUS must receive greater attention at Club meetings. Each Club has been invited to elect a committee of three to solicit articles for Y. S. We want reports of the Clubs' activity, news from the comrades organizing the youth in the shops and schools, articles on the activities of the young workers, in the vicinity of the Clubs.

The Clubs should seriously discuss all means of raising funds for YOUNG SPARTACUS. Ordering bundles of the paper, and paying for them, getting regular monthly pledges from the members, holding social affairs for Y. S. will insure its regular appearance. Once this is obtained yearly subscriptions—at the low rate of 25c a year—will be easy to obtain. We await the response of the Clubs.

NEW CUTS HIT HIGH SCHOOLS

Chicago.—Scoring the hypocritical gestures of the Chicago Board of Education, the student fraction of the Chicago Spartacus Youth Clubs has recently issued a leaflet containing the demands of the students. The leaflet exposes the pamphlet of the school board, "The Public Schools Must Not Close". It states that "...the whole road that the Board is traveling is leading towards a crash of the vehicle of public education. The pamphlet is an attempt to justify the staggering blows at the Board dealt the Chicago schools last July".

The board has already eliminated Crane College, the junior high schools, all continuation schools except Washburn, reduced the teachers by 25%, reduced the school year to nine months and curtailed extra-curricular activities. But these are only first steps, the leaflet states. Following the suggestions of the United States Chamber of Commerce, further restrictions on public education are expected. Reduction of the high school course from four to three years and the grammar school course from eight to seven years, abolition of free text

books and tuition charges for high schools are among the actions expected.

How this retreat in education is caused by the economic crisis of American capitalism is briefly explained by the leaflet. It concludes its appeal to the students by stating that:

"The parents', students' and workers' organizations must unite to stop the school-wreckers and to struggle for further progress in education. It must be understood that without the support, collaboration and leading role of the working class, no noteworthy gains can be made. Fellow Students demand:

1. Against All Cuts in Education!
2. Use of R.O.T.C. (Reserve Officers Training Corps) Funds for Educational Purposes!
3. Free Four-Year City Colleges!
4. Complete Academic Freedom!
5. Return of the Junior High Schools!
6. Adequate Physical Education!
7. An increase in the School Personal and Their Wages!
8. Higher Level in School System than Prior to the Budget Cut!"

the major result of the conference is the attempt of each participating organization to lay the responsibility for disruption on the others.

The Student League for Industrial Democracy and the National Student League entered into unity negotiations upon the initiative of the N. S. L. Fusion was rejected by the S. L. I. D. on the grounds that while it was a socialist body, the N. S. L. was Communist (!) in nature. Instead of immediate fusion the S. L. I. D. proposed a period of joint collaboration after which the matter may again be brought up. Thus far they are proceeding in that fashion, uniting on various issues in many schools. (And we can remember the day when the N. S. L. vigorously asserted that it would never form a united front with the I. L. D. on anything, those rotten social-Fascists!)

Now there is nothing wrong with unity. If we accept both organizations as student "unions", and as necessary, then we must by all means advocate a merging of the two. Is, however, such an organization, or even a Communist student organization permissible? At this time we merely pose the question. A discussion on this very subject is now in progress in our ranks. We will return to the principle consideration of this question in future issues of YOUNG SPAR-

TACUS. Meanwhile the National Youth Committee invites you to send it your opinions.

All our student readers are urged to send in reports on what is happening in their schools, both in reference to actual school conditions and to the activities of the student organizations.

S.P. Supported World War

(A great myth has been established that the American Socialist Party had a militant program against the World War and American participation in it.

We reprint two quotations from a Socialist authority, Nathan Fine, the director of the Rand School Research Department—Farmer and Labor Parties in the United States.—Eds.)

"Within a year of the St. Louis Convention of 1917 the position of important of New York City, the center of the anti-war feeling, when they were elected in the previous November, came out in April of 1918 in support of the third

Y.P.S.L. Convention Shows Left Trend

Representing approximately 1,100 members, the city convention of the New York Young Peoples Socialist League reflected the deep going ferment going on in the American Socialist movement on fundamental questions. The easy victory of Fascism in Germany and the world shaking events following it have had a marked effect on the minds, outlook and moods of the young Socialists.

Most significant of all the resolutions presented to the convention were two on "The Road to Power". The mere title of the resolutions are good indications of the seriousness with which many of the young Socialists are beginning to face the tasks before them. Both resolutions come out for the "dictatorship of the proletariat"! The extreme Right wing of the Yipsels has not as yet introduced its position, though it is expected that it will do so in the form of amendments when the resolutions come up for vote at a city-wide membership meeting.

One of these resolutions poses the question very abstractly: the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" may be interpreted to be synonymous with what Socialists usually refer to as the Socialist state. The other resolution, though in sections confused, is far clearer and expresses the view that only the violent overthrow of the capitalist class and the revolutionary dictatorship of the working class can usher in socialism. The views of the membership are yet to be recorded.

Two things handicap the development of the young Socialists towards a full revolutionary Communist position. First, is that many of them associate Communism with Stalinism—they are repelled by the anti-working class practices and stupid theories of the Stalinists. Second, is the absence of a clear-cut Left wing group in the Yipsels or the Socialist party. At present the more radical elements are divided into various groups, each of which appears incapable of taking the lead—due to its own unclarity and organizational inexperience—to consolidate the growing Leftward sentiment in the Socialist movement.

These elements did not have due primarily to these reasons, a majority of the delegates at the city convention. This was shown by the defeat of an amendment to the resolution on the NRA which called upon Socialists not to participate on NRA labor boards.

The united front issue was raised in the resolution on the Scottsboro boys at the first session. It was tabled and will come up again at the city membership meeting of the New York Yipsels which will take care of all unfinished business of the convention.

liberty loan. Algernon Lee, the leader of the aldermanic delegation, explained that sections of the Socialist Party had changed. The seven socialist aldermen the results of the International Socialist and Labor Conference, the attacks by Germany upon Russia which had had its second revolution and above all, the support that Wilson gave to the terms of peace which Socialists in America and abroad favored, made it unnecessary to oppose the war as such; that by supporting the liberty loan, encouragement would be given the president to continue his negotiations for a settlement that the radicals desired". Pages 320-321.

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

C.C.C. Boys Report their Experiences in the Camps

(We print the articles on the Civil Conservation Corps to give to our readers a picture of the experiences of the boys in the camps. It is to be expected that in different camps there are slightly different conditions; in some the discipline is stronger than others; there are reports that some of the camps have drill without guns, others have no drill—as yet. In a number of the camps the food is rotten; in others the food—sometimes because of protest—is tolerable.

But one thing is clear—from official avowals, reports and articles which we print: the aim of the camps is to revive the faith in bosses' Americanism, loyalty and patriotism in the minds of the youth so as to make them better wage slaves and ready for war.

All military experts are unanimous in the view that the important requisites for a soldier are a "high morale", obedience and subservience to the commanding officers. It is this spirit which is being inculcated in the young workers.

It is the task of the Spartacus Youth to counteract this patriotic nonsense of the bosses and win the youth for militant struggle against wage slavery and imperialist wars. Ed.)

Work in Washington Forests

On June 2, 1933, I enrolled at the Army post at Fort Slocum, N. Y. This army business was something none of us liked. We even figured out that it would have been cheaper for the government had it paid us unemployment insurance at \$2 a day at home instead of going to all the trouble of enrolling men, finding suitable camp sites, getting experienced workers, providing food, clothing, shelter and transportation.

Then why the camps? Because the C.C.C. camps are not merely work projects but at the same time means of restoring our shaken faith and loyalty, our illusions and prejudices about American institutions. Here we were under their immediate control and influence; here could be developed as an enormous military reserve; as a powerful strike-breaking force. And it was done.

I was sent to a camp near Wenatchee, in the state of Washington. Camp life was permeated with the military atmosphere. Discipline itself was not very strict. In fact it was often quite lax and some attempts were even made by our officers towards freedom and liberties—but the whole military theory underlying the organization precludes any real success in this direction. We felt the presence of superior authority; the freedom that was offered was not complete, equal one but rather a condescension, a concession of the system to attract us. Thus, while on the one hand we had no armed drill, no saluting, no actual military training, on the other hand, there was the complete saturation with the military spirit: respect for superior officers, instant obedience. This military ideology, coupled with paternalist rationing out of food, clothing, shelter, equipment and amusements tends to create and develop that peculiar police psychology of unthinkingness and mental stagnation.

Washington is a lumber country. Our work was mainly road construction, involving a good deal of pick and shovel work. There was no such thing as tree planting! As a rule we had a 5 day week and an 8 hour day (including the lunch hour and traveling time), but the rule was often set aside. During the summer months we were put to work on hours were from 12 to 16 a day, every day. Once a month or so we were required to work on week-ends also, on special duties (kitchen work, wood cutting, etc.). Generally speaking, however, with the exception of these and similar emergencies, work conditions and hours were superior to those of the outside world.

Our work gained for the camp the hos-

tility of the Westerners. Lumbering, road work, forest fire fighting are their main occupations. Yet we in the camps not only cut their wages (for example, we received \$1 per day while the regular fire fighting rates are 50c per hour), but in working roads deprived them of the chance to get jobs.

Things were serious when it came to "mess". With 36c a day per man, the mess-steward could have arranged half-decent grub. But the possibilities for graft were too easy; he took his rake-off. We got only the poorest foods. On top of that, though our cooks were selected from those of us who had had experience, I must admit, that our culinary level was quite low.

Discontent at times reached the verge of a strike. Then Commander Seely would give us a speech, tell us we were not home, couldn't expect pie and cake, promised to look into the matter—and for two or three weeks the meals would improve. But even this dissatisfaction did not arouse a militant, rebellious spirit. Our protests were confined within the limits of the camp system. We felt that we were living the rough hard life of the soldier and we secretly rejoiced to see that we "could take it". To such an extent did we succumb to our environment!

We had a radio, (though it broke down), a few books, magazines and the New York newspapers. Recently evening classes in history, civics, English, economics and certain industrial courses have

been set up. The chief amusement was the trip to town. There we had movies, dancing, and women. —K.

Expelled From Peekskill

I joined the Civil Conservation Corps because I was hungry and had been unemployed for a long time. And also, I believed what Roosevelt and all the newspapers were saying about the "new school for young manhood" that was being created.

After a short training period at Camp Dix, I was sent to Peekskill, New York, where real work was supposed to begin. The captain, an old army man, welcomed us with a short talk which was so chock-full of an atmosphere of order and command that I felt immediately that I was in for things I hadn't signed up for.

The following day on a cold clear morning we were lined up and assigned to duty. I got into the camp detail, or as the boys called it, the street cleaning job. My friend was sent into the plumbing detail—he soon found out he was a ditch digger.

Pleasures of camp life were numerous. The food was sloppy, poorly cooked and very starchy. The coffee was made in a large ash can and tasted like it. The medical treatment was barbarous. One doctor was assigned three camps, 600 boys. Illness without a fever was not recognized and was fined. Colds were cured by pills and work. Forty boys slept in a wooden

PREPARE FOR THE COMING WAR

The American boss class is preparing for war. What are we to do about it? Are we going to wait until the war breaks out before we act? Not if we are real anti-war fighters?

First and foremost is clarity on the causes for war. Second and indispensable is the consolidation of the organization which today begins the struggle against war and prepares itself for action.

How do wars come about? Are they due to "bad politicians"?

We International-Communists do not think so. We understand that wars are the logical development of class politics. Capitalist politics have various forms the essence of which is the same; the continuation and development of the system of wage slavery, of exploitation of the many by the few.

First bosses' politics' aim to suppress the working class at home. When they cannot do this by deception and illusions they employ armed force—this leads to civil war. In such a struggle the militant workers cannot reject the use of arms to defeat the bosses and establish a workers' dictatorship.

Second, is the politics of the capitalist world against the workers' state, the Soviet Union. This struggle is nothing but an extension of the class struggle between the workers and bosses at home. Here again the militant workers must use all means to aid the Soviet Union in its struggle against the imperialist powers.

Third, the politics of the imperialist government against the colonial and semi-colonial people. We see this strikingly in the history of American politics in Cuba. If the Cuban people take to arms against the American masters it is the duty of American class conscious workers to support the struggle of the Cubans for national emancipation, if possible, to the extent of armed support.

Fourth, the politics which regulate the relations between the imperialist powers. As in all previous cases, if "peaceful", diplomatic means cannot insure the demands of the stronger power, it will resort to armed warfare. Such is the situation between the U. S. and Japan

today. The war will not be caused by "accidents", these "accidents" will be only the matches which will light the accumulated conflict which has developed over years. In such a war the workers can gain nothing by the victory of either power. They must fight to defeat their own government so that working class victory can really be the outcome of the war. The workers in the other countries should do likewise. Only in this way the workers can really gain by that barbaric method, war, which ultimately is the only way disputes can be settled under capitalism.

By strikes and demonstrations, fraternization with the "enemy" on the war front, the militant workers' movement can grow until it is in a position, with the majority of toilers behind it, to turn the imperialist war into a civil war and establish a workers' dictatorship which will suppress the former master's class, and lead the way for a classless society.

But this is not so simple. It requires intelligent, and courageous forces, well organized and disciplined. For that we need a workers' vanguard, a revolutionary party. That is why the Communist League of America considers as its main task today the building of this workers' leadership. In addition is needed a special youth organization which can satisfy the particular needs of the young workers and students. That is the aim of the Spartacus Youth Clubs.

Facing the facts in the face, we understand that when war breaks out all the instruments of the master class will be employed to get the young workers to fight for the bosses. We must begin counter-acting their propaganda—which is well under way—immediately. It will be ten thousand times more difficult when war is on us. That is why now is the time to act.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs have a heavy load to carry. Though small and isolated they have to carry the message of communism to the mass of young workers. What is required is greater inner-consolidation, well-knit national coordination, greater clarity and more action! Militant youth, join the Spartacus Youth Club! "Prepare for war!"

barrack poorly heated by two wood burning stoves that demanded constant attention—on our own time. Hot water for baths was a rarity. In fact, the only time I bathed was when I went to the city. Cold water there was cold.

Our athletic equipment consisted of one football and one basketball (200 boys). Very few of the boys had any chance to use them because of the vicious favorite system practiced. Toadying and squaling were encouraged as patriotic actions. There was a library but it never opened for circulation. In need of some kind of diversion my friend and I organized a discussion group on the topics of the day, i. e.,—camp conditions, the NRA, etc.

We held one meeting of about a dozen boys. After that the fireworks began. A week later I was called into the Captain's office, pumped for information as to whether I was connected with any radical organization in the city and warned against holding any more discussion groups. On January 6th I was called off my job and escorted by the foreman and sergeant as if I were a dangerous fellow, I was brought to the office for my trial.

DISCHARGED FOR ORGANIZING STUDY GROUP

The court was opened by the Captain who was acting as judge, jury and prosecutor. Two of my friends became my defense. The chief witness for the prosecution was the head foreman of the Westchester County Park Commission. He trumped up some sabotaging on the work. By making use of the fact that snow had prevented us from working, he phoned up statistics on production. He stated that before I came the boys worked like men—he meant dogs or horses. We proved him wrong and also pointed out the fact that before he came on the scene the Westchester County Park Commission was paying \$5 a day to unemployed men on the same job.

We were too effective—and I was dishonorably discharged. My friend came tumbling after with the same dose. I want to tell you readers of SPARTACUS that they're bulldozing every living boy in these camps. Freedom of speech is a thing unheard of. Those camps were put up to keep hundreds of thousands of homeless and hungry youth from thinking about their conditions. Roosevelt and the system he represents, capitalism, can't get away with it by sticking these boys away off in forests and applying a dog rule. If my friend and I were kicked out, there will be others to raise their voices in protest against the CCC and against the vicious system that makes such things necessary. H. S.

"FORGOTTEN MEN"

To every Tom, Dick and Harry that thinks war is glory, we advise a trip to the movie "Forgotten Men". Although this film does not and cannot explain the true causes of war (what can one expect from a capitalist production?), it does not flinch from showing authentic pictures of what the last world war really looked like. Instead of roses and carnations, the soldiers were showered with bullets and shrapnel; instead of clean, fresh uniforms, there were rags covered with mud and blood. The soldiers spent their rest hours picking lice off their bodies and clothing. (Some reaction—ch, what!) It was great sport avoiding bullets (running in between them as they fell), fighting gas attacks, and knowing that the end would come by being blown to pieces. Fun it was to trip over dead bodies, to be spiked to death by soldiers of the other side, to burn up in planes or go down in ships. It was great—this war was. But we gladly pass all the joy and happiness on to the bosses. Let them fight their own wars! We have ours to fight and win.

Liebknecht's Anti-Militarist Struggle In Defence of the Paris Commune

"Anti-militarist propaganda must be cast over the whole nation like a wide net. The proletarian youth must be systematically imbued with class-consciousness and with hatred of militarism. This kind of agitation would warm the hearts and rouse the youthful enthusiasm of the young proletarians. The proletarian youth belongs to Social Democracy, to Social Democratic anti-militarism. It must, and will be won over if everyone does his duty. **He who has the youth has the army.**"

That is how Karl Liebknecht concluded his brilliant pamphlet (originally a speech made in 1906) "Militarism and Anti-Militarism". Substitute the word "Communist" for "Social Democracy"—since the latter has been cast overboard by true revolutionaries since the Russian Revolution of 1917—and it applies to the bill today.

EDUCATION OF YOUTH

Liebknecht devoted the best part of his life organizing the youth. For he stated "We must not overlook the question of the education of the young people, which is the most essential part of anti-militarist propaganda".

In "Militarism and Anti-Militarism" Liebknecht shows the various functions of capitalist militarism: to suppress the workers at home, to oppress the colonial people, and to fight against other capitalist nations. He cites country after country where armed troops were employed against strikers. The section on the United States is especially interesting to those not acquainted with the details of American labor history.

ARMED FORCES AGAINST AMERICAN WORKERS.

As early as January 1874 New York policemen attacked a workers' demonstration in Tompkins Square, New York. The use of the state militia during the railroad strike of 1877, the armed forces employed against workers in Chicago, May 1886 (Haymarket riot), the armed struggle during the Homestead strike of July 1892, the use of federal troops in the Pullman strike of 1894 are cited as examples of the aim of the military forces against the workers.

In the second section of his book, Liebknecht traces the anti-militarist work in the various countries. This section is in reality a brief history of the socialist youth organizations up to 1906. The activities of the pioneer youth organization in the struggle against capitalist militarism, the Belgium "Young Guards" are discussed at length.

THE NEED FOR SPECIAL ANTI-MILITARIST WORK.

A special chapter is devoted to the need for special anti-militarist work. At that time as today the Socialist leaders held that this is unnecessary. It has "dangers", "we must fight against capitalism". Liebknecht quite correctly replied:

"We are conscious in the clearest possible way of the role which militarism plays under capitalism; and, of course, we have not the remotest idea of setting militarism above capitalism or on a level with it because it constitutes a part of capitalism. It is more correctly speaking, a specially pernicious and dangerous manifestation of capitalism. Our whole agitation against capitalism is directed against the life manifestations of capitalism in which it assumes concrete shape. We can indicate the domain of the anti-militarist fight to a cer-

tain extent as something apart from the general political struggle, something alongside the Trade Union struggle or even alongside the co-operative and educational struggle, if you will. In other words, we are anti-militarists as anti-capitalists."

This does not mean that anti-militarist work is separated from the other sections of Communist activity. On the contrary it is intimately connected with trade union work, educational, etc. Otherwise the work is futile and ineffective.

LIEBKNECHT PUTS HIS THEORIES INTO PRACTISE.

Liebknecht put into practise his anti-militarist teachings. During the World War he learned at first hand the necessity of work in the military forces. He was active in the army. While an enlisted soldier he put on civilian clothes and spoke to a mass demonstration in Berlin on May 1st, 1916, and raised the slogan: "War against War". Clearly understanding the class nature of wars he taught that the workers must use the arms given them by the boss class for their own emancipation.

It was with arms in hand that Liebknecht led the brave Spartacus fighters in January 1919 in Berlin. An organizer of the Communist Party of Germany founded a few weeks earlier, Liebknecht died at the hands of the henchmen of the social democrat, Noske.

Karl Liebknecht is a model for the militant youth of today in the struggle against wage slavery, capitalist militarism and its wars.

Spartacus, The Rebel Leader

If one studies the development of history three stages stand out: these are slavery, feudalism and capitalism (the last of which still exists). That which is common to all three stages is, the suppression of one class by another: the slave by the slave-holder, the serf by the feudal lord, and today the worker by the capitalist. From time to time some leader would arise among the down-trodden class and attempt to lead the overthrow of the existing order of things. Many of these revolts were doomed to failure in advance, some were even reactionary in that the movement had as its aim the turning back of the wheels of history. But from all, the Communist can gain inspiration; they represented a revolt against a system of oppression, whether that system was slavery, feudalism or the present capitalist system.

Under the present system of modern education, the real rebels of past and present society are relegated to a minor role, because they were outcasts in their times. Men who played relatively insignificant roles are played up and recognized, because they were the respected ones of their day.

THE SLAVE SYSTEM

One such rebel, leader of a revolt against law and order was Spartacus, the organizer of the slave rebellion against the Roman patriarchal system.

The particular system with which this period deals was called slavery, or the slaves versus the landowning slaveholders. The slaves comprised a huge part of the population: they were mostly prisoners of war. They were receiving very cruel treatment and the first great slave rebellion took place under the leadership of Spartacus. Who was Spartacus, whom did he represent, and that is his significance?

Spartacus was the foremost leader of the slave or Gladiatorial War against Rome (73—71 B. C.). He served in the Roman army but seems to have deserted, for we are told, he was taken prisoner and sold as a slave. Knowing that he was destined for the arena, he organized a band of "fellow-gladiators", and broke out of a training school at Capua and

"When the Commune was set up in Paris after the war of 1870, we know what bloody work had to be done by French soldiers to rescue the capital and the country from the deadly menace." (New York Times editorial—Feb. 8, 1934).

Long ago Karl Marx, in his brilliant defense of the Paris Commune, "Civil War in France", already replied to such infamous slander. All this chorus of calumny, which the party of order never fail, in their orgies of blood, to raise against their victims, only proves that the bourgeois of our days considers himself the legitimate successor to the baron of old, who thought every weapon in his own hand fair against the plebian while in the hands of the plebian a weapon of any kind constituted in itself a crime."

What was the "deadly menace" of the Paris Commune which called for "bloody work"? This also Marx answered in same pamphlet written a few days after the fall of the Commune:

"The Commune, they exclaim, intends to abolish property, the basis of all civilization! Yes, gentlemen, the Commune intended to abolish that class-property which makes the labor of the many the wealth of the few. It aimed at the expropriation of the expropriators. It wanted to make individual property a truth by transforming the means of production, land and capital, now chiefly the means of enslaving and exploiting labor, into mere instruments of free and associated labor. But this is Communism. "impossible" Communism! Why,

those members of the ruling classes who are intelligent enough to perceive the impossibility of continuing the present system—and they are many—have become the obtrusive and full-mouthed apostles of co-operative production. If co-operative production is not to remain a sham and a snare; if it is to supersede the Capitalist system; if united co-operative societies are to regulate national production upon a common plan, thus making it under their own control and putting an end to the constant anarchy and periodical convulsions which are the fatality of capitalist production — what else, gentlemen, would it be but Communism, "possible" Communism?"

Thus we see that the deadly menace was a menace to the system of wage slavery and oppression. And the New York Times editor justifies the bombing of the city of Paris, the murder of tens of thousands of men, women and children, the barbaric doings of the butcher, Gallifet! All these and more are essential for the continuation of the capitalist system of exploitation! That is the class position of the Times." That is the meaning of the bloody murders of the Austrian workers by the Dollfuss regime.

SALUTE THE PARIS COMMUNE

But the militant workers hurl back a note of defiance to these robbers and butchers. On March 18th of each year they salute the workers' Commune of Paris as a beacon-light in their struggle for emancipation. Along the path of the Commune, the Russian workers established their Soviet government. Learning from both events, the American toilers will establish a workers' state in America!

SOCIALISM AND WAR

Socialists have always condemned the wars that have occurred between nations as a barbaric and beastly thing. Nevertheless, our attitude to war is fundamentally different from that of bourgeois friends of peace (pacifist) and anarchists. From the former we are to be distinguished in that we understand the causal interconnection of wars with the class struggle inside the country, and understand that the abolition of wars is impossible without the abolition of class society and the victory of socialism; we are further to be distinguished from them in that we regard civil wars, i. e., wars of the oppressed classes against the oppressors, of slaves against slave owners, of serfs against landowners, of wage-earners against capitalists, as lawful, progressive and necessary. As Marxists, we are distinguished as much from the pacifists as from the anarchists in that we consider necessary an historical analysis, from the standpoint of Marxist dialectical-historical method, of each war in detail. In the course of history there have been not a few wars which, in spite of cruelty, bestiality, suffering and torture inevitably associated with any war, were progressive, i. e., they contributed to the development of humanity, inasmuch as they helped to destroy particularly harmful and reactionary institutions (for example, absolutism and serfdom), the most barbaric despotisms in Europe (Turkish and Russian).

The socialist must utilize the fight between the robbers in order to overthrow them all. With this object, the socialist must in the first place tell the people the truth, viz., that his war is in a threefold sense a war of slave holders for the strengthening of slavery in the colonies by a "fairer" division and by a further more "united" exploitation of them.

The revolutionary class in a reactionary war must desire the defeat of its own government, it must see the connection between its failure in the war and the making easier its overthrow.

—LENNIN.

took refuge on Mount Vesuvius. Here he became a captain of the brigands, while a hastily collected force of three thousand men were sent to starve out the rebels; but the rebels succeeded in putting the Romans to flight.

Swarms of hardy and desperate men now joined the rebels and another force was sent against them. But they again outwitted the Roman army, and when the army advanced to storm their lines they found the rebel lines deserted.

MARCH OF THE REBELS

From Campania the rebels marched into Lucania, and again they met with much opposition, but their foes were vanquished. They succeeded in obtaining possession of nearly the whole of southern Italy. The Senate of Rome, now fully afraid for its safety, dispatched two consuls against the rebels. But Spartacus overthrew them and pressed towards the Alps. Many tried to stop him but were defeated. Freedom was within sight, but with "fatal infatuation", the slaves refused to abandon Italy. Spartacus led them against Rome, but they did not heed him, and instead of attacking the capital, they passed on again to Lucania.

In the next battle Spartacus was defeated and he retreated towards the Straits of Messina, where he intended to meet new hordes of slaves in Sicily, but the pirates who had agreed to transport his army proved faithless. In spite of that, Spartacus forced the lines and once more Italy lay at his feet. Disunion among the rebels, however, spoiled all. Spartacus inflicted a severe defeat on the vanguard of the pursuing army, but his men refused to retreat further, and soon afterwards the rebel army was annihilated. Spartacus died—sword in hand at this battle.

Spartacus was a capable and energetic leader. He tried very hard to organize his disintegrated bands. His character, as I said before has been misrepresented by Roman writers whom his name inspired with terror. This was the first really organized attempt of the slaves to revolt against their oppressors, and for this reason, this event stands out in real history.

—MILDRED GELDMAN.

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Published Monthly by the National Youth Committee, Communist League of America (Opposition) at 126 E. 16th St., N. Y. C.
VOL. 3, No. 1 (Whole No. 19)
MARCH 1934

Subscription rate: \$.25 per year; Canada and foreign, \$0.35. Bundle orders, 2 cents a copy; single copies, 3 cents.

Discussion Resolution on Tasks of Spartacus Youth

We print below the draft resolution on the tasks of the Spartacus Youth Clubs adopted by the National Youth Committee of the Communist League of America. With the publication of this draft the columns of the *Militant* were opened for contributions on this question. Comrades are invited to send in their contributions. Articles are not to exceed 750 words.

1. The analysis of the rise and function of the Communist youth movement contained in the theses on the Youth Question of the 2nd National Conference of the Communist League of America (see *Militant*, August 15, 1931), holds good in all its essentials today. Particularly is this true of the first three sections.

"1. Capitalism draws the youth of the proletarian families into the productive process. The cheapness of their labor power, their physical and intellectual immaturity, their lack of trade union organization make them particularly profitable objects for exploitation. These same characteristics and the needs growing out of them—need for physical and intellectual development, for play, "social life,"—were left almost wholly unsatisfied. From a position of helpers and apprentices the youth were absorbed ever more into the general industries and process of capitalism.

2. The Y. C. L. was founded in November 1919 out of the need for an organization which would attract the working youth towards Communism, win, organize and train it for the Communist parties. The need for a special organization is called forth by the psychological peculiarities of youth—its immaturity and impulsiveness, its special activities—sports, "social" affairs—and its physical and intellectual requirements. These can be satisfied only by particular methods, activities and organization.

"The Y. C. L.s are broad educational organizations of youth. Communist training and education requires the intimate linking up of the theoretical with the practical, the study group with the field of the class struggle. The Y. C. L. is in the forefront of the struggles of the working youth; leads and organizes it for immediate economic and cultural needs and demands; struggles inside and outside the armed forces against capitalist militarism; develops itself in the struggle against the bourgeois and petty bourgeois (especially reformist) organizations and influence, as the cultural center and political leader of the youth.

LEAGUE SUBORDINATE TO PARTY

"The League which aspires to be the leader of a section of the working class, the youth, is politically subordinate to the Communist party, the vanguard of the proletariat as a whole. The strategy and tactics of the party are the strategy and tactics of the League. This political subordination is accompanied by the organizational autonomy of the League, i.e., its right to elect its own committees and officers, and regulate the League's inner policies and life. Political subordination is maintained by a capable party cadre inside the League, which directs and leads it, exchange of representatives on committees, and a sound Marxian policy in the class struggle which the Leaguers will readily follow. A thorough discussion of the party question affecting the League should take place during the latter's pre-convention discussion.

The restatement of these elementary and fundamental principles of the Communist youth, laid down by the first three Congresses of the Y. C. L. is made imperative by their revision in theory and practice, by the present leaders of the Comintern and Y. C. L.

"3. Limited experience with Communist youth work requires that youth tactics, demands, slogans and special organizational forms should be put forward not

as dogmas or finished products which have universal validity, but rather with a view of testing them in practice, examining the results, and thereby laying the ground for more effective tactics, slogans, etc. The Comintern under Zinoviev and later Bucharin and Stalin converted the Y.C.L.s into factional pawns. Youth policies were completely subordinated to the factional requirements of the moment.

2. The election of a national youth committee and the establishment of "YOUNG SPARTACUS" were two decisive steps which facilitated first, the organization of the youth in the Left Opposition, and second, the establishment of a number of youth clubs. A large percentage of the members of these clubs are for the first time in a working class organization.

3. The action of the National Youth Committee in suggesting to the Spartacus Youth Clubs a uniform constitution which provided for the political subordination of the Clubs to the Left Opposition while organizationally autonomous and making the National Youth Committee the provisional national committee of the Spartacus Youth Clubs was a further step forward in our youth work.

4. Our efforts have been progressively in the direction of a national Spartacus Youth League which would function as the Communist Youth League in the United States. This League will undertake the tasks and assume the form outlined in the first three sections of our 2nd National Conference Youth theses (quoted above).

5. This does not exclude the possibility of forming or cooperating with youth groups which are not Spartacus Youth Clubs, but steps in this direction, in certain localities where a S. Y. C. cannot immediately be forced. Under these

BOOK REVIEW

Ten Years of Struggle For Marxism

"Ten Years" by Max Shachtman: Pioneer Publishers—79 Pages, 10c

The recent appearance of the pamphlet, TEN YEARS, written just one year ago, has fulfilled a long-felt need in and around the Left Opposition movement. The major part of the historical documents of the Left Opposition remains even today scattered and strewn through dozens of books, references and publications. Hitherto there has not appeared a single book or pamphlet which tells in concise form the story of the Left Opposition. Comrade Shachtman's pamphlet fulfills this task admirably well.

TEN YEARS is especially valuable to the Spartacus Youth because it supplies it with the ammunition of facts about the Communist movement, it explains and applies some of the fundamental teachings of our leaders. Starting with the problem of the organization of the Party, the problem of democracy and freedom of thought and expression inside the organization, the Left Opposition has taken a position on every important working class problem since 1923. What this stand was, what the Opposition had to contend with, what the actual events were—all this is contained in the publication. The chapter on "The Lessons of October" explains and illustrates with a tragic example, the need for a firm leadership, especially when the working class is preparing to deal its final blow to capitalism. In every case, the Left Opposition, under the leadership of Leon Trotsky, put forth a Communist program in contradistinction to the policy of the Stalinist faction which swang dizzily from one position to another. From 1926 when a united front was made with anyone, with the betrayers of the English working class and in 1925-27 with the butcher of the Chinese masses, the Stalinist

exceptional circumstances the groups should bear other names than "Spartacus Youth" and have the character of discussion groups or study classes. Our comrades form fractions within them and attempt to convert them into sections of our national organization. They should be considered as temporary organizations.

POSITION TOWARDS EXISTING YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

6. Our attitude toward the Young Communist League is that it is a Stalinist organization incapable of effectively educating the youth to Communism or leading them in struggle. We continue our work within the Y. C. L. in order to win its members to our ranks. In all fields of activity our organization will appear as a rival to the Stalinist Y. C. L., while at the same time proposing to it and participating with it in united fronts.

7. The ferment in the American YPSL requires that we pay attention to winning the young Socialists to Communism and the Spartacus Youth groups. We should endeavor to build a Communist fraction within the Yipsels through which we can carry on our propaganda work in that organization. Around this fraction we should build a broader Left wing on the basis of concrete class struggle issues confronting the young Socialists. On definite class struggle issues we will attempt to form united fronts with the Y. P. S. L.

8. It is essential that in the educational and propaganda work of the Spartacus Youth Clubs and YOUNG SPARTACUS, American revolutionary traditions, bourgeois and working class, play a predominant role. The revolutionary lessons of the American Revolution of 1776, the Civil War, the early American labor movement, biographical sketches of outstanding revolutionary leaders, etc., should

be stressed as an essential part of the education of the class of conscious youth. For this purpose, popular pamphlets should be issued by Pioneer Publishers under the imprint of the Provisional National Committee of the Spartacus Youth Clubs (or National Committee of the Spartacus Youth League of America).

9. A pamphlet under similar imprint should be issued as soon as feasible on, "Who are the Spartacus Youth?"; this to be the first of a series of uniform pamphlets on the problems of the American workers—covering youth and industry, youth and the school, unemployment and the youth, etc. Another series of uniform pamphlets on the biographies of outstanding international revolutionary leaders, should also be begun under youth auspices.

10. The Spartacus Youth Clubs (and League) should be extremely careful to avoid the mistake of the Y. C. L. in becoming a "youth party"; that is, assume the same organizational forms, tasks, activities and methods of work as the adult Communist organization. This is inevitable in the first stage of the organization when the initial cadres are being assembled. The Spartacus Youth Clubs should attract into their ranks youth coming to Communism rather than full-fledged Communists whose place is in the adult organization. The youth organization should contain youth whose average age is 17. Older comrades should be drawn into the adult organization and gradually drop their membership in the youth groups. When the Spartacus Youth League is organized the age limits should be 15 to 23. Comrades over the age of 21 who have been in the Spartacus Youth groups for more than six months should join the adult organization.

11. To avoid becoming a "youth party" two dangers must be avoided: First, the danger of separating the economic work of the youth from the adult organization. Wherever possible the industrial fractions of the youth should collaborate with those of the adult organization. In this field especially, the youth groups are politically subordinated to the adult organization.

Secondly, the danger of narrowing down the Spartacus Youth Clubs to advanced or conscious Communists by the formation of permanent periphery organizations. The youth theses of the Second National Conference (of the Communist League) correctly stated that one of the reasons for the conversion of the American Y.C.L. into a "youth party" was precisely its policy of forming youth sections of every auxiliary of the Communist party, youth clubs, and groups of a permanent nature which duplicated the essential educational, and sometimes propaganda work of the Y.C.L. The formation of sports teams, dramatic groups and the conducting of social activities should be an important part of the work of the Spartacus Youth Clubs, which will make them the cultural centers of the youth.

12. Our aim should be to convert "Young Spartacus" into a live and aggressive Communist propaganda and agitation paper which will attract the youth to communism and the Spartacus Youth groups. We should strive to make it an eight page semi-monthly tabloid size paper which can actually reflect the problems and needs of the young workers, educate them in Marxism, and play an active role in the class struggle.

13. We propose that the coming national conference of the Communist League (Opposition) empower the National Youth Committee to call at an early date a national convention of the Spartacus Youth Clubs and all other youth groups which are sympathetic to communism (as embodied in the program of the Left Opposition) and agree with the essence of our youth platform to organize a Spartacus Youth League along the lines proposed above.

(Continued on page Seven)

—R. C.

What the Heck Is Television?

Ordinarily, I don't listen to the football games on Saturday afternoon, since I have no radio. One afternoon however, I was sitting in a restaurant eating. (A radio was going full blast.)

Columbia had the ball on Pittsburgh's forty yard line; it was the last quarter, the score being 0-0. Columbia lined up for a forward pass formation. The ball began the rounds—the people in the restaurant were very calmly munching away at their liverwurst sandwiches, and sipping the tea in a glass.

Suddenly a shout went up. The radio roared, corned-beef was dropped, tea spilled. We all waited in suspense to find out what had happened. Had Columbia made the touchdown? Ten seconds went by, twenty, forty and yet the voice of the announcer could not be heard because of the noise of the cheering spectators at the game. It was full fifty-five seconds before we discovered that Columbia had fumbled the ball, it had been caught by Carter of Pittsburgh and carried to Columbia's ten yard line in what the announcer described as "a most spectacular dash."

From the point of view of the mathematicians of the life insurance companies those fifty-five seconds cost the people of this country several hundreds or even thousands of years. The killing suspense of those, five seconds less than one minute, surely shortened the life span of all listening in.

Yet what most people did not know, and will not know until they read YOUNG SPARTACUS, is that the years lost to society because of those fifty-five seconds, was absolutely unnecessary.

They should have shown the game by television.

A fact which is unknown to all except a few is that the satisfactory transmission of a moving scene or picture by means of television is now an accomplished and reproducible fact. Even such difficult scenes as baseball games or football games can now be successfully sent out and received in perfect shape by means of radio-television. The products of research and development along these lines have been in the "commercial stage" for the past few years, but have not been put on the market or sold to the public because of the fear that not enough people have the money to buy these sets to make the whole venture commercially feasible. In the meantime the information remains locked in the vaults of the large radio companies of the country, particularly the Radio Corporation of America.

In order to send a picture of a moving scene, (man walking across the room) what must be done first is that a series of pictures of the walking man must be taken, exactly as is done in the movies. Each picture must be transmitted or sent

YOUTH RESOLUTION

(Continued from page 5)

International Affiliations and Tasks

14. The task of building a Fourth International assumed by the International Left Opposition (now International Communist League) raises the necessity of constructing a new Communist Youth International. The Spartacus Youth League of America—when organized—will be the American section of this youth international. It is our task to hasten the formation of this world union of youth which can give active support to the Fourth International, and be politically subordinate to it. The American Communist League is the only section of the Left Opposition which has behind it such a powerful nucleus for a revolutionary youth organization. Therefore, a heavy part of the work in the building of a new Communist Youth International falls upon our shoulders.

Science Notes

With this the second issue of the Science Column, we are continuing with something that has brought down more comment, both praise and criticism, than any other single feature in the **Young Spartacus as a whole**. We know that we have not yet succeeded in striking that happy medium that will please everyone. And what between articles submitted containing nothing but six syllable words, and letters criticizing the whole idea of a science page, it appears as though our troubles are but beginning. We thought of the idea of running "Our Own Dr. Luttinger", but in taking it up at the committee meeting it was decided that the mailing list would very quickly drop to nothing if the subscribers had to wait a full month (we hope it is going to be only one month) to find out what ailed them.

One brief word in answer to that type of criticism that looks upon a study of

the sciences as just that much waste of time for the revolutionist. The idea is completely false. The use of the term "Scientific Socialism" implies the application of the principles and the methods used in the physical sciences to the field of socialism. Marx and Engels made a study of the science of their day. We should attempt to learn from them and study the science of today—as much as we can.

Although much more could be said, consider the following. In the recent uprising in Austria the socialists in many instances used home made hand-grenades (chemistry). They used short-wave radio to communicate between different sections of the city that had been cut off from each other by the government forces.

Don't be so hasty to sneer at the school book appearance of the sciences; at times the knowledge may be put to use with a bang.

How Human Guinea Pigs Are Made

Typical of a certain type of book, "100,000,000 Guinea Pigs", product of the liberal mind, in attempting to uncover and correct one of the evils of capitalism, merely exposes the capitalist system as a whole. Like the poor innocent victim, who in attempting to correct a minor ailment, produces a severe infection, so the authors of this book in attempting to clear up one of the evils of capitalism completely lay bare the entire cruelty of our system, of production for profit, and death and sickness for the consumer (working class).

This publication, the joint product of two members of the Consumers' Research, attempts to throw the spotlight of the laboratory upon the product of quack medicine makers, advertising specialists, and the "filthy and putrid" food, prepared for the can opener kitchen, by the respectable and legitimate business man of the community.

The authors have arrayed a mass of facts sufficient to have caused any number of Congressional Committees to be formed to "investigate." Yet the book created but a tiny ripple on the American scene. Facts have been gathered from official government reports, from those of recognized private and public authorities,

out on the air before the next picture is taken. In order to transmit a complete picture satisfactorily it is necessary to break the picture up into a great many squares and transmit information regarding each of these in turn. Formerly the method of accomplishing this was by means of a so called scanning disc (a rapidly rotating scanning disc that made television so poor and distorted). Today, there has been developed a method of "scanning" (breaking the picture up into the tiny squares) that completely eliminates all moving parts.

"The analysis of the picture into its component elements and its subsequent synthesis into the corresponding image on a screen are now done by purely electrical methods. All mechanically moving parts with the subsequent possibilities of mechanical failure as actually existed in previous systems have been completely eliminated. Perfection has by no means been attained, but television today is far beyond the stage at which radio reproduction was when it was placed before the public."

Why then is so little heard about these latest developments except in the form of rumor? The capitalists who have subsidized the work realize that the wages of the workers has been so depressed that they cannot purchase an article such as this, whose cost at present (unless mass production could be introduced—which would require masses to buy the sets) would amount to several hundred dollars. Just another of the contradictions of capitalism.

and from the numerous files of Consumers' Research, an organization which has as its purpose the scientific analysis of all products widely advertised, in order to determine the truth of the claims.

In the mere presentation of the material, the book has its value. The above, coupled with a well written style, explains a well deserved popularity. Obviously written for the layman by the scientist, it has succeeded in being what is not very often accomplished, a book, written for all, yet scientific in its approach and method.

The various chapters are devoted to the subjects of food, drugs, cosmetics, etc. Under the various headings are discussed a series of important misrepresentations pertaining to the fields. Sometimes, as in the case of All-Bran the misrepresentation exists in, that although at times it may act as a laxative, more often than not it serves the function of a keg of nails being forced through the intestinal tract. Or perhaps you listen to Amos and Andy and as a consequence use Pepsodent toothpaste. The authors bring sufficient proof that this tooth paste acts like none other, in scratching the enamel off the teeth you prize so highly.

But, whereas there are no laws that can prohibit these concerns from advertising and selling their product, there are some laws demanding the removal of the lead and arsenic (two deadly poisons, if taken in sufficient quantity) spray from fresh fruits, and the sulphur fumes from dried fruit. Only—the government after spending much money in determining the ill effects of these poisons, proceeds to close its eyes to their continual appearance on the fruit as it comes to market. At times Congress has passed some minor and major legislation under various pure food and drug acts, only to have them nullified because of protest of the Apple Growers of New York or the Peach Growers Association of California.

The most flagrant violators are the makers of drugs, quack medicines and contain deadly poisons, the beauty lotions in many cases the drugs leave blotchy scars and the medicines do nothing but make one sick. Yet nothing is done, except when the quack prescription has immediate and glaringly harmful effects, so obvious that even the most stupid of judges cannot fail to think of his dear daughter being duped into purchasing this freckle remover. When this happens, the shipment in question is confiscated and the costly fine of \$100 may be imposed upon the producer. As for the honest and upright citizen manufacturer experimenting with the American people—guinea pig, he remains an honest, upright, citizen manufacturer, changes the name of his product, removes the lead, substitutes some mercury and starts all over again.

The book is a damning indictment of the system that permits these practices

New Photography Aids War Dep't

"Scientist Discovers Method of Taking Pictures in Total Darkness." This interesting piece of news, describing the results of research in the field of infra-red photography succeeded in getting about two or three inches on some back page. "Method Developed to Locate Enemy Battleships Hidden by Smoke Screen". Two-column heads on the front page of the newspapers of this country for the above gives us an idea as to what the bourgeoisie thinks important today.

The infra-red method of photography recently developed uses heat waves for producing a chemical change on the undeveloped film, exactly in a similar manner in which ordinary photography employs light waves for this purpose.

The process had innumerable uses, but that which appealed most to the capitalists today was its usefulness as an instrument of war. Airplanes flying over enemy territory at night could come down very low and photograph the position of enemy guns. War ships hidden by smoke screens can easily be detected by the use of this infra-red photographing machine.

This is only one of the instances in which the War Department is showing its interest in every latest scientific development, and in whether or not the new process can be converted into a war machine. The government is rushing along at break-neck speed, making all preparations possible for the coming war.

LENIN ON PACIFISM

The pacifist mood of the masses frequently denotes the beginning of protest revolt and consciousness that the war is a reactionary one. To utilize this mood is the duty of all social democrats. They will most cordially participate in every movement and every demonstration on this basis, they will, however, not deceive the people by asserting the idea that without a revolutionary movement it is possible to obtain a peace without annexations, without oppression of small nations, without plunder, without seeds of new wars between the present Governments and ruling classes. Such a deception of the people could only assist the secret diplomacy and the counter-revolutionary plans of the warring Governments. Whoever is for a lasting and democratic peace, must be for civil war against governments and the bourgeoisie.

to continue.

What should be done? Here the authors display their typical liberal make-up. More laws, they say, more laws, honest officials, check up schemes, snoop agencies and last but not least, an indignant American public. (All they failed to call for was a constitutional amendment—perhaps rewrite the eighteenth).

In these conclusions the book falls down miserably. The authors should read pages fourteen and fifteen of their own work. **Production is for profit, not for use.** What matters it if Mrs. Murphy's baby has rickets and will be deformed the rest of its life; the manufacturers of a poor grade of cod liver oil have declared a healthy dividend. Laws have been passed; yet the protests of the these laws ignored. And the authors call for more laws!

The laws of this country are made by and for the dividend paying concerns, not the child bearing mothers. It is true that a law here or there may succeed in doing away with the most flagrant manifestations of this evil. But why ignore the forest to save the tree. **For the eradication of the whole scheme of human guinea pigs, there is necessary a transformation from a system of production for profit, to one of production for use.**

ON THE SNOW GANG by S. L. Solon

I reached the line in front of the police station at two in the morning. There were already about a hundred men waiting. I did not wear rubbers and the snow in my shoes was beginning to melt. It was still snowing faintly and a little stream of cold water ran down my back.

Somebody was trying to break into the front part of the line. I passed him on my way to the rear. He was a slight built man and didn't wear a coat. The flaps of his jacket failed to hide his neck, even though they were raised. A bare elbow, dirty pointed, stuck out from a torn sleeve.

He said: "I was here before, Billy. Lemme get in."

"Like hell you were. Get on the end."

He was wriggling in among the tightly packed men.

"Come on you son of a bitch," the man in back of him said. "Get on the end!" He shoved him easily. Someone else said apologetically, "You know we can't let you get in front; the men in the back will holler."

"I tell you I had to go to the toilet!" the man said.

"Next time, hold it," a fellow farther in the rear said. I didn't hear anybody laugh. The man's bare elbow was still trying to carve its way in. He was shoved again. He slipped and fell into the snow. A couple of men stepped out of line and picked him up. They brushed off the snow.

One of them who was brushing off the snow said: "Better not start anything, fella. We hate like hell to make you go back, but jees it's only fair."

He started walking to the rear. The men returned to their places. It was quiet again.

I caught up to him. We went silently to the end of the line. The line had turned around the corner and we were open to the full force of the wind. And we who were standing on the very end were in a particularly rotten spot.

"I wish some more would come."

"Why?"

"So they could cover up our backs. I'm freezing."

"So am I. My ears are like ice."

He began jumping up and down. A car swished by with its chains clanking against the mudguards. Some drunk stuck out his head and yelled, "Yahooooooo."

"The hell with you!" said the man in front. As the car went on to the front of the line the drunk again yelled, "Yahoo."

By two-thirty many more men had come up, our backs were covered. The line stretched out, way past the light of the speakeasy, way past the apartment house entrance where a cat was crying like a lost child. As tightly packed as we were the wind managed to come in. I pressed tightly to the man in front. The man in back kept saying: "It's cold as hell. It's cold as hell." I wished he would stop, it gets on one's nerves after a while.

At three another racket started up towards the head of the line. Somebody had collapsed. The story quickly flashed back. He had been standing there since midnight. The cops were coming up.

The line wheeled around so most of the men could see. This brought us near the cops and the man who had fallen. One of the cops was rubbing snow in the man's face. The difference between the color of the snow and the man's face was in the kind of whiteness. The man's face was a bluish white. The snow was grayish white.

"That ain't the right thing to do," somebody said. "He needs something hot."

One of the cops: "Shut up. Carry him over here." The man was laid on the steps of the police station.

Maybe I felt like stretching my legs, I don't know. Anyway, I said to the man in back that I was going up there and see if I could do something.

"Sure," he said, "I'll watch your place."

As I went up, a man in line stopped me by grabbing my coat. "You tell them," he said slowly, "you tell them bastards what that man needs is something to eat." He spoke with a slight accent. "And if they don't stop rubbing his face with snow they'll kill him."

"Why don't you take him in?" I said to the cops.

They didn't look up. "The ambulance is coming in a minute."

"Take him in until it comes."

This time a cop looked at me. "Who in the hell are you. Just got out of line, yeh. Well get the hell back and shut up."

A few of the men began shouting, "Carry him in. Go ahead take him in."

"Shut up, you slobs," the cop said. They seemed uncertain of the correct move. To leave the man laying on the cold steps was somehow wrong. To carry him in would leave them open to the Captain's annoyance. They left him on the steps. His lips were nobby, blue and broken open. Another man and I rubbed his palms. One of the cops said: "Leave him alone." He said this once or twice and then stopped.

Then we heard the clang of the ambulance. The cops said: "Get over you mugs." The men moved away. The interne got out swinging the black bag. "What a goddamned night. Whew," he said. He repeated this at short intervals until he went away.

"Say, you shouldn't leave a man out here," he said to the cops. "Why didn't you take him inside?"

The cops didn't say anything except: "Get back. Get back you mugs."

The man was carried to the top of the stairs where it wasn't so cold. The doctor fussed around. The cops wouldn't let us get past the third step.

"What do you say, doc?" asked one of the cops.

The interne was putting on his gloves. "This fellow is dead," he said. "Better call the morgue. What a goddamned night."

The ambulance clanged away. The cops put the dead man's hat over his face. I walked back to my place in line.

We waited. There wasn't much talking going on, now. Once a man who was arguing with another raised his voice and said: "You know what we should do! Shoot them. Shoot the whole stinking bunch!"

The hours did not enter into our thoughts; we counted the minutes. Then it began to get light. It even got a little colder than it was before. I thought I couldn't move my toes. But this was not so. When I picked up my foot I could feel with my hand the toes wriggling around.

Then the talking started again. "They are coming, they said. The men were arguing about the number of shovelers they were going to take on.

"They'll take on two hundred easy, one said. "Like hell, we're lucky if they take on a hundred."

"Now, they'll take on a hundred fifty That's what."

The question was treated from every angle. The cops were walking up and down swinging their clubs. "Get against the wall. Come on, get against the wall."

Then they would walk down the line. But pretty soon they would be back: "Get over to the wall! G'wan move. People got to pass."

The line started moving forward. Six inches. A foot. Yes, quite definitely the line was moving.

"Get against the wall. People will want to pass soon."

"Aren't we people," somebody yelled. "Come on over to the wall!"

"No, you're not people!" Somebody from the line was answering. "You're dogs, that's what you are. Men who stand in line become dogs!"

There was silence as the cops passed his part of the line.

"And when will men always be men? I'll tell you when! When there will be no more human pigs!" The man was shouting hysterically. Some of the men around him quieted him.

We finally moved up to where we could see the entrance. We noticed too, some very funny things. Two men walked in for their work-cards and a half dozen would walk out! The man in front let out a despairing moan: "The bastards are cheating! There friends are getting in from the back!"

"The filthy grafters!"

The line was surging forward. Men were beginning to cry out.

"Take the men from the line! No cheating!"

The cops were running up and down: "If you don't like it, get the hell out!"

"We'll show you! We'll wreck the whole stinking place!"

"Who said that?"

"Come on, clear out before somebody gets hurt!"

A man came out. He was wearing a good overcoat. He wasn't from the line. The cops shouted for silence.

"All men," began the man in the good overcoat. The shouting drowned him out.

"No cheating!"

"Pick the men from the line!"

"We waited all night!"

The man in the good overcoat raised his voice: "All men who are going to make it difficult for us will not be given work. Our task is tiring enough as it is."

A loud laugh sounded out from among the men.

"Were you in the line for six hours, Mr. Official?" The man's voice was sharp and clear. "Or did you have a difficult time in bed?"

The cops ran to the spot from where the voice came. A half dozen men were pulled out.

"Which of you mugs said that?"

Nobody answered. The men were becoming angry. There was a struggle as a couple tried to get back into line.

"Leave them alone!" The cry was taken up.

"Leave them alone!"

"LEAVE THEM ALONE!"

To the German Workers

It is a year, O my dead brothers since you bathed in the slime of your graves!

with the eyes and ears—hacked from the tortuous laws of politics. It is a frozen world, and the iceboxes open their sensuous wombs of death; yours are the bodies seen when the jambs

unfold the doors! Was it in the Hitler-Fire that our souls were burned, our bodies split apart, that our lungs of political sequence—were choked and the blood-sucked from our weakened heart?

* * * * *

O, my brothers, we burned in the fires of our own incitement! in our indecision that our souls were nurtured!

In our contempt of Science, for the following toxins of our emotions:

Our battleaxes were muffled, our death in dark quiet streets, sudden; our equipment in the haze of our eyes!

The fire rages in the Comintern: the dull brain of the bureaucrats demobilize our arms, tear up like in the Fire of Munich, the Arts of our Lives.

The candlewax of a man we have; the usurpers fear, to bring their fire too close....

—ANON.

The man in the good overcoat went inside. The cops shuffled away. The men fell back into line.

I got a ticket.

"Get a shovel", somebody said. I followed the man in front. I lifted my shovel and put it on my shoulder. With the foreman walking alongside we dragged our feet to the assigned street.

Some of the men worked feverishly. They could take no chances on losing the first work in months, years. But in spite of this their faces would become a pale gray and they would be forced to rest on their shovels.

The foreman we had in the morning was an old Irishman. He kept saying under his breath. "Take it easy. No sense killing yourself. Just watch out for the inspector."

For lunch we had, on the average of a hamburger and cup of coffee each. Some weren't so lucky. When we came back we found a new foreman waiting for us. He started giving us a speech. It seems that the city has given some of the snow removal work to contractors. These were hiring men for thirty cents an hour and they were doing more work than we who were getting fifty cents an hour. He ended by telling us that if we couldn't successfully compete with the contractors, we would all be fired and the work given to them.

By three my stomach was turning somersaults and crying for food. Sometimes it would vary its tune by purring like a kitten.

The inspector came around and said: "What the hell is this, a sleighing party?"

We dug into the snow. I was working by the soft snow. It wasn't so tiring to work here. Men who had tried but could not get tickets hung around and watched. Some of the men chipped in a dime each and bought some rotten alcohol. They began to throw snow at each other. A fellow who had not eaten anything for lunch was drinking this. A huge pile of snow had been thrown into his collar. I wondered how it felt with the melting snow dripping down his back and the fiery poison in his belly.

The sun came out later and it became a little warmer. The foreman kept running back and forth shouting: "Leet pep, Leet pep!" Kids came and watched us. Occasionally a woman would stop. Then the afternoon passed and it grew dark.

We brought our shovels back. The man who had been shoveling by my side turned around and looked at the dirty snow. Somebody yelled out: "Who left something here?"

"I did," said the man by my side.

"A rubber?"

"Yes."

The man threw the rubber. The other caught it, swung his arm over his shoulder and hurled it into the air. The torn rubber landed on the top of a big, black car.

"I don't want that on my foot," he said to me, "let the guy who owns the car ride with the damn thing over his head."

We went to get our hamburgers and coffee.

JUST OFF THE PRESS!

The Soviet Union
and the
4th International

by
LEON TROTSKY

IN ENGLISH 10c IN JEWISH

7c in Bundles of 5 or More

Order from
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
84 East 10th Street, N. Y. C.

PACIFICISM AIDS WAR PLANS

The next session of the disarmament conference is soon to meet. When is it more appropriate for such a "peace" conference of robber nations who are arming to the teeth than immediately before a new war? The capitalist governments and their kept press have lost their sense of humor. One roads of the "possibility" of the "failure" of the conference. Possibility! What hypocritical blabbers!

But isn't disarmament a way of preventing or even abolishing war? If all means of military fighting were abolished war would not occur. But can plunderers of the workers, the oppressors of the toilers, the murderers of rebellious workers disarm and still be able to maintain their robber system? Hardly!

Disarmament Illusions

To bring about disarmament is the task of the militant working class which fights for socialism. Only under a class society when there is no exploitation of man by man can disarmament become a reality. Today arms are a class weapon and can be nothing else under a class system: in the hands of the capitalists they are used to suppress the workers, for the workers armaments are the instruments with which they will be able to overthrow the capitalist class, maintain their own dictatorship over all counter-revolutionary opposition, until the time that all classes are abolished.

Whoever asks the capitalist governments to disarm demands of them to cease supporting wage slavery! This a hopeless dream. The bosses and their government will not give up their parasitical positions without a struggle. Such a program for disarmament spreads the illusion of the possibility of abolishing wars and militarism under capitalism. It plays into the hands of the bosses' governments which pretend to be for disarmament and peace. It does not disarm the exploiting class; on the contrary, the working class which needs a true understanding of military force, is disarmed by illusions and false hopes. Lulled by the talk of peace under capitalism it is unprepared to act at decisive moments.

Pacifism, whether it be that of liberals, socialists or Roosevelt, is the best defender in practice of militarism. Despite the good or evil intentions of the defender of pacifism, their program can have no other result. The anti-war propaganda of the militant fighters against capitalism must clearly explain this real role of pacifism.

Engineers Enlisted For Army Reserve

Young Engineers, get ready! The United States Army is calling! If you are an American citizen, under the age of 30, you can become a Second Lieutenant (no less!) in the Engineers' Reserve. All you have to do is take an "Army Extension Course"—which will require a couple of hours study—and qualify for the job that under other conditions would require two years of special training. No extra charge for the course, everything will be supplied by the army. Such is the information sent in letters dated February 1st, to engineers by the Engineer Office of the Second Corps Area, the United States Army.

What the hell's their rush? Have you been sleeping, don't you know that "we" are going full speed ahead preparing for war!

Get subscriptions for YOUNG SPARTACUS: only 25c a year. Order a bundle at the rate of 2c per copy.

I COVER THE WAR FRONT

BY SPARTACUS

Everybody is preparing for war. Six million men are under arms in capitalist Europe. This means one in every nine men between the ages of fifteen and forty-nine in Europe (outside the Soviet Union). In the United States preparations go ahead in full blast.

The bosses press is preparing the minds of the workers for war. The yellow Hearst newspapers are in the forefront of this movement. Everything is being done to create a war psychology.

* * * *

Demands are being made for an increase of United States military forces. Chief of Staff of the Army, General Douglass MacArthur, calls for an immediate increase of about 33 percent in the enlisted strength of the Regular Army." *N. Y. American*, Feb. 13, 1934). The American Legion demands that in addition to the regular army that the National Guard have 10,000 men, with an appropriate number of officers; an Officers' Reserve Corps, with 120,000 members and provisions for training approximately 30,000 Reserve Officers each year; a Reserve Officers Training Corps in the high schools and colleges "which desire it"; and the training of at least 50,000 youth each summer in the Citizens Military Training Camps.

The War Department asks for a regular army of 17,728 officers and 280,000 enlisted men (as against the present strength of 12,000 officers and 125,165 enlisted men) as a minimum for—"national defense"! National defense, hooley! What nation is going to attack the United States?

Roosevelt, the Pacifist

And how about Roosevelt the "pacifist"? What does this gentleman who yells about peace and disarmament say about a military program? Here are a couple of figures from the navy program which he proposed to Congress.

Appropriations made to provide for increase of enlisted strength of navy by 2,800 men; increase of enlisted marines by 1,000. The following naval armaments are to be built in the next four years (most of them to be completed in the coming year):

- 3 aircraft gunners
- 7 eight-inch gun cruisers
- 4 six-inch gun cruisers
- 6 submarines
- 32 destroyers
- 2 gunboats

143 new airplanes to be obtained by the end of this year which would bring the total of navy plane strength up to

1,608. Would it mean anything to you if I reported that \$274,765,924 were allocated from public works alone for the navy department to be spent in ship building in the next four years, over and above the present appropriations? Or that \$286,445,577 is the additional appropriation for the navy passed recently by Congress? Millions of dollars—they get us dizzy!

Japan Prepares "Defence"

The Japanese House of Representatives has recently accepted a budget in which 44% of the funds are for military purposes. The \$272,000,000 are not for war purposes, oh no! It is for defense!

This largest peace time appropriation for the military forces, \$272,000,000, are not for war purposes—oh no! It is for "defense"!

Everybody is preparing for defense! Roosevelt, Japan, France, Germany, Italy, Great Britain, all for "defeneste"—against whom?

But you naive reader will say: "Isn't it obvious that Japan is forcefully gobbling up China and threatening the Soviet Union?"

Here the answer of Japan's Foreign Minister, Koki Hiroti:

"Our national defense is organized in its very nature for defensive and self-protection purposes. At the same time our diplomacy has no claims to put forth, save what is legitimate and rational and consonant with our national mission."

What more do you want than that which is "legitimate and rational" consonant with its "national mission"! This means the oppression and exploitation of the Chinese people, war against the Soviet Union, rivalry with American imperialism, oppression of the Japanese people—well what of it, it is the "destiny of mankind"!

Hearst Calls For Army Control of C.W.A.

William Randolph Hearst, the wealthy jingoist newspaper publisher, is conducting a campaign to put the CWA under the control of the United States Army. Two reasons are given: first, that this will eliminate political favoritism and graft, and second, that it will prevent the "Reds" from capturing the CWA. This patriotic millionaire very clearly implies that the workers' discontent and strikes in the CWA should be controlled by the bayonet and gun of an Army man. No doubt a third reason for Hearst's demand for Army control is to "efficiently" employ the CWA as a recruiting basis for soldiers when war breaks.

Millions of American youth read this propaganda without understanding its real meaning. Is there a need for a revolutionary youth press?

Child Labor Thrives Under N.R.A.

(Continued from page 1)

That is not all. Thousands of children are employed as newsboys, more than 40,000 young girls are employed in domestic services, more than 100,000 boys and girls under 16 years of age are wage workers in industrialized agriculture such as cultivation of sugar beets and truck farming, and about a half million more children are working on home farms. The NRA does not touch these children. And yet we are told that Roosevelt abolished child labor in the United States!

Read the **MILITANT**, the official organ of the American Communist Left Opposition, for weekly news of the working class movement.

Defend the Heroic Austrian Working Class

(Continued from page 1)

to those brave and self-sacrificing Austrian workers who fought against insuperable odds so that the cause of world socialism could go forward.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY SAVED AUSTRIAN CAPITALISM.

The Austrian Social Democracy left the path of revolutionary socialism when it supported the capitalist fatherland in the World War of 1914-1918. It was none other than Friedrich Adler (the present head of the Labor and Socialist International!) who, during the war, described the Central Committee of his party as the center of the counter-revolutionary forces! The Socialist leaders entered the war cabinet. At the end of the war they formed a Socialist government. Did they try to expropriate the bosses, begin building a classless society?

No. They introduced a "democratic constitution"! Post-war Europe was in a revolutionary turmoil. Russia and Hungary had Soviet governments; in Germany the revolutionary movement was growing. A workers' Soviet Austria would have given a powerful impetus to the entire movement! But these so-called Socialists would hear none of this.

In 1922 they resigned from the government, giving all power to the Christian Social Party—the party which today is controlled by Dollfuss! They became a "loyal opposition" in national politics and ran the city of Vienna.

SUPPORTED DOLLFUSS' EMERGENCY DECREE.

Due to such a program of "legality" and "constitutionality" Social Democracy paved the way for the growth of capitalist reaction and Fascism. When in 1927 Socialist workers of Vienna demonstrated militantly in the streets against the freedom of Fascist murderers by the courts, it was the Socialist leaders who forcefully put down the rebellion. When the national government limited the democratic rights of the Austrian people, the Socialist party confined itself to verbal opposition. The emergency decrees of Dollfuss received the support of the Socialist leaders—in the name of a struggle against Hitlerism!

These same decrees which prepared the ground for the recent bloody slaughter of the Austrian workers were in defense of "democracy"! In what fundamental

way were these policies of the Austrian Social Democratic leaders different from those of their German friends under the emergency decree governments of Von Papen and Von Schleicher? No real differences can be found!

This entire course is well-summarized by the Austrian correspondent of the *New York Times*: "The workers gradually lost their former complete confidence, seeing the inactivity of their trusted leaders and unable to comprehend the reason as one privilege after another was taken away by Dr. Dollfuss and the Fascists, yet, always without furnishing the Socialists with an effective battle cry." (Feb. 18, 1934).

While Italy, Germany and other imperialist powers were mobilizing for intervention in Austria against the Socialist workers, the International Federation of Labor Unions, the socialist trade union center, appealed to the League of Nations to "help Austria". What boundless faith in the impartiality of the capitalist governments! What treacherous betrayal of the Austrian workers!

It is the program of social democracy which is once again condemned by the Austrian events: the program of gradualism and legality at all costs. It is the program of revolutionary Marxism, of internationalist-Communism, the program of the Russian Bolsheviks which is again vindicated.

This has nothing in common with the stupid and impotent "Communist party", the Stalinists. Their theories exploded to the hilt in Germany, are once again condemned by the recent rebellion in Austria. For what is the answer of life itself to their thebry of "social Fascism", that is, that the Fascists and Social Democratic Party are twins and not incompatible?

DEFEND THE AUSTRIAN WORKERS!

The exemplary revolutionary militancy of the Austrian workers should arouse in all true fighters for socialism a courageous spirit of struggle. We must pledge ourselves to learn the lessons from their battles and carry on the work for which they have died. We must support the movement for a powerful united front of all workers' organizations in defense of the Austrian working class against Fascism and capitalist reaction.