

Pass the
American
Youth
Act!

THE

CHALLENGE OF YOUTH

Vol. III. — No. 11

661

FEBRUARY-MARCH, 1936

Three Cents

AMERICAN YOUTH ACT UP BEFORE CONGRESS

"Patriotic" By Order!



ALTHOUGH SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION may be able to "enforce patriotism" by compulsory flag-saluting ceremonies such as the one above, they're going to have a harder time than ever "enforcing militarism" when they try to stop the Anti-War Strike this year.

Expect 350,000 Students to Strike

Students in high schools and colleges throughout the country will be called from their classrooms on April 22nd this year to participate in the third student strike against war, Joseph P. Lash, executive secretary of the American Student Union, announced yesterday.

Citing the recent passage of the largest peace-time military budget in America history,

including extensive appropriation for the ROTC Lash predicted that at least 350,000 students will answer the strike call at 11 A. M. on that day to protest the "war budget."

The date of the walkout has been set for later than in previous years because of Easter vacations which would conflict with an earlier strike in many areas, Mr. Lash said.

Although the American Student Union is initiating preparations for the strike, the national sponsoring committee will include individuals "more representative and influential than at any previous time," he predicted.

Biggest War Budget

"Passage of the unprecedented military budget has started a flood of inquiries to us from student groups and individuals who want to register their disapproval of the war program by joining in the strike," Mr. Lash asserted.

"In addition to an impressive sponsoring committee, we are confident that the strike will be supported on local campuses by wider, more inclusive strike committees than we have ever been able to rally."

The first student strike against war was held in 1934 at the summons of the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy. It was endorsed by 25,000 students. One year later a similar gesture

was supported by 175,000 students, in nearly 200 schools and colleges in every part of the country; and sympathy demonstrations were held abroad.

About 13,000 struck in New England, 42,000 in the Middle

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WASHINGTON—An unexpected victory for the American Youth Act, for which its supporters had expected they would have to put up "a long fight," was won here when the Act was promised an open hearing before both the House Committee on Education and the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. The hearings will probably be held some time in March, and will report the youth bill to both houses.

American Youth Congress representatives appeared delighted over the progress of the bill, but Maxwell Harway, Young Socialist representative on the national council, pointed out that the situation demanded especial effort on the part of supporters to intensify the drive, and bring pressure on the committees to report the bill favorably.

The Youth Act was introduced simultaneously in the Senate as S 3658, and in the House of Representatives as HR 10189, by congressmen belonging to neither the Democratic nor Republican Parties. Reactionary hopes that the Act might be killed in committee by being permanently "shelved" were thwarted when the American

Youth Congress received definite word that it would be granted open hearings by the two committees.

Following up this victory, the Youth Congress is asking for a joint hearing by the two committees, since the limited resources of youth organizations would make it impossible to send a sufficiently large delegation of representatives to two separate hearings.

WASHINGTON—SLPS—Jobless young people and needy students are guaranteed a minimum living standard in a new bill introduced to supplant the Roosevelt National Youth Act. The bill, known as the American Youth Act, was drawn up by the American Youth Congress and introduced in both houses of Congress by Rep. Thomas Amlie (Prog., Wis.) and Sen. Elmer Benson (F-L, Minn.)

The new act provides for employment of young people and the payment of tuition fees and living expenses for students. In contrast to the NYA, it provides for prevailing wage rates so as to protect the adult worker's standard; for work on projects only so as to avoid crowding the labor market; for control by local representative youth commissions rather than a Washington-appointed bureaucracy; and for the protection of young workers who refuse to work while a strike is in progress.

Backing Broad

Behind the American Youth Congress in support of the act are the newly formed American Student Union, the National Student Federation of America, the National Council of Methodist Youth, many local YM and YW Christian and Hebrew Association, the Young Circle League of America, and the Young People's Socialist League. The Youth Act has also been endorsed by many local and central labor unions and by the Rhode Island Federation of Labor.

Sentiment for adequate youth legislation has been developing since the setting up of the National Youth Administration, which youth organizations declare is inadequate, wage-cutting, and bureaucratic. After several local struggles over the insufficient allotment and the undemocratic control of the NYA, a minor storm was created by a declaration by officers of the Socialist youth organization, an important Congress affiliate, that they considered the present act potentially dangerous to labor and refused to fight for improving or "strengthening" it, pledging support to the American Youth Act alone.

Bills Concerning Young People

In addition to the American Youth Act several bills affecting youth have been introduced in this session of Congress. A few of the outstanding measures follow.

Favorable:

WORKERS' RIGHTS AMENDMENT to the United States constitution. Would remove power of Supreme Court to declare labor legis-

Nye-Wyale AMENDMENT TO THE NATIONAL DEFENSE ACT, abolishing compulsory ROTC in schools.

Dangerous:

McSWAIN BILL for an Air Reserve Training Corps similar to ROTC. Reported favorably by House Military Affairs Committee after illegal closed hearings.

McCORMICK - TYDINGS MILITARY DISAFFECTION BILL making it a crime to publish or distribute anything which might have the effect of creating discontent in the armed forces!

KRAMER SEDITION BILL, first peace-time sedition bill since the Alien and Sedition Act of 1798. Makes it a crime to advocate revolution.

More Guns for Africa



MUSSOLINI'S TROOPS loading one of the "modern conveniences" with which they are bringing "civilization" to Ethiopia.

CONGRESS OF YOUTH PLANS TO PUSH BILL

WASHINGTON—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Aubrey Williams, and other government spokesmen came down to speak to the American Youth Congress national council meeting here, but did not deter it from making plans for an intensive drive for the American Youth Act.

Mrs. Roosevelt was questioned so searchingly that Williams, national NYA director, walked out when his turn came to speak. Four congressmen attended to declare their support of the Youth Act.

An eight point campaign for the Act was mapped out by the Congress council, including exertion of pressure for joint hearings, a postcard campaign, a series of community open hearings on the plight of young people, an essay contest on the Act, and an effort to get it endorsed by City Councils and introduced into state legislatures.

The council meeting was held to examine the failure of the AYC to carry out the decision of its Detroit Congress that it was to become a representative body of the large national youth organizations.

It was pointed out the Congress had been successful on the legislative field only, that otherwise it was tending to become a "substitute" organization for other organizations, involved in a variety of activities of its own, and having a virtually independent existence, rather than being a united front.

A "Statement of Aims and Purposes" decrying this tendency, and asking for concentration on Youth Act activity, was adopted.

Youth Act Emergency Drive Launched

BULLETIN

CHICAGO—Special—An emergency mobilization of forces for "three or four months if necessary" to place the entire concentrated organizational resources of the Young People's Socialist League actively at the disposal of the campaign for the American Youth Act was voted by a special meeting of the national organization committee.

A popular printed pamphlet on the Act will be published immediately by the YPSL, and the local sections will concentrate their energies on rallying mass pressure behind the bills, in cooperation with the American Youth Congress to the fullest possible extent.

The committee voted to issue a series of internal educational outlines on the various theoretical and tactical questions involved in the immediate struggle for the Act, and a periodical bulletin on the progress of the drive, as well as political directives for executive bodies. Eight people will be sent on tours to organize the campaign in every part of the country, within a few days.

What U Can Do

Because of the novelty of youth relief legislation, many young people do not know what to do to secure the passage of legislative measures. The American Youth Act concerns you directly, and will not be passed if you stand idly by. If you want it passed, do the following at once:

1. Take down the following addresses:
American Youth Congress, 22 East 17 Street, New York City.
Rep. Vincent L. Palmisano, Chairman of the Committee on Education, Senate Office Building, Washington, DC.
Sen. David I. Walsh, Chairman of the Committee on Labor and Education, Senate Office Building, Washington, DC.
Your own Congressman and Senators,—find out by telephoning any local newspaper.
2. Write, or better still, wire, to Palmisano and Walsh asking that the Senate and House Committees hold a JOINT hearing on the AYA, and to your Congressman and Senators, urging its passage.
A good method is to take up a collection at a social or from several friends and send a telegram signed by all those who contributed.
3. Bring up a resolution in your club, forum, organization, or union, asking for a joint hearing and endorsing the AYA, to be sent to all the above names, including the AYC, and to the national headquarters of your organization if it is a national one.
The resolution should be adopted at a membership meeting or, if possible, at a mass meeting called especially for the purpose. Send a short release about the meeting to the local press.
4. Get your organization to join the American Youth Congress, if it is not already a member.
5. Get your local Youth Congress committee to concentrate all its energies on securing support for the Youth Act.
Copies of the Act, and also an excellent "Comparison of the National Youth Administration and the American Youth Act," can be obtained from the national office of the American Youth Congress.

Youth Act, NYA Differ 8 Ways

NEW YORK—Eight important differences—covering every possible aspect—distinguish the American Youth Act from the National Youth Administration and reflect unfavorably on the latter in each case, according to a "Comparison of the National Youth Administration and the American Youth Act" issued by the American Youth Congress national office here.

Points mentioned in the "Comparison" are:

The National Youth Administration provides for only 523,000 youth, whereas the Youth Act provides for "all youth in need—approximately five million unemployed, one million homeless youth, several million needy students."

The NYA will tend to lower the standard of living of the workers because of its low rates, whereas the Youth Act protects the standard by providing union and prevailing wages.

The NYA permits the employment of government-paid youth for the benefit of private enterprises, whereas the Youth Act would employ them only on non-military "projects beneficial to the community."

The NYA is controlled by Washington appointees; the Youth Act would be administered by representative youth commissions.

The minimum rates of the American Youth Act are incomparably higher than the maximum of the NYA.

The Youth Act alone has provisions against discriminatory practices.

The NYA is supported out of the relief appropriation, while the Youth Act would be provided out of the federal treasury and taxation of higher incomes.

The Youth Act alone of the two is not restricted as to eligibility according to the economic conditions of the parents.

Successful Anti-War Fighters?



"NEVER!" said the revolutionary Belgian Young Socialist Guard when asked by Young Communists to unite in a fight for better gas masks.

Decide to Organize Twin International

TOULOUSE, France—Special—Immediate organization of a political section of the Socialist Youth International was voted here by an international conference representing important left wing sections and tendencies within the SYI. A Fraternity of Revolutionary Young People's Socialist Leagues was set up pending the official act of organizing a Revolutionary Socialist Youth International fraternally affiliated to,

but not under the mechanical domination of the present cultural majority group in the International.

At the Toulouse conference, unanimously pledging their organizations to the task of rebuilding and strengthening the Socialist Youth International under the new plan, heads of all Latin Sections (France, Spain, Belgium, Italy, and Switzerland)

were present in person, in addition to representatives of the German and British left wings and the Socialist Student International. Numerous other left wing national sections and tendencies are also interested.

The Spanish, who have been hitherto inactive in the International, played an important and significant role in the proceedings.

All decisions were arrived at unanimously.

A three-point program was adopted as a basis of affiliation, calling for complete reliance on independent working class machinery in obtaining and maintaining state power (proletarian revolution and dictatorship), in combatting war, and in fighting fascism.

YCI "Opportunist"

The question of relations with the Young Communist International was considered in full. The conference exhibited "a vivid and unanimous reaction against the opportunism of the YCI," according to the Belgian report. Godefroid of Belgium declared, "We must not permit ourselves to be won over to support war under new pretexts. We must fight class collaboration at all costs. Unity for bread and Socialism any time. Unity with maneuvers and dodging of issues, unity for gas-masks, never!" The last point referred to a demand set up by the European YCLs for more and better gas masks for youth.

Chochoy of France declared that in his country the Young Communists had come out for "a reconciliation between the left and conservative youth," adding as his comment that "our war is not a battle of generations; it is a class war."

Tonelli of Italy attacked the Communist "United Youth League" plan as "unprincipled," while Cabello of Spain added that in his country real unity was being achieved by the YCL joining the YPSL en masse. A Committee from the YCI was given a hearing. In answer to a question the spokesman asserted that "gas masks are a bit effective."

Students Back Youth Act Bill

KANSAS CITY—The American Youth Act was endorsed by the National Student Federation of America at its annual convention here, which also declared its readiness to defend academic freedom against Hearst and reactionary legislation or administrative actions, and gave roundabout endorsement to the teacher's union and the Newspaper Guild.

The official student bodies of more than a hundred colleges and universities were represented at the convention, at which the student councils met to discuss campus and national issues and elect officials of the federation.

In addition to endorsing the American Youth Act, several of the major resolutions adopted were:

"Resolved that the NSFA supports the principle of integrity of the news, condemns the vicious and un-American propaganda being spread by Hearst publications, and praises the work of the American Newspaper Guild and all newspapers working to preserve an honest and free press; and that a committee be appointed to suggest a plan for the boycott of Hearst publications and newsreels."

Against Gag Bills

"Whereas the introduction of such un-American measures as teacher's loyalty oath, student loyalty, and sedition bills into our legislatures by jingoistic

and pseudo-patriotic groups is contrary to the fundamental ideals of education, . . . resolved that the NSFA exert every possible effort to bring about the defeat or repeal of these measures wherever they occur, and that all similar regulations of college administration or city be opposed."

In this connection the president was instructed to "cooperate with the National Education Association, the League for Educational Freedom, sponsored by the Progressive Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers, the American Civil Liberties Union, and other groups working toward the same end (academic freedom)."

Back Nye-Kvale Bill

Resolutions were also adopted supporting the Nye-Kvale Bill banning compulsory ROTC, decrying the subsidizing of college athletes, and declaring the NYA "inadequate" and "unjust."

On the other hand a resolution was carried favoring American participation in the German Olympics.

Arthur Northwood, Columbia law student, was elected president to succeed Thomas F. Neblett.

The convention was addressed by Commissioner of Education Studebaker, and several others.

National Conference Of Young Socialists Sets New Approach

CHICAGO — Circles of the Young People's Socialist League throughout the country are discussing the results of the Newark National Mobilization Conference which met January 10-14. Representatives from all the important sections of the League gathered at these sessions to determine policy and program. Concretization of the New Organizational Approach of the YPSL came as one of the most important developments from the deliberations of the meeting.

Lengthy discussion took place on the basis of Yipsel activity under the New Approach, the delegates deliberating on the new means to spread their influence to outside youth organizations, organizing Young Socialists into circles that have special functions in the field of organized youth. Circles are being formed on the student, industrial and cultural field.

Youth Congress vs. NYA

In considering the American Youth Congress, the Conference took the position that the AYC should concentrate its forces and program on the immediate need of youth for adequate government relief and youth legislation. It was indicated that the Congress has failed to broaden itself in respect to national youth bodies, and gain support for its program, except insofar as the Congress has won support and recognition among youth organizations on its program for government relief for youth. A rallying point for the AYC should be the American Youth Act. The Conference also favored a simplified, centralized and more formal structure for the AYC.

It was reiterated that the Congress should be a united front, not an independent organization, that it cannot take a principled position contrary to the position of any of the affiliated organizations and should not carry on independent agitation for a "point of view" or issue national or local magazines of its own. Statistical bulletins surveying the National Youth Administration and organizational bulletins for the Congress were recommended.

Student Union Policy

There was a full discussion regarding policy in the American Student Union. The YPSL will strengthen its machinery in the schools, at the same time educating members of the ASU toward the YPSL and its program, and working to build the ASU itself. It was agreed that the ASU must be maintained as an organization devoted to immediate student struggles, strengthening its programmatic pro-labor and anti-war stand.

The conference also discussed the Young Socialist ideological offensive against the new reformism of the Young Communist League, pointing out the dangers of the YPSL adopting an unfriendly attitude toward the Communist youth in the course of the campaign of theoretical criticism.

The Challenge of Youth
Official Monthly Organ of the Young People's Socialist League of America
 549 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
Responsible Editorial Board:
 Ernest Erber, Ben Fischer, Hy Fish
 Melos Most, Managing Editor
SUBSCRIPTION RATE
 25c for 12 issues
 Re-entered as second-class matter December 7, 1935, at the post office at Chicago, Ill., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Coast-to-Coast Protest Greet Red Salute Film

Resistance to the showing of "Red Salute," red-baiting film, is continuing unabated throughout the country, despite open terrorizing of picket lines by police and other thugs. In more than half the cases withdrawals of the picture were reported.

In New Orleans continuous arrests were made without a let-up in a desperate attempt to smash the picket line thrown across the Tudor Theater, showing the film. Police preying on the line and magistrates setting high bail to prevent anti-jingoists from demonstrating their opposition to the picture were answered by a statement from the Socialist Party that as long as there were Socialists out of jail the picketing would continue. Edward G. Spellman, secretary of the New Orleans Young People's Socialist League, was arrested twice.

Popular Indignation
The arrests aroused popular indignation and brought counter-action from the Central Trades and Labor Council, the YMCA, and other organizations in the forms of mass meetings and protest delegations.

In Cleveland eighteen were arrested in a police raid on a Red Salute united front picket line, when it did not break up after the police had jailed two Young Socialists; pulled Hy Weintraub, former city YPSL secretary, into the theater and attempted to beat him; and harassed the line with the assistance of thugs

provided by the management. The mass arrest was just as ineffective; a neighborhood meeting, when informed of the situation, poured into the street and provided a replacement picket



New Orleans' Youngest Picket

line of over one hundred.

The incident resulted in cancellations of the picture by other theaters.

Young Socialists Killed, Jailed by Fascist Police

MILAN, Italy — Cornered by police and shot down in cold blood, Marco Ricardi, leader of the secret Young Socialist organization here, died of serious bullet wounds before he could

be given medical treatment.

Ricardi and two companions were followed by the policemen until they entered a quiet street, and there they were pierced by a hail of bullets. Ricardi's two comrades are expected to live.

Marco Ricardi was a member of the Federation of Italian Socialist Youth for many years.

At first forced to flee into exile, he returned to Italy when the coast seemed clear, and immediately became active in the underground movement.

He was arrested on the information of a spy and sentenced by the Fascist Special Court to several years banishment on the Island of Ponza. On the expira-

20,000 Yipsels Freed In Spain

MADRID, Spain — Twenty thousand members of the Young People's Socialist League of this country, jailed since the unsuccessful Socialist revolution of October, 1934, were liberated here by an amnesty decree freeing Spanish political prisoners.

The decree was part of an electoral program put forward by the victorious "left bloc" in the election last month, but was actually forced by direct mass action in which great crowds of enthusiastic workingmen stormed the jails and demanded the release of their comrades.

Socialists, the major revolutionary force in Spanish politics, supported the left bloc as a "tactical expediency," but have refused to participate in the new government or to form a "people's front" coalition administration with the Left Republicans.

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Before recent German anti-red drive.

STRIKES SWEEP MID-WEST

HEARST LABOR WALKS OUT

MILWAUKEE—A wave of major strikes sweeping the mid-west is finding support from organized labor throughout the country. Outstanding in these labor struggles are the strike against Hearst's Wisconsin News in Milwaukee, the Strutwear strike in Minneapolis, the rubber workers' strike in Akron, and the long-drawn out fight of the Kroger chain grocery workers in St. Louis.

The strike against the Wisconsin News broke on the morning of February 17. Editorial workers, most of them slaving unlimited hours for the measly pittance of 15 dollars a week revolted against Willie Hearst's sweatshop system when the manager of his Milwaukee sheet flatly refused to deal with them through their Newspaper Guild representative.

The Wisconsin News unit of the Guild, immediately threw a tremendous picket line around the plant in which representatives from many unions and from the Socialist Party and Young People's Socialist League took their places enthusiastically.

The Milwaukee Leader, Socialist and labor daily, is 100% for the strike. Its editorial employees are members of the Newswriters Union, a branch of International Typographical Union.

In Minneapolis, where the workers of the Strutwear Knitting Company have been on strike since August, the lines of the struggle are sharpening. The Strutwear Co. is suing Gov. Olson, the Minnesota National Guard, and Mayor Tom Latimer for \$101,000 damages because national guardsmen were called in to close the plant in order to protect the strikers. At present, the firm is attempting to move their machinery out of town but are having a hard time, as they cannot find truckers.

ST. LOUIS—Warehouse employees of the Kroger Grocery and Baking Co. here have been on strike against miserable conditions in Kroger warehouses for 16 weeks. Throughout their fight, despite vicious attacks by hired thugs they have kept their lines solid around all warehouses and stores controlled by the Kroger firm, which is second in size only to the A & P.

Thousands of leaflets, and copies of a strike bulletin have been distributed by the strikers and by local Socialists and members of the Young People's Socialist League to consumers asking them not to patronize Kroger and Piggly Wiggly stores until the strike is settled. The strike is being supported by Central Trade Union bodies throughout the midwest, and an effective boycott is spreading.

Philco Workers Model Unionists

PHILADELPHIA (UNS) — Beauty, fashions, hikes and jazz play their part in making an unionists of the members of Radio and Television Workers Local 18368 in Philadelphia.

This federal union of workers in the Philco plant has shown what modern organizing technique can do in a mass production industry. Employing all the social appeals that companies have long used to keep their workers from union organization—and going the employers one better in the attractiveness of such social activities—it has welded together some 10,000 radio workers into one of the strongest unions in the country. It has won a closed shop and a 36-hour week and has increased hourly wage rates from 69 per cent to 150 per cent.

Philco workers not only look to their union for better wages and working condition and the handling of their grievances, but they find in it a center for entertainment, sport, education and much else. Not only the members but their families as well are catered to in these regards.

Chance For Pretty Girls

The wide scope of the union's concern with the workers' inter-

ests may be judged by part of its program for the members' wives and for the women employees, who make up about 28 per cent of the total at Philco.

Good-lookers have a chance to shine at a beauty contest sponsored by the union.

At the next fashion show gowns made by the union's members are to be displayed, and a dressmaking class is started for those interested.

Cosmetics are not neglected, while the more practical girls are offered cooking classes, where union-label goods are boosted. Union matters are taken up after classes generally.

Shop Stewards Trained

Classes in public speaking, parliamentary law and time-and-motion study for shop stewards are other features of the union's educational program. The shop stewards became so efficient in handling grievances as a result of their class, that the company had the same instructor give the same course to its supervisors to make them a match for the union men.

The Radio and Television Workers union has champion basketball and soccer teams. It sponsors a Rad-Tel Radio Club, named after it, where an advanced course is given in radio. It has a big Rad-Tel Band, and it is now organizing a symphonic-jazz orchestra.

The children of members are not forgotten, and the Rad-Tel Boys Club is one of the most popular of the union's activities. The youngsters learn the mysteries of short-wave broadcasting and are entertained with visiting tours and hikes, on which portable sets are taken out to the fields.

Social rooms are a feature of the union headquarters. Not only is there space for meetings, classes and dances, but there is a place for athletics, with lockers and showers, a laboratory, card-room, bar, rest-rooms and pool-rooms.

Does Your Friend Read The Challenge?

"By the Sweat of Thy Brow—"



WELL, these men aren't sweating, anyway. They're shivering. The background is furnished by a concern which made "\$4,131,000 for a few idle coupon clippers" last year. See back page.

tion of his term he immediately returned to Milan to reenter the service of the Socialist Youth movement.

Ricardi was an engineering worker by trade.

Speaking of his murder, the secretariat of the Italian Socialist Youth declared:

"Comrades, let us carry on the fight for the attainment of Socialism more strenuously than ever, for that is the only way of avenging his memory and proving ourselves worthy of his sacrifice."

Young Reds 'Traitors'

HAMBURG, Germany—Fourteen Young Socialists were convicted of high treason here for belonging to the Socialist Working-Class Youth of Germany, with sentences ranging as high as five year's imprisonment and loss of civil rights.

Those convicted included Willi Tiedt, Henry Lankenau, and Hans Sander, executive secretaries respectively of the Greater Hamburg, Bremen, and Harburg-Wilhelmsburg Young Socialist Federations; Walter Poehls and Philip Boerth, co-secretaries of the Eimsbittel district of Hamburg; and the section organizers for the city, Otto Dehnke, Arnold Henke, Paul Stroda, and Richard Boljahn.

When captured, the young revolutionaries were paraded around the street handcuffed, as an "example" to the Hamburg working-class.

Although several of them were markedly youthful, the verdict handed down contained an admission that the accused were "young men with a gift of high intelligence."

SAN FRANCISCO BANS STICKERS

SAN FRANCISCO—Sending "I Don't Read Hearst" stickers through the mails has been forbidden by the San Francisco post office. The stickers are being put out by the "League against Yellow Journalism," an organization formed for that purpose.

The American Civil Liberties' Union has taken up the case and is pushing the fight with vigor. The Socialist Party of America is cooperating with the League against Yellow Journalism to encourage the use of the stickers throughout the country.

SOCIALISM, COMMUNISM DEBATED BY U.S. YOUTH

By LEON ZITVER
 NEW YORK—"The only way to defend the Soviet Union is the threat of revolution. The only way to prevent war is by the same threat." In an eloquent peroration, Gus Tyler, Yipsel spokesman, hammered home these vital points in a debate on the war question against Gil Green, national secretary of the YCL. The debate, held in St. Nicholas Arena on February 14, was heard by 3000 young people. Tyler vigorously attacked the policy of the Soviet Union in forming military alliances with imperialist powers. This policy, he declared, would force Communists in countries allied to the Soviet Union to support their imperialist governments in time of war.

"We call support of any capitalist war a betrayal, as in 1914," he pointed out. "We can't call it a betrayal then, and revolutionary strategy now. We maintain with Lenin that an imperialist power can fight only imperialist wars. It is the duty of the working class in any imperialist war to unmask the imperialists."

Revolution Just "Flag-Waving"
 Green, in his presentation, denounced the Yipsel stand on war as one leading to passivity. "The YPSL," he said, "thinks that by waving the flag of revolution they solve the problem of war. We do not believe in flag waving.

"Reformists hide their reformism by shouting revolutionary phrases. But this alone leads to passivity in the face of the war of war mongers. It is necessary to know what are the concrete dangers of war and what policies of the government are making for war. Then we will know what specific actions to take."

Describing the USSR as a beacon to the world proletariat, Green asserted that it is necessary.

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OHIO BRINGS IN ROTC BY RUSE

ATHENS, O.—Despite previous denials and the protests of students, alumni, and parents, the board of trustees of Ohio University voted to establish an ROTC unit here.

Rumors that the unit was to be established were denied by the president in November, and anti-ROTC forces were lulled by a false sense of security, until he suddenly announced that it was already established, on Jan. 6, according to plans which he had approved earlier than last July.

Protesting students, parents, alumni, faculty members, and denominational groups were assured that they would be given a hearing at the meeting of the board of trustees. They immediately circulated a petition of protest and obtained 1,200 signatures.

When the board of trustees met, however, they were refused a hearing, and not permitted to present their petition. The board then proceeded to confirm the action of the administration.

After the board meeting, the student groups opposing the ROTC called an emergency meeting and resolved to continue their opposition. "We refuse to accept the decision of the board as defeat," they declared, "and will redouble our efforts against military training at Ohio University."

By FLORENCE HAIKIN
 LOS ANGELES—1200 people packed the Mason Opera House in Los Angeles at a debate between the Young People's Socialist League and the Young Communist League on the subject, "The Road to Peace."

This debate was arranged by a joint committee from the YPSL and the YCL with the purpose of clarifying the respective stands of the two organizations in regard to war, and to raise money for the Challenge, the Voice of Youth (YCL West Coast Paper), and the American Youth Congress.

1914 "Different"
 I. Feinberg, International Vice President of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union presided at the debate and introduced the speakers. Matt Pelman, District Organizer of the Young Communist League, was the first speaker. During his speech he stressed the necessity for the Communist war stand to be "defend the Soviet Union" because, "the Soviet Union is the Worker's Fatherland. In 1914 the situation was entirely different. At that time, workers could refuse to support any war, but now, if they should refuse to support their government when it was aligned with the Soviet, they would be traitors to the cause of the working class."

Glen Trimble, who spoke for the Young People's Socialist League, pointed out the necessity by the increasing industrial work of the organization throughout the country.

Arons is a member of three trade unions and was assistant business agent of the fur workers in Newark. He has been active in "more strikes than I can remember" including struggles of butchers, truckdrivers, furriers, newspapermen, dressmakers, and mill hands.

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ARONS GETS LABOR POST

CHICAGO — Milton Arons, active trade unionist and former state industrial director of the New Jersey Young People's Socialist League, has arrived here to take over the post of Young Socialist national industrial secretary, a newly created full-time position, made neces-



M. Arons

Arons is a member of three trade unions and was assistant business agent of the fur workers in Newark. He has been active in "more strikes than I can remember" including struggles of butchers, truckdrivers, furriers, newspapermen, dressmakers, and mill hands.

Success Spurs

—Representatives of college cooperatives in eleven states meeting here organized the National Committee on Student Cooperatives to speed the development of cooperative eating clubs, book stores, dormitories, gas stations, and cleaning and pressing shops on college campuses.

Encouraged by the success of cooperative ventures on 49 campuses, the students formed the nucleus of a national association which is expected to expand into a permanent college organization during the coming year.

William H. Moore, representing the Kimbark Cooperative at Chicago Theological Seminary, was elected national chairman. Charles Paddock, University of Oregon, Cal. Southerlin, Yale, and Paul Streik, Mount Eden Theological in St. Louis, were named regional representatives.

—Two thousand of the twenty-five hundred undergraduates at the University of North Carolina are now members of a cleaning and pressing cooperative which did a business of \$15,000 in 1934 and far exceeded that in 1935. The co-op owns its own truck, employs a manager, two clerks, and six cleaning and pressing experts.

The success in cleaning and pressing led the students to add clothing to their cooperative service. A private clothing merchant in Chapel Hill is reported to have advertised that he would run the co-op out of business if it cost him \$100,000. Somebody was run out of business, but it turned out to be the merchant, not the co-op.

The cooperative was started on a capital of \$760 raised by \$1 membership fees.

NYA FORUM WANTS AYA

By J. HARLEY MURRAY
 DENVER—Endorsement of the American Youth Act, verbally, but not by resolution, and recommendation that all young people join their trade union or, at least, a youth political organization were the constructive steps taken at the first young people's conference called jointly by the National Youth Administration and the Teacher's Education Denver offices.

The gathering, attended by approximately 75, most of whom are unaffiliated with any political group, was held February 1 and 2.

While a large part of the discussion indicated present bewilderment of today's youth, the radical element took the lead in practical suggestions.

Two resolutions were passed, calling for continuation of the group by holding a series of neighborhood discussions, with attempts to build up the numbers attending, and a second conference in the middle of April, to be divided into two sections: Those who were getting their first initiation into consideration of economic and political questions, and those who are more advanced in thinking and want to take definite steps towards action.

A SINCERE APOLOGY

In the January issue of the Challenge of Youth, it was reported that

"In Denver, Colorado, virtually the entire local Young Communist League unit disaffiliated from its parent organization and joined the Young People's Socialist League, etc."

This item was a misstatement, based on information from a YCL member who remains in the Young Communist League, and whose friendly relations and cooperation with the Denver Young People's Socialist League organization is a praiseworthy indication of the growing desire for unity among revolutionary youth.

NEW YORK.—A fifty percent increase in membership and in teams in six months in the record of the eastern District Soccer League, an affiliate of the Worker's Sports League. Fichte Soccer Club, named after the famous workers' sports club of Berlin which the Nazis destroyed, entered first and second teams, the Armenians one team, the Vanguards a team and the Young Circle League, already represented, entered a second team. With the old teams, this made a total of fifteen.

Labor Sports Notes

By R. G. Oxford
 Vice-Chairman, First District, Workers' Sports League of A.

Most Negroes are prevented from participating in American Athletic Union meets despite its apparently non-discriminatory policies, Roy Wilkins, editor of the Crisis, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's magazine, charged. The AAU, he said, permits Negroes to take part in its national meets but no Negro may enter the regional meets held in the South where most of the Negroes live. Even in the North, many of the AAU affiliates discriminate against colored athletes. Golf and tennis meets, outside of AAU control, are also closed to Negroes. Although northern colleges allow Negroes on their football teams, they have benched these players, even when they were stars, at games with southern teams, Mr. Wilkins said.

The "Sports Call," renamed organ of the Workers' Sports League of America has begun publication. It is published monthly in Fitchburg, Massachusetts. Hugo Erickson is editor and A. L. Bassin and Hilja Lassila are the associate editors.

The magazine contains news of the affiliated clubs and leagues through out the country, international news including the international workers' Olympiad to be held in Antwerp from July 25 to August 1, 1937, and editorials on workers' sports.

Philadelphia labor will answer the holding of the 1936 Olympics in Nazi Germany with a mighty protest meeting on March 5. Already the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the United Textile Workers Union, the Hosiery Workers Union, the Radio Workers local of 7,000, the Bakery Workers and the United Hebrew Trades have endorsed the meeting. Mr. Herbert Syme, labor attorney, and Harry Feinberger, city secretary of the Young Circle League, are in charge of planning the meeting which will be held under the direction of the Committee on Fair Play in Sports.

Soccer and men and women's basketball leagues continue to function well within the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Most of the games have been nip-and-tuck affairs and no team has been able to sew up any of the championships. It will take the last few games to decide on the winners in all cases.

Sports are newer in the ILG's sister union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, but they are quickly being organized. In the New York area, Locals 158 and 54 in New York and the Passaic local have functioning basketball teams. Others have been organized throughout the country.

"Have a Brick, Monsieur Gendarme"



COBBLE STONES ripped up from the street during a riot in Paris, in which the workers protected their neighborhood from the presence of Fascist organizations.



A Fourteen Year Old Girl Writes on Her Impressions of the American Class Struggle

By Maxine Miller

The first experience on the first large strike in Terre Haute since the railroad strike at the Milwaukee shops where my father picketed six weeks. It was called at the Columbian Enameling and Stampingware Company. As I had never been on a picket line I decided to walk by. The first thing I did when I walked by was to talk to one of the policemen. I asked him why they were on strike, and he told me to "peddle my papers," so I walked on without saying anything else. I went up into a storeroom where some of my friends live, and there I waited until the noon whistle blew. No sooner had I sat down in front of the window than the scabs started coming out. I had my head sticking out the window, when one of my friends passed who was working there. I asked her whether she wanted me to go out to the store to buy her a can of lye to take a bath in that night. She hung her head in shame and walked on. Little Jimmie, who is eight, walked up to the window with a couple of rubber guns, which are made to shoot pieces of inner tube. He said, "Want one of these things to shoot them 'cabs?'" I took one of the guns and put a rubber on it, leaned out the window farther, and aimed at one of the scabs. I didn't mean to shoot him, but it accidentally went off. He looked up and saw Jimmie and I in the window, and slowly walked on.

That was enough for that day, and I started home. I got around to the East gate where three policemen were. I didn't even look up, for I wouldn't be seen talking to a scab.

I didn't go over for quite a while after that. About the last of June they called a general strike in Terre Haute, and all the stores were closed but one, and she didn't sell anything all day. It lasted from one o'clock Sunday night until nine o'clock Tuesday morning. Monday, about midnight we heard an awful

clatter coming down the street, and my mother got up and looked out the window. About two came marching down the street. I had never heard such a noise as they made. They were screaming, shouting with all their might. The next day they had the mill all roped off, and no one could go by. There was only one way you could pass it, and you couldn't stop, for if you would, they would shoot tear gas at you or stick you in the back with a bayonette. One woman refused to move. He pointed the bayonette at her, and she grabbed it with her hand and cut it. Another lady stood there with her baby, and they shot tear gas at her, but still she refused to move. In about a couple of days the militiamen decided to occupy a woman's lawn. She went out to the shed, brought her lawn mower up in the yard, and acted like she was going to cut the grass. She mowed right through the militiamen. If they hadn't moved when they did, she would have run over them. She said her lawn was made for union men not scabby ones, so they had to find them a new parking spot. One of the boys whose mother worked at the Mill was sitting on this lady's fence, and one of the militiamen shot him on the ankle.

One night some of the scabs went into Mrs. Sappingfield's home and called her names. They told her husband to go on down in the mill and work, making their children a living, but he wouldn't work.

In a few weeks the militiamen left, but the Major stayed here. Martial law was still in the city. The stamping mill employees tried to hold meetings but they would arrest them. Not more than two people were allowed on the street together, or in the homes. I went down a few times, but was not allowed to stop.

A few days later Leo and Lillian Vernon came in Terre Haute to try to lift martial law. They were here four days, and they decided to have a meeting

on the court house steps. I and my sister passed bills for them protesting martial law, thinking about two minutes. At last, two o'clock rolled around. We went up to the court house and there was an audience of about fifty. He had been talking about twenty minutes, when a deputy walked out the door. He stood there a few minutes, listening to Leo tell about Mayor Beecher losing his nerve, and bringing in the

A new generation is rising during this period in which capitalism is forced, desperately, to reveal more and more of its oppressive nature. What effect will it have on these future workingmen and women of America? This remarkable article gives the reactions of a girl in Terre Haute who has joined the junior Young People's Socialist League. The names mentioned are those of prominent Socialists who came to Terre Haute to battle martial law.

militia. The deputy walked up behind him, took him by the arm, and pulled him inside. They shoved him around, pulled his hair, and called him names. He took him in the sheriff's office, and kept him in there about two minutes. He grabbed him by the hair, pulled him down the hall, and shoved him into the revolving doors, which made him fall. They put him in the sheriff's car and took him to jail.

The next morning Powers Hapgood came in, and immediately went to the jail to see him. They called him all kinds of names also, and told him he'd better get out or they'd throw him in. He turned around to the sheriff and said: "I'll remember this, and I'll use it." The sheriff called: "Grab him and throw him in." Now they

had two in. Monday night Aron Gilmartin and Ina White came to see what they could do about lifting martial law, and they let them out. They decided to have Norman Thomas speak. He spoke also from the court house step, from the same side on which Leo spoke, with an audience of four thousand. He was not molested by the sheriff or any of his deputies, for they were afraid.

They had started the picket line again, when they picked Gil and Leo up on vag-investigation. They were putting them in the car when Powers and Gil's wife came up to the car. Powers asked what the charges were. They shoved him in too, hitting his head against the car. Powers threw his keys out to Helen, but the deputy picked them up. The next day they let them out.

We decided to start the Red Falcons. We went over on the picket line and sang songs out of the Rebel Song Book. The Major would stand there and his face would turn red. After we had finished singing we would go over on the other side of the street and picket with the older ones. I did not know the Major very well, and had never seen him but once. I went up to him, and was holding a good conversation. I told him if it wasn't for him those scabs wouldn't be in there working. He would look at the scab next to him pointing to mother and dad, saying I was their daughter. I didn't know he was the Major until I got home, and mother told me. It didn't make any difference what he was, I told him what I thought.

We went on with the Red Falcons and started organizing into a Junior YPSL. All this time the Socialists were having their meetings in a store room across from the Stamping Mill, but were never bothered by anyone. We had different speakers in who gave very good talks. One morning at seven o'clock Leo Krzycki talked to about fifty people in a pouring rain. Also, the Malleable was on

strike. Sometimes we would go over there on the picket line as well as at the Mill. The pickets on the Malleable put up a tent for their commissary. Someone stayed at the tent all the time for the scabs threatened to tear it down. They guarded all the cars that went in like a mother watching her child. Powers and Hoot Rasmussen went over on the Malleable picket line. The Major told him he would run him in if he didn't keep quiet on the picket line even if his name was Powers Hapgood. Powers kept on talking to the people, and the Major didn't run him in.

Grabby and Gorby, the head of the stamping mill company, wouldn't listen to anything that was said to them. Men came in and tried to break the strike, but did not succeed. When they would picket of an evening at the mill, they would curse the scabs, the Major told them that they could picket if they would picket peacefully, and not use profane language, but one woman didn't obey orders.

Hoot Rasmussen was taken to jail twice, once by two police, and once by WPA "G-Men," for trying to organize WPA workers. They hit him over the head when he asked them who they were, and to show their badges. They beat him up and took him to jail, and he was held by military authorities. He was in three weeks, and we had to ask to see J. P. Wolf or we could not see Hoot, because he was held incommunicado. They were afraid of the Socialists causing some more trouble, so they let him out.

These are the things that I have learned from these experiences:

That many people are working for Socialism, and that when there is a social revolution this world will be changed a lot, and that it takes the work of all the workers of the world to get this, and if you don't help, you won't get the benefit of it. After we have Socialism we will be working shorter hours for more wages, and not in a scab shop.

Co-ops 'Take' in U.S.

by SYD DEVIN

To describe the individual co-ops dotting the U. S.—at least impossibly outside of a large-sized volume. We can only give a brief summary of the super-co-ops and federating organizations. The central organization is the Co-operative League of the U. S., which is primarily an educational and advisory body. There are three district bodies with similar functions: the Central States Co-operative League, the Northern States Co-operative League, and the Eastern States Co-operative League.

Working in conjunction with these educational organizations are the district wholesales, the most notable being the Central Co-operative Wholesale located in Superior, Wisconsin, and serving the northern States district. Within this same district is the Farmers' Union Central Exchange, a wholesale serving Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin. The Midland Co-operative Wholesale which distributed \$800,000 worth of petroleum products in the first half of 1934.

Mixing Oil and Co-operation

That the most spectacular growth of American co-operation today is in the petroleum products field is particularly significant since it was this industry which rocketed to fame and fortune Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company—America's pioneer "trust." At the end of 1934, four co-operative compounding plants had been built and others were in the blue-print stage. What co-op companies is illustrated by the character of example of Waterbury, South Dakota. Out of the 45 gas stations in that city, only 2 are co-operative. But these 2 do 50% of the business!

Throughout the northcentral area, more and more gas pumps flash the "Co-op" sign from hundreds of stations, while the "Red Crowns" and "Shells" and "Guinea" become never multiplied on a many dog as rapidly as "Co-op" oil and gas stations are displacing the sick oil trusts from this field.

In previous articles we have pointed out how European co-ops have organized their own national wholesales and have gone even further back to production. In America the vastness of the country is evolving still another step. In order to increase the efficiency of their purchasing, nine large district wholesales in the United States formed National Co-op-ways, Inc. three years ago. Particularly in the field of petroleum is this organization preparing to get back to the ownership of refineries and oil wells. Negotiations are well under way with many European co-operatives, whereby National Co-operatives, Inc. will become the key to unlock Oklahoma and Texas oil from the chains of profit business as well as domestic consumers.

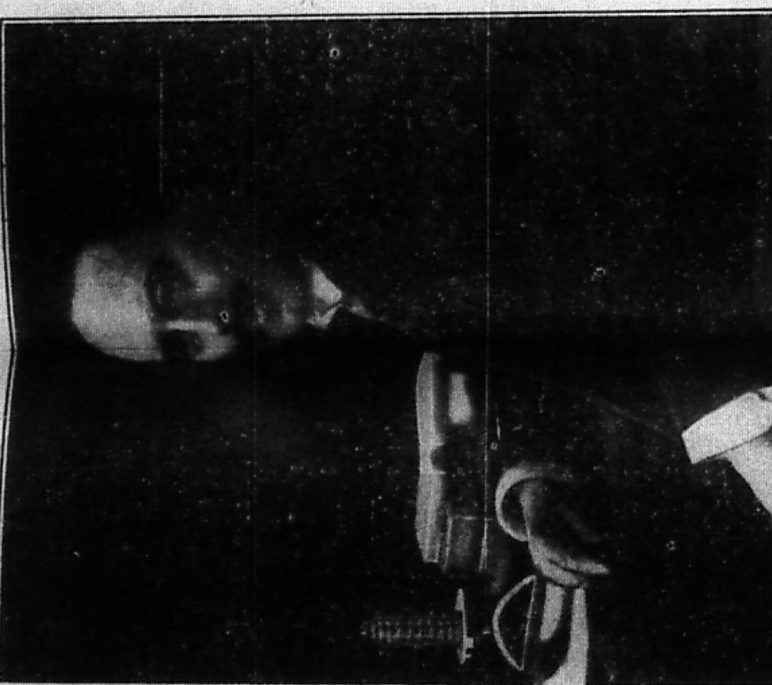
The Co-op Boom

A Federated Press summary of the co-operative movement in the U. S. at the beginning of 1935 gives us the following facts: Membership is now approximately 2,000,000. The 1935 business turnover attained the half billion dollar mark as compared with \$965,000,000 in 1934. This is a 37% increase in one year! Let us quote from Wallace J. Campbell, Secretary of the Co-operative League of the U. S.

"At the end of five years in American history, seven co-operative wholesale associations, serving local retail co-operatives in eighteen states have erected or purchased headquarters and productive plants at a total cost of more than a million dollars. This ambitious building program was made possible entirely by savings ac-

THE GERMAN SOCIALIST YOUTH

By Karl Liebknecht (1918)
Founder of the Socialist Youth International



salvation for the working class: working classes and deeds, in the end the World War and uprooted the cause of war, imperialism. During 50 months of the war Youth stood at the head of the Socialist Youth of Germany for its achievement, and opposed with aggressive zeal the trench-positions and pushed to the front workers leaders of the Majority Social-Democrats.

Whenever the revolutionary spirit of struggle of the German youth was sent to the

The Miners' President

By MILTON ARONS
Industrial Secretary, Young People's Socialist League

THE sudden appearance of John L. Lewis as a progressive, militant trade union leader has surprised many labor quarters where Lewis was once considered he is now being praised. This is not understandable in view of Lewis' many talents. He is shrewd, persuasive, a good talker and possesses all the forceful qualities of leadership. He has built a machine in the United Mine Workers Union of which he is president, which has thereby making the union stronger and more effective as well as giving a chance to play an important part in the work and policy-making of the unions. The fight for union democracy means to youth who are the newcomers in the unions, a voice and representation in the affairs and control of their own inner life—consciousness of workers, education, sports, and the preparation of the workers for intelligent, vigorous opposition to war and fascism, so that the union can rest on a membership which is willing and capable to act as an independent force devoted to all the interests of the working people. This fight for making the unions more than "business concerns" means giving the youth the recreation and relaxation youth needs to lead a normal existence unimpeded by the capitalistic system.

4—A labor party, so that the workers will have an independent weapon with which to fight on the political field just as they have their independent unions with which to

else that gave us faith and confidence in the weeks of disappointment that followed November 9. The Socialist Youth, whole body and soul was relentlessly subjected to the fangs of the war-fury, who groaned beneath industrial exploitation, political rights, see clearer than the adults that the Revolution of November 9 has not only touched the political surface of the order of society, while the wide foundation stones of capitalist class rule stand undisturbed and many of the gains of the Revolution have already been lost today. They know that the talker and possesses all the forceful qualities of leadership. He has built a machine in the United Mine Workers Union of which he is president, which has thereby making the union stronger and more effective as well as giving a chance to play an important part in the work and policy-making of the unions. The fight for union democracy means to youth who are the newcomers in the unions, a voice and representation in the affairs and control of their own inner life—consciousness of workers, education, sports, and the preparation of the workers for intelligent, vigorous opposition to war and fascism, so that the union can rest on a membership which is willing and capable to act as an independent force devoted to all the interests of the working people. This fight for making the unions more than "business concerns" means giving the youth the recreation and relaxation youth needs to lead a normal existence unimpeded by the capitalistic system.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

BY MORRIS HILLQUIT

Engels, "is an organization of the exploiting classes for the preservation of the existing methods of production and more particularly for the purposes of forcibly maintaining the exploitation of the masses in the condition of dependence inherent in such methods of production (slavery, serfdom, wage labor)." —Anti-Duehring.

And Karl Marx sums up the character of the capitalist state in the following language:

"At the same pace at which the progress of modern industry developed, widened, intensified the class-antagonism between capital and labor. The State power assumed more and more the character of national power of capital over labor, of a public force organized for social enslavement, of an engine of class domination." — Civil War in France.

The transitional or Socialist rule. It, too, represents force of government, but the government which it serves is the working-class government. Hence the function of the Socialist state is to maintain and to repress the forces of surviving capitalism aiming at its overthrow.

Only when all classes and class struggles have been abolished and there is no more need of a coercive instrument for the domination of one class by another: the repressive organs of the government, the army, police, etc., become useless. The state disappears. Government hereafter is a classless administration of the business of the whole people by their chosen representatives, a "commonwealth," not a "state."



MORRIS HILLQUIT

THE STATE DIES

"By actually becoming the representative of the whole society, the state renders itself superfluous. As soon as there is no longer any class in society to be held in subjection, as soon as the class rule and the class struggle for individual existence based on the modern anarchy of production are removed, and with them also the resultant classes and excesses, there is nothing more to repress, nothing requiring a special repressing power, a state. The first act in which the state really appears as the representative of the whole society—the seizure of the instruments of production in the name of society—is at the same time its last independent act as a state. The interference of the state with social relations becomes superfluous in one fold after another, and, as it were, falls asleep. The government administration of things and production is not abolished; it dies."

Emphasizing the social forces behind the political forms of the successive historical periods under discussion, it may also be said that the first (square A) represents the domination of the bourgeoisie, or capitalist class, the third (square C) the ideal classless society of equals, while the intermediate period (corridor B) represents the domination of the working class, Marx and Engels have at different times described the transitional period of working-class political domination as the "Rule," the "power," or the "Swing" of the workers. They have also characterized it as the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Bolshevik have chosen the latter phrase to describe the political character of the present revolutionary regime in Russia.

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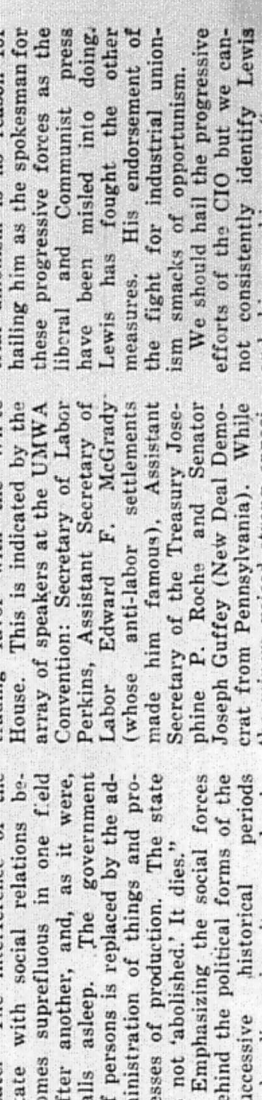
New Deal or Labor Party?

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

LEWIS' bitter opposition to the labor party at the Tri-District Convention and the endorsement by the New Deal Administration of Roosevelt's principles. A blanket endorsement was given to President Roosevelt after Lewis made a speech in which he referred to Roosevelt as the "greatest humanitarian president the United States ever had." This statement should prove of interest to the striking miners who have faced National Guard machine guns and the swift death sting of "humanitarian" bullets. This statement is poor food for the mining camp kids with starry swollen bellies, scurvy, bandy legs from rickets.

While the White House is not tackling the horrible conditions in the mine town area, Lewis is trading favor with the White House. This is indicated by the array of speakers at the UMW Convention: Secretary of Labor Perkins, Assistant Secretary of Labor Edward F. McGrady (whose anti-labor settlements made him famous), Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Joseph P. Roche and Senator Joseph Guffey (New Deal Democrat from Pennsylvania). While the miners voiced strong opposition to that owing class society of stuffed shirts, Liberty League, Lewis seems to be looking for the support of unions must find its own leadership, judging this leadership on the previously mentioned qualifications. They must carry their struggle on the economic field into the political field through a Party representing workers and led by workers. They cannot put faith in the present existing order or in leaders who seek the favor of the present order.

We have a double interest in progressive unionism, first as workers. We will support every step toward achieving its principles.



MORRIS HILLQUIT

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Al Hamilton Tells the Story of

The American Student Union

There is much ambiguity and doubt about our tasks in the student field. Though we have been active in the student movement in the past and though we support the American Student Union today, many people are asking how such support will help in the struggle for Socialism. Many raise the question: "Will not support of the ASU tend to weaken our efforts to build a Socialist Student Movement in the colleges and high schools?" Altogether there is no clear idea of our goal in the student field. However, one thing is clear, before we can carry on successfully in the student field we must know where we are going and what our tasks are.

I want to give the past history of the relationships between Socialists and the student movement. I want to give the reasons the "Revolt on the Campus" has developed organizationally into a non-political student movement—the American Student Union. I want to discuss the reasons why Young Socialists support the ASU. I want to deal with our perspective and tasks as Socialists in the student field both within and without the ASU.

SOCIALISTS THE VANGUARD OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

For thirty years Socialists have been the vanguard of the student movement. In 1905, Jack London, Harry W. Laidler and others organized the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. In 1917, the ISS was broken up by two forces; first, the reaction and suppression of wartime, and second, by an internal split on whether the war was one to "save the world for democracy."

After the war, the ISS was reorganized as the League for Industrial Democracy with a student section. Finally, came the organization of the Student League for Industrial Democracy distinctly separate from the adult organization.

PERIOD ONE OF EDUCATION NOT STRUGGLE

During the early period of the student movement, it developed along the lines of education and not struggle. The primary purpose was to arouse the student body from the apathy of American college life characterized by Jack London, as the "passionless pursuit of passionless knowledge." This was the period when American higher education had developed the illusion: Education means economic security. Parents sent their sons and daughters to college so they could have a higher income upon graduation. This commercialization of education was responsible to a large extent for the intellectual do-nothingness of American College life. It was this intellectual decay and aloofness from the developing social struggles that Socialists of those early days fought against on the campus.

THE DEVELOPING STUDENT REVOLT

Then, in 1929 came the "great crash" of the American economic house of cards. The American education system was effected in a manner similar to the other institutions of American life. From the year 1929, dates the real "Revolt on the Campus." This new awakening of student life grew apace with the effect of the economic collapse on the three aspects of education; the material structure, the teaching personnel, the student body.

THE EFFECT ON COST OF EDUCATION

The first effect of retrenchment in education came in the slackening of endowments to universities and the drop in the average amount spent per student in the public schools. Endowments in 27 universities fell from \$74,456,326 in 1930-31 to \$20,659,891 in 1933-34. Public school expenditures for the same period decreased by one half billion dollars. The average cost per child of \$90 diminished in the same period to \$60 per pupil. In the early part of 1933, 2,269 schools in 11 states were closed down entirely.

THE EFFECT ON TEACHING PERSONNEL

The effect upon teachers' salaries was similar. In 1930, the average wage for teachers was \$1400 a year. This declined to \$1,050 in 1933-34. Teachers were forced to handle classes that had been doubled or tripled. The salaries of rural teachers dropped in even greater ratio in the same period. At the present time, the number of unemployed school teachers is estimated to be about 200,000.

THE DEPRESSION STUDENT

The decline in the standard of living of the industrial working class and the closing of the doors of industry to millions of workers increased the enrollment of students by 675,000 during the period 1929 to 1933-34. The depression created two new types of students in our colleges and universities. One is the student without money, who has become the student worker. This is the student whose education depends upon increased student aid from governmental sources. The second type of student is the student without a future who has become the student by default. This is the student who goes to college because there is nothing else for him to do; the student who finds it easier in college to "earn" three meals a day and a place to sleep.

NEW OUTLOOK OF STUDENTS

These students came to college with an entirely different outlook than did the pre-depression student. These students had already been sobered by the effect of the economic collapse upon families at home. Many realized that their condition was largely the result of the wiping out of economic security for their family. Thus, the destruction of economic well-being of the middle class and professional worker created a different psychology and a different economic condition among students who came to college. A spirit of inquiry set in among students. And inquiry is always the first step to decisions and actions.

THE RISE OF THE ASU

In the face of such changed conditions the student LID and its newly organized communist counter-part, the National Student League began to develop a program of struggle, action and education on the immediate problems facing students. Purely political education for some far distant social order gave way to activities of an immediate character. The tremendous peace sentiment on the campus developed into a campaign against the ROTC; the alignment of students with labor led to active campaigns against the use of college employment bureaus for strike-breaking; the free speech campaigns led to examination of the class composition of the boards of trustees and board of education; increased interests in economic conditions led to surveys of hours and wages of university employees; the advent of FERA and NYA student aid to meet the demands of needy students led to consciousness of the inadequacy of the relief; efforts to diminish or cut off this student aid led to conflicts between students and those administering student aid. Efforts to examine the "why" of the existing economic and social chaos led to controversy

with boards of trustees and school administrations. This was especially true when study led to action. Social problems clubs, liberal clubs, SLID chapters, NSL chapters all had to fight for their right to exist in many universities. Many times the very effort to have an outside speaker visit to talk about the struggle for workers rights led to a struggle for student rights.

The climax of this development in the student movement was the uniting of the Student LID and the NSL, various local student groups, and student councils into the American Student Union. The program of the American Student Union is centered about those problems which have, in the last few years, become of concern to students; the problems of democracy in education, student relief, the struggle against war, and opposition to trustee domination. Though it is perfectly true that these problems are the outgrowth of other factors in society, the American

Albert W. Hamilton is national student secretary of the Young People's Socialist League and chairman of the Social Action Committee of the National Council of Methodist Youth. He first became famous when he was expelled from the University of California for refusal to take ROTC and took the case to the United States Supreme Court. He was chairman of the Student League for Industrial Democracy and one of the originators of the American Student Union.

This article is the text of a speech given before the Labor Youth Forum of Philadelphia, February 16, 1936. It may be obtained in mimeographed form from the National Student Office, Young People's Socialist League, 21 East 17 Street, New York City.

Student Union concerns itself primarily with the manifestations of the larger social and economic problems as they effect the student and the educational system.

SOCIALISTS AND THE AMERICAN STUDENT UNION

Young Socialists are active supporters of the American Student Union. However before we Young Socialists can successfully carry on work in the ASU, we must judge the Student Union and the newly developing student movement in terms of our ultimate objective. We must understand the relationship between the immediate struggles of students and the struggle for Socialism. We must discover the cross-currents of political opinion at play among students. We must judge the student movement in the final analysis in terms of the struggle for workers' rights. We must look at the possible political future of the American Student Union.

All Young Socialists realize that the problems that have developed for the student have not developed as "student problems" alone. We all realize that these problems have much deeper roots than the campus. However, what we must take into account is the fact that student assembled for a four year period, form a separate social group and are effected as a group by whatever happens in society as a whole. When the Chamber of Commerce fights the rising cost of social services, the educational opportunities of students are threatened. When the War Department

want to train young officers it chooses the logical place—the university. As a consequence the student becomes involved in struggles which effect him in his immediate social role.

SOCIALIST PARTICIPATION IN IMMEDIATE STRUGGLES

As Socialists, we have to judge any campaign for immediate demands in terms of our ultimate Socialist goal. When we recognize that the key to social progress is in the struggles of labor, we are compelled to ask certain questions about any immediate campaign: Does that campaign tend to weaken the power of capitalism? Is that campaign compatible with the struggles of labor? Will a campaign to better the conditions among youth make for an alliance between youth and labor?

It is our job as Young Socialists to initiate those campaigns which give an affirmative answer to the questions I have asked. If we participate in campaigns that have been started by others, we must try to guide them in the direction mentioned. At the city convention of the American Student Union in Philadelphia a Socialist proposed that one of the campaigns undertaken be that of having all school printing done in union shops. A member of the Young Communist League raised an objection: "We should not discriminate or be unfair to the unorganized workers." When a member of the YCL makes such a remark, then we can realize the importance of giving guidance to any campaign on an immediate issue.

SOCIALISTS AND THE STUDENT FIGHT AGAINST WAR

The ASU has a program which calls for opposition to military training. The Student Union supports the Oxford Pledge which calls for opposition to the draft, to the use of the educational system by the War Department when war is declared. It is not a maximum program against war, however. The American Student Union will be in the leadership in the coming Student Strike Against War in 1936. The question then comes, "What is the role of Socialists in the student movement in the anti-war campaign?"

We should recognize that we do not have united ranks even in the American Student Union in both the immediate campaign against war preparations and the ultimate campaign in the event of war. On one hand we have the Young Communists who give lip-service to the Oxford Pledge, and who readily enough support anti-ROTC campaigns but who are part of an organization that has pledged them to a program calling for support of certain types of imperialist wars. They put their trust in military alliances and League of Nations. They are willing to raise the same type of slogans as militarists in the last war, "Defend the little nations." We cannot be certain which way they will go. Against any attempt to bring their program into the student movement Young Socialists must be vigilant.

On the other side we have the "peace lovers," and those who still support the illusions put forward by the militarists of "national defense" and "national honor." It is this group that constitutes the largest block of American Students. They must be won first to a minimum program against war.

However, our outlook as Socialists must be beyond that of the American Student Union. We must educate the student population to the realization that the fight against war can only be effective when students realize it is against the war-generating capitalist system. We

must continually remind students that if they "Fight War on Every Front They Will Find Themselves Fighting for Socialism."

Involving students in campaigns of immediate struggle is the first step toward the ultimate socialist fight against war.

THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN STUDENT UNION

For the next year or two, our job is one of building a labor consciousness among students and of establishing fraternal relationships between the ASU and the American Federation of Teachers and Central Labor bodies. We are not out to build a Socialist Student Union. We are out to win recruits to the organization of Young Socialists—the Young People's Socialist League. But, we are not out to turn the American Student Union into a YPSL. However, that does not mean that no politicalization will take place in the student movement. Quite the contrary. To the degree which we have been able to build an alliance between students and labor will students follow the political development of labor. For instance, the advent of a sound and properly organized Farmer-Labor party, on a national scale will mean facing the question of whether the ASU will or should become the student section of such a Farmer-Labor party. The answer to that question cannot be made now. But we should keep the eventuality in mind and realize the successful answer to that question depends on two factors: One, our ability to organize a mass student union allied to labor and two, the ability of the Young People's Socialist League to organize on the campus independently of the ASU giving guidance and direction to it.

THE TASK OF THE YPSL

The dissolution of the Student LID as a Socialist Student organization leaves the task of organizing students for Socialism in the hands of the YPSL. In general terms, we must become recognized as the official spokesmen of Socialism on the campus. Ours is the task of carrying the immediate struggles of students into a struggle against capitalism and for Socialism. Ours is the task of developing the struggles of students in a manner that will lead to Socialism. Ours is the job of giving political direction to the struggle against war.

We must build the Student Union into an ally of labor. We must tie up student struggles with labor struggles, we must make the struggle for student rights a struggle for workers' rights.

Then there is a presidential election coming up next November. The Young People's Socialist League has the tremendous job of mobilizing student and faculty support for the Socialist candidate for president. This is our job and ours alone.

Young Socialists have the job of getting Socialist literature before the student body. One of the greatest assets we will have in winning students for Socialism will be the distribution of The Socialist Call, The Challenge, and our pamphlets.

Putting the matter very simply, the YPSL must become the center of education, of action, of struggle for Socialism in the universities and high schools. We must carry on those campaigns as Socialists that it is impossible for the ASU to carry forward. We must make students aware of the fact that there is a Socialist Student Movement and that only Socialism will provide the eventual answer to the question of Peace, Freedom and Security.

Youth vs. An Old World

CAN YOU READ THIS?

Evidently compulsory school attendance is essentially lacking in many of the States whose unemployed constitute some of the recruits mobilized in the camps of the Civilian Conservation Corps. Otherwise it is difficult to account for the figures made public by Howard W. Oxley, director of CCC camp education, which reveal that according to a survey undertaken in July there were 7,369 illiterates in the camps, of whom 5,406 are now being taught to read and write.

"It was found," Mr. Oxley said, "that 78 per cent of the illiterates were under 25 years of age, 5 per cent between 26 and 35 years of age and 16 per cent were over 35 years of age."

Mr. Oxley added that approximately 69 per cent of the illiterates "were born in the United States and only 4 per cent were foreign-born."

This lack of adequate educational requirements for the young occurs in both rural and urban school administration. Mr. Oxley's report shows that more than half of the illiterates "came from rural communities, about a third from small towns and the remainder from large cities."

YOUTH TRIES EXPROPRIATION

An examination of arrest records of persons whose fingerprints were forwarded to the federal bureau of investigation during 1935 reveals that there were 56,943 recorded convictions for robbery, burglary, and auto thefts alone, of which 33,886 were of young people less than twenty-five years old and thousands more of youths between twenty-five and thirty.

Those under twenty-five constituted 53.5 per cent of the "robbers," 59.1 per cent of the "burglars," and 68.0 per cent of the "auto thieves."

The younger working class generation, shut off from all opportunity for a decent future, its moral standards continually under the strain of and crime.

Dungeons are the capitalist remedy.

UNEMPLOYMENT DECLINES!

Sweeping increases in child labor throughout the United States have been reported by the U. S. Dept. of Labor since the demise of the N.R.A. in the summer of 1935.

Labor department reports, covering 102 cities in six states, indicate that 11,000 child labor certificates were issued in the seven months since the end of the Blue Eagle, whereas only 7,000 were issued in the entire year of 1934.

"FRANKNESS AND HONESTY WILL HELP"

When asked an embarrassing question, don't bother to reach for a cigarette, just change the subject. That's the advice the U. S. Office of Education is giving CCC educational instructors. The advice is contained in a manual for the instructors, recently issued. Although the same advice was contained in previous issues of the manual, it bears reprinting.

"How to Avoid Dangerous Issues.—Discussions can reach a point where it may run into dangerous issues. This is particularly true in foreman-training classes and with experience groups. An instructor is not expected to sit as a judge and give decisions concerning arguments and policies. Should it be indicated that dangerous topics are being brought up for discussion in the class, the instructor should analyze the situation, and if it is considered unwise to deal with any given topic, lead the discussion away from the topic. One safe way is, of course, to stay away from dangerous topics. Recognize them early in the discussion, and switch the subject to something of greater interest to the group if possible.

"Another way is to promise to bring the dangerous issues up at some future time. This will make it possible for the instructor to secure additional information before discussing it, and it also sets up the possibility of the topic being forgotten. A story to switch the interest of the class is a clever device for changing the topic. Frankness and honesty will help, and if the case warrants it, the instructor should tell the class that the dangerous issue is not a part of the lesson, and should refuse to discuss it."

GETTING RID OF US

In a list of 84 persons killed in labor and farm struggles in the two years 1934 and 1935, ages were given in 31 cases. Out of the 31, twenty-four were 28 years of age and under.

Building the YPSL

SECTARIANISM!

By Ben Fischer

Everywhere you turn you see that word these days.

This plague can be defined as a belief only in your own organization and an inability to see anything "good" in any other organization or any development which does not emanate from your organization. Its most extreme manifestation in the labor movement in recent years was found in the official Communist movement.

Here was a movement which clung to the theory of "rule or ruin," whatever it controlled was good and was to be encouraged; whatever it did not control was "counter-revolutionary" and had to be either captured or destroyed. It was this policy which caused the Communists to become an isolated sect with a wide gap between it and the masses of people.

Today the Communists are slowly changing. They have declared for a complete reversal—cooperation with EVERYBODY. They have gone so far as to criticize the Socialist youth for their anti-war position on the ground that it would "separate the workers from the rest of the population," in short that it would intensify the working class consciousness of its own class interests, something all revolutionists work towards.

But we in the Socialist movement cannot afford to merely point a scolding finger. Nor can we merely cower on the one hand and welcome the process of sectarianization which is taking place among Communists, especially among Communist youth. For the first time Socialist Youth are actually beginning to clearly understand how they must go to the masses of young people, work with them, cooperate with them in building their organizations and educate them through discussion and through action in the economic and political questions which they face.

But we are misunderstanding something too. We think that it our task to be traveling salesmen in many cases. We have the job of going to the youth ONLY to sell them our product—Socialism.

Why is this not a correct policy: Because our work among the youth is not carried on ONLY to build the YPSL. If this were true then we would work only where we could carry forth our OWN policy. We would work only where we exert political control; we would always work to capture control; we would be pursuing the policy of "rule or ruin," or equally tragic, the policy of "rule if we can" and "if we can't, what's the use having anything to do with this campaign, this project, this conference?"

Socialism will not come merely because the Socialist Party and the YPSL are BIG and POWERFUL. Other things are necessary. The unions must be strong. Economic conditions must be ripe. The workers and their allies, especially the youth, must be militant and determined to fight to gain and MAINTAIN working class power.

Therefore, it is necessary not only to BUILD THE YPSL and the Socialist Party but also to make every effort to weaken capitalism economically and to train the working class and the youth for the various stages of the class struggle. In other words, a blow against capitalism is to be greeted by Socialists



YPSL National Secretary

even though no direct organizational gains may result from it. A struggle of the youth for economic relief is of great importance even if it does not bring us one new member because it gives the youth training in the class struggle; it gives them consciousness of the need to fight for their own economic interests; it develops machinery through which to function in their own behalf.

Today youth is faced with very vital problems. The main one is their economic plight and it is our task not to tell them merely that SOCIALISM WILL GIVE THEM PLENTY; it is our task to mobilize the youth for immediate demands as in the struggle for the American Youth Act so that they can realize the necessity of struggle, the forces that oppose their interests, the role of the labor movement as the main hope of the youth, as well as the role that Socialist Youth play as a leading force in these necessary struggles.

It is our task to work loyally with workers in the trade union movement, making a special effort to activate and organize the young workers. And this even though we may not gain a single member for the YPSL.

It is our task to build the student movement.

It is the task of all young men and women who wish to fight for a better world to fight from the ground up. Today

this means not only education in the principles of Socialism; not only Socialist propaganda and organization; but it means also that young people must carry on the fight for the American Youth Act, the fight for better working conditions, the fight for the passage of the Farmers and Workers Rights Amendment and for unemployment insurance. It means we must meet every challenge of reaction and every step forward in war preparations and the growth of dangerous tendencies towards pro-war policy.

These immediate struggles will aid our ultimate task; not divert from it.

At Random

by Memo

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

A remarkable story of international cooperation was carried in the press the other day. It seems that the South African embassy in Washington had some construction work to be done, and followed the lovely tradition of offering it to the lowest bidder without regard for the wages or working conditions of the men who would have to do the actual work.

The Building Trades Council of the capital demanded that all bids from non-union contractors be rejected, without result. The Council then appealed to the American Federation of Labor, which communicated with the South African Federation of Labor, which brought pressure on the government of the Union of South Africa, which instructed its Washington Embassy to accede to the demands of the Washington Building Trades' Council!

And who says nothing can be accomplished in a roundabout way?

REVOLUTIONARY HERO

There's a story told around the Challenge office which deserves a wider audience than that inner sanctum can provide. You may remember a picture of Lenin in the November issue entitled, appropriately enough, "Revolutionary Hero."

But the title has a history. The picture was set in an article attacking the new social patriotic position of the Communist International, and the title was supposed to indicate that Lenin had been against social patriotism. It read, quite simply, "Anti-Social Patriot."

Nobody saw the double meaning of this until the printer remarked, just as the form was about to go to press, "Maybe this guy was antee-soshul, but I don't see where you get off calling him a patriot." The loyal Challenge staff suddenly choked, and the printer had to make a last-minute change, regretting he had ever opened his mouth.

COINCIDENCE

Even though the Communists no longer sing about how "The Hillquits, the Cahans, and the Thomases, they make by the workers false promises," it seems that Socialist leaders are still not immune to accusations of betrayal, albeit of a strictly non-political nature.

Aaron Levenstein tells one about a prominent Socialist receiving occasional letters from vindictive females threatening to sue him for breach of promise. At first he ascribed them to some practical joker, but as they began to come in from different parts of the country, he made a few inquiries.

It seems there is a young band-leader who is a namesake but no relation to the Socialist in question. His band, the "..... Quintet," plays in various cities in the East.... We're not saying anything.

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City..... State.....

Challenger
Address

EXPECT 350,000 STRIKERS

(Continued from page 1)
Atlantic schools, 30,000 in the midwest, 16,000 on the Pacific Coast, 9,000 in the Rocky Mountain region, 10,000 in the South, 50,000 in high schools and 18,000 in other countries.

Pointing to the weakness of the strike in the South last year, Mr. Lash predicted a marked increase there this year, the first sign of which was the recent endorsement of the walk-out by the Southern Interseminary Movement.

He based his expectation that 350,000,—double last year's total—will respond this year on the "tremendous growth" of the American Student Union, formed in December through a merger of the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the National Student League and campus liberal and progressive groups.

"Greater Demonstration"

"The factor, together with the universal recognition the strike has achieved as the medium for undergraduate expression, and the close genuine cooperation we have carried on with other student groups, should make this the greatest single demonstration for peace in American life.

"Students have come to recognize that it is no longer adequate to 'favor' peace. The advance of militarism in our own country, the tension of the international scene and the accompanying growth of reaction have made the strike the logical step for those who dare to oppose the war-makers."

One of the major focal points of the strike, Mr. Lash said, will be opposition to the ROTC, in the face of extensive formation of new units and the increased federal aid for what we will do if war should come," by Student LID leaders.

20,000 Yipsels Freed in Spain

(Continued from page 3)

"We will never again enter the government except as a majority party ready to establish a Union of Iberian Soviet Republics," declared Largo Caballero, Socialist leader.

Meanwhile the Socialist masses of Spain are preventing a rightist coup and forcing the Left Republicans to live up to the joint campaign platform by manifesting their temper in large demonstrations. The "leftist" victory is only one of a series of progressive gains that have been made by organized agitation.

Foremost among the demonstrators were the Young Socialists, over one third of whose membership was in jail. In Asturias and Andalusia hundreds of Socialist Youth paraded, and were active in storming the Bastilles of Oviedo, Gijon, and Madrid.

One thousand members of the Madrid Young People's Socialist League marched into the Puerto de Sol shouting "amnesty!" and were joined there by shock police called out by the government to protect the Ministry buildings from the Young Socialists! On the day previous a police cavalry brigade, ordered to charge a demonstration of 500 Socialist Youth, disarmed their officer and forced him to dismount and give the Socialist salute!

The newly liberated Young Socialists found a good many new faces in their organization when they returned, since it has gained more new members than it lost through the wholesale imprisonments after October.

The Spanish Young People's Socialist League is part of the political section of the Socialist Youth International.

**must be spread
—not simply read**

U.S. YOUTH DEBATES

Los Angeles

(Continued from page 4)

sity for a definite stand against war. He quoted from the St. Louis Declaration of the Socialist Party, from Marx, and from Lenin to prove his point. He said that it would be sheer folly for any revolutionary party to support a democratic capitalist country against a Fascist capitalist nation for "in such a war, it would still be the workers and not the Fascist or Imperialist leaders who would be killed and the end of the war would see two Fascist nations instead of one." He further stated that the Communists were now repeating all the criminal stupidities of the Social Chauvinists of 1914. He pointed out the errors in the Communist stand as explained by Ercole, Browder, Stalin, and Tchomodonov, all of whom he quoted. He then asked the representative of the Young Communist League, "in view of these statements from your party leaders, how can you call your policy a peace policy?"

Pelman, however, did not answer the question, nor did he answer adequately any of the questions that were put to him by Trimble, or members of the audience. He attempted an explanation of the Soviet's shipping of oil to Fascist Italy, but it was very weak.

Trimble ended his constructive argument with a quotation from Liebknecht, "the main enemy is at home. The only unity possible is unity on the basis of no compromise with Imperialist war!"

Throughout debate and rebuttal, the YCL speaker repeated the phrase, "the peace policy of the Soviet Union is the peace policy of the working class." His defense against all logic and all historical precedent in the Socialist movement.

New York

(Continued from page 4)

ary to put every pressure on our government to maintain friendly relations with it. He defended the right of the Soviet Union to utilize differences between imperialist governments to aid itself. "This is one of the pillars of peace," he declared.

Green also went on record as favoring sanctions against Italy and as being in favor of helping small nations maintain their independence.

In presenting the Yipsel viewpoint, Tyler bore down heavily on the small nations argument. "In Poland and Czechoslovakia," he stated, "the Communists will support the ruling class in a war for national liberation. Why not Austria? Because the Soviet Union is trying to win over Poland and Czechoslovakia to its side. The Soviet Union is peddling Communist Parties in exchange for alliances."

Tyler described the hypothetical case of the United States entering a war on the side of the Soviet Union. The Communists, he declared, would be forced by the logic of their position to aid the U. S. government. They would even have to break strikes.

Ask Three Questions

In an attempt to get Green to state his position clearly, Tyler asked him three questions:

1. In a war in which America is allied to the Soviet Union, what will the Communists do?
2. Since democratic countries turn fascist in time of war, is it true that we cannot talk of defending democratic countries against fascist?
3. Is it not true that military alliances make for counter-alliances?

Green took pains to evade the question, he declared, "we will defend the Soviet Union and organize strikes."

The Socialist spokesman answered his own questions. "We threaten revolution," he said, "as an answer to war, because the capitalists fear revolution. The capitalist countries take out insurance policies against revolution by pacts with the Soviet Union.

"To support war means to support imperialism and forget the class struggle.

"To support war means to bring fascism into the country. "Not to threaten revolution is to encourage war."

Answering Green's charge that "shouting revolutionary phrases leads to passivity," Tyler declared:

"Today we seem hopeless. But when war comes, as strikes break out, as the masses become discontent, our record of fighting against the war will bring them to our side, and the minority will become the majority."

Seven Debates Scheduled

Reacting to the new war position of the Young Communist League, sections of the Young People's Socialist League throughout the country are arranging debates similar to the ones held in New York and Los Angeles. Debates already scheduled are:

Chicago, March 20. Ben Fischer, YPSL, vs. John Marx, YCL.

St. Louis, March 29. Ernest Erber for the YPSL.

Detroit, April 5. Ernest Erber for the YPSL.

Newark, April 23. Gus Tyler, YPSL, vs. Gil Green, YCL. Cleveland and Denver. Negotiations in progress.

Challenge of Youth vs. Young Worker, April on the fight against war, May on the fight against fascism, June on organizing youth for socialism. To be printed concurrently in both papers.

SHACKLING THE SHEKELS

by Milton Weisberg
Director, United Young Socialist Drive

TWENTY-FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS BY MAY DAY. This is the slogan that is ringing throughout the East. Yipsels all over the country have enthusiastically accepted the responsibility of raising the necessary funds to make the year 1936 one of the most important in our fight to Win the Youth for Socialism.

National Drive Machinery has already swung into action. A collection sheet is being printed, directives are being issued on how to raise money, a weekly drive bulletin will go out to all drive workers, a leaflet is being printed explaining the league function and its needs and a general publicity campaign is in progress.

Your drive director has just returned from a tour covering all of the important league sections in the East. Comrades in all of these sections have pledged themselves to provide the means to carry out the tremendous task the league has in 1936. The raising of \$2,500 will insure the following important nation projects:

The maintenance of the 12 page CHALLENGE OF YOUTH.

The issuance of 100,000 penny anti-war pamphlets to popularize the Yipsel anti-war position.

The promotion of vigorous youth work in the 1936 Presidential Campaign.

The continuance of present full-time student and industrial Young Socialist Review in 16 pages.

One of our most important objectives in the drive is to make it possible for local league sections to carry out the work they have planned which has been held up due to lack of funds.

An energetic group of drive directors have been elected which will insure lively competition in the drive. In the East the army of drive directors consists of: Martin Bernstein for New Jersey and New York; Alex Wollod for Philadelphia; Evelyn Shirk for Reading; Benny Baronoff for Cleveland; and Challenger Karl Marx Shier for Chicago. Points in the East not heard from are sure to add more drive directors who will increase the stiff Socialist competition.

And we are not forgetting the West. Wait until we hear from Los Angeles, Denver, San Francisco and Oshkosh. After the West gets started—Air Mail will be too slow to get the money in. We can suggest a little competition between Los Angeles and Red Reading. What say—Evelyn Shirk and Los Angeles? How about Quaker City (Philadelphia) giving the Windy City (Chicago) a run for its money? We could suggest many more competitive challenges—but we'll leave that up to you.

Now we know that the needs of the league alone are sufficient to get you to raise the \$2500. But besides helping your local league with its part of the drive receipts we are going to give a few worthy prizes.

For the Yipsel who raises the most money individually we are going to give a free trip to the National Convention to be held in Cleveland on May 23rd-26th.

For the section in the league who raises the most money (with a quota over \$100) we are going to give a swell typewriter. We know you have spent needless breath cursing at your old Oliver, but if you win, things will be different.

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Y.P.S.L. POSTER

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REVIEWS

YOUTH SPEAKS FOR ITSELF

By William Hinckley, American Youth Congress. 3 Cents

Reviewed by ERNEST ERBER

It has been pointed out that only recently have the specific economic problems of young people been receiving recognition. While it is true that the problems faced by youth are part of the miseries the workingclass and the lower middle classes are suffering in this period of declining capitalism, these problems effect youth in a particular way. They effect youth differently than they did in past times of economic crisis. Then too youth suffered. But it was usually because of a sharper discrimination against young workers in reduced wages. Today the problem is assuming vast proportions. It is becoming one of the foremost social problems of the day.

Today the problem of youth takes the form of making of them a "locked out generation." A generation which is growing up in a world that has no place for them. Year after year since 1929 new hundreds of thousands of young people have been piling up like water behind an ice-jam, struggling to break their way into a place in our economic system. How long can this social phenomenon continue before these young people, as human in their reactions as the generations that have gone before, cease being objective factors in the situation and becoming subjective factors? Cease being the result of social change and become the cause?

Will Youth Revolt?

Those cynics who view the six years or more that youth has served the division of im-

tions without a mass read- as proof that youth will not gird itself to struggle against the existence it is condemned to, that it will remain drunkenly satisfied with the soiled and worn trimmings of the jazz age even if it lives on a mere existence level, know nothing of the relation of social to political change. If it were possible for millions of young people to be piled up in yearly increasing numbers without a conscious reaction on their part then social upheavals would never have taken place. The workers' conditions of life

under capitalism will breed a class consciousness that will take revolutionary shape.

But all the proof need not rest in theories of social change. Those who have been aware of the changing moods of young people during the last few years see increasing signs of a political awakening by youth. In addition to the role young people have played in the rebirth of the trade union movement and the establishment of unemployed organizations, in addition to the movements against militarism and reaction that have involved hundreds of thousands of students, the work of the American Youth Congress in behalf of the economic demands of youth stands as convincing evidence that youth is beginning to become conscious of its condition and is making the first feeble stirrings of resistance.

"Youth Speaks for Itself" by the executive secretary of the American Youth Congress, federation of youth organizations united to fight for youth demands, deals with the problem facing youth, the attempts of the Roosevelt administration to deal with it through the National Youth Administration, and the real voice of youth as expressed in the American Youth Act.

NYA Dangerous

Mr. Hinckley convicts the National Youth Administration on three charges; "general inadequacy, total lack of democracy in its administration, and its threat at the already declining wage standards." In general the charges of Mr. Hinckley corroborate the position taken by the Young People's Socialist League in describing the NYA as a danger, in addition to being inadequate.

After one has discounted L.R. Hinckley's assertion that the situation is ripe for fascism

demagogue lacking, giving the conception that fascism is merely the result of a demagogue appearing among the discontented, and after one had discounted the nonsense about "the best tradition of true American democracy," this short pamphlet gives a good analysis of the problem of youth and points to the direction their struggle for better conditions must take. With the very, very limited material on this subject, no one active in youth movements or at all interested in the question can afford to miss reading this pamphlet.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS

All subscriptions effected by the omission of the February issue will be extended one month.

Subscriptions running through February will expire one month later than indicated by the key numbers.

A renewal blank is pasted in the last issue of each subscription.

Form Rebel Arts

CHICAGO—The cultural committee of the Chicago Young People's Socialist League, headed by Lillian Ellman, has after weeks of preparation and work organized a Rebel Arts chapter in Chicago. The group, which had its first meeting on Sunday, March 1, has about 50 members, all of whom are experienced and capable in some field of cultural work.

Three projects are already under way. The poster division has undertaken the task of supplying the May Day demonstration with posters, banners, and floats. The dramatic group will perform at a May Day night celebration and will give Chicago its first performance of the mass chant. The modern dance and dramatic groups will also perform at the Cook County Socialist Spring Festival on May 24th.

The headquarters of the Chicago chapter are at the Young Socialist Cooperative House at 6120 Dorchester Avenue.

'Functionals' Grow

NEWARK, N. J.—Demonstrating the rapidity with which the Young People's Socialist League can grow under the New Organizational Approach, a method of reaching the masses of youth, ardent advocates of the new approach in a Young Socialist Circle here have just organized two new "functional circles" and made the local organization eligible for a city league charter.

The two new circles are both student units, one of them operating in the high school field, the other in a junior college, and follow on the heels of a college circle just chartered. A new industrial circle is also being organized by young people in the Workers' Alliance.

One of the important objectives of the New Organizational Approach is that neighborhood circles become organizing centers for functional circles, which are organized in schools, shops, unions, and outside organizations in which they are to work.

On with the Challengers

By SUB CHASER

Two hundred and sixty-five subs in January, two hundred and seventy-five in February. Well, well, well, we seem to be on the March. (Friendly voice: "Duck!") Sub Chaser must content himself with that solitary laudatory (if not laudable) pun as his contribution this month, because there are so many other contributions to talk about. Remember: every batch of subs you send in means that much less space for Sub Chaser's remarks, so let that be an incentive to you.

We begin this month with a state that has come into its own:

New York, 115 in January, 113 in February!

Clubs of 4 or over were received from Fay Mandese, (11 in all) Sara Barnett, Jack Lynn (total 12), Irving Passick, Mel Wilbach (total 18), Ted Steger, W.W. Goldhammer, and Jack Yourman (he's our man now); while two old Challengers brought their totals up to clear past the hundred mark: Winny Dancis (total 102), and Tillie Smith (total 103).

PENNSYLVANIA, 22 in January, 64 in February (and to think that they got the December booby prize!)

Trachtman sent in 8 and repeated from Philadelphia. Louis came with 18, while Ruth Backer came across with 6. Clarence Warczyglowa of Reading sent in 17, and Ruth Detteline, 14. All of them new Challengers!

CALIFORNIA, 24 in January, 12 in February.

Reliable Lillian Lasman of Los Angeles sent in 7, bringing her total to 35, Selden Osbourne sent in 4 from Stockton, while Berkeley topped them all with 10 from Flora McClain.

OHIO, 13 in January, 11 in February.

number of those who came to testify that the hearing had to be extended a day and moved to

Bob Parker of Cleveland reaches a 50 total with two clubs of 4, while Alvaine Hollister of Yellow Springs sends in 5 (total 7), and Ed J. Perron of Dayton, 4 (total 8.)

WISCONSIN, 17 in January, 2 in February.

Peter Falconer of Milwaukee hooked us 8, while the Van Hazingas of Kenosha sent in 5 (total 49).

MISSOURI, 13 in January, 5 in February.

Leslie Miller of St. Louis gets credit for 6 (total 7).

NEW JERSEY, 4 in January, 12 in February.

Of which Al Kocial of Newark sent in 12.

ILLINOIS, 8 in January, 8 in February.

Vivian Rubin brought in (she works in the national office) 7, making her total 12, while Karl Shier who is (from) Chicago brought his total to 129 with a club of 4.

TEXAS, 2 in January, 12 in February.

4 from Chas. D. Graham (total 19), and 8 from Paul Hart; both of Dallas.

MASSACHUSETTS, 6 in January, 8 in February.

6 from Jim Kergis of Boston, and 4 from Tarno Valimaki of Fitchburg (total 62).

MICHIGAN, 9 in January, 4 in February.

5 from Genora Johnson of Flint (total 30).

COLORADO, 8 in January, 4 in February.

7 from J. Austin Beasley, 4 from J. Harley Murray; both of Denver.

And smaller amounts from TWENTY other states and the District of Columbia!!!

Sub Chaser's feeling so good that there will be no booby prize this month.



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MILITANT LABOR & SOCIALIST WEEKLY

21 East 17th St., New York City

The American Youth Act

A bill to provide vocational training and employment for youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five; to provide for full educational opportunities for high school, college, and post-graduate students; and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

Section 1—Provision for Needy Youth

That the Secretary of Labor and the Commissioner of Education are authorized and directed to provide for the immediate establishment of a system of vocational training and employment on public enterprises for the purpose of providing regular wages for youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five.

These regular wages shall be equal to the prevailing rate of wages for the work performed as established by the recognized organizations of labor in each community. In no case shall wages be less than \$15 per week plus \$3 for each dependent.

Section 2—Provision for High School Students

The Secretary of Labor and the Commissioner of Education are further authorized and directed to provide for full payments of fees plus the average weekly living expenses of needy students in high schools and vocational schools: Provided, That such compensation, exclusive of all fees, shall in no case be less than \$15 per month.

These payments shall become effective upon entrance into high school or vocational school and shall be made throughout the entire year.

Section 3—Provision for College Students

The Secretary of Labor and the Commissioner of Education are further author-

ized and directed to provide for the immediate establishment of a system of regular employment on college projects for the purposes of providing regular wages for needy undergraduate and graduate students in colleges. These projects shall be of academic nature in accordance with the educational purposes of the institutions of higher learning.

These regular wages shall be equal to the prevailing rate of wages for the work performed, determined in the same manner as under the terms of section 1 and/or by the local youth commission as hereinafter provided; but shall in no case be less than \$25 per month.

Employment on these projects shall be provided upon entrance into college and shall be continued throughout the entire year.

Section 4—Cost of Living Clause

The minimum compensation guaranteed by the terms of this Act shall be increased in conformity with the rise in the cost of living.

Section 5—Administration and Control

This Act shall be administered and controlled, and the minimum compensation and condition of work shall be adjusted by youth commissions. These commissions shall determine eligibility for benefits under this Act on the principles herein provided.

In all administrative boards set up under this Act, not less than one-third of the membership shall consist of the elected representatives of youth organizations, not less than one-third shall consist of the representatives of organized labor, and the remainder shall consist of representatives of local social service, education, and con-

sumers' organizations.

Section 6—Character of Work

All works projects authorized under the terms of this Act shall be projects actually beneficial to the community, and no works projects so authorized shall be directly or indirectly of a military character or designed to subsidize any private profit-making enterprise.

Section 7—Anti-Discrimination Clause

The benefits of all sections of this Act shall be extended to all youth without discrimination because of nativity, sex, race, color, religious or political opinion or affiliation. No youth shall be disqualified from enjoying the benefits of this Act because of past or present participation in strikes or refusal to work in place of strikers, or refusal to work at less than average local trade-union wages, or under unsafe or unsanitary conditions or where hours are longer than prevailing union standards of a particular trade or locality or at an unreasonable distance from home, or at apprenticeship employment where for work equal to that of adults or other young workers equal wages are not received.

Section 8—Source of Funds

There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, sums as may be necessary for the purposes herein enumerated.

Further taxation necessary to provide funds for the purposes of this Act shall be levied on inheritances, gifts, and individual and corporation incomes of \$5,000 a year or over.

Section 9—Name

This Act may be cited as the American Youth Act.

THE AMERICAN YOUTH ACT

The CCC and the National Youth Administration, themselves results of the fact that youth has begun to develop special economic problems of its own, brought a new field of immediate struggle into existence: LABOR YOUTH LEGISLATION.

The introduction of the American Youth Act into both houses of Congress represents the first step in the struggle of working class youth, aided by their allies in the student and labor movements, on the legislative field.

The problem is now one of securing its passage. As the first youth publication to have analyzed the dangerous potentialities of the NYA and not merely decried its inadequacy, we want to point out once more that the American Youth Act is at present the only counter-measure to legislative and governmental efforts to convert our "jobless generation" into a wage-cutting agency.

The American Youth Act must be passed. Its proponents must appreciate the character of the opposition to labor youth legislation and the dangers that beset it, to secure its passage.

First of all, the American Youth Act is in absolute contradiction to the capitalist interests that control our government. No amount of persuasion through lobbying will get it passed. Only mass action and the creation of favorable mass sentiment can do that.

Secondly, if support is rallied for the Act various substitutes will be offered emasculating it of its "objectionable" characteristics.

We must expect proposals to "improve" the NYA. These will have to be vigorously rejected. Every feature of the NYA today is a danger to youth and labor; sugar-coating would only increase that danger.

We must also prepare for the appearance of various "youth plans" calculated to set up an independent economy of production and exchange among the needy youth, under government control. This would isolate and disarm the youth, and remove the responsibility from society as a whole only to place the burden on the shoulders of the needy themselves.

The NYA is a danger. Epic plans for youth are a danger. Forward, through the organized mass pressure of youth and labor, to the passage of the American Youth Act!

A DISGUSTING PERFORMANCE

That an act of William Randolph Hearst could set radicals at each others' throats is a sad commentary on the state of the working class movement.

When Hearst stole some articles by Leon Trotsky criticizing the Soviet Union, to print them in his unscrupulous newspapers, the Communist press, eager to incriminate its erstwhile leader and present arch-critic, immediately seized on this to accuse Trotsky or his followers of having sold the articles to Hearst.

What is behind this disgusting performance? First, the internal policies of the Soviet Union, which has left itself open to such criticism by flagrant disregard for working class democracy within its borders.

Second, the "Trotskyites," who made the mistake of continually publishing front-page attacks on dictator Stalin, which they presented to the outside world as their contribution to radical propaganda.

Third, the unscrupulousness of the Communist Party and press, which have repeatedly prostituted working class standards of decency in their dealings with rival political groups.

If there is to be inter-radical criticism, as there should be unless we are to become a Church, let it be on a principled basis and a high plane.

Western Union Boy Speaks Up

To the Challenge:

Simply thriving on the exploitation of its employees, the Western Union Telegraph Co. is one big monopoly that has managed to steer almost completely around any interference from unions. However, various threats of union activity have resulted in the formation of a few half baked company unions, in which there is absolutely no particle of democracy as far as the employees are concerned.

Statistics, in the Wall St. Journal, Jan. 2, 1936, show that the Telegraph Industry pulled down the tremendous sum of \$4,131,399 as a NET PROFIT, for the past year. \$4,131,300 for a few idle coupon clippers.

Repeated attention has been drawn to the plight of the Western Union Messengers in Dallas. They are exploited to a far greater extent than any other one group of employees in the Telegraph Industry.

Through all kinds of weather, putting life in a precarious position, these boys are forced to ride for starvation wages. They can either take it, or as one of the 'big shots' recently proclaimed; "face the prospect of missing a few meals."

Since 1931, the messengers' rates have been steadily decreasing. Recently this steady decline hit the bottom and the officials of the Western Union were puzzled as to how next they were going to execute another slash in payrolls. What were they going to do, since they were now paying their messengers the lowest available rate? Well, it was up to them to 'hatch' a new scheme. Finally, they hit upon a brilliant plan. One that was not apt to meet with any opposition, but at the same time save the company a pot of mazuma. How simple it was for them to revise the zone maps in order to make the messengers peddle their bicycles a little more on each zone, at the same rate of pay.

One would naturally wonder how all this can be done without a struggle, since starvation

From Our Mail Bag

wages usually result in conflict between labor and capital. That, too, is managed very smoothly and simply. While the messengers are out bringing in profits for the Western Union, a few highly paid executives are busy scheming various diplomatic ways of keeping wages down. One of the most effective weapons they use, is that of keeping the messenger force filled with new boys. Every week a few messengers are let go on the excuse that they have violated some small regulation. The Western Union replaces them with boys, whom they pay less, thereby avoiding the payment of a future pension. THIS IS THE REWARD THAT MESSENGERS HAVE TO LOOK FORWARD TO!

CHAS. D. GRAHAM
Ex-Messenger
Dallas, Tex.

"Must Depend on Revolutionary Organization."

To the Challenge: In the last issue of the Challenge you printed a letter from a comrade asking the YPSL if we were waiting to be rounded up in Fascist concentration camps before we would unite with the YCL.

Evidently the comrade has learned nothing from the experiences of the movement abroad. How many defeats will convince this comrade that unity is essential,—but unity must be based on a correct program!

Our hopes cannot depend on a "broad" "non-partisan" organization as proposed by the YCL. Our hopes must depend on a revolutionary, disciplined organization whose program and character is capable of fighting against Fascist concentration camps and of winning the youth for Socialism.

DAN KLETNICK
Chicago

From a Circle Selling 500 Challenges a Month

To the Challenge: we were getting along with selling Challenge. We have a combined Challenge-Socialist Call agent. We have a list of open forums and public meetings where we go regularly to sell the papers. Also, we have a trade union member who distributes the Challenge in the union, and they give us quite good cooperation.

We have found that the only way to sell them is to get out and try. Although everybody doesn't buy the Challenge, they are at least conscious of the fact that we have a fine publication, and eventually they become interested enough either to buy a copy or to subscribe.

There have been a series of Anti-Nazi meetings here in LA, and no doubt all over the country, and the people who attend there are generally willing, rather, anxious to get a Challenge or Call.

We are quite enthused with the new organizational plans, and I hope that within six months we will be able to increase our bundle order to 1,000 copies.

LILLIAN LASMAN
Challenge-Call Agent
Los Angeles, Calif.

No To the Challenge (delayed):

After reading an editorial denouncing "Red Salute" in the November, 1935 issue of the Challenge of Youth, I saw an advertisement for that picture in another paper calling itself Socialist, the "New Leader" (issue of December 7, 1935). Do not the two papers have the same principles?

MORTON GREENSTEIN,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

NEW YORK — The Alumni Association of City College voted in favor of the removal of reactionary President Robinson from his position of responsibility over the students of the college.