

LABOR BILLS FIGHT LOOMS

Colonial Revolt Checks World War Preparations

STUDENTS VOTE ON UNION

EGYPT RISES; ASKS BRITAIN "MOVE SHIPS"

CAIRO, Egypt—Ten million Egyptians, led by less than twenty thousand student rebels, are defying the entire British naval power and damming the course of the coming world war.

Unrest is reaching a fever pitch in this country, where British capitalism, feigning a benevolent interest in a colonial uprising against Turkey, took control as soon as the Turks were ousted.

The movement of revolt, which has led to demonstrations involving ten thousand participants and scores of killings, is clearly anti-imperialistic in nature, leaders of the revolt explained. The smoldering resentment here was ignited when the British anti-Italian fleet dropped anchor here, and with the construction of a naval base at Alexandria. The Egyptians, who have already experienced British colonial "benevolence," refuse to have their country involved and are demanding that the fleet be removed.

That the revolt was in no way sponsored by Italy became apparent when Said Zaghoul, intellectual leader of the uprising proclaimed emphatically that "we are not supporting Italian aims in Ethiopia. On the contrary, we sympathize with Ethiopia."

The fight of the Ethiopians for their independence is said to have inspired the revolt, which has resulted in repeated postponements of sanctions by England and its League of Nations.

Student Confabs To Decide Unity

COLUMBUS, O.—Twin student conventions here this Christmas will decide the fate of the American student movement for many years to come.

The Student League for Industrial Democracy, Socialist student organization, will hold what may be its last annual convention here at that time, at Ohio State University, at the same time as the convention of the National Student League, Communisted campus group, after which both will hold a joint conference, December 28 and 29, from which they hope to emerge as a single militant students' rights and anti-war movement to be known as the American Student Union.



Hamilton
Tremendous interest throughout the country is being voiced in the proposed Student Union which is expected to convert into a permanent organizational form the anti-war and rebel student forces which unitedly demonstrated, 300,000 strong, in a Student Mobilization for Peace, last month, and 185,000 of whom struck against war last April, "as a rehearsal for what we will do if war should come."

The two organizations, which are expected to initiate the project, have been cooperating together for over two years in various nation-wide as well as local student struggles, which has impressed them with the practicability of unity even where it has not created as much good will as might be expected.

Despite anxieties such as in-

variably precede unifications of this sort, leaders of both groups expressed optimism over the prospects of a Union.

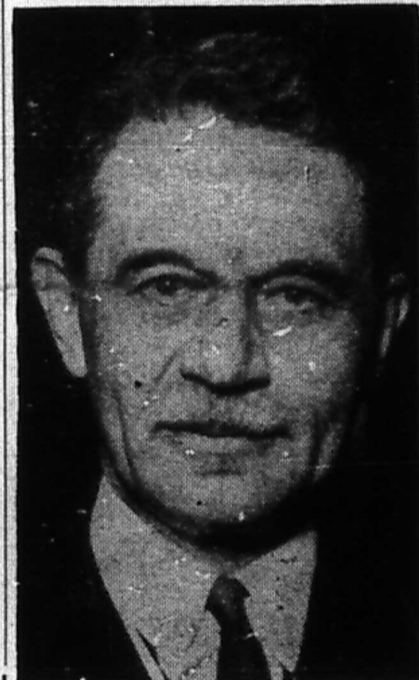
Al Hamilton, chairman of the Student League for Industrial Democracy, declared:

"With an organization of students that is oriented around student problems, we may be able to build in America a student movement that will not follow in the footsteps of the student movements of Europe. The rising tide of war caught in its meshes most of the student federations of Europe. The job facing student leaders in America is to build the sentiment for American Student Union so that in the struggles for the needs of students, American students will play a part in the struggle against militarism. This holds, whether that militarism is in the guise of defense of democracy, peace, colonial peoples, or the Soviet Union, or whether it is wrapped in the folds of 'patriotism'."

One of the prerequisites for unity, Student LID leaders ex-
(Continued on page 10)

PREPARE FIGHT IN CONGRESS ON AMERICAN YOUTH ACT AND WORKERS RIGHTS AMENDMENT

AUTHOR



Morris Hillquit, original framer of the Workers Rights Amendment.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Congress faces a bitter fight on the question of worker's rights when it reconvenes here next month, growing determination on the part of supporters of social legislation favoring young and adult labor indicates. Labor has become increasingly aggressive in its legislative demands, and powerful growing blocs have taken the offensive for various measures, particularly the Workers' Rights Amendment, introduced in the last session as HJR327, and the American Youth Act.

Particularly effective has been the fight for the Workers' Rights Amendment, originally drawn up by Morris Hillquit at the request of the Socialist Party national executive committee, which would remove the Supreme Court's power to arbitrarily "illegalize" legislation increasing the human rights of the working class. Every new dictatorial act of the Court has lent fuel to the fight for the Amendment. Ten State Federations of Labor, a half-dozen international unions, 45 city and county trades' councils, 80 local unions, and 54 fraternal groups have already endorsed it, although the Socialists are the only political party which is supporting it.

Almost equal in importance, to the younger working class element, is the American Youth Act, which would revolutionize the National Youth Administration and make it an effective instrument for aid to needy young workers, students, and unemployed. Among the large national youth organizations which are fighting for the Act are the National Council of Methodist Youth, the Young Circle League of America, the American Youth Congress, the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the National Student League, and the Young People's Socialist League.

The Lundeen Bill for unemployment and social insurance, introduced in the last session as HR2827, also has powerful labor backing; while student forces are rallying behind the Nye-Kvale amendment to the national defense act, sponsored by the Committee on Militarism in education, which would abolish compulsory ROTC units.

Want Youth Group For Workers' Rights

CHICAGO—Formation of a Youth Committee for Workers' Rights will be called for by the Young People's Socialist League, it was decided here by a meeting of the Young Socialist national organization committee.

The committee would seek to achieve "an alliance of youth and labor" behind the Workers' Rights Amendment and the American Youth Act, as well as other measures.

While no definite plans have yet been made, it was explained here, there were indications that the committee would closely resemble the Committee for the Workers' Rights Amendment, which has rallied millions of supporters behind that bill.

An original feature will be its attempt to tie up the WRA and the Youth Act for joint backing by the two groups affected. "While there has been considerable success in securing labor backing for the Amendment and youth support for the Act—both of which we shall seek to strengthen—there has been little appreciation by youth organizations of the fact that the Youth

Act could be nullified by the Supreme Court if the Amendment is not carried; and still less appreciation by labor of the fact that without the American Youth Act the administration may use youth to do their elders out of jobs," was one explanation given.

The new committee would rely on organizing mass pressure behind the bills, and not "make the mistake of the Child Labor Amendment advocates by dependence on lobbying," it was further said.

Besides the two bills, there were several others mentioned, with which the committee might concern itself. Among them were the Lundeen Bill for unemployment insurance, the Nye-Kvale bill abolishing compulsory ROTC, the Wagner-Costigan anti-lynching bill, and "a 30-hour-week bill which does not increase government control over labor action." The fight for the Child Labor Amendment will be transferred to the Workers' Rights Amendment, which includes the same provisions.

"Remove These Ships!"

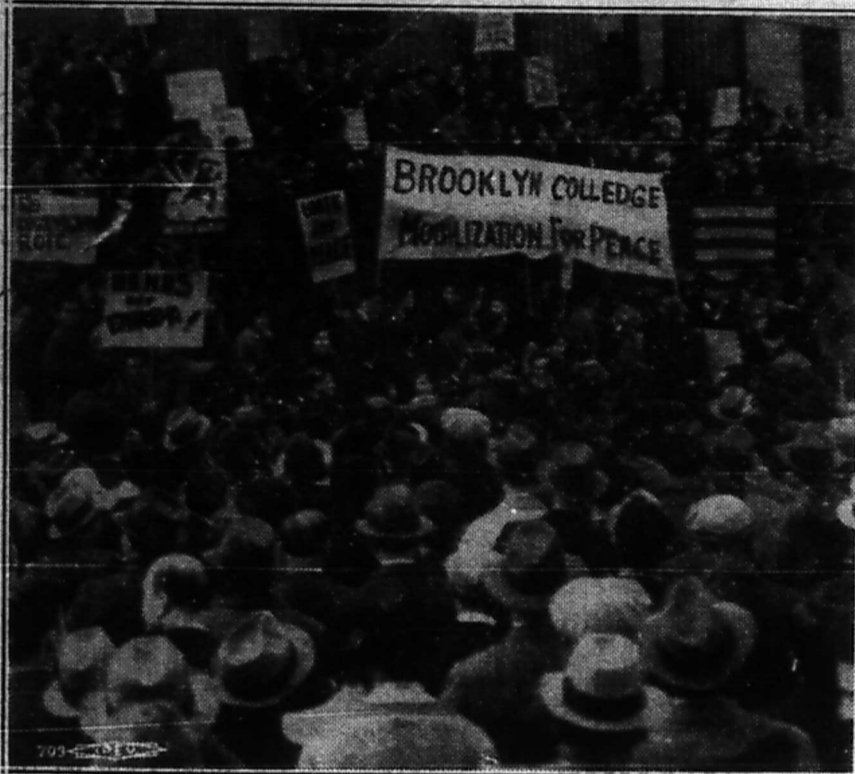


Late
because comrades assigned to do articles never sent them in!

300,000 STUDENTS IN WAR RESISTANCE 'MOBILIZATION'

By GEORGE EDWARDS

NEW YORK—Over three hundred thousand college and high school students participated in the Armistice week-end Student Mobilization for Peace called by eleven student organizations including the National Student Federation of America, The YMCA and the YWCA (student division), the Intercollegiate Council, the National Student



View of the mobilization at Brooklyn College

League and the League for Industrial Democracy, according to Student LID estimates.

"The vast numbers and the determined character of the Mobilization," it was declared, "represented the American student's answer at this

Free Spain's Rebel Chief

MADRID — In sharp contrast to the continued imprisonment of Ernst Thaelman in Germany and Paula Wallisch in Austria, symbolizing the crushing of the labor movement in those countries, Largo Caballero, head of the Spanish revolution, was freed here after a year of agitation by the Spanish Socialist movement.

While the acquittal of the national chairman of the Party and the secretary of the trade unions of Spain was undoubtedly due to the mass resistance which has met every move of repres-



sion, it was aided by the correct tactics pursued by the Socialists, who never indulged in public advocacy of violence.

"You have no proof that I appealed for violence," Caballero was able to say at his trial. His acquittal was practically a forced admission on the part of Spain's ruling classes that they were responsible for the violence which took place in October, 1934, and he demanded it on that ground.

"I advocated only social revolution," Caballero declared, "which can be accomplished without violence. Social revolution does not mean violence, necessarily, but only a means of change in the social structure."

critical moment to the warmongers and to those who would simply let America slide into another world conflict."

In a White House conference on Armistice Day President Roosevelt had told a delegation headed by Thomas F. Neblett, president of the NSFA, which pointed out the significance of the student demonstration, that students must approach international problems "in a spirit of sacrifice. I, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, may be forced to call upon them again for the supreme sacrifice." In answer, SLID leaders pointed out, "thousands of the students who took part in the Mobilization affirmed in the Oxford Pledge their belief that any war entered upon by the United States must be imperialist in character and as such worthy of no sacrifice at all from American students."

The widened united front against war in the student field, which included the Student Christian movements, the Intercollegiate Councils, and the National Student Federation for the first time, the popularization of the Oxford Pledge, "to refuse to support the government of the United States in any war it may conduct," and the official sanction given the demonstration by many school administrations, were cited in the statement as the significant points of the Mobilization. At the College of the City of New York, Simmons College, Howard University, the University of California, Washington and Lee University and many others the student assemblies were supported by the administrations, according to the statement.

"The power of the demonstration," the statement read, "swept ancient school traditions aside. The Student Council of Harvard College broke its policy of isolation to support the Mobilization. In violation of the traditional antagonism between City College and Columbia the CCNY demonstrators marched en masse to join the Columbia Mobilization."

Youth Funds Short, Quits

NEW YORK — Delays in National Youth Administration expenditures led to the resignation of Fairfield Osborne, NYA State Director appointed from Washington, according to his letter or resignation.

He also complained that while originally given to understand that he, as a state director, would have full control over the project in his state, he found himself placed under limitations.

Osborne was asked not to resign by leading liberals, and by a delegation from the Young Communist League, which declared it was ready to help him in a fight for increased appropriations. Young Socialist leaders took an opposite position, saying that simply strengthening the NYA would only serve to make it a greater danger to youth, and that they would fight for increased appropriations only in connection with the American Youth Act, a plan to revise the Youth Administration completely.

On the question of control, they declared themselves against a set-up run from Washington, but said that state control was no better, and that only a system of control by youth, labor, and educational organizations, could serve youth's purpose.

In connection with this it was pointed out that the students of City College here had just forced the local administration to give them control over the funds being administered to them, following the example of the student body at the University of Pennsylvania two months ago.

End Nat'l Attack, Local Drives Take Up Fight On Hearst



CHICAGO — Reprisal campaigns against Hearst Metrotone newsreels will be undertaken at various concentration points throughout the country as an extension of the November national anti-Metrotone offensive, it was announced here by the Young People's Socialist League.

While the national campaign intensified general anti-Hearst sentiment, League officials here explained, it did not succeed in its concrete objective, which is to "drive Hearst out of the movies."

The campaign will now be extended into a series of local drives to achieve that purpose, the broader campaign having laid the basis for this change in tactics.

Concentrating its energies on one city at a time, with bulldog tenacity, the YPSL is going to pick off the Metrotone markets one by one, and "make life impossible" for the manager of a theater showing the Hearst newsreel.

Every local anti-Labor action of the Hearst press will be seized upon in these campaigns.

Milwaukee a Possibility
Milwaukee was mentioned as the first possibility. The local Hearst press seized upon several bombings perpetrated by two demented youths, whom they later had to admit had no connection with any radical movement, to raise a "Red" scare in an effort to embarrass the Socialist city administration.

This was immediately exposed by the Milwaukee Leader, and aroused tremendous resentment among working class and Socialist forces.

Charles Hryniewiecki, Milwaukee member of the YPSL national executive committee, spoke of the possibilities of creating united labor support for a sweeping "Don't Read Hearst" and "Drive Hearst Out of the Movies" attack, in which the entire city would be flooded with anti-Hearst literature, monster demonstrations held, and the Hearst press isolated.

The YPSL national organization committee is investigating other local situations. It has asked the Labor Research Front of New York to prepare a statistical analysis of the Hearst Metrotone clips' political content.

Olympic Drive

In addition to the continuation and concentration of the Hearst Drive, the committee laid down plans for intensification of the anti-Olympic and workers' rights campaigns.

The former it hopes to convert into a drive for support of the Cleveland Labor Olympiad next year, which it will strive to make "a general rallying point for trade union, fraternal, and cooperative sports groups."

Other Socialist youth organizations, particularly the Workers' Sports League, the Young Circle League, and the Young Paole Zion, will be approached to assist in this task.

The Chest for Liberation of the Workers of Europe, a relief organization for underground activities in Germany, will also be approached. The powerful financial backing of the Chest for Liberation, it was pointed out, could make the Labor Olympiad a real answer to the Hitler Olympics.

Local sponsoring and promotion committees for the Olympiad will be set up.

Young Farmers Strike in South

By WARD H. RODGERS

Four thousand cotton pickers, largely youth, left the fields in the recent cotton pickers strike in Eastern Arkansas. Under the leadership of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, they won an increase in wages of 50% over the entire area effected by the Strike Call.

Plantation owners were astounded at the strength of the union. For months the sharecroppers had been quietly closing their ranks after the reign of terror which the Union lived through last spring. The Union had been completely reorganized with secret membership. One plantation owner remarked, "We thought that that damn union was dead but it bursted out like a nest of yellow jackets all over." This is an apt description of what happened this fall. Under the leadership of H. L. Mitchell, Secretary, the Strike Committee directed a quick strike of eight days like veterans.

Twist Bros. down in Cross County, notorious and ill-famed plantation, where the heavily armed riding bosses ride farm laborers as well as horses, was the first to offer 75c per 100 lbs. A few places met the price of \$1.00 per hundred pounds. A meeting of the Strike Com-

mittee was held, they wisely decided to accept a 50% increase in the price of cotton picking. This committee was composed of rank and file leaders. They called off the strike after eight days of struggle.

The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union has won its spurs as a militant fighting organization. The Union demonstrated the power of organization. It has taught white and Negro workers to fight side by side in a section of the South. It has shown that it can secure for its members a fairer share of the products of their toil.

Many new dependable leaders developed from the ranks of the sharecroppers in this strike. Fourteen sharecroppers were arrested during the strike, all were later released without trial. Mrs. Lee Moskop has the honor of being the first woman prisoner. She was arrested at Blytheville while distributing leaflets announcing the strike. Her case was dismissed.

Reliable estimates based on the average amount of cotton picked per family and the increased wages won by the strike for our members, place the figure at not less than \$50,000 cash money which has been put in the pockets of those who really need it.

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YCL TO GO UNDER KNIFE

Communist Youth International To Be Dissolved, League Depoliticalized, Is Order; See Peril To Youth Congress

NEW YORK—In one of the most amazing developments in the history of the radical youth movement, the Communist movement is about to practically abolish the Young Communist League and to dissolve the Young Communist International.

The Young People's Socialist League will be invited to a "non-Party mass youth organization" with a non-working class character. It will be emasculated of its political features, and will probably change its name so as to drop the word "Communist" from its title.

The Young People's Socialist League will be invited to join in a "suicide pact" in the form of an offer to dissolve and form a general liberal youth movement together with the Young Communists.

An attempt may be made to capture the American Youth Congress and use it as the "new" Young Communist League.

These astonishing facts were revealed by Gil Green, general secretary of the YCL, in interviews with the Daily Worker and the Young Worker on his return from Moscow, in which he gave the "official interpretation" of the decisions of the Young Communist International as nonchalantly as possible, supplemented by an additional cabled "interpretation" from Russia that the International itself was to be dissolved.

The unprecedented move was traced to the depoliticalization of the Young Communist League in the Soviet Union, which accompanied the dissolution of the League of Old Bolsheviks, and the Veterans of the Russian Revolution, all of which organizations were "making trouble" because of dissatisfaction with the policies of the Soviet authorities.

As usual the final official action of "broadening" the Young Communist League will not be taken until the membership has "gotten used" to the idea, the official YCL machinery to be used meanwhile in an intensive campaign of propaganda among its own members, before consulting them. This was done with the change of line on the labor party and trade union question this year, and with the new war policy, and coalition policy, adopted by an international congress of delegates not responsible to their national organizations.

To Lose Class Basis

The "new" YCL will have few of the present characteristics of that organization. Perhaps the most significant change, however, will be the loss of its working class character. Not only will the YCL drop all official connections with "the Communist party or any other political party for that matter" to quote Ex-Revolutionary Green, but it will cease to base itself on the laboring classes.

"ALL PROGRESSIVE FORCES must ally themselves," explained Green. "in the interests NOT ALONE OF THE WORKING CLASS but of all humanity."

The new organization is to be based instead on a "front of the younger generation," making an appeal to youth not on a working class basis, but for "peace and freedom." Green explained that the latter qualification would distinguish his organization from the Fascists.

"In keeping with its character, the organization will cease to be a disciplined movement, and may become a federation of semi-autonomous groups. All talk of building for a new social order and of social revolution will be de-emphasized.

Threat to Youth Congress

Possibilities that the Young Communist League may attempt to capture the American Youth Congress for its "front of the younger generation" were seriously regarded in many quarters in view of Green's answer to the question, "how is such a front of the younger generation to be formed in the United States?"

Said Green: "We already see the embryo or beginning

of such a front in the American Youth Congress. The American Youth Congress unites in its ranks not only the organizations of working class youth but also of the youth of the middle classes. It attempts to unite the vast majority of the young generation in defense of peace, against reaction and for all of their most urgent needs."

Offer "Suicide Pact"

The Young People's Socialist League will be approached to drop its revolutionary character and amalgamate with the wreckage of the Young Communists' organization, it was indicated in Green's interviews.

Such a merger, Green "agreed" with the Young Worker interviewer, "would be of great assistance in the development of this non-Party youth League."

This was regarded by Socialist observers as "the only touch of comic relief in a great tragedy about to be enacted before our eyes."

SOCIALIST CALL RUNS BROWDER THOMAS CLASH

20,000 Hear Thomas Lam CP War Policy

NEW YORK — (Special) — "Those who died on the African battlefields don't understand international diplomacy. They only knew they were killed by Mussolini's tanks driven by Soviet oil."

Thus did Norman Thomas end a smashing indictment of Communist policy and tactics in a debate with Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party in huge Madison Square Garden.

Socialist Spokesman



The debate was sponsored by the Socialist Call, national Socialist weekly endorsed by the Young People's Socialist League, and was presided over by Leo Krzycki, national chairman of the Socialist Party. On the platform were more than a hundred Socialist and trade union officials.

More than twenty thousand persons jammed into the Garden, until fire officials ordered the gates closed. Four to five thousands milled about outside for more than an hour demanding entrance.

All Dressed Up And—



HEADED FOR TROUBLE! Japanese heavy armored cars in the Yansung district of North China.

League Silent As Japan Robs China

Thomas based his attack on Soviet foreign policy as "class collaboration"

Thomas declared he did not see the possibility of an immediate general united front, although in specific civil liberties cases it was practical. "The Communists have not yet proven their sincerity or honesty, although they have gone far in that direction."

Browder did not attempt to answer Thomas's attack but pleaded for a united front against reaction "in spite of important differences."

The debate was endorsed by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, which is receiving a share of the income. It was said to represent an important step toward the clarification of revolutionary principles in America.

WASHINGTON—Tool of the big imperialist powers, the League of Nations maintains a hypocritical silence while Japanese imperialism is wresting another five provinces from helpless China.

Although an energetic "defender" of semi-colonial peoples where it is to the interests of British or French capitalism, as in the case of Ethiopia, the most that could be expected from the League in regard to the rape of north China might be another "investigating committee" such as was set up during the invasion of Manchuria, according to observers here.

At that time, although the Chinese government invoked the League article on sanctions, nothing was done except for the setting up of the Lytton "investigating" committee, which was so slow in getting started that Will Rogers commented that "the committee will have to hurry up if it wants to meet the Japanese army in Salt Lake City." The committee of course did nothing.

Chiang Betrayer

Then as now the Nanking government, under the renegade Chiang Kai-Shek whom the Communists stupidly assisted to power, did not attempt to fight back, and was alleged to have been bribed by Japan. The only resistance to the hold-up invasion came at Shanghai, where the Cantonese 19th Route Army mutinied against an order to retreat, and held out against Japanese marines and airplanes for over two weeks.

Later the 19th Route Army established a Left government in Foochung province, but was ousted because it did not take the advice of the Chinese Soviet authorities to arm the population.

Chiang's military efforts have been devoted to campaigns against the Soviet government set up by 60,000,000 people in Central China, and its red peasant army, which remains the only military force in China pledged to combat Japanese imperialism. The Chinese Soviets have declared war on Japan, but are separated from the field of Japanese operations.

Danger to Russia

Japanese seizure of Shantung, Suiyuan, Shansi, Hopei, and Chahar provinces under the

Strong Reaction to "Suicide Pact" Sweeps Young Socialists

CHICAGO—Spontaneous reaction to the new proposals of the Young Communist League was noticed throughout the nation among Young Socialists. As soon as the Young Communists announced their desire for joining the YPSL in mutually discarding their political characteristics and building a mass, non-political youth group in place of the existing revolutionary organizations, the strongest sections of the organization set their machinery into motion.

The powerful New York YPSL and the Chicago League issued statements to the members of the YCL in their districts explaining that this new policy was incorrect and would not serve the interests of youth in their necessary struggle for Socialism and against war. The Chicago leaflet declaring:

"We fully realize the need for a political Socialist youth organization. We fully realize how important and decisive a role the youth section of the Socialist Party can and should play in guiding the tremendous ferment among the youth toward revolutionary allegiances and activities, toward the labor movement, toward political expression. For

youth to unite as non-Fascists devoted to 'peace and freedom' would be to dissipate the encouraging sentiments of youth against war, against fascism and for a world of security, into futile floundering. It is not in a nebulous unity of 'non-Fascist youth' that our hopes depend; the hope of those who seek peace and freedom depends upon an alliance between labor and youth, upon the strength of organization and the clarity of purpose of the youth in the struggle for peace and freedom."

In Philadelphia, Detroit, Indianapolis, and other cities Young Socialist leaders have already formulated their opinions and a spontaneous unified approach is fast being welded.

The national officers of the League are working out the strategy and program necessary to meet this new issue. Proposals are already before the National Executive Committee for their consideration.

Early plans for consolidating the YPSL behind an aggressive policy include arrangements for open membership meetings of the YPSL in key centers at which national YPSL leaders will discuss the new problems before

the Socialist Youth Movement.

The two highest officers of the League, Ernest Erber, national chairman, and Ben Fischer, national secretary, when questioned declared, "We are certain that the entire national membership of the YPSL will react to the new policy of the Young Communist League just as the Chicago, New York and other sections of the League have.

"Pending a definite decision from the National Executive Committee, however, we especially call to the attention of the youth of the Socialist and Communist movement, and those who watch these movements with keen interest, that the proposal before us is not for organic unity of the YCL and YPSL, of the Socialist and Communist internationals. What is before us now is the negation of revolutionary unity—a proposal that we scrap principles and concepts of revolutionary organization and mutually dissolve ourselves into a new organization—the United Youth League. The mistake must not be made of looking upon this as a proposal for unity. This is a proposal for political suicide."

"Support International"

(Special to the Challenge)

BRUSSELS, Belgium—Plans for the complete reorganization and strengthening of the International of Socialist Youth were proposed here by the Young Socialist Guard, powerful Belgian youth organization which declared that the only hope for the international young working class lay in a strengthened, revolutionary Socialist Youth International.



UNDER THE BANNER OF THE SYI: Copenhagen Congress of the Socialist Youth International. Arrow indicates Fernand Godefroid (seated with foot in aisle).

Pointing to the bankruptcy of the Young Communist International, ridiculing the idea of forming a new International or splitting the present one, the Young Guard put forward its proposal to rebuild the SYI as an alternative.

Its desire for reconstruction, spokesmen of the organization explained, is based on the fact that the International is at present composed of national sections which do not correspond to each other. Some of these sections they declared to be purely educational, others distinctly political, and recommended that the SYI be divided into two parallel sections to remove this difficulty.

"The error that we have not recognized," declared the official Young Guard statement, "is that an International which calls itself political contains a cultural majority."

"In some countries it has not even arrived at the level of cultural activity."

"Scandinavia has 130,000 members but its program is not even cultural as in Holland, it is simply recreational...."

"For us, educational activity is part of a whole."

"We want to educate the youth, but to be Socialists, to be revolutionaries."

"Must Modify Structure"

Some national sections do not at all concern themselves with politics, the Young Socialist Guardsmen said, while others are composed of what they termed "children."

"We will never see restored, within the present framework, Karl Liebknecht's Revolutionary International of Youth of 1907."

"We must modify the structure of our International...."

"We must separate the cultural International of Socialist Youth from the political International of Socialist Youth."

The two proposed parallel international sections would "collaborate" with each other, it was explained.

Examining other "ways out" the Young Guard was derisive.

"What shall we do? Go to the Third International? The question cannot even be considered. For one thing, it was interesting to see the Swedish Social-Democrats (at the SYI Congress) use quotations from Dimitroff about national defense and the defense of bourgeois democracy, against the left wing."

Would Create Harmony

The plan, an outgrowth of Belgian dissatisfaction with the

Copenhagen Congress, is calculated to make for more harmonious and effective international relations, and to reawaken the interest of certain national sections, particularly the Spanish, in the SYI.

The Belgians, who are the fastest-growing section of the International, and have doubled their membership practically every year, now have a membership of over 35,000 out of 4,000,000 French-speaking inhabitants of all ages in their country. They have always actively participated in the affairs of the SYI, being considered the leading left wing section, and their national secretary, Fernand Godefroid, is one of the three members of the SYI executive bureau.

RED FALCONS "MARCH ON CHI," GET NATIONAL OFFICE

CHICAGO—It all started at the Yipsel national executive committee meeting in New York, when a representative of the Red Falcons, Socialist children's movement, suddenly announced that the Falcons would undertake a "march on Chicago" to obtain a full-time national office "or bust"—which was what she predicted would happen if they didn't succeed.

The Young Socialists, remembering a similar "march on the Party" of their own not so many years ago, which had gained them a full-time national secretary and marked the beginning of a period of phenomenal growth, voted to lend full support to the miniature revolution to be undertaken by their younger comrades.

The Falcon national advisory committee then also endorsed the move. Everything was to

Erber, Hamilton Report Advances

CHICAGO—Returning from a five weeks' tour of the eastern section of the country, Ernest Erber, national chairman of the Young People's Socialist League, reported on his return here that progress is everywhere evident in the direction of Young Socialists' giving leadership to young people in the fight for their economic demands and against war and fascism.

"Young Socialists are becoming a familiar sight on picket lines wherever workers strike for better conditions," Erber reported. "They are more and more extending their aid to trade unions beyond help in strike situations and are looked upon as welcome aids by progressive trade union leaders in the work of educating new members. The work of penetrating other youth organizations and carrying to young people where

Enjoyed Russia

DETROIT—"The Soviet Union is building Socialism" was the statement of Victor and Walter Ruether, two Young Socialist auto workers, who returned from Russia after a two-year stay.

The two brothers will be remembered by old Challenge readers for an article they wrote, which appeared in the Challenge of July, 1934, expressing their enthusiasm over conditions in the USSR.

Originally employed in Detroit's automobile industry, they scrimped together money over a course of years, and finally realized their dream by leaving for Russia, just on time to escape losing their savings in the bank crash.

In the Soviet Union they immediately found employment in an auto plant, where they found that their highest expectations about the treatment of Soviet workers fell short of the excellent conditions prevalent in that country.

While working there they had an opportunity to study the development of the Soviet experiment, and the construction of the industrial basis for Socialism. They also became particularly interested in the role of the Soviet Union in Siberia, "where it is inspiring the colonial peoples of Asia by setting up autonomous national soviet republics."

ever they are the ideals of socialism and the call to increased opposition to war and fascism is evident in nearly every place I visited."



Hamilton Finds Gains

Reporting on a tour of college campuses in the middle west and the Pacific Coast, Al Hamilton, Student Secretary of the Young People's Socialist League states that the influence of the Student League for Industrial Democracy is growing and reaching students in many colleges where the student organization was not known before and that the influences of the Young People's Socialist League among students is showing a corresponding growth.

The tour took Comrade Hamilton through Michigan, Ohio, Kentucky, Missouri, Colorado and the Pacific Coast states. He reports at an Edan Seminary, Webster Grove, Missouri, that the entire student body voted to join the Student League for Industrial Democracy. He reports the growth of the Student LID due to the uncompromising stand it has taken on war. The Young People's Socialist League groups working on college campuses to build up and give Socialist leadership to the student movement become more necessary now than ever in the opinion of Comrade Hamilton.

Labor Sports Notes

Anti-Berlin Olympic agitation continues to occupy the attention of a large part of the newspaper sport pages. The latest addition to the ranks of those opposing the Berlin Olympics is Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Socialist and labor youth organizations met in an Anti-Olympic Conference in New York City to discuss the formation of an anti-Olympic organization to consolidate the independent agitation many such groups were waging against holding the Olympics in Berlin. A skeleton organization was set up which will be expanded on a nationwide scale.

The New England division of the Workers' Sports League, already has under way plan sending over 50 athletes Cleveland Labor Olympiad, 1936, via bus. Other groups throughout the country also are putting on their agents to raise the necessary funds.

Due to the tremendous increase in the demand for trained physical education instructors, the WSL has started laying plans for a workers' physical education summer school. One branch is planned for the Eastern States with the tentative site in Massachusetts. The Central States also will have a branch, while a third is contemplated for Metropolitan New York.

Basketball is the major sport in the WSL during this season for indoor sports. Four circuits have been arranged for: The New England League, The Metropolitan League, the Cleveland League and the Chicago Circuit.

The national bulletin of the WSLA is now in process of being rechristened by means of a name contest. Its present name is "Proletarian Sports." The WSLA constituent convention gave its NEC power to adopt the Challenge as its official organ instead, and those who are working to build stronger ties between the Socialist political and cultural movements hope to see this done soon.

Seeking wide support for a boycott of the Hitler Olympics, the Young Circle League of America has launched a nationwide propaganda drive on that subject. A series of street-corner and indoor meetings, the collection of signatures to petitions, and other activities will be carried on in all parts of the country, according to the League's plans. The group is also lending active support to preparations for the Workers' Sports Olympiad.

The soccer season has closed and again it was the Eastern States that had greater interest displayed in this sport.

The YPSL of New York organized a team that was most exceptionally victorious in the encounters of the season.

The YPSL of New York, under the able leadership of Frank Stern, has been organizing athletic teams in every field. In line with the new organizational approach of the League, which is against the YPSL's undertaking recreational activities purely for itself, these teams will be broadened in scope and become open to all young workers, as soon as they are firmly established.



Above left: A group of bedraggled unemployed demonstrating sullenly for relief before a courthouse in Oklahoma. They were treated to an attack of tear gas. Above: Another "dependant," John D. Rockefeller, artificially preserved to the age of 91.

The NYA Is A Danger!

An Editorial Article

It is only recently that we have begun to hear the word "youth" mentioned on every hand. A National Youth Administration is suddenly established, a fight for special provisions for youth unexpectedly comes up at the American Federation of Labor convention, 185,000 student youth strike against war in the schools, 15,000 youth go out on strike in the garment trades in New York, everybody seems to be appealing to youth, forming organizations of youth, talking about the problems of youth in relation to this, that, and the other thing.

Not so long ago the word "youth" was used in the singular, usually to portray a downy-faced adolescent overwhelmed by his first love, worried by pimples, beset by romantic ambitions, or otherwise more or less ridiculous.

Today the word "youth" is used everywhere as a collective plural, in connection with politics, unemployment, war, fascism, and other serious things—and it is hardly ever used derisively.

What has happened? Have we suddenly come into our own? Far from it.

The reason is that youth is beginning to play a very special role in society, but it is far from a pleasant one. Up to now the special problems of youth, as distinguished from the rest of humanity, were individual (psychological) ones, rather than collective (economic) ones.

Who are the youth? They really did not exist, economically speaking, heretofore. There was a division between those old enough to earn their keep by selling their labor power—grown-ups, and those in whom "society" (at the expense of the adult workers) was "investing" an education, upkeep, etc., so that they could become workers later on—children.

A Superfluous Generation

Along comes a ghastly development: a generation which has no place in society, a new stratum of the working-class composed neither of workers nor of future workers but of permanent dependants, YOUTH!

If they owned property there would be no problem about their remaining dependants and parasites indefinitely—every capitalist is one—but these belong to the propertyless working class.

The day has arrived when one generation too many appears on the scene, a generation which cannot sell itself into wage slavery, a generation which cannot do what the lowest insect, plant or microscopic creature can do, IT CANNOT FEED ITSELF.

(It is this degenerate level to which the social system is reducing the human species!)

But what is to be done with

the superfluous generation? They cannot be allowed simply to die on the streets like flies, after all. For a while nothing is done, they depend on their families, or at best get jobs and throw their elders out of work, with the same effect.

Then the situation becomes too drastic for that. Eight million dependant human beings, increasing at the rate of a million a year! They must be fed, at least until they can be killed off in a war, but capitalism can no longer afford to pay wages. Isn't there some way to just keep them alive and yet prevent them from developing a mass feeling of resentment that they are being "gyped"?

The CCC

The CCC was Roosevelt's first answer. Here was a way to get youth to work at \$1.00 a day, and think they are getting something for nothing! Could anything be cheaper for capitalism?

The CCC started as an "experiment"—the New Dealers had to get even the capitalists used to the idea—but Roosevelt has steadily increased its size and now he declares it will be a "permanent institution." In other words, HE ADMITS THERE WILL ALWAYS BE YOUNG

AMERICANS IN A POSITION WHERE THEY ARE WILLING TO WORK FOR \$7.00 A WEEK!

Another "advantage" of the CCC is that it removes youth from contact with ordinary community life, physically separates them from the rest of their class, keeps them in an unreal world where it is "normal" to earn \$7 a week, have no home, enjoy little personal freedom, and live in an island of society adapted for one thing alone: work.

Could anything be more ideal from a capitalist viewpoint, than if all the unemployed could be placed in barracks, their minds reduced to the condition of ants', kept from having families and reproducing too many of their kind?

Its Limitations

Yes! One thing could be. That is if ALL the workers, EMPLOYED, as well as unemployed, could be reduced to such an ant-like condition!

But here, you will say, our imagination is running riot; nothing of the sort could ever be attempted; only the most unrealistic and fanatical radicals could accuse the capitalists of dreaming of such a state of affairs!

Yet it is partly TRUE! While

capitalism may not seriously contemplate a world of forced labor its efforts are now TENDING in that DIRECTION. And its first efforts in that direction are being concentrated on YOUTH.

Let us explain. The unemployed have always been used as a reservoir for capitalism. As long as they exist the worker is never secure in his job, and hence more at the mercy of his boss. Even where he organizes with his fellow workers into a union the danger persists (though to a lesser degree), for without unemployment there could be no scabbing.

And here is a whole generation of unemployed. What a magnificent "opportunity"! Why shunt these young people off into CCC camps when they could be kept in the community and used as a perpetual threat to job security, to organized labor, to working class living conditions? The CCC only serves a negative purpose of keeping the standards of youth at a subsistence level; it does not serve the positive purpose of forcing down the rest of the working class to that level.

The NYA

While no such articulate reasoning preceded the establishment of the National Youth Administration, it was this economic tendency which led to it.

Notice carefully two of its distinguishing characteristics: A RATE OF PAY LOWER THAN THE WORKING CLASS STANDARD, and THE PLACEMENT OF YOUTH IN PRIVATE INDUSTRY AT THIS RATE OF PAY AS "APPRENTICES." The latter is part of a system of "VOCATIONAL TRAINING," but is this "so that Johnny can know what kind of work he is out of"? Or is it to bring a source of cheap labor to the labor market?

These two provisions reveal the actual character of the National Youth Administration. It is an attempt to accomplish peacefully and gradually, through the legal machinery, what Fascism tries to do violently, by mass movements and a pretended "seizure of power." It must not catch us off our guard for that reason. The NYA is a danger, not only to youth, but to the entire working class!

Its Future

But how can it be a danger as long as it has an appropriation of only \$50,000,000? It cannot seriously affect the millions of unemployed youth or the labor movement by dealing with a few thousand young people.

BUT THE APROPRIATION WILL BE INCREASED. The present allotment is another "experiment" like the CCC originally was. The reason is that the

Will It Come To This?



A sentry on guard duty before a forced labor camp for Germany youth. Hitler's answer to the problem of a "surplus generation."

capitalists are only learning very slowly that what they pay collectively to keep up such a project will be of benefit to their individual profits. Some of them do not yet understand this, and they are fighting the NYA. Many liberals and the Communists are taking the side of the NYA against the capitalists who are attacking it. The Young Worker, organ of the Young Communist League, carried the story on November 26, under a four-column streamer reading "REACTIONARIES DEMAND STOPPAGE OF THE NYA." We in the Young People's Socialist League have no patience with such working class myopic sympathies. We only hope that the more short-sighted of the capitalists may always win out in disagreements like this!

Control of Youth

The NYA does not only provide for the lowering of working class standards; it also provides for GOVERNMENT CONTROL over a section of the working class. This is done by a set-up whereby the President appoints the national director, the director appoints the national council, the national council appoints the state directors, and so on down the line. There is a very good reason for this.

Youth is not simply sitting back and calmly watching its opportunities disappearing. In industry the young people, like factory floor boys, shipping clerks, etc., who formerly regarded their positions as temporary stepping-stones, now realize that they are lucky if they keep them at all, and are beginning to organize into unions. In the schools resentment at being thrown into a surfeited labor market, and awareness of

(Continued on page 8)

What IS the Workers' Rights Amendment?

By Sam Neidorf

Attorney for the Labor and Socialist Defense Committee

When the Supreme Court of the United States declared the NRA unconstitutional a situation long familiar to lawyers and to Socialists was graphically brought before the eyes of American workers. The situation was and is that under the Constitution of the United States it is impossible for even the fragmentary rights which workers can win under the capitalist economic system to exist in America.

A great wave of protest arose against the Supreme Court after the NRA decision but from the point of view of jurists, the decision was correct—the NRA was unconstitutional. And while Socialists have always agitated and still do agitate against the power of the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional, labor and Socialist forces must now attempt to force through Congress and the state legislatures the Workers' Rights Amendment, thus depriving the Supreme Court of the power to declare unconstitutional laws which give workers certain elementary rights.

The WRA is in the main the work of Morris Hillquit, famous labor attorney and an authority on United States constitutional law, drafted at the request of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. After lying dormant for some time it is now one of the most important of the immediate demands of American labor. Sponsored by the Socialist Party and the Young Peoples' Socialist League, it has been endorsed by hundreds of labor unions and other organizations and has been introduced in Congress as HJ Res. No. 327.

In general, the WRA gives to Congress the power to pass certain legislation in aid of the working class. Such legislation cannot be passed without the WRA because of constitutional prohibitions.

First of all, the amendment will give Congress "the power to establish uniform laws through-

out the United States to regulate, limit and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age." The fight against child labor has always been a major project of the Socialist Party and the YPSL. But twice laws passed by Congress with a view to prohibiting child labor have been declared unconstitutional—one passed in 1916 on the basis of Congressional control over interstate commerce and another some years later through the use of the taxing power of Congress.

The results of these decisions are apparent. Almost a million children are at work in the United States, while sixteen million men are jobless, and 50,000 of these children are injured every year at work. Only the WRA permits measures tackling this problem as well as eliminating some of the causes of child labor such as wages for fathers so low that children must work if they are not to starve.

The WRA goes on to give Congress the power "to limit the work-time and establish minimum compensation of wage-earners." The Supreme Court has declared that in certain hazardous occupations the states could limit hours of work and might prohibit night work by women and children. As to minimum wages, not even a state has the right to pass a law embodying this principle! It is true that a few states have passed laws regulating the hours of labor within the narrow confines of the legal decisions mentioned above but these are hopelessly inadequate.

At present Congressional power to legislate on the question of maximum hours and minimum wages is limited to employees directly engaged in interstate commerce such as railroad workers and to government employees. The WRA will give Congress the right to pass proper laws for the whole country and for all industries setting standards for hours of labor and for minimum wages.

The WRA also gives Congress the power "to provide for the relief of aged, invalid, sick and

unemployed wage earners and employees in the form of periodical grants, pensions, contributions of employers, or from one or more such sources." The United States, since it is a highly industrialized country, numbers among the working class, large numbers of people unemployed through no fault of their own. These workers who are not able to find work because of seasonal or technological unemployment or because of old age or sickness must be cared for. Charity or the dole allow them to eke out only the most meager existences.

The problem of unemployment itself cannot be solved under capitalism. But we certainly cannot wait for Socialism before demanding better relief. Yet this problem is much too large for states to handle as is contemplated under the Roosevelt Social Security plan. It is a national one (in fact an international one), and it would be possible to press for a national handling of the problem of relief without certainty of Supreme Court interference, only if the WRA is passed.

The last provision of the WRA declares that "the power of the several States to enact social welfare legislation is unimpaired by this article, but no such legislation shall abridge or conflict with any Act of Congress under this Article." This provision will allow any state to go further than Congress might in providing workers rights but will not allow any state to fall below the standards set by Congress. No claims of a violation of "states' rights" can be valid when this provision is in the WRA.

For the youth of America the WRA has a tremendous significance. Most of us are workers or hope to be workers. For those of us who hope to become professionals the rights of workers are no less important since it is on the basis of workers' prosperity that we must exist. So to all of us the struggle for the WRA is a struggle for the well-being of ourselves and our families. Even if our campaign for the passage of the American



THIS TROOPER was taught to respect workers' rights—by a well-aimed brick which caught him squarely between the eyes. His militia unit had just shot and killed two strikers. The scene is Saylesville, R. I.

Youth Act is successful it could always be declared unconstitutional unless the WRA becomes the twenty-second amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Socialist and labor forces are engaged in backing to the limit the fight for the enactment of the WRA. But it is evident that this is no panacea for the ills of American labor. The mere fact that the WRA increases the powers of the national government should not in itself be considered a factor in its favor. It is necessary, if we are to solve national problems that national means be used. The Socialist and labor world is for the WRA

not because it increases the power of the national government but because it helps to establish workers' rights.

Although the WRA increases the powers and rights of the working class, the WRA will not automatically solve the problems of American labor. The only hope for labor lies in the establishment of the Socialist economic system—the cooperative commonwealth. But the WRA will help labor to achieve certain improvements in its lot and greater freedom of action; and the fight for it can help labor rally its forces and educate itself for the greater goal of the classless society.

Workers Get Taste of Capitalist "Democracy"



When workers at the Richmond Hosiery Mills at Rossville, Ga., went on strike, the Governor surrounded the plant with these militiamen, who arrested the strikers and held them in a barbed wire concentration camp until they agreed to go back. They learned about workers' rights!

'Defending the USSR'

Once before Japan was grabbing a slice of the Chinese nation, and the League of Nations was looking the other way. And at that time, as now, the Communists suddenly forgot their anti-war principles.

Soviet foreign policy "demanded" it, so the Communist Party began to raise WAR SLOGANS against Japan.

On February 22, 1932, a manifesto on the Far Eastern crisis was published in the Daily Worker, which raised the demand that the US break off diplomatic relations with Japan.

This policy of backing capitalist nation against capitalist nation dominated the Party's declarations for many months thereafter. On February 25 the "Daily" featured the headline "US WARNS JAPANESE ON CHINA WAR LOOT," playing up Yankee imperialism's benevolent role in the Far East.

On April 12 it ran an article by Karl Radek from the Moscow "Izvestia," raising the possibility of a Soviet-American military alliance as a "warning" to Japan.

In the May issue of "The Communist" Earl Browder, professional Communist hypocrite and apologist, wrote an article "explaining" this, attacking the "Socialists and renegades" who called it treason, saying that he had changed his "line" as put forth in a pamphlet a year before on no less than six different counts, and declaring that we must "make use" of anti-Japanese sentiment in the US to "defend the Soviet Union." For some reason he did not write an article for Liberty on the yellow peril.

But a year later, when the crisis had passed, the CP suddenly remembered its princip-

The resolution of the sixteenth "plenum" (full meeting of the national committee) of the Communist Party, which appeared in draft form in the Daily Worker on February 18, 1935, states:

"Extremely grave errors were committed by the Party when the robber attack of the Japanese imperialist armies in Manchuria placed the question of war before the American party more sharply than ever before..."

"An inexcusably incorrect application of the correct principle was made in adopting for a period of conciliatory attitude toward the speculations of bourgeois correspondents (Karl Radek? —Ed.) about a possible 'alliance' between the US and the USSR against Japan, and by failure to distinguish between the correct Leninist utilization of antagonisms by a proletariat in possession of state power, and the different forms such utilization by Communist parties in capitalist countries must take—mechanical application to the US of quotations from Lenin."

And the reader will know there is something wrong somewhere when he hears what Gil Green, member of the secretariat of the Communist International, said before a membership meeting of the Young Communist League of Chicago, a few days ago.

If the Soviet Union is at war, said Green, "we will do everything in our power to force the United States into war on the side of the Soviet Union. If we succeed the workers must flock into the army" to fight for the land that Green wishes to become a substitute for world Socialism.

"What We Want of A Student Union"

A Member States It Frankly

Cops Attack Students' Anti-War Meet



Unequivocal Anti-War Stand

We insist on the formulation rejected by Serril Gerber and the Communists at the American Youth Congress: "We will not support any war that the US government may undertake."

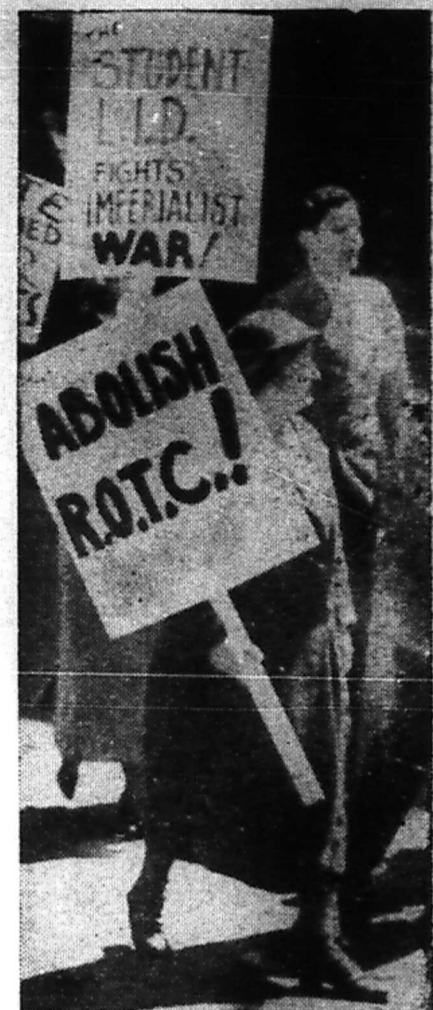
Will the Communists in control of the NSL agree to this? I think we can force them to. If they should reject unity on the basis of refusal to accept the above formulation they will become isolated and branded as splitters and social patriots by every progressive-minded student outside their immediate sphere of influence. They cannot afford to commit suicide: they will accept it.

Promises and Crossed Fingers

But will they carry it out? That is a different story. If, when the time comes, they find the CP actually supporting a war undertaken by the government, they will of course not hesitate to violate this agreement. Then aren't we Socialists seemingly violating our own principles by uniting with a group for a purpose which they cannot carry out?

This would be correct if by the American Student Union we would win over only the present membership of the NSL, if that present membership were solidly Communist, and if such a solidly Communist membership were bound to remain solidly Communist forever. But none of these things is true.

We Socialists believe in the power of correct ideas. Our own Party and League are built on the principle of freedom of discussion, rather than ideological dictation from above, for this reason. Within the Amer-



ican Student Union we are confident that we can win over adherents to our beliefs. For if we cannot win over students organized into a progressive movement we certainly cannot expect to win over students at all!

Why an Anti-War Plank

"But," you may object, "why then insist on an unequivocal anti-war plank at all? Can you not win over a majority of the American Student Union without it?"

Yes we can, but we do not believe in building an organization which we ourselves will have to split, even if we can take a majority with us. Hypocrisy is not a policy which can help the working class. An organization which we want to "rule or ruin" we could work in "only

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The **Challenge** reproduces herewith a letter actually sent by a Yipsel to a student sympathizer. It was felt that the questions so frankly discussed in it should be made public.

Dear V—: We in the YPSL have had to do a lot of work to put over the idea of a Student Union. In the first place even our own members accepted the idea only half-heartedly. There is, I am sorry to say, still a great deal of anti-united front sentiment because many members cannot understand that the principle of united front is not a question of whether or not one likes the Communist movement.

In the second place, while the SLID has never, like the NSL, tried to hide its political sympathies, it is not under machine-domination as is the NSL, and in many places we are having a tough time convincing the non-Socialists.

Unity Not a Catchphrase Third, and most important, is the question of "Unity for what?" We do not regard unity simply as a catch phrase, the way it has been used by the YCL for many years. We take unity much more seriously than that. We feel that unity is not an end in itself, but a serious means to an end.

When we unite with any other group we do not seek to impose our full program, for otherwise we should ask them to join us. We therefore set an immediate or more specific goal for the united project.

Now, here's where the difficulty comes in. If we set such a specific goal sincerely, and not as a maneuver, we can only unite with groups which we feel capable of carrying out that task. Otherwise we are weakening our own struggle by encouraging reliance on other groups for tasks they cannot carry out. Thus: the CP on the Lower East Side in NY held a united front with the GOP and Tammany last summer for better housing conditions in the slums. This we considered nothing less than a betrayal of trust, for it tended to encourage the working-class to believe it could be helped in its fight for better conditions by non-working class parties.

Tasks of a Student Movement The specific goals and tasks of a progressive student movement could be enumerated as follows:

1. The fight against retrenchment in education, high prices, etc. (Economic interests of working-class students).
2. The fight for academic freedom for progressive opinion, against discrimination, against reactionary teaching and militarism in education. (Extension of workers' rights and weakening of capitalist influence).
3. Creation of sympathy for working-class political and economic institutions. (Tightening of class lines).
4. Preparation for ORGANIZED MASS YOUTH RESISTANCE IN CASE OF WAR. (supreme threat to capitalist).

By the parenthetic remarks I have tried to show how all of these fit in with the Socialist program. Yet they do not constitute a full Socialist program. If we thought that a miscellaneous collection of Socialists, Communists, and liberals could usher in Socialism we would abandon the Socialist movement.

The first mistake we had to correct, therefore, was the insistence of overzealous SLID-ers that the united organization re-

tain the name of the SLID. A united front "for Industrial Democracy" could only be based on ideological ignorance and confusion. We insisted that some word such as "Union" (implying only immediate demands) be substituted for any mention of "Industrial Democracy." First round. We won.

Can the NSL Fulfill Them?

Then, going over the list, we sized up the bride-to-be, the NSL, to examine whether it could carry out the immediate tasks of a student movement.

Point 1 there could be no disagreement on.

Point 2, only slight disagreement. (The NSL is apt to want to fight for all academic freedom, not just freedom for progressive opinion. The CP, for instance, fought for Father Coughlin's right to use the city-owned Soldier's Field for a meeting in Chicago. But we are not liberals, and do not want "freedom" for our enemies. We are for "workers' rights," not "democracy.") But right now the main attack is on workers' rights, and the fight for democracy is largely a fight for the extension of democracy to the working class. So our differences with the Communists on this point do not assume practical proportions.

The differentiation on point 3 has disappeared with the "new

line" of the CP, which is against dual unions. (Before this, unity was impossible, since dual unions are not working class organizations except insofar as they are a cancer within the working class).

But the "new line" created a new difficulty, this time on point 4. War is the main outlet for capitalism, its means of solving its contradictions. If we do not fight all capitalist war, we are giving capitalism leeway to perpetuate itself indefinitely. This is directly contrary to our principles; there can be no compromise here.

Communist Position on War

We know the Communist position on this. In the likely case of the US and the USSR together warring with Japan, the CP will support the government. In the likely case of the US and Britain warring on Italy, the CP will support the government. They have as good as said so. If the NSL should insist on such a position we will form the American Student Union without them. If the SLID and the NSL should form an American Student Union with such a position (an extremely unlikely thing) we would fight against it, seek to destroy it, work within it "only as we work within the ROTC" to quote the Young Socialist Review.

REACTION GOES TO THE MOVIES

By LEON SAMIS
Young Circle League

One of the largest industries in the realm of American finance has gone berserk—the film industry. This two-and-a-half billion dollar business, that is capable of entertaining weekly seventy million people in over 40,000 cinema cathedrals, has departed from its usual stereotyped films that have featured sex and love, and has ventured on another phase of activity. A new type of screen hero and villain has been created to foist on a gullible public.

Prodded on by the number one Fascist and red-baiter defender of all that is righteous and holy to American traditions and institutions, William Randolph Hearst, the movies have taken their cue. Film companies have been zealously outbidding each other for the purchase rights of scenarios that best portray militaristic, imperialistic, and Fascist episodes.

Throughout the past year we have been deluged with an unusual number of militaristic offerings. Some of them include "De il Dogs of the Air," "Dirigible," "Here Comes the Navy," "Flirtation Walk," "Annapolis Farewell," and "Shipmates Forever." "Flirtation Walk" attempts to regale its audience by showing how thrilling the life of a West Point cadet can be, while "Annapolis Farewell" and "Shipmates Forever" glorify the existence of the future admirals of the U. S. Navy. Each of the above films are surfeited with military maneuvers on land, sea, or air. It is important to note that the U. S. government has added to the resources of the film companies by permit-

ting the use of Federal-owned property for locale, thereby becoming actual partners of the reactionary forces.

Examples of imperialist tendencies in the movies can be seen clearly in pictures like "Lives of a Bengal Lancer," "Clive of India," "Sanders of the River," and "Oil for the Lamps of China." This last named received the invaluable assistance of Hearst. He saw to it that the story of the film was revised so that the hero of the plot was a corporation, no less, who took care of its faithful employees in time of stress.

Perhaps the most vicious attack on labor that Hollywood has yet perpetrated was "Black Fury." Oddly enough, it was exceptionally well produced—an artistic success—and for this reason twice as dangerous. In spite of the fact that it showed how a strike in a coal mine was the result of activity of union "stool pigeons," how the workers were misled by irresponsible members among their ranks, (despite the "loyalty" of union officials), and how the strike was finally won by the use of dynamite—it fooled many liberals. It was a frank boast that workers deliberately rely on violent means to win strikes, while depicting the owners of the mines as disdaining such methods to gain their ends.

Another film, "Red Salute," conceives yet another and new idea of propaganda. It is a "flag waving" vehicle which reveals how young "Reds and radicals" undermine the ideals and morals of the students on the college campus by their "anti-American" propaganda. The film is a tissue of lies and distortions that entirely misrepresents

the real aims of the college radical youth movement.

Three of the most hostile anti-labor films ever to be screened are now being released. "They are Riff-Raff," "Frisco Kid," and "Call to Arms," (also titled "Together We Live"). "Riff-Raff" is an obviously subtle attack on a "radical" who misleads the workers in a fishermen's strike on the docks of the Frisco waterfront. It shows how impassioned speeches bring men out on strike although they have no grievances; how maritime workers believe only in violence, dynamite and bombs.

"Frisco Kid," which is less subtle propaganda, shows "vigilantes" at work on the Pacific Coast when the Far West was in the hey-day of pioneering, about 1850. By inference it is suggested that present day "vigilantes" can similarly "clean out" any groups of "trouble-some" elements.

"Call to Arms," a story based on the San Francisco bombing for which Tom Mooney has been jailed, concerns the attempted bombing of a factory. In a melodramatic manner the film illustrates how a patriotic group of Civil War veterans foil the plans of the would-be bombers by raiding the meeting places of a group of "radicals" and landing them in jail.

Perhaps an even greater menace in its propaganda for reaction than the feature film is the newsreel, because it is perennially present on every program and more people see it than the average feature film. The producers that are equally guilty of dishonestly influencing the minds of the uninformed through a specious patriotism, distorted labor reporting, and apologia for

reaction, are "Hearst Metrotone News," "Paramount News," "March of Time," "Fox News" and "International Newsreel." News of the day is shown on the screen, while a narrator does his best to "explain" the action to the thorough satisfaction of any Red-baiter. Militarism and anti-labor occurrences are treated with much patriotic fervor.

This outpouring of revolting "stars-and-stripes" films and newsreels has not gone unnoticed by labor and radical organizations. The most effective counter weapon that has been used to fight these forces of reaction has been wholesale picketing of those theatres that refuse to withdraw the offensive films or newsreels, and protests to the management. Pressure from this source has compelled many theatre managers in various parts of the country to remove the films under attack. The success of these protests can be seen by the unsuccessful move of several motion picture companies in appealing to the Postmaster-General to remove from the mails any literature urging the boycotting of theatres showing Hearst Metrotone News.

Motion picture producers must be shown that the machinery they control cannot be used as a means of reactionary propaganda and flag-waving. The Young Circle League, the Young Peoples Socialist League, and the Student League for Industrial Democracy, have combined forces to eventually force, through aroused public opinion, the complete withdrawal of every and newsreel that places a around war and imperialist seeks to malign the radical movement.

The NYA

(Continued from page 5)

the possibility of mass-slaughtering the "superfluous" generation in a war as a capitalist "solution" is leading to the development of a student movement and of mass action against war.

This represents a danger to capitalism. If the NYA can keep youth under capitalist control, that in itself would be a boon to it.

The Youth Act

For these reasons all workers, young and old, must fight for the passage of the American Youth Act, which provides for union and prevailing wages for youth, so that they will not help lower the living standards; for work only on socially useful community projects, so that they will not displace their elders in industry; and for control by people's councils run by elected representatives of youth organizations, labor unions, and the schools, so that they will not be under bureaucratic government control.

We do not wish to strengthen or slightly reform the present NYA. We do not say, as did the YCL to NY State NYA Director Osborne when they beseeched him not to resign, that we will try to improve it. WE WANT THE AMERICAN YOUTH ACT AND NOTHING BUT THE AMERICAN YOUTH ACT.

To cope with the broader problems involving the present plight of youth we say to the young people: Fight for unemployment and social insurance, starting with the Lunde Bill, so that the problem of unemployment should cease to be such a dangerous threat to all of us! Fight for workers' rights, starting with the Workers' Rights Amendment, so that the working class can have more opportunity and freedom to organize, and the power of the capitalist class be weakened! Fight against war and militarism, to preserve yourselves from future slaughter! Fight every step toward fascism and reaction, to keep yourselves from being crushed! Organize into the student movement, and into trade and unemployed unions, to win better conditions. Ally yourselves with the rest of the working class, so that youth and labor cannot be "played" against each other! Finally, join the movement of Socialist youth, to abolish the social system which is to blame for your predicament!

To Labor!

To the adult workers we say: Make every effort to organize the youth in your industries; it is up to you to decide whether they shall be your enemies or your allies! Fight for special cultural, recreational, and educational provisions for youth in your trade unions, to attract them to the labor movement! Demand that they be given their voice in union control and their representatives in the union leadership! Openly ally yourselves with the struggles of youth, working, jobless, and student, particularly the struggle for the American Youth Act! And if you are Socialists, devote special energy to the task of enlisting them in the Socialist cause; on their young shoulders rests the future of the movement.

What We Want

(Continued from page 7)

as we work in the ROTC" or as the Communist used to work in the AF of L.

We insist on this plank. We will not support the Student Union without it. Once it is carried our job will be to see to it that when and if others try to split the Union they will be as possible. And that they have signed an "contract" agreeing to do so will certainly help.

Best regards,

The Story Of A Revolution

by Melos Most

III. The Socialist movement of Spain had both the opportunity and the ability to learn that it could establish Socialism only by force, for reasons that have already been described. And it decided to establish Socialism by force, and undertook to carry out that decision:

Social pacifists may comfort themselves with the thought that the capitalists had "betrayed their trust" by violating the promises they made in 1931, that the popular mandate for a Left government in 1933 had been "unfairly" gerry-mandered into producing a Right majority in the Cortes, that the working class movement was being "illegally" hampered in its work, that Fascism was on its way to destroy "democracy"—in other words that the revolution was undertaken as a necessary evil to correct evils far worse.

All of this is true, and these were important contributing factors to the revolution, but they all boil down to this: THE CAPITALISTS WOULD NOT ALLOW THE SOCIALISTS TO ESTABLISH POWER PEACEFULLY. As Largo Caballero, leader of the Socialist Party and trade unions said, "When we see legality so emasculated that it

is insufficient for achieving the aims of the Spanish people, we have no other choice but to out-step legality."

Final Line-Up

With revolution in view, the leading minds of the Socialist movement carefully studied the situation. On their own side they strengthened their youth organization, the "Juventud Socialista," (membership from 16 to 35) which had naturally developed into a grouping of Socialists of fighting age in the course of day-to-day physical struggles that marked the developing crisis. In addition to this powerful arm, a broader Workers' Militia was built out of the trade unions, and the Socialist Party.

This militia was regarded as essential for the initial street-fighting stage. The latter would immediately spread into civil war, in which case the entire population in the Socialist sections could be called on to bear arms in defense of the revolution.

The army in such sections could also be counted on. Until sections of the country were under Socialist control, however, the army could not be relied on to break out of its barracks to help the working class cause.

They would not, however, allow themselves to be used against the workers at any time, being recruited from working class and peasant ranks themselves. It was the police, the civil guard, and the other mercenary forces that the revolutionists had to contend with.

October 4th

On October 4th, 1934, El Socialista carried a quiet little notice on its front page to the effect that this was a day when the workers would have to maintain discipline above all. In the afternoon a general strike was declared over all of Spain. The strike was, as we now know, highly successful, all production and transportation being paralyzed. In every city, in every town and village, not a wheel turned, from the wheels of gigantic factory plants, to the ancient irrigation wheels which dot the Spanish countryside. No mule carts brought provisions to the village railroad stations; no trains brought them from there to the cities. The workers and peasants had declared an indefinite holiday.

But a general strike by itself cannot last for ever. The workers and peasants starve even before the upper classes do. A

revolutionary general strike has to be extended into a more active form of opposition to the capitalist state and its masters. Aside from this, where the government policing forces are being concentrated on scabbing, or on aiding scabbing, they cannot be met with folded arms.

One of these extensions of the general strike, that of protecting it from scabbing, was undertaken immediately. Where possible, this was done by ordinary physical resistance. Where the police and the civil guards were used, or in important fields such as transportation, sniping and guerrilla warfare were successfully resorted to.

But the actual conversion of the strike into a revolution was undertaken in a very unusual fashion.

Arms and the Workingman

Because the Socialists had laid down a very definite military strategy for the revolution they have since been accused of having planned a coup d'etat. The Trotskyites have said that directly. The Communist Daily Worker here declared that the Socialist workers of Spain now have to be "won over from their military-technical ideas of revolution, and," it added, mindful of its line, "from their reformism!"

Coup d'etat means the capture of a few strategic points in a quick military maneuver which can be executed by a relatively small armed force. Exactly the opposite was the Spanish Socialists' intention. Realizing that the state had the immediate military advantage, and that they had the reserve strength, their tactic was one of wearing down the state forces, rather than in making a few sudden and unexpected moves. This is the revolutionary tactic against an organized state force.

The fighting began away from the "strategic centers." In little out of the way villages the red flag was first raised. Death and torture awaited the isolated rebels as soon as a large force of Civil Guards arrived to wipe them out, but they knew they were accomplishing their purpose: SCATTERING THE GOVERNMENT FORCES.

The Asturias Commune

Then the revolution broke out in the first of the two most important sections: Asturias, the industrial center of Spain. Here, for the first time in history, the workers took possession of a huge, industrialized section, against the opposition of an organized state peace-time apparatus.

How they did it is therefore of the greatest importance to us.

The mining villages were the first to declare that they no longer recognized the rule of the capitalist class and its government. The cities, generally centers of unrest, were quiet. Civil Guards were sent out from the city garrisons to suppress the rebellion in the countryside, where they met with unexpected resistance. The workers were well armed.

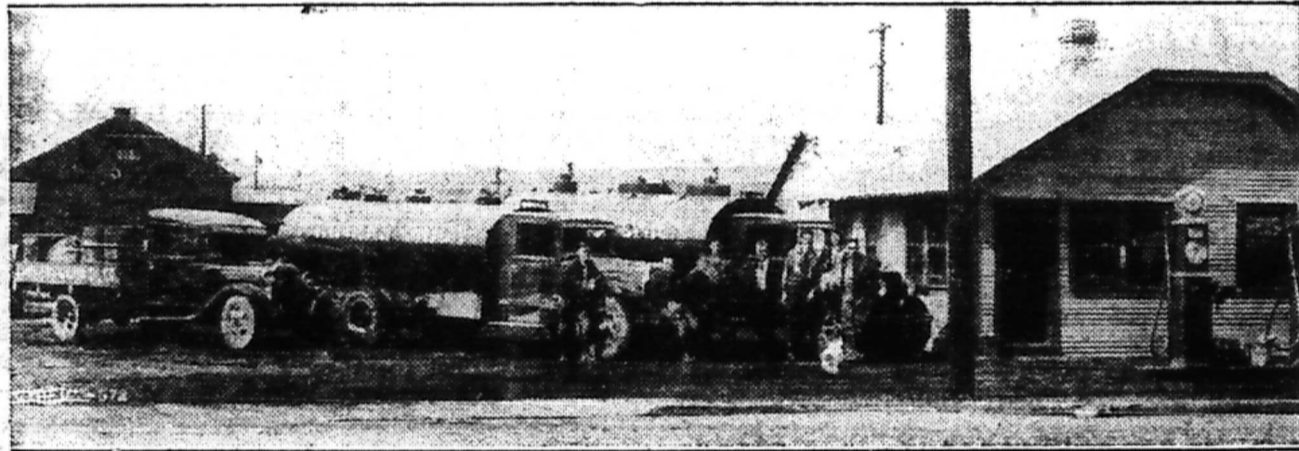
And no sooner were they gone, when the Civil Guards found they had been cut off from their supplies, from all retreat. The cities had risen.

Within the cities fierce battles raged. It was the remnants of the Civil Guard which had to barricade itself into small sections of the cities, from which they were dislodged within a few days. Their bullets were of little avail against the determination and heroism of their attackers.

Within a few days order was restored. A provisional government was created in northwestern Spain known as the WORKER'S REPUBLIC OF ASTURIAS. For a brief two weeks a section of the international working class nation held the deed of ownership to the wealth it had created for others.

(Because of lack of space, the conclusion of this article will appear next month.)

COOPERATION ABROAD



Trucks of the Farmers' Union Oil Cooperative in this country.

By SYD DEVIN

It is our purpose in this article to follow through the explanatory matter of the first two articles in this series with a description of Cooperation in several countries, chosen because of some outstanding achievement or unique characteristic of the movement in these lands.

England

It is logical to start with England, for not only was this country the birthplace of Cooperation, but it is here also that Cooperation has reached its greatest size and scope.

The Cooperative Wholesale Society (CWS), owned and controlled by 882 retail cooperative societies in England and Wales (Scotland has its own wholesale) is the largest single industrial unit of all England. Its annual turnover is almost a half million dollars; its employees number some 45,000; and it supplies five and a half million people through its affiliated societies.

It owns a bank with an annual business of 3 billion dollars; it has a fleet of ships; plantations and farms; it has 139 factories and workshops manufacturing 56 different commodities with an annual value in excess of 150 million dollars. Its importing and merchandising department handles a quarter of a billion dollars worth of other goods.

Labor conditions for its employees are better than in any other industry. The most dramatic example of the unity between the cooperative movement and labor came in 1913 at the time of the great strike in Dublin, Ireland, when the Cooperative bank loaned the British Trade Union Congress 25,000 pounds for relief after private

bankers had refused. In two days, cooperative labor, working 24 hours a day, loaded a cooperatively-chartered steamship with 50,000 packages for the 50,000 starving strikers of Dublin.

Almost constantly growing since its formation, the CWS aims to expand to a point where it will be possible to produce for itself and distribute through its agencies, all commodities, realizing the cooperative commonwealth dreamed of by the Rochdale pioneers in 1844. Already, one-third of the wholesale trade in a country of 47 million people has been unshackled from the profit system of capitalism.

Sweden

Although it is in England that the Cooperatives have attained their greatest size, it is in Sweden that they have made the deepest impact on the national economy. Forty percent of Sweden's retail trade is cooperative.

Kooperativa Forbundet, the Swedish Cooperative Union, was organized in 1899. In 35 years it has grown to include 534,000 families, representing one-third of the country's population. During the depression, one hundred thousand additional families joined cooperatives. Its stores are housed in modernistic buildings with scientifically designed layouts that have set the standard for commercial architects of the world.

Sweden's cooperatives are unique in their aggressive commercial policy. Where in America, consumers have fought the monopolistic concentration of industry by futile "anti-trust" legislation, Sweden's consumers, through the Kooperativa Forbundet, have mobilized their resources successively against the

electric bulb, the rubber goods, the margarine and the milling trusts, and have lessened consumer exploitation by threat of extension into other fields. The Kooperativa Forbundet is now the rubber goods "trust," the toilet articles "trust," etc. Its most spectacular exploit was the breaking of the electric light bulb monopoly by the building of the world's first international cooperative factory, "Luma," which is owned by the Finnish, Norwegian, Danish and Swedish wholesale cooperatives.

Denmark

In the battle against absentee landlordism, the Danes have built the beginning of a system of production and distribution for use and not for profit. Before the turn of the century, absentee owners controlled 42 per cent of Danish farms. Today it is only 3 per cent. Cooperative marketing organizations of farmers, coupled with cooperative consumers organizations have practically wiped out the profit-taker and salvaged Danish farming from the grip of the landlord and mortgageholder. American farmers might well follow the Danish example, since tenant farming accounts for over 50 per cent of American farms with the percentage increasing at an ever growing rate during the last half dozen years.

Danish cooperation, which has brought to that country a high degree of economic democracy, is also responsible for making it the best educated nation in the world. The fame of the Danish folk schools and people's colleges has caused its school system, a cooperative one, to be followed even in the United States.

(Other countries next month)

Youth vs. An Old World

KNOCKING OPPORTUNITY

"The magnitude of the National Youth Administration's task is quite overwhelming. It is estimated that from 5,000,000 to 8,000,000 young people between the ages of 16 and 25 are wholly unoccupied. They are neither working nor attending school. Almost 3,000,000 young people are on relief. Seven hundred thousand young people had to quit school last year before they had finished high school. And last June hundreds of thousands of them graduated from school and college into a labor market that was greatly surfeited. It is a cold, unwelcoming world that our young people are entering.

"I feel strongly that society as presently organized is permanently denying all opportunities to large groups of these people. To speak of equal opportunities for all is ridiculous. Those who have been born poor will probably remain poor. Those young people who have been unfortunate enough to come of age during the depression will be permanently handicapped. The opportunities for advancement of the poor youth and the rich youth are by no means equal."

The Challenge was deeply shocked at reading this expression of pessimism. The author of such a statement, we felt, must have never attended our public schools, where he would have learned that this is a land of opportunity, nor could he be well acquainted with Roosevelt's glorious plan to give "the nation's unemployed youth... their chance in school and their opportunity for jobs."

But no; the gloomy words we read came from no less a person than Aubrey Williams, head of the National Youth Administration!

AMERICA REARS ITS YOUNG

A species of mammal that did not care for its young would be regarded as pretty low on the evolutionary scale. But no widespread comment is aroused by the fact that America is rearing a whole generation of young human beings in poverty, disease, idleness, and crime.

Latest figures released by the US Census Bureau concern the inhabitants of this country who were jailed during 1934. Let the figures of "prisoners received" speak for themselves.

Age	No. per 100,000 of population	
	Male	Female
Under 15	(Figures not available)	
15 to 17	73.1	4.7
18 years	257.5	14.3
19 years	317.5	15.4
20 years	292.0	14.9
21 to 24	302.1	13.1
25 to 29	228.9	11.1
30 to 34	173.7	8.8
35 to 39	127.5	7.8
40 to 44	83.6	4.9
45 to 49	65.9	3.6
50 to 54	50.5	2.3
55 to 59	35.7	1.6
60 to 64	26.4	1.1
Over 64	12.8	0.4

The significant age brackets of 18 to 29 have, without exception, furnished the highest proportion of prison fodder. From those age brackets too, the Census informs us, 45 thousand—out of a total of 62 thousand—were recruited by the prisons from the ranks of society's victims.

That is a convenient way of solving the problem of unemployment among youth. But how long do our social masters think we will permit this Roman holiday to continue?

INEFFICIENCY

Coming back to our age bracket of 18 to 29, we find a horrible example of capitalist inefficiency. Afted jailing 45,000 of us, throwing many additional thousands under 21 into "reformatories," and killing off a few by starvation and disease, all through 1934, there were still enough of us left at the end of the year to make the following possible:

APPLICATIONS FOR JOBS, BY AGES.
US Employment Service—January 1935

18—29 years	140,642
30—39 years	67,109
40—49 years	50,932
50 and over	86,725

Building the YPSL

By Ben Fischer

The story of the development of the Young People's Socialist League of America is a very interesting one. Recent events have made it very important.

Before the war, the YPSL was a very large organization. It contained young people who were generally pro-labor and sympathetic to progress. It boasted achievements in dramatics, sports, culture and social life. It had very little to do with politics—or the work of Socialist propaganda and organization. It was really a broad progressive organization.

War with its ultra-patriotism and reaction with its anti-Socialism combined to crush the YPSL. What was not thus destroyed deserted the Socialist movement and went over to the early Communists, there to disintegrate and fall away.

A few years ago, as the Socialist Party began to recover from the effect of war, reaction, the Communist split, and the prosperity wave, the YPSL also began to recover. It developed in an uncertain fashion—gaining members rapidly it is true. But some members had studied organization and asked for more than growth. They asked for the development of an organization which could do the Party work among the youth. They experimented, often faltered, but have more and more developed a theory and method of organization suited to the great tasks of the Socialist movement.

Now we say—growth is not enough. It must be a growth not only in membership but in political influence. It must be advance not only in creating organizational machinery but in creating a machinery capable of keeping up with the rapid pace of events, capable of mobilizing the YPSL membership to take advantage of the opportunities and able to withstand vicious attacks by reactionary and militaristic agents.

We go further—we say ours must be an organization capable of directing its work and struggles along sound lines—against capitalism, for Socialism. We must be clear about our policies and determined in our efforts to meet situations with realism—to fight war by fighting the system which breeds war, to fight Fascism by fighting its economic roots—the system of capitalism. We know that the forces opposed to war and Fascism must be rallied to carry on its struggle along the sound line of the fight against capitalism and along the construction line of a fight for Socialism.

Many bitter experiences have taught us much. We have also unlearned a great deal.

And no sooner do we prepare to consolidate what we call our "new organizational approach," then we read in the organ of the Young Communist League that the Young Communist International has laid down a new policy for itself and its sections. For itself—dissolution! For its national sections—amalgamation, that is, here in America the Young Communists propose that we join with them—to fight against capitalism? No! To fight for Socialism? No! To form a united revolutionary political youth organization? No! None of these things!

We are asked to join in signing a "united pact." We should break our ties with the Socialist Party. They will break their ties with the Communist Party.



YPSL National Secretary

We will both form an organization—under a new name—which shall be a "front of non-fascist youth"! Our purpose to fight for "peace and freedom."

Can we do this? No! We cannot because we are loyal to our Party and loyal to our beliefs.

Such an "amalgamation" would divorce us from political affairs. It would leave the revolutionary youth with no organization of their own. It would leave the youth movement which is now developing in America to the mercy of Coughlins and Huey Long.

The need now is for an organization which can give leadership and direction and courage to those young men and women who sincerely seek "peace and freedom." To dissolve the revolutionary youth movement in favor of a "harmless," nebulous, floundering organization whose program an American Hitler or Mussolini could subscribe to would be criminal.

We young people need a weapon with which we can face the trying days ahead. The organization with many members concerned with sports, culture, social activity and occasional discussions, may be big, but what will it be able to do in the fight for "peace and freedom"?

An organization of young people determined to work for Socialism, the only system which can give us peace and freedom;

An organization training members for active service in the revolutionary movement, concerned with and ready to give leadership to every bona fide struggle of youth and of labor, youth's only important ally;

An organization with influence among thousands upon thousands of young people from shops, mines, mills, offices, schools, breadlines; an organization which will be organized to rally resistance to war and reaction and to join the battle for Labor vs. Capital, Socialism against Capitalism;

An organization capable of withstanding every blow dealt by the enemies of progress;

This is what we strive to build, to develop, to provide for the cause of Socialism.

Should we turn back?

If the Young Communists wish to turn back and commit suicide as a political force—okay! The Communists are giving up their fight against war and preparing to become a part of the war-making apparatus—in the name of high-sounding slogans. They are facing Fascism like an ostrich burying its head in the sand—refusing to see the clear sharp lessons which the events in other nations have taught us. They are turning back.

But we face forward!

We prepare with all that is in us to train and develop ourselves for the tasks ahead of us. We carry on in the spirit of 1917—in the spirit of Gene Debs—against war and for Socialism.

We will work as part of our Socialist Party; as soldiers in the army of social revolution. We will build, not straws which every puff or reaction will blow away, but mighty towers of Labor and Youth, joined hand in hand for their own emancipation from war, tyranny and economic insecurity.

Join With Us!

Carry On With Us!

At Random

by Memo

While the passing of the Young Communist League will leave us with dry eyes, we cannot help but reminisce over many a brotherly scrap—and many more an unbrotherly scrap—that our two organizations have had together, not to speak of the few but glorious occasions when we have found it possible to work together in harmony.

The YCL is about to become a "non-Party mass youth organization" without discipline, with no clear political tie-up, with its revolutionary ideology diluted so as to gain as many members as possible. The YPSL will be asked to join it in this venture. What will happen to it?

As the profits of capitalism decline there will be an increasingly desperate attempt to crush down the working class standards of living and the working class organizations. Reaction will set in, and resolve itself into Fascism. As this takes place certain elements in the working class attempt a fatal compromise with the (as yet) anti-fascist elements of other classes. They support the latter and in turn rely on the latter for support.

But as it becomes more and more to the economic advantage of the capitalists, and temporarily, of the middle classes, to rob the worker of its meager share of the national income, these non-working class elements will betray their trusting working-class allies, and themselves turn Fascist. The German Social-Democrats who voted for Hindenburg to defeat Hitler got—Hitler.

FATE OF THE YCL

This would be our fate if we joined with the YCL in an organization of "all non-Fascist youth." This would be the fate of the American working class: if it would support the Communist Party in its proposed "people's front" of all "anti-Fascist" elements. We know that only the working class, whose economic interests at no time coincide with those of Fascism, can be relied on to fight Fascism, and it is on that basis that we will build, rather than on the hope that we can hold back the economic wheels of history.

Yet building on the basis of the working class cannot mean building a sect withing the working class. It means reaching the broad masses themselves.

That's easy to say. Let's see how easy it is to carry out. These "broad masses" cannot simply be recruited into a disciplined, revolutionary movement. It would take a long time indeed to make the average young worker primarily interested in Socialism. And even if he were, how could we expect a young factory or farm worker, who works ten hours a day, to want to distribute leaflets in the evening while in a state of physical and mental exhaustion?

One "solution" is to build a mass League, not, to be sure, on a classless basis like the future YCL, but similar to it in that it would be an undisciplined, semi-recreational kind of organization.

DISCIPLINE

Here we come to another aspect of the fight against Fascism which we have in view. As we become a danger to the ruling class, and the forces of political reaction grow, we will be subjected to the same treatment (by thugs, counter-organizations, and police) on the political field as are strikers in a violent industrial dispute. Only disciplined and revolutionary elements will be willing to carry on in the face of beatings, of arrests, expulsion from school and loss of jobs, for the sake of an ideal. Only an organization built of such members will be able to survive such an ordeal. And surely only such an organization could survive Fascism, if Fascism comes.

The "non-Party mass youth organization" of the YCL will not survive. The "respectable" liberal groups will not survive. The YPSL MUST survive.

How, then, do we bridge the gap between the "broad masses" and the "revolutionary, disciplined organization," both of which we find so necessary? Our answer is to build the latter and at the same time reach and influence the former in their organizations and in their places.

That is the principle of revolutionary organization.

League Silent As Japan Robs

(Continued from page 3)
guise of "autonomy" will not only strengthen its imperialist power, but will also give it a better foothold for any attack on the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The five provinces border on Soviet Siberia, and on the Mongolian People's Republic, which is within the Soviet sphere of influence.

Nippon's alibi for its robber seizures is that it wishes to "establish a protectorate over Asiatic peoples against Europe," a policy similar to the Monroe Doctrine which enabled the United States to exploit Latin America with a minimum of competition.

Student Confabs To Decide Unity

(Continued from page 1)
plained, will be acceptance of the revised Oxford Oath, reading "we will not support any war that the United States government may undertake."

Insistence on this formulation, which the National Student League is expected to accede to despite reluctance due to its being contradictory to the Communist war policy, was expressed from other Young Socialist sources, the Young Socialist Review stating "we want unity—but it must be unity against war," in the name of the Young People's Socialist League.

If the revised oath is not accepted as a basic principle of the new Union, the Young Socialists stated, "the thing's off as far as we're concerned," but expressed the belief that "everything will turn out all right" in the end.

Although any student with ten signatures delegated to him may be present as a delegate, it was believed that no attempt would be made to "pack" the conference.

They Profit By Sanctions



The guy who's grinning down at the world from a balcony is Mussolini, whose subjects at the very moment when they were becoming restless, have united behind him, because of resentment against the application of sanctions. The fellow on the march who looks so cocksure of himself is Stanley Baldwin, who won the British general elections and a popular endorsement of his war policies because the Labor Party came out for sanctions, and he was able

to say "I practice what you preach." Everywhere where nation is played against nation, instead of class against class, capitalism benefits and the workers lose.

War Resisters' Int'l Decries Sanctions

(Special to the Challenge)
LONDON—The War Resisters' International, representing anti-military "peace" measure lead in 20 countries, has declared in favor of workers' refusal to make or transport materials likely to be used for war purposes in Italy. At the same time support is refused for sanctions imposed by Governments on the ground that they would be used not to defend Abyssinia but to impose another form of Imperialism.

The resolution emphasizes that Italian action in Abyssinia cannot be distinguished from Imperialism generally, and draws attention to the British war across the North-West Frontier of India.

The warning is given that behind the present dispute lies the menace of a European war, and it is urged that any action undertaken now should be planned with a view to its enlargement to meet this second crisis.

"For this purpose", concludes the resolution, "we must avoid conducting our present campaign in such a way as to help in producing the psychological conditions for war against Italy, and must actively combat all proposals for Government sanctions which would be used for conflicting Imperialist interests."

Also joining in the growing movement of unequivocal opposition to war and capitalist military "peace" measures leading to it, was the Cooperative Commonwealth Youth Movement of Canada, a "youth labor party," consisting of Socialist, trade

union, and farm youth groups pledged to build a new social order. The CCYM at its convention overwhelmingly voted not to support League of Nations sanctions or to be inveigled into supporting British war measures undertaken in the name of peace.

Even more significant is the adherence of the Italian Maximalist Socialists to the revolutionary anti-war forces. The Socialists, driven underground in Italy and into exile abroad, refused to be tempted by a return to legality at the expense of the working class movement in other countries — if Mussolini actually could be overthrown by foreign powers supported by their exploited populations.

The Maximalists communicated with the Independent Labor Party of England, declaring their agreement with the thesis that only independent workingclass action can crush war and fascism.

STUDENTS FREED

New York — "Harold Perry" and seventeen others, members of the SLID and NSL who were arrested and held on a charge of Unlawful Assembly by Magistrate Renaud were acquitted in the Court of Special Sessions by Judge Nolan, Walling and Bayes. The crime, a misdemeanor, carries with it a maximum sentence of five years in jail and has been rarely used in picketing cases. The case of "Harold Perry" arose out of the picketing of the Rivoli Theatre in New York in protest against the showing of "Red Salute."

Greetings From

Newark, New Jersey
Gene Krzycki
Martin Bernstein
Milton Friedman
Clara O'Hara
P. G.
William Kane
Nino
Nat Sabin
Hymen Krich
Milo C. Jones
Caryl Hatley
Jerome Ben Asher
Louis Braunstein
Norman Chinoy
Leonard Kordansky
D. L.
Seymour Piltch
Noami Eberl
Morris Appelbaum
Phillip Berkowitz
Bobby Ontell
Irvington, N. J.
Huge Sweeney
Ida Lichtman
Catherine Kann
Harry Lichtman
Passaic, N. J.
Harry Simkins
Belle Plesser
Anita Cohen
Tommy Daly
Phil Brussel
Al Hymen
Tillie Nachbar
Abe Simon
Manny Krutzberg
Harry Kilm
East Orange, N. J.
Ruth Berthold
Frances Castiglione
Wolf Berthold
B. L. Schor
M. S. Alexander
New Jersey State
Peter Dettelsen,
Railway
Angelina Terone,
Milburn
Jennie Church,
Orange
Samuel Kaplan,
W. Orange
Filomena Bucceroni,
Bloomfield
Milwaukee, Wis.
Helen Hryniewiecki
Gertrude Moffatt
Charles J. Knappe
Bernice Borowski
Ethel Wuethrich
Melvin H. Wink
Geraldine Borowski
Nicholas Wagner
Frank W. Wink
Bill Luerst
Ted Hryniewiecki
Ed Bernur
W. Wasilewski

Phil Martin Jr.
Peter Falconer
A Friend
Elmer Charles Burns
K. Hryniewiecki
Major Banachowicz
Herbert Banachowicz
Wanda Pilot
Ann Murbowicz
Lucian Bilbutowski
Madison, Wis.
L. Van Bossche
Bertha E. Franklin
Anna Mae Davis
D. S. Clarke
Emil Orne
Perry Marks
Richard Huffman
W. R. Fisher
New Orleans, La.
Richard Ashman
Plain, Wis.
Henry Ochsner
New York City
Gurler
Rosenthal
Sol Perrin
Dr. Maggin
S. Flaum
H. Woolow
Pesner
Harry Krier
Jean Lait
A. Comrade
Mr. I. Wallach
Mr. Brauner
Mr. Wyorst
Mr. Sagodnick
Andrew Demma
Maurice Sarrez
Fern Kirkman
George Slatin
Morris Weiner
Robert Sklar
Pauline Rosofsky
Mamie Goldberg
Anne Sacher
Sid Lipenholtz
I. Shipkowitz
Phil Sharp
M. Spitzer
Mr. Tankus
Mr. Weprinsky
Ben Wilner
Pittsburgh, Penn.
Ruth Brody
Miriam Chris
Milton Esman
Ralph Fargotstein
Pearl Ginsburg
Rosalind Goodman
Frances Hoffman
Eleanor Oshry
N. Ozolin
Harold O. Paull
Jacob Perer
Robert Saffron

Bill Stark
Sam Weisberg
Lillian Zatman
Reading, Penn.
Irvin Bower
John S. Clouser
Adam Eberly
Forrest Hammer
Anna Masal
Mrs. Eva Masal
Charles Maurer
Harvey F. Mengel
Dorothy Miller
Elmer Miller
Gus Holmstrom
Mrs. Masilor
G. Swinsky
H. Lipenholtz
A. Pregir
C. R. Gertle
M. Vasilew
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and
Hana Geiger

Greetings from
WINSTON and ETHEL
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A. S. Coolidge

Greetings to
THE CHALLENGE
OF YOUTH
from
Devere Allen

Harry Seidel

REVIEWS

FALCON CALL, Fall, 1935.
Published by the Red Falcons of America. 10 cents.

The development of a proletarian children's literature has followed the line of development of working class rebel culture, and of all culture for that matter.

The present reviewer was at one time the editor of the Falcon Call and is acquainted with its history. Originally a little mimeographed bulletin, it ventured into the field of fiction with barnyard parodies of Socialism and capitalism. It remained in the parody stage for a long time, but under the reviewer's editorship there began to appear stories of the class struggle. These generally consisted of an account of a strike of some sort, ultimately victorious, with a young boy or girl as the hero. The last fact, coupled with simplicity of language and plot, we considered sufficient to qualify such stories as "children's literature." The fact that children were not used to reading such stories did not in the least disturb us; we would break them of their habits!

Then one day a story was accidentally put in that involved not a strike but a dream. It had plenty of Socialist propaganda in it, but I recollect our being worried over whether this was not a form of "escape" story so often used in the literature fed to children.

The response to the story was instantaneous. Letters of ap-

preciation were received for the first time. We took the hint.

The next time we put out two "feelers," a cowboy story, and done about a visitation from Mars, both class-angled. They went over big. And this brings us to the present issue of the Falcon Call, compiled under the editorship of Sam Schwimer, newly elected national secretary of the Red Falcons of America.

The Fall Falcon Call contains a sea story, an animal story, a boy detective story, a fairytale, and a baseball story, all with the possible exception of the last, based on working class ideals of heroism, loyalty, and justice. These are the kind of stories that children are used to reading; they can be a powerful weapon if used for Socialism instead of being used to build up an unreal world in the child's mind.

A few words of criticism, perhaps out of professional jealousy. The art work in this issue is decidedly inferior to that in the last. Poor lettering destroys the impression of print created by the body of type. The non-fictional material is exceedingly dry (with the exception of the nature study department), and not written in children's language.

MM.

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North Side Women's
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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF MARCH 3, 1933

Of The Challenge published monthly at Chicago for October 1, 1935.
State of Illinois.
County of Cook

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Melos Most, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the Challenge, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 11, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to-wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Publisher National Executive Committee, Young People's Socialist League of America, Chicago, Ill.
Managing Editor, Melos Most, Chicago, Ill.
Business Manager, none.
2. That the owner is: (if owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and address of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and address of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm,

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National Executive Committee, Young People's Socialist League of America, Ernest Erber, chairman, Ben Fischer, Winston Dancis, Hy Fish, William Goldberg, Tarno Hannula, Charles Hrvnic, Aaron Levenstein, Leon Shull, Gloria Waldron, Milton Weisoerg.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities: are (If there are none, so state.) None

MELOS MOST, Editor
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 17th day of October 1935.

Anton O. Landes, Notary Public
(My commission expires April 25, 1938)



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On with the Challengers

By SUB CHASERS

Sub chaser didn't expect many subs this month. Every loyal Challenger, thought he to himself, would be out getting greetings for the Workers' Rights Issue. He was half right, they didn't get many subs, but they went him one better and didn't get many greetings either.

In fact the one state that did send in something resembling its quota of subs, was the only one that bothered much about greetings. Sub chaser realizes the weather is awfully cold and all that in the rest of the country, while here in Chicago everybody is going to work in bathing suits, but he wishes to say that if you people had real initiative, you'd be able to afford bathing suits too.

The subs fell one hundred short of the October number, which means that they did not get half past the century mark, which means that if this is kept up the Challenge will operate on a basis of about 1,800 subscriptions in all, which means that there won't be much of a Challenge.

More serious is the flop of the greeting drive, which might mean that there won't be any Challenge, kidding aside.

ILLINOIS, 36, which is excellent considering the time they put in on greetings.

Karl Shier heads the list, of course, with 11 new subs, making a total of 120 to complete his year's work. Ray Jaffe brings in 7 as a starter; Maxie Weinrib, a newspaper man himself, sends in 6 (total 19); and Edith Neidorf, county secretary, repeats with 2 (total 7).

NEW YORK, 26, which is not excellent considering the time they did not put in on greetings.

Harry ("Xerxes") Fleishman keeps up the good work with a batch of a dozen (total 69). Gertrude Weintraub, a circle Challenge agent who is on the job, sends in another 4 (total 9), as does Jack Lynn, of trade union fame (total 6), Ezra Greenspan of Ithaca (his first club), and Sam Schwimer, new Falcon head (also as a starter).

MASSACHUSETTS, 22, (they keep bobbing up again!), of which

Tarno Valimaki sends in 7 (total 58) and the Fitchburg Circle, to which he belongs, sends in the other 15 in modest anonymity. Tarno recently sent in the third biggest club of subs the Challenge had ever received.

MICHIGAN, 19 (wish they'd tell us how they do it).

Genora Johnson sends in 10 (total 25, all in 2 months) and upholds the record of the Flint circle, while Ruth Moore of Detroit, who sends 'em in regular as clockwork, nabs us 7 (total 62).

OHIO and WISCONSIN, 8 each. Wake up! The class war's not over!

Ed. J. Perron of Dayton, O., sends in his first club of 4, Andy Van Hazinga of Kenosha, Wis., proves his reliability by another batch of 3 (total 39), Helen Lehr's answer to "What about Milwaukee?" is a club of 3 from that city (total 13), and Olive Ford of Oshkosh, which is certainly a cool place in the wintertime, says it again with 2 (total 6).

CALIFORNIA, INDIANA, NEW JERSEY, and PENNSYLVANIA, 5 each. The less said the better.

Notice how most of the YPSL state federations (Ohio, Wisconsin, California, New Jersey, Pennsylvania) are tied for low places? Ever since we established the booby prize there has been stiff competition for it. But we give it to PENNSYLVANIA, which had to work hardest for it, since it has the most members.

WHERE WE STAND

The readers of our paper, The Challenge of Youth, must be kept informed at all times of the Young Socialist view of events which vitally concern our work and our organization.

Matters of dispute within the Socialist Party and Young People's Socialist League traditionally are kept within the confines of our own meetings, our own membership organs, our own conventions and conferences.

But a new, far-reaching situation has arisen. After nearly two years of occasional attacks upon the Party and its leadership in the capitalist press—liberal, conservative and reactionary—by a minority faction, this group has now launched a sustained vicious attack upon the Party leaders and every person and every element within the Party which is any way differs with it.

In every Socialist organization there is room for difference of opinion, for discussion, debate and efforts to put across one's own point of view within the Party organization. But a Socialist Party can only be a party which faces the capitalist world united, which carries on its work from day to day according to the decisions of the majority. This is known as Socialist Discipline.

WORKING CLASS DISCIPLINE

No working class organization can remain alive if it permits the decisions of the majority to be flaunted and ridiculed before the enemy against whom we fight.

Every opportunity to feature news which can discredit the Party of labor, is seized at by labor's enemies.

Because we know that the readers of our paper are deluged with one side of the story through the capitalist press, a ready publicity medium for this faction's attacks upon the Party, we present our case; the YPSL wishes to counteract this propaganda, and takes this occasion to state its position unequivocally.

The YPSL felt the hand of the disruptive group—known as the Old Guard, characterized by its willingness to compromise every Socialist principle to win favor with whoever happens to be in the trade union leadership, and by its timidity in fighting for labor and Socialism. This group forcibly evicted the largest section of our organization from its headquarters in New York because the Young Socialists refused to circulate a paper which aimed at the disruption of our Party, and because these Young Socialists chose to express their feelings and opinions clearly and unequivocally.

It would be folly to hide the fact that our organization, which had built up a loyalty to the ideal of Socialist solidarity among its members, was severely affected by this offensive against it by the Old Guard. But our members have become hardened to facts as they are and they are moving forward with renewed determination in their efforts to win the youth for the Socialist Party of the United States.

THOMAS-BROWDER DEBATE

November 27th, Norman Thomas debated Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, at Madison Square Garden. This marked the beginning of a drive to counteract the highly dangerous theories the Communist International now holds on war. It enabled the leading spokesman of the Socialist Party to riddle the "new line" of the Communists before what was probably the largest audience which ever attended a debate in this country.

By a peculiar logic no mortal can understand, Louis Waldman, spokesman for the Old Guard faction, charges Thomas in the capitalist press with having taken part in a united front with the Communist Party and calls for the removal of Leo Krzycki, national chairman of the Party, because he presided at the debate. That the Communists looked upon the debate as a means of furthering the united front, no one seeks to deny. Does anyone believe that a criticism of their policies, so severe that it twice drew boos from the Communists, had this effect? Evidently Waldman and the Old Guard do. No doubt in their opinion the only occasions upon which Communists and Socialists can appear upon the same platform without taking part in a united front are those in which chairs are hurled and the affair ends in a riot.

Young Socialists who plan to spend a lifetime in service to the cause of Socialism, naturally enough hope that their Socialist Party can be preserved from those who have "succeeded in paralyzing activity, discouraging financial aid to the national organization and discrediting the Party leadership in the trade union movement by slanderous attacks in the capitalist press and papers controlled by this element." (Proceedings of the Eighth National Convention, YPSL).

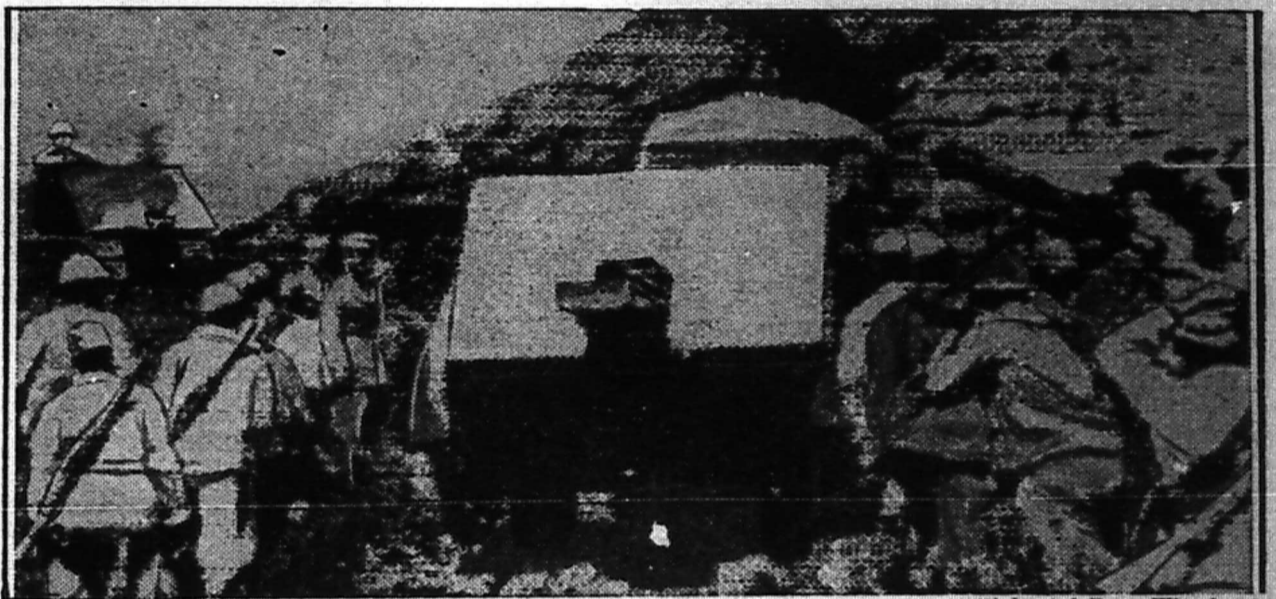
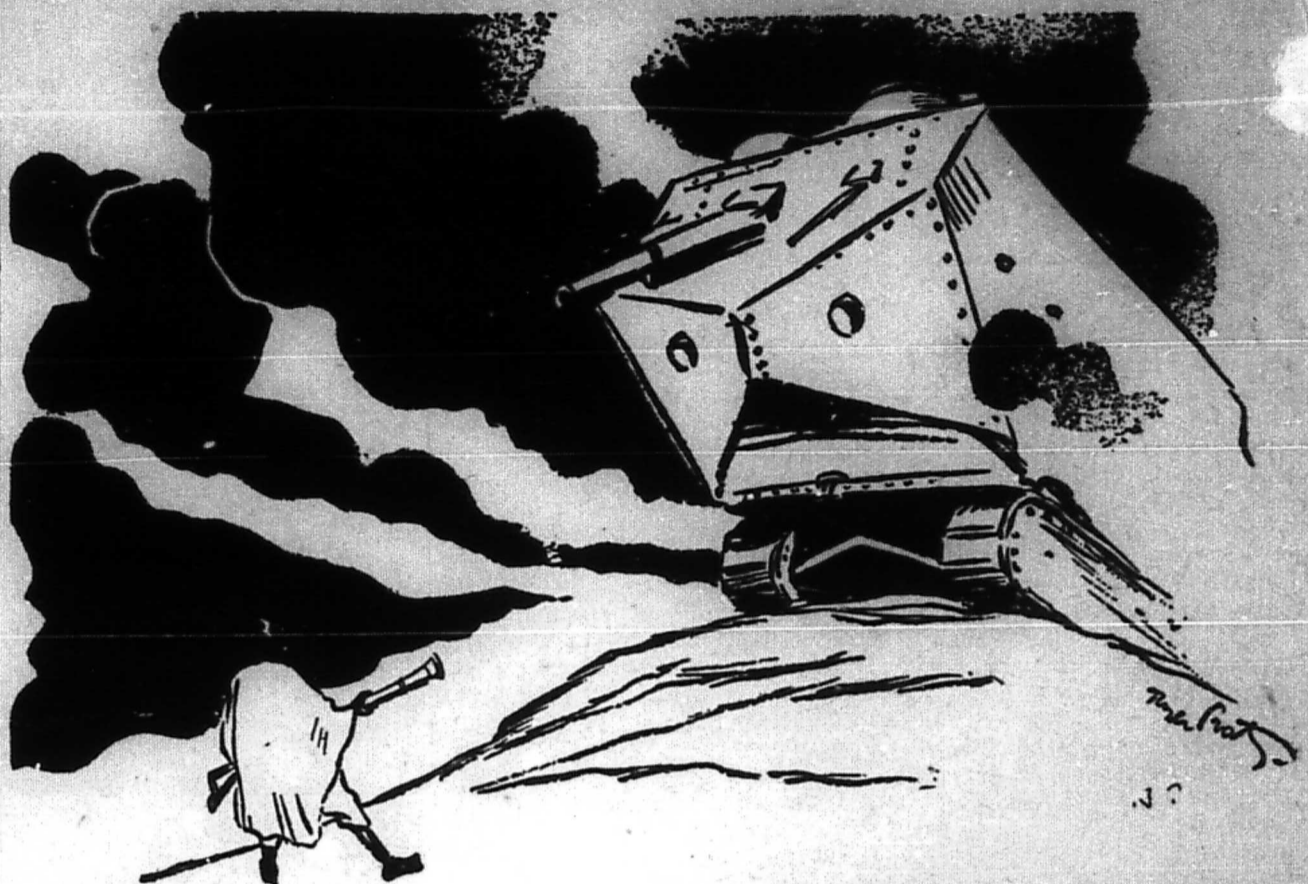
"REORGANIZATION"

The desperate efforts of this group to destroy the Party must be resisted. Slander and continual attacks upon the Party have not been enough; efforts are being made as we go to press to "reorganize" the center of struggle within the Party, Local New York, where the Right Wing clings to control of the Party machinery. "Reorganization" is a subtle word for EXPULSION of all those who disagree with the Old Guard and all those who represent and defend the majority of the Party in the nation.

Our convention resolution states clearly, "With us, discipline is no abstraction. We accept the decisions of the NEC, no matter how much we may disagree with them, as the decisions of the highest body of the Party. We look forward to the development of a greater respect for Party discipline and believe that the hundreds of our members who are entering the Party will help this tendency. Only such a development of the Party membership and increased loyalty to the organization can prevent disintegration of the movement."

Jules Guesde, founder of the Socialist Party of France, once declared, "a party cannot live except by discipline." The time has come for the heavy hand of Party discipline to descend with lightning speed upon those who carry on work of disruption.

THE BARBARIAN



(Federated Press Wirephoto)

Above is a cartoon showing a barbarian refusing the benefits of civilization. Civilization is represented below it by an Italian tank in Ethiopia; on page three it is found in the form of Japanese armored cars patrolling in northern China; on page one we can recognize it as the British fleet anchored off Egypt. Can civilization really be so barbarous? Or are capitalism and imperialism uncivilized?

"New Deal" Is Old Ordeal

To the Challenge:

With the coming of the winter season more and more evidence is appearing of the falseness of the New Deal of President Roosevelt. During the early part of the summer he established the FWA, whose purpose was to re-employ millions of the unemployed. He intended to end the relief administration by July, but because of the failure of his plans, was forced to extend the limit a number of times, until he finally set the date at Dec. 1st for the stoppage of Federal aid to the states.

Today there are still ten or eleven million people out of work, in spite of his reemployment (?) plans. Those who are on work relief are receiving starvation wages, in many cases less than they received from the dole. Those who have not been able to get jobs are threatened with eviction and starvation unless the Federal government continues to give them aid, for the states cannot bear the relief load themselves. Landlords in many parts of the country are already taking action to evict their tenants, the payments of rent even before having been very irregular. The realtors in Illinois have already secured many notices of eviction, effective December 1st, which were readily granted by the capitalist-controlled courts, who pretended to be very sorry to take such action.

Hurray for Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal! Perhaps he will join the masses on the breadlines, or even better, give

From Our Mail Bag

them hot pennies with which to buy their food.
SAM SCHWIMER

Wants to Nationalize Banking

To the Challenge:

I am certainly glad to see so many organizations lining up against war and I hope we will be concentrated in a united effort to bring about a Socialist government before it is too late for a peaceful change to production for use instead of profit. I hope for united action before the next congress to try and get the Gerald P. Nye Banking Bill, which provides for a United States Banking Bill, taking away the power of the banks of controlling our medium of exchange. If you are interested, send away for a copy of this bill.

If people are in favor of it they can demand the passage of it or some similar bill which will accomplish the same purpose, as the constitution provides for, instead of the government issuing interest bearing bonds.

I believe this is one of the biggest questions before the American people.

Ralph Howell

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

To the Challenge:

We feel that the Challenge

has forgotten all about the labor news that is very interesting to youth outside the labor movement.

The Challenge is now a monthly newspaper (it can't even be called that) which has an interest for the most revolutionary radicals. Quite a number of the members of our circle find no more interest in the Challenge.

Hoping that this complaint may make the Challenge a newspaper worth reading, for all the youth of America.

ISABELLE SHAPIRO.

Patriotism a la Carte

Hearst again finds use of the American flag in colors. In the Dec. 2nd Chicago Herald and Examiner a halfpage editorial attack on the Thomas-Browder Debate, entitled "The Red Insult to the American Flag," Hearst flourishes a huge two-and-a-half column flag in red and blue to impress us with the depth of his patriotic fervor.

Long ago when Hearst found himself hooked with the crowd in siding with Germany before the United States entered the World War, he also found a strong urge to demonstrate unwavering loyalty. On February 26, 1917, he sent a telegram to Carvalho, city editor of the NY American, instructing him to "run little American flags to right and left of date line on inside pages.... Our editorials should be patriotic without slightest criticism, direct or indirect of the administration."