

Stalinists Hold Death Grip On Youth Congress

By a Special Correspondent

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Over 4,600 delegates to the National Citizenship Institute of the American Youth Congress, meeting here from February 9 to the 12, marched through a driving rain on Saturday morning to stand on the lawn of the White House and hear President Roosevelt declare for American economic support to Finland in the present war and, thereby, place the United States in the Chamberlain-Daladier-Mannerheim camp in the present world war.

The statements of the President in reference to Finland followed a warning to youth not to pass resolutions on subjects they do not know about, like the war in Finland, a cautioning of youth not to look for panaceas, and a defense of what he alleged to be the economic gains of the New Deal.

The President's references to the Finnish-Soviet war brought forth boos and hisses from a section of the audience, composed in its majority of members of the Young Communist League and their close sympathizers. The booing caused the radio operators for the national hook-ups broadcasting the speech to cut out all microphones except those into which the President was speaking directly.

Lewis Hits F.D.R.

Speaking before the AYC gathering on the afternoon of the same day the President spoke, John L. Lewis, head of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, pouring biting sarcasm upon the President's advice to his youth audience. Pointing out that the President had failed to "tell youth where they could find a job," Lewis stated that the President did not know how to solve the question and, consequently, "is in the same boat as he claims you are on the Finnish question."

Pointing out that John Hamilton, the National Chairman of the Republican Party had snubbed the AYC by refusing to send a speaker, and that the President, as the titular head of the Democratic Party, had refused to support the program of the AYC, Lewis called upon the AYC to affiliate to Labor's Non-Partisan League.

Aubrey Williams, director of the National Youth Administration, was greeted with a storm of boos and hisses when he sought to defend his action in turning over the names and addresses of NYA workers to the recruiting officers of the U.S. Army. Angered by the reception he received, Williams launched into a complete defense of the President's military program, saying he wants "militarism in the service of democracy."

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt appeared to answer questions at the session on international affairs on Sunday night. Visibly nervous and tense, she carefully chose her words, in answering a question on what she recommended to the AYC as an attitude on the Finnish war. Though much more equivocal and apologetic than the President had been on the same question, Mrs. Roosevelt repeated his statements on behalf of support to Finland. She became even more apologetic when she defended the action of Aubrey Williams in turning over NYA lists to the Army by stating that the recruiting officers could go anywhere in the United States on their business and that it was better to receive recruiting information through the mails than to have them solicit the workers personally on the NYA projects.

The two day institute heard only from speakers approved by the AYC leadership sitting on the platform of the gathering. All speeches, motions and resolutions on questions of policy were likewise ruled out of order at the meeting of the National Assembly, governing body of the AYC consisting of one representative of each national organization. Matters of policy on questions like the second world war, and particularly the Soviet invasion of Finland, are decided by a small inner group called the National Cabinet. This body is overwhelmingly composed of supporters of the Communist Party line.

By ERNEST ERBER

The American Youth Congress gathering in Washington, D. C., was the occasion for two important speeches, the real significance of which will be even more fully revealed in the next few months.

President Roosevelt, having before him an audience of overwhelmingly Stalinist youth, but addressing his remarks to the nation as a whole, came out openly for economic aid to Finland in its war with the Soviet Union. This action was an open declaration that the United States is now to be counted as part of the British-French camp and opposed to the Nazi-Soviet camp.

Roosevelt, spokesman for America's Sixty Ruling Families, made his war-mongering speech allegedly only on behalf of Finland. In reality, however, it is calculated to involve the United States in the Finnish end of the war as a back door through which to enter the world war as a whole as an ally of the Chamberlain-Daladier camp.

The boos from the members of the Young Communist League expressed the disapproval of the American representatives of the Hitler-Stalin camp with the President's remarks.

Echo of the War

The speech of Roosevelt and the boos of the young Stalinists represented an ideological conflict between two imperialist camps which was but an echo of the military conflict now taking place on the battlefields of Europe.

These same delegates made the ratters ring with cheers for "support to the democracies—England and France" and "support for the President's program for adequate national defense" at meetings of the American Youth Congress prior to the Hitler-Stalin Pact and the 45 degree swing in the line of the Communist Party.

The air-tight hold of the Young Communist League upon the AYC prevented any democratic procedure which would have permitted the voice of Revolutionary Socialism to speak against Roosevelt-Chamberlain-Mannerheim and against Hitler-Stalin—for the Third camp, the camp of international workingclass action to end the war with the overthrow of the war-breeding system of capitalism.

Invitation to AYC

The invitation of Lewis to the AYC to affiliate to LNPL, insofar as it indicated a growing awareness of the problem of millions of jobless youth on the part of the trade unions, is to be hailed as a great step forward. However, insofar as it indicated that Lewis accepts the AYC as the organization that represents the working class youth of America, it requires that the militants in the ranks of the trade union movement re-double their efforts to expose the completely Stalinized character of the AYC.

The American Youth Congress is a tremendous and imposing facade which conceals behind it the YCL delegates from hundreds of existing and non-existing organizations, the careerists like Cadden, MacMichaels, Simons, and others, and the scattering of duped innocents from organizations with a middle class membership like the Intercollegiate Student Christian Federation, Young Judea, and others. The AYC is a giant with feet of clay. A clever Stalinist stratagem, it represents a concoction of lies, hypocrisy, duplicity, and deceit. It does not represent the working-class youth of America.

If Lewis is serious in his proposal to establish close relations between organized labor and the locked-out generation of youth, he should begin with a campaign to have the local bodies of the C.I.O. undertake the organization of "jobless youth councils" to be fraternally affiliated to the C.I.O. It is this form of labor-youth co-operation that will guarantee a solid labor front against reaction, war, and America's Sixty Ruling Families.

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NYA BAITS YOUTH INTO GOV'T WAR MACHINE

"WE ACCEPT RELIEF CHECKS"



Wall Street Endorses Roosevelt War Budget

"President Roosevelt's budget message is a notable document; the conservatives will find considerable comfort in the figures and the radicals will find considerable comfort in the words."—From the Wall Street Journal.

It is two weeks since these revealing words were written in the organ of the American Coupon-Clippers and every event has confirmed their analysis to the core. That's what we've always said: FDR talks radical to the people and acts conservative for the bankers.

Not one of the so-called "Tories" in Congress has suggested a further budget cut in WPA or NYA. Not even the NY Times or the Tribune.

Because it can't be done, Roosevelt's budget cuts relief for the unemployed and the youth so low, that any further cut becomes "dangerous." That is why some Congressmen are even fighting to restore the cuts in farm relief; they think FDR is going too far in slashing social securities.

There are at present 2 million WPA workers. Last year there were 3 million. But the Roosevelt-Woodrum act took care of that. Roosevelt's proposal for 1940 is to cut the number of WPA to 1,350,000. That is, one out of every 3 WPA workers will be fired!

An additional 250,000 jobs (think of it in terms of human beings, not numbers!) will be wiped out as the PWA is abolished. This means the slowing up, if not the end, of low cost housing projects and of building new schools. Not only the unemployed but everyone will suffer by this cut.

The next FDR slash will come, according to his budget, in the field of youth aid (NYA, CCC, etc.). A total of 75,000 youth are going to be thrown out of their jobs. Coming as this does at the heels of the report of Owen D. Young's "American Youth Commission" which said that the problem of America's 4,000,000 unemployed youth is a problem of the government, this shows the "seriousness" of Roosevelt.

Roosevelt gives the excuse that

Give Youth Names To Army Office for War Recruiting

In the most drastic step yet taken by the Roosevelt administration to corral American youth into the war machine, the National Youth Administration has announced that all names of NYA workers would be turned over to the army.

The meaning of this seemingly "innocent" step should be clear to every American youth. Why should the army be given the names of unemployed youth who are temporarily hired by government relief projects if not to expedite possible future enrollments—voluntary . . . or forced—of these youth into the army.

The announcement spills the beans by declaring: "Perhaps many young men now receiving \$14 to \$21 a month from the NYA would find the army's base pay of \$21 a month for a recruit, plus food and clothing, more attractive."

CONGRESS AIDS FINNS BUT CUTS YOUTH RELIEF

While the Roosevelt budget cut sharply into youth relief—to the tune of \$72,000,000—preparations went ahead in Congress to divert funds to help "poor, little Finland."

The money which is nowhere to be found to keep American youth from starving, suddenly springs up when it is necessary for the American reactionaries to give aid their reactionary cronies in Finland.

The large wave of protest against this loan to Finland which Congress is planning is based on two reasons: 1) It gives aid to the Mannerheim government in its reactionary war against the Soviet Union which it is conducting as an outpost of British-French imperialism and 2) It makes it easier to involve America in the European war.

At the present writing, the bill to loan \$20,000,000 to Finland has passed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and is scheduled to come up before Congress soon. There is little doubt that it will pass.

This action is typical of the FDR administration: Cut relief to American youth, but send billions to the Finnish reactionaries!

Real Motivation

The real motivation of this move is simple: Unemployed youth are getting desperate. The government officials figure that they will snatch at anything. So they will try to corral these desperate youth into the army.

The fact that NYA is being sharply cut by FDR's new budget will also give them more opportunities to corral youth into the army.

There is the further possibility that this move is part of the preparations for M-Day, when the unemployed are scheduled to "go" first.

Stop these preparations of the government to give youth the finish—in Flanders Field! Keep the snout of the army out of civilian youth projects!

Youth wants Jobs, Not Guns!

On the Irish Martyrs

At 9:00 A. M. of the morning of February 9, Peter Barnes and James Richards, soldiers of the Irish Republican Army, were hanged by British imperialism.

Barnes and Richards were charged with having participated in a bomb-throwing raid. We do not know if they were "guilty." We do know that their cause—the unification of Ireland into one, independent nation, freed from the yoke of British imperialism—was a just one. We do know that this is a cause to be supported even if we disagree sharply with some of

the methods it pursues.

We do not believe that individual terrorism is an effective method of fighting against British imperialism, because it does not involve the action of the masses of Irish people. But it must be remarked: How oppressive must the British yoke be if it forces the use of such desperate measures as terrorism!

Barnes and Richards, like the great Irish Socialist, Jim Connelly, gave up their lives for the liberation of their nation from imperialism. For that all militant young workers pay them due honor.

The Real Stories Behind Washington and Lincoln---Two Chapters In the Development of American Capitalism

WASHINGTON-

Washington's Birthday this year comes at a very favorable time for the Roosevelt Administration. It has long been a favorite trick of capitalist politicians to disguise their pro-war propaganda under mountains of sickening praise for the "Father of our Country", and comparing his noble ideals with "Asiatic barbarism" or "Hun terrorism". The next step is to ask the youth of America to cross the ocean to defend these noble ideals—and, incidentally, Wall Street's profits. The capitalist politicians and the school textbooks are doing their best to preserve the Washington myth. It is the task of revolutionary socialists to destroy it.

The American Revolution established a bourgeois America on the ruins of the colonial aristocracy. The class forces at work during the revolution were many, but they can be grouped under three heads. (1) The American merchants whose profits were limited by the restrictions of the British government, and who especially resented the attempts of the English navy to interfere with their profitable business of smuggling; (2) The Southern plantation owners who owed huge debts to English merchants that they wished to repudiate, and whose desire to speculate in Western lands was blocked by the Proclamation of 1763; (3) The artisans of the cities and the small farmers scattered throughout the colonies, who fought for a republican form of government and for social equality.

Land Speculator
Washington was a member of the second class. When he married Mrs. Martha Curtis, he received as a dowry from her 15,000 acres of land, \$150,000 and 300 slaves. Washington was also a well-known land speculator. He was one of the leaders of the Ohio Company, organized in 1749. In 1787, after the revolution, while Washington was in Philadelphia presiding over the secret constitutional convention, agents of this company were in New York buying up Congressmen and got 5,000 acres of land, paying 8 to 9 cents an acre. In 1792 this same company got another concession of nearly 1,000,000 acres almost free.

The fame of Washington as a military commander is another fairy-tale. Washington had the nominal rank of commander-in-chief, but he was not so in fact. He had no control over the army of the north under Gates, that captured Burgoyne; nor of that of the South, under Greene, that recovered the Southern states. He also blocked every attempt to rouse the masses to a militant struggle against oppression, for fear they "might get out of hand", wrote that militant progressive, Tom Paine, in his "Letter to George Washington."

"You slept away your time in the field, till the finances of the country were completely exhausted, and you have but little share in the glory of the final act."

After the Revolution, under the Articles of Confederation, the various states witnessed movements on the part of the small farmers, who having borne the brunt of actual fighting, saw their lands foreclosed by their wealthy creditors who had done their fighting in the ballrooms of Philadelphia. The propertied classes were disturbed. Writing to Washington on Oct. 23, 1786, General Knox said of the rebellious farmers of Massachusetts:

"Their creed is that the property of the United States has been protected from the confiscation of Britain by the joint exertions of all and therefore ought to be the common property in New England. . . . our government must be braced, changed or altered to secure our lives and property."

Government of Property
The result of the "alteration" was the Constitution of the United States with George Washington as the first President. It was a government of property, for property, and by property. Throughout his presidency, Washington supported Hamilton in his efforts to favor and strengthen the capitalist classes. Lucrative contracts and monopolies were given to merchants. The lands of the exiled royalists were lavished upon "friends." The disbanded soldier was too poverty-stricken to be able to work the land allotted him, and the speculators bought it up for a song. Said Paine, "the chief of the army became the patron of fraud."

When the French Revolution came, Washington, forgetting that the American Revolution had been won only with French support, threw his support to the aristocratic government of England and its feudal allies on the continent. The masses of the United States heartily supported the French Republic, and Tom Paine expressed their opinion when he wrote: "The world will be puzzled to decide whether you are an apostate or an imposter; whether you have abandoned good principles or whether you ever had any."

When Washington died, his fortune of \$530,000 was one of the largest in the country. Much of this fortune was invested in slaves.

WALL STREET ENDORSES FDR BUDGET

(Continued from Page 1)
But at the same time the military budget is increased by \$500,000,000. Out of the mouths of the unemployed to feed the mouths of the Guns! FDR can always find money for the navy. The talk about balancing the budget goes out of the window when they talk about the navy. "Balance the budget" applies only when they talk about relief.

Roosevelt has presented this budget to Congress because his whole policy is based on a continued march toward war. In addition, he is angling for Wall Street support for his possible third term candidacy—which support is indispensable for victory at the polls—by offering a budget satisfactory to Wall Street.

A Fighting Program
There is only one proposal being offered to Congress which considers all of the major needs of the people. The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Peoples Socialist League fight Wall Street and its budget and war preparation. As a practical solution to unemployment: an Amendment to the Wagner Act establishing a minimum pay of \$30 a week for 30 hours work.

If the bosses can't supply jobs in their private industry then we demand that their government give jobs to all the unemployed by a grant of \$10,000,000,000. Let the unemployed build homes to wipe out the horrible slums, parks to eliminate accidents and give playground to children, and schools to teach the youth trades and knowledge. For the old aged a pension of \$30 a week.

The fight for this program of jobs for all helps the fight against the war. It keeps the bosses busy at home; keeps the workers organized and fighting.

Support the program of the SWP and YPSL. Fight against FDR's war and starvation budget!

(The 2 following articles on Washington and Lincoln attempt an analysis of the role which these 2 famous leaders played in the development of America and, more specifically, of American capitalism. These articles, written by Comrade WILLIAM PHERRY, are expressions of an individual opinion and are not necessarily the opinion of the editorial staff. However, we believe that they present an interesting point of view, worthy of publication, on these important historical questions.—Editor)

COUNTER CONVERSATION I Don't Have Enough Money to Go Home...

By RUTH FOSTER

The lunch rush at the Sandwich Shoppe was over. A few straggling late lunchers were gulping down coffee and ham sandwiches. A stenog in a fur coat that had easily seen four winters was perched on a stool pecking at a bacon and tomato on toast like she had all year.

I washed the last of the water glasses and cursed silently at the customers.

Why don't they get out so I can have some lunch.

Five to three. Five more minutes and I was going to go off no matter if the Prince of Wales came in for a ham sandwich.

I sighed deeply and counted the nickel tips in my apron pocket. Five, ten, fifteen, thirty, forty-five cents. Well, you can't get rich working behind the counter in a dump like this.

Three o'clock. I drew a cup of coffee and got a cheese on rye from Phil the Sandwich Man.

Harried Girl

I found myself sitting next to Helen. She worked on the other counter. She made the coffee in the big urns. She was always burning her fingers and cursing like all hell about it. She was a thin girl, nervous, and always talking it out on anybody who was near her. But anybody who had to worry about the god damned coffee and wait on a bunch of yapping stenographers and wise guy salesmen at the same time would wind up a nervous wreck. She was really a nice kid. We ate our sandwiches without talking.

Then: "How'd you do?" "Lousy forty-five cents," I said. She said, "I made forty and twenty for breakfast."

"That's rotten for all day. But you average about nineteen a week don't you?"

"Sometimes a little less, sometimes a dollar more."

"That's not bad these days. Lot of girls in shops where they don't have the union are glad to get ten a week wages for full time."

"You're telling me? I've worked

in all kinds of slop houses since I left Wilkes Barre."

"Oh, you're folks in Pennsylvania?"

"Uh huh."

"Must be fun when you go back home. Goin' home for Easter?"

"Fun? You think I can just go home? Just like that? I gotta bring presents for the kids and a new dress for ma and I promised pa a new watch last time I was home. I can't go home empty handed. That's why I didn't go home for Christmas. And I wanted to see the folks. I haven't seen them for over a year."

"That's Tough"

"Oh," I said, "that's tough. Well, I suppose you got some relatives here. And friends."

"Relatives. Yeah, I lived with my cousin. But when I was out of work for six months they didn't stop throwing it up to me that I was living offa them. They kept count of what I owed them and I'm paying it back now. And I'm paying back what I had to borrow when I was out sending money home to the folks. That doesn't leave me a hell of a lot for clothes or goin' out. I couldn't even buy a ticket to the union dance last week. . . . Never go anyplace, never have a spare dollar, living in a house with a bunch of yelling kids-- Sometimes I feel like--

She was getting real excited. I butt in. . . .

"That's tough. It's not so bad when you live home. Anyway, I know I always got a roof over my head and something to eat."

Dum dee dee dum dee. Dum dee dee dum dee. Here comes the man with the mandolin. The music machine was grinding out that god damned tune for the twentieth time.

Helen was singing, "comes the man with the mandolin, dum dee dee dum dee. . . .

"Hey, Fred," she called to the soda jerker, "make me a black and white. I'm too tired to get up."

LINCOLN-

Every little school boy learns that Abe Lincoln freed the slaves and was a true friend of the laboring man. This fairy-tale is sponsored by the Republicans, Democrats, Social Democrats and Stalinists. Its list of supporters might make one suspicious.

Lincoln had no desire whatsoever to abolish slavery. Nor was he in favor of equality between the white and black races. In 1837, when Congress adopted a resolution on the slavery question, it appeared to Lincoln that the resolution interfered with slavery to a certain extent, and he emphatically protested against it. On Aug. 24, 1855, he stated his position clearly.

"I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black race. There is a physical difference between the two, which, in my judgement, will probably forbid their living together on the footing of perfect equality, and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I . . . am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position."

Not against Slavery

The Civil War was not fought for the abolition of slavery. The Republican Party time and again declared that it had no desire to abolish slavery, that it did not want to "mix" in the affairs of the South. The Civil War was fought primarily to secure the political domination of northern industrial capitalism, represented by Lincoln and the Republican Party. In the election of 1860, the northern bourgeoisie had wrested the state power from the Southern slaveholders, and was preparing to push through their long desired "reforms", such as a high tariff, profitable railroad contracts, free immigration and consequently a cheap labor supply, etc. This would have meant the end of Southern plantation economy, and the struggle between the two economic systems, formerly carried on in the

halls of Congress, shifted to the battlefields.

Even during the war, Lincoln proclaimed the emancipation of the slaves only as a last resort military measure. The Emancipation Proclamation specifically exempted the "border" states of Kentucky, Maryland, West Virginia, etc., since they were friendly to the Northern cause. Another important effect of the Proclamation was to solidify the support of the English workers for the North, and thus prevented the English aristocracy from aiding the Southern Bourbons. At the same time, eight Northern states barred Negroes from the suffrage, a fact concerning which Lincoln was silent.

Against Workers

It is true that Lincoln condemned those who tried to "place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor." But there were merely words revealing his petit-bourgeois origin and intended to secure the support of the Northern workers for the struggle. Actually, Lincoln's bourgeois government did not shrink from using force to crush the strikes of workers or their protests against the costs of living. The draft law exempted those from the army who could pay \$100. Thus the Northern bourgeoisie displayed its courage in spilling workers' blood. When the masses protested against this monstrous law, their protests were put down ruthlessly, a thousand people being killed in the "Draft Riots" in New York alone.

While contractors and capitalists of all shady types rolled in profits—it was a time when the great fortunes like Armour, Gould and others were being founded—the workers were caught in the vise of a sharply rising cost of living while wages were stationary. When they struck, it was Lincoln's army that broke the strike and "restored order". General Sherman used Federal troops to break a tailors' strike in St. Louis and arrested the strike leaders as traitors. There are many other similar examples.

It was Lincoln who laid the foundations for the development of American monopoly capitalism. This was his main function. And this is why monopoly capitalism today is so extravagant in its praise of "Honest Abe".



The Challenge drive ends with this issue, a complete failure. At the beginning of the drive the units owed us a total of \$422.12 in back debts. At the conclusion of the two and one half months of effort the total back debt owed to us is \$398.95. We set for ourselves a quota of 700 subscriptions which included some 399 renewals. To date we have received 100 subscriptions, renewals included.

Officially the drive is over. Actually the real drive must now begin. Each unit in the country must take advantage of the Spring weather to organize street sales once more. The customary street corners should again be manned by Challenge salesmen. Bundle quotas must be increased and payments must be prompt—ten days after receipt of the bundle. In addition, each unit must strive by some means to pay a dollar or two on its back debt with each payment sent to the national office. Only such a procedure will make possible the continuation of the twice-monthly.

As for the prizes—no individuals and only one unit can make any claim to a prize. The Akron unit,

which had a quota of fifteen subscriptions to fill and obtained twenty-eight, showed a well organized and efficient interest in the drive. To that unit the Challenge will award a copy of C.I.R. James' World Revolution. Honorable mention to the Oakland unit for exceeding its quota by four subscriptions and to the Cleveland unit for reaching its quota of ten. A list of the results in the subscription drive follows.

Akron	28
Oakland	10
Youngstown	10
Cleveland	10
Newark	8
Boston	7
Los Angeles	6
Cambridge	5
Columbus	5
Toledo	4
Fresno	2
San Francisco	2
Compton	1
Detroit	1
Philadelphia	1
Chicago	7
New York	11
Total	100

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LAST WAR SAW GREAT INCREASE IN PROFITS FOR SIXTY FAMILIES

By WILLIAM BRAD

War time means murder and death for the youth and working class. But the bosses grow fat on the profits while the slaughter is on. War is their big break. That's when the pot bellies rake in the dough so fast, they can afford a depression after it's all over.

As Judge Gary, of the Billion Dollar United States Steel Corporation, said in 1918, "The manufacturers must have reasonable profits in order to do their duty." And they got what they were after. These pay-triots sucked every cent they could.

William McAdoo, Wilson's Secretary of the Treasury said, "Appalling prices were paid for everything—Engines and other equipment were purchased at such a staggering cost that I fancied more than once that the machinery must be made of silver." And he ought to know.

The DuPonts had the government lay out a couple of million dollars for a new gunpowder plant. After it was finished DuPont took it over for next to nothing. The government then decided to give some other companies a break.

Government Aid

Airplane plants were built, handed over for a song, or absolutely free to companies. The government had lots of dough and these parasites sat around and lapped it up.

Profits rose so high in 1918 that a government report containing full information on profits was suppressed! This report, known as Senate Document 259, was too dangerous. Anyone who read it could see whose war it was.

Judge for yourself. From 1915-18, the DuPont corporation had an increase of 1 and 1/4 billion dollars and profits of 485% on their investments.

United States Steel Corporation made 1/2 billion dollars in one year, 1918. They made 1 and 1/2 billion dollars in the 4 years of the war. The Phelps-Dodge Co. increased its assets by 400 percent from \$59 million in 1914 to \$241 million in 1918.

Look at these figures on profits from 1914-1918.

coal operators	7,856%
meat packers	4,244%
clothing manufacturers	9,826%
canning companies	2,032%

No wonder they suppressed the complete report on war profits.

And meanwhile the people were being asked to observe Breadless Mondays, Meatless Tuesdays, and Porkless Thursdays. Is there any doubt as to who gained by the war?

Chamber Commerce Heads Spouts On Youth Problem

It seems as if the more some people talk, the less one should believe them. Take the case of one Henry Harriman, formerly President of the Chamber of Commerce. As such this Harriman was always in the lead, down in Washington, to cut all appropriations of social aid—to youth, or the unemployed, or anyone else—and to "economize" to the bone.

Now this Harriman turns up under the auspices of the "American Youth Commission"—the millionaire outfit which specializes in polite crocodile tears for American youth—making speeches in New York about the "plight of youth." He proposes that youth be given jobs that are "personally satisfying and socially constructive." But doesn't he remember his actions of yesterday as opposed to his speeches of today?

As the Bible says: Let not your right hand know what your left hand is doing. . . .

JOHN L. LEWIS' ANTI-F.D.R. SPEECH RAISES QUESTION:

Should American Youth Support the Drive To Draft Roosevelt For A Third Term

By PHILIP SHERMAN

The political bigwigs of the major political parties are beginning a fight around the question of whether or not Roosevelt should be permitted to sit in the White House for another four years. The pro-Roosevelt men think that the "no third term tradition" doesn't mean much; the others think it would be simply terrible to break that tradition. But through all of this, we can be sure of one thing: these politicians don't make up their minds by thinking of what would be best for the American people. These maneuvers are all part of the dirty political game by which each group tries to get control of the one million jobs (not including people on relief or in the army or navy) which the party in power can hand out.

Tom Corcoran, unofficial campaign manager for Roosevelt within the Democratic Party, let the cat out of the bag when he said recently: "It's in the bag. Who else can win? The party wants a winner."

Should we be against the third term? Of course we should: we don't want to give any of these capitalist politicians the opportunity to concentrate more power in the hands of the executive branch of the government. That's important. But what's more important to remember is that all of them really support the Sixty Families and therefore could not serve the interests of the American people no matter how few or how many terms they served. That is true of both the Democratic and the Republican parties, the two "Gold Dust Twins of Capitalism."

THE RECORD OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

What has been Roosevelt's record? Put into power in order to save the capitalist system from the worst depression in its history, he saved the Sixty Families from destruction—but what did he do for the rest, for labor, for the farmers, for "the forgotten man"?

For the unemployed: In 1933, about 15 million out of work; to-

day, still at least 12 million condemned to misery, to slow starvation, and the army. For Roosevelt, relief has had two purposes: to ward off mass rebellion and to help win elections. He has cut WPA and relief rolls whenever he thought he could get away with it and has raised and lowered them according to election-time needs. Eight long years of Roosevelt smiles have not served to rid America of this problem. The millions of unemployed know that Roosevelt's road is not theirs.

For labor: By granting on paper what America's organized workmen had already won in action, he sought to tie labor to his administration. And as soon as he

F.D.R. HAS DITCHED AMERICA'S FARMERS

For the farmers: Roosevelt has been completely unable to solve the farm problem. He did not dare—nor did he wish—to touch the big banks and life insurance companies which bled the farmer white through their control of his mortgages. So the man with the smile and the glowing promises had to resort to subsidies and to the destruction of wealth—plowing under cotton and killing pigs while millions everywhere were starving.

For the youth: For us he has done least of all. His government has done nothing but "recognize" the problem, and his answer to it is: join the army! The youth in

THE UNDISTURBED SLEEPWALKER



thought he had succeeded in this, he started a drive against the unions, thus forcing even John L. Lewis to break with him. From the years under Roosevelt, organized labor has this to learn: what we gain we gain by our own muscles and our own brains—and the moment we begin depending on the Sixty Families' government, we are bound to lose out.

America—truly the "locked-out generation"—who want jobs and an education and the right to live must find another road, not that of Roosevelt.

And for the whole people: On one road Roosevelt has gone straight ahead. That is the road to the war. For the defense of Wall Street's profits he has built the biggest army and navy in history. He has broken every tradition of

American neutrality, lining up openly with the Allied camp in the European war. The New Deal became the War Deal. Instead of bread he gave us bullets. Instead of jobs he built more battleships.

In every major way he failed to meet the needs of the American people. "Failed" is not really the right word, because he never tried to do that, that wasn't really his job. The Sixty Families needed a man with his "liberal" front in order to keep their whole system from collapsing. (Now that he's done his job, some of them wouldn't mind if he were replaced. As long as they know that capitalism is more or less intact for a while, they can turn to disagreements among themselves.)

WORKERS MUST LEARN LESSON OF ROOSEVELT

The working people in the U.S. have got to learn the lessons of the eight years under Roosevelt.

Does that mean that a Republican candidate would be any better? NO! On every major point—cutting down relief, cracking down on labor, building Wall Street's army and navy—they support Roosevelt. The only difference between them is, firstly, that they would like to control the government jobs and other patronage, and secondly, that they want to be more open and carry through more quickly their attacks on labor and their boosts (in the form of lower taxes) to the profits of the rich bankers and industrialists.

The road which the American people must seek is the road which turns away from and against the Sixty Families and the politicians they control. It is the road of unity between the farmers and the workers against their common enemy. It is the road to their own independent organizations. It is the road to action independent of the boss politicians. It is the road to an independent Labor Party.

THE LITTLE FLOWER'S NOVEL JUGGLING ACT

There is no way for a politician to make himself appear more ridiculous than to spread himself out—verbally speaking, of course—over the pages of the newspapers about the problems of American youth. Mayor LaGuardia, having not only the usual desire for publicity but also a reputation as a "liberal" to uphold, has recently come out with some classic statements that deserve comment.

Not only do they deserve comment. They deserve to be carefully preserved, wrapped up in expensive paper, and buried with the rest of the typical material which the New York World's Fair has set aside for future generations. It is not difficult to imagine historians of 2040 reading the good Mayor's speeches and commenting on the utter futility and inability to face problems which the American politicians displayed.

The worthy Mayor begins with some startling statements. Young people, he says, cannot be blamed if they join radical organizations! True, true . . . "We must understand their despair," he continues. "When agitators offer them another system and say it will be better they are willing to try it. It is so easy to confuse youth under such circumstances."

Sounds pretty good, huh? Sort of waiting with bated breath, aren't you? But take it easy, you are not going anywhere, at least not if you follow LaGuardia. For all he can say after that is that society ought to make an attempt to solve the problems of youth. How? When?—A deadly silence.

Typical of the "liberal" politicians. Big talk and nothing else. No concrete suggestions. Nothing to say about Roosevelt's cuts in youth aid. Just talk, talk, talk. Youth has to organize, not get its ears stuffed with such blarney.

MOTHER COMPLAINS THAT SON CAN'T GET A JOB

The following letter appeared in a Chicago paper: "My son is 18 today. He was interviewed in a large Loop law office regarding a position. He stated in his application that he was graduated last June from a North Side high school, that he took a four year commercial course, that he had enrolled in the Loyola School of Commerce for further comprehensive study. He worked after school all through his four years of high school and often studied until 3 a. m. He made the honor roll the last year. The interview took place. He was advised to call back, only to be told he was too old and that the office had employed a younger boy. 'Old' at 18! America!"

What Is the Future Which Faces A Young College Graduate Today?

By WILL HOLMES

When you enter high school or college, the prospect of graduation—imagine being a Bachelor of Arts!—seems to be a wonderful one. But as the years roll by and that dream comes nearer to being a reality, you begin to fear it more and more. You ask yourself: What am I going to do? And you do not know the answer. The relative security of depending on your family while it supports you in school seems increasingly attractive the nearer you come to graduation and the necessity of doing something yourself. . . .

When I had completed my final term in college, I asked myself: What did I get out of it? Was it worth while?

And though I've thought about the problem considerably, I cannot give a blanket answer one way or the other. There is so much that is valuable, so much that is fascinating in the learning and the culture of the past! And yet the American college does so little to acquaint you with it! If you are serious, then the only effect of a college graduation must be to impress you with your vast ignorance.

But if the college does not teach you very much, it should at least arouse attitudes of intellectual curiosity in you. Very often my experience has been that it does precisely the opposite. Every student relishes the memory of one or two teachers who have through their great skill or attractive personalities made a subject live for him. But how much more frequently is the vital core of knowledge dead-

ened with useless decorations and irrelevencies. . . .

Yet it would be unfair to blame the teachers or even the school systems too much. It's the age we live in! How can one really devote oneself to physics or poetry or history if all around you the very world is being shattered into bits? This, unfortunately, is not an age of repose or quiet.

I remember the feeling with which I, and some of my friends, heard the announcement of the outbreak of the war in Europe. It seemed almost incredible. . . . Not that we didn't know it was going to happen; not that we hadn't predicted it. But that the world should go through such madness again! How could you devote yourself to

anything with such thought whirling around in your brain. . . .

Of one thing I am more firmly than ever convinced. The only meaningful life today is the life of struggle. It may not solve my immediate problem of how to get a decent living. But basically that problem can be solved only by all of us. I alone can do very little on that score (even if I picked up some job, would that really solve anything?). Now more than ever I understand the necessity of seeing our fight for a better world through to the very end, through thick and thin. That alone can give us courage, and self-respect, and dignity with which to carry on. To me the fight for Socialism is not only a goal to be achieved, but becomes more and more a way of life.

TO LEON SEDOFF--

This month the Fourth Internationalist movement sadly remembers the second anniversary of the death of Leon Sedoff, son of Leon Trotsky. We pause from our struggle against the 2nd Imperialist War, from our struggle to establish the 3rd Camp of working class resistance to both sides of the imperialist slaughter, to pay sad tribute to a fallen comrade.

Sedoff was undoubtedly a victim of the Stalinist GPU, as the brilliant investigations of his father proved. Though still young Leon Sedoff had taken a high place in the ranks of the Fourth International, serving as editor of the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition. He displayed great independent talent as a political analyst and proletarian leader, and was already travelling the road of his renowned father when the GPU struck him down.

The list of proletarian martyrs is long. But for us, the Fourth Internationalist youth, the memory of Sedoff will take a special place in our minds. For he was the first great contribution of the Fourth Internationalist youth to the adult movement. And his name shall not be forgotten.

REFUSES VISAS

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, has issued a State Department announcement refusing permission to 360 youth to go back to Scotland where they were studying medicine. The excuse is: the war situation. (Bet no business man is refused this permission.) Writes the column Washington Merry-Go-Round, "Since most of these boys are Jewish and since most American medical schools quietly limit their Jewish students to a relatively small number, these are 360 more youth who will soon join the breadline. . . ."

Our Readers Take the Floor

To the Editor:

I read with some astonishment your reply to a question by Wilfred J. in one of your last issues. It is true that the Stalinists are not genuine revolutionary fighters, but if they claim to have an anti-war position the only way to disprove this to their worker-followers is by acting in the spirit of the united front tactic. That means agreement for specified anti-war manifestations and anti-war actions without taking any responsibility for the partner's general line, past and future politics, and to have the right of complete criticism.

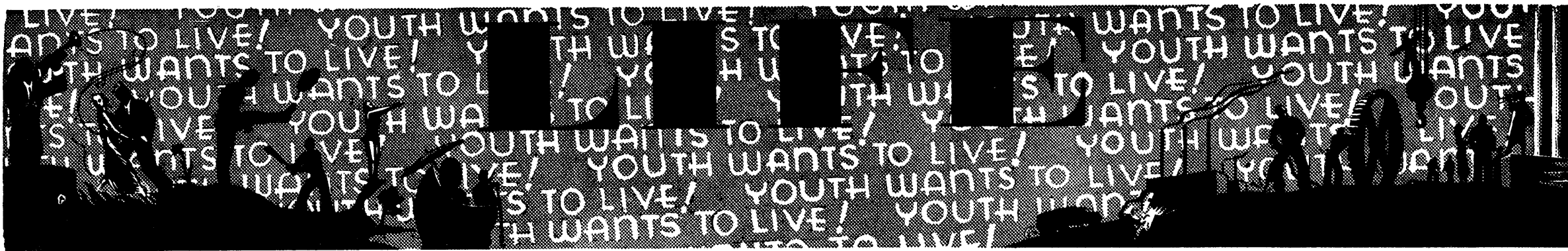
Thus, we do not refuse but should rather try hard to have some real common actions against American participation in war. Such activities can include a united front drive against militarism on the campus. The further developments will prove the cynical and treasonable attitude of the Stalinists and the revolutionary movement will gain in every way.

LOUIS

(Editor's Reply—At the last full meeting of the National Council of the Young Peoples Socialist

League, the following policy with regard to the American Student Union was adopted: The American Student Union is the campus tool of the reactionary politics of Stalinism. This control is becoming increasingly direct. Stalinism by its pseudo-revolutionary, and in reality directly counter-revolutionary, politics is today a great danger on the campus. Every illusion that it can in any way participate in progressive struggles must be dispelled. No progressive struggle against war can today be fought without a condemnation of both imperialist camps; the Stalinists take their place directly in one of those camps, that of Hitler.

To pursue a united front policy towards this dangerous organization merely because Stalinism, because of its alliance with Hitler, misuses certain abstractly progressive demands for its own reactionary purposes, would be to confuse the issue on the campus. While united fronts on specific occasions with such organizations as ASU are not excluded, it would be wrong, as a general policy, to adopt such an attitude.)



Stalin History's Questionmark

The figure of Stalin looms over our contemporary world as a horrible spectre.

One of the most bloody despots of all time, Stalin is a reflection, in reverse, of the most reactionary period of modern history—the period of the victory of Fascism.

Stalin has for us a double interest: personal and sociological. One invariably asks oneself: How could such a deformation as the Stalin bureaucracy have arisen on the body of the first working class state? Or put in narrower terms: How could such a personality as Stalin be the successor of Lenin?

These questions have been answered by the Trotskyist movement more than once. But the publication of "Stalin: a Critical History of Bolshevism" by Souvarine, the French ex-revolutionist, gives us the opportunity to reconsider—in fact, it challenges in sharpest terms—our past analysis.

It is extremely difficult to separate the wheat from the chaff in this book. For those young workers and students who have followed the literature of the Fourth International carefully there is little new thought here of any consequence; there is an additional and valuable accumulation of facts. Unfortunately however, Souvarine deliberately mixes his excellent researches on Stalin's youthful life with his stale and flaccid "reflections" on the "immortality of Bolshevism" and the "identity" of Bolshevism and Stalinism. We, for one, most categorically reject these latter "reflections" and in succeeding articles we intend to discuss them in some detail.

STALIN—THE INDIVIDUAL

Here however we wish to consider but one problem: Stalin the individual.

Stalin was born in one of the most backward peasant areas of backward Czarist Russia: Georgia. He was bred in a life of economic and cultural primitivism: the product of a hard, poor soil. He was surrounded by remnants of barbarism, by ruin, desolation and famine. While still a youngster, he was sent to a religious seminary where he was trained in the most repulsively rigid and narrow fashion.

But here there were already the germs of a Socialist movement beginning to spread. Even backward, semi-feudal Georgia was being invaded by capitalism, by the factory; with the factory came the embryo proletariat; and with the proletariat came nascent Socialism.

The young Stalin, described by the few existent memoirs of his youthful friends as harsh, powerful, uninterested in theory, found his way into this Socialist movement. Gradually, by persistent organizational work and by subtly disparaging the recognized leaders of the movement and building up organizational cliques (the future Stalin in embryo!) he rises to a prominent position in the movement.

NO POLITICAL CONTRIBUTION

But his backwardness is obvious. Despite his courage and devotion, his theoretical or political

contribution to the movement is nil. His one appearance at a congress of the Russian Social-Democratic party in exile is pathetic; his flimsy attempt at interjecting an idea is rebuffed by the delegates; he relapses into silence. Stalin bides his time.

Gradually he works his way to a position of some prominence inside the Bolshevik party. But again only as an administrator, an organizer; never does he participate in the actual political guidance of the party. The one occasion where it is his task to give political leadership—his editorship of "Pravda" before Lenin's arrival in Russia—is marked by a disgraceful episode: his support of the Kerensky government and his advocacy of unity with the Mensheviks.

Stalin is unknown to the masses of workers at the time. Even the ranks of the Bolshevik party do not know him. He stands behind the scenes, bitterly aware of his own deficiencies and piling up jealous grudges for future times. He works at various administrative tasks; each of his articles is a sloppy paraphrase of Lenin. No history of the revolution written at the time, no documents of the time mention him in any prominent capacity.

It is only when the Bolshevik revolution begins its descent that Stalin shows his head. And this coincidence is crucial.

The working class revolution in Russia, according to its leaders, could last only if it had the aid of a successful revolution in a Western industrialized country. Russia was too backward, too primitive, too dependent on the world market and Western technique to reach Socialism by itself. This aid from the West did not come. The revolution in Russia is exhausted. The Civil War, the pinch of the capitalist encirclement, the rigours of War Communism—all add up to tiredness and lack of enthusiasm.

BUREAUCRATIC GROWTH

This takes the concrete form of bureaucratism in the state, the growth of a parasitic group acting as a leech on the body of the workers' state. Here Stalin comes into his own. He builds up his organizational apparatus by flattery, threats, intimidation. Stalin fits in with the mood of the times, and the mood of the times is personified in Stalin: the retreat from independent thought, the bureaucratization of men and ideas.

We have here an excellent example, then, of the Marxist understanding of history; more specifically, the relation of individuals to history. The bureaucratization of the revolution is not due to Stalin the Devil. Stalin is rather a product and symptom of this bureaucratization. But on the other hand, it is no accident that Stalin's star rises with the decline of the revolution. For Stalin's personal traits—the peasant disregard for culture and ideas, ruthlessness, sneaking organizational tricks, the lust for personal power—can only find expression in a period when the Western revolution is stemmed and the revolution in Russia is being choked by the contradictions of a backward peasant economy.

NEW YORK SCHOOL BUDGET SHRINKS; BOSS PARTIES USE IT AS A POLITICAL FOOTBALL

Meeting after a month of intensive popular campaigns to restore the New York Educational Budget, the Board of Education adopted a proposal to request the same appropriation as it did last Spring and which it failed to receive because of "economies" by the City Council and the N. Y. State legislature. Its requests have been put on the agenda of the New York City Board of Estimate which last year voted three million dollars less for educational purposes, at the request of Mayor La Guardia, than was originally asked for.

While the Board of Estimate, a La Guardia-controlled body, deliberates as to the feasibility of cutting the budget, the New York City schools have started a new semester without the funds necessary to complete it. Three hundred fewer substitute teachers have been employed as one means of economy. Classes are larger than ever. Laboratories and shops are still operating without equipment and materials.

The struggle for budget funds is still the playing of the New Dealers and the upstate Republicans, however, each group working hard

to throw the onus for the cut on the shoulders of the other. Assemblyman Moffat, chairman of that New York State legislative body's Ways and Means Committee, defended the State cut in an address last week and charged that the City government was responsible for the insufficiency in funds.

President of the Board of Education Marshall, a La Guardia appointee, has done everything in his power to gloss over the cuts made

by La Guardia and to put the entire blame for the eight million dollar slash on the upstate Republicans. The Tammany Democrats in the New York City Council have meanwhile elected a commission of their own to investigate conditions in the New York City schools and bring in a "realistic appraisal of the city's educational needs" in order to forestall a "highbrow" investigation by the Board of Regents or some similar body.

The united front of teachers', parents' and students' organizations which carried on so much agitation last May and June has disappeared from the scene and left the arena to the professional politicians. As long as the issue remains the property of these demagogues the New York schools will continue in need of funds.



"The Grapes Of Wrath"

There are certain emotional experiences which leave you so strongly effected that you know that they will never quite be erased from your memory. "The Grapes of Wrath" is such an experience.

It's no use trying to be restrained, or to make polite critical reservations. Perhaps for the first time, Hollywood has produced a picture which is splendid movie art, absorbing emotional experience, and burning social theme all in one. And it's something to be thankful for.

* * *

The Joad family lived in Oklahoma, working as sharecroppers. But they were no longer needed. The machine had come to take their place; tractors to take the place of hands.

Where are they to turn? They have no money, they have no work. They come across some handbills distributed by California landowners advertising berry-picking jobs. They decide to go to California. What else is there to do?

IN THE DESERT

Somewhere in the great Southwestern desert an old, dilapidated truck limps along the road to California. Household goods and people are piled high above the groaning auto springs. The Joads have begun their trek to . . . jobs.

It's a peculiar family, the Joads. Born and bred on the soil, they are a typical American sharecroppers family. Ma Joad is the pivot of the family. A strong and heroically courageous woman, she keeps the family together and going. Pa is a decent sort, but weak and increasingly helpless. Grandpa: a splendid sketch of an old farmhand, full of salty good-humour and devotion to his soil, who had to be made drunk before he could be made to quit Oklahoma. Tom Joad is the hero: young, embittered, sullen; he has already served a jail sentence.

And with the Joads comes preacher Casey—the lovable, fighting priest, who is later to be murdered by vigilante thugs. (In passing, three cheers for the producers for allowing that fine actor, John Carradine, to play this role as a change from his usual

villians.)

The Joads reach California and settle in a road camp. The camp is invaded by a company agent who tries to get cheap labor. A scuffle follows in which Tom beats up a policeman. The family moves and Tom has to hide.

The Joads finally get work, but they are unaware that they are acting as strikebreakers. During their first night on this farm, Tom wanders out beyond the farm grounds to find out what is going on. They go to a meeting of the strike committee. The meeting is raided by cops and vigilantes. Casey is killed; Tom in turn kills Casey's murderer.

A BETTER WORLD

The Joads move on, hurriedly, stealthily. They reach a government camp, but that isn't much better. Tom feels himself more and more a burden on his family; his being a "fugitive" puts the whole family in danger. He finally decides to leave the family. In one of the great scenes of the picture, he tells Ma Joad that he is going. "Wherever there are people fighting for a better world, I'll be there," he tells her. Tom has found his purpose in life and though the movie is not as explicit on this point as the book was, we know that he means the cause of the workers. The Joads pack up and move to another job—quite aware that this is only temporary and that the struggle is still ahead.

* * *

There isn't much use in going into much more detail. It's just a great picture, that's all. The performances of Henry Fonda as Tom and of Jane Darwell as Ma are splendid pieces of sincere realistic acting. The sensitivity and passion of Fonda's acting, especially, gives the whole picture a glow of life that is unforgettable. Likewise, the performances of the minor parts are all excellent.

One leaves the theatre proud of the knowledge that such a picture can be made and ashamed that it is made so infrequently. One feels like telling everybody on the street to go in and see "Grapes of Wrath." You've just got to see it.

The Story of the Socialist Youth Movement During the Last War

By WILLI MUNZENBERG

(Continued from last issue)

The proposals of the Scandinavian and Swiss delegates to proclaim a demand for total disarmament in all countries was accepted by the Berne Conference of the Socialist Youth International by a vote of 9 to 5.

Upon a motion by the Dutch delegation, it was decided to organize an annual international anti-militarist youth day, to be simultaneously observed in all countries where Socialist Youth organizations were active.

The conference decided to raise a fund, called the "Liebknecht Fund," to support anti-militarist activity and assist the victims of the struggle.

The organizational decisions of the conference were of decisive significance. They signified the complete break with the Vienna Bureau (pre-war leadership that had turned social patriotic—translator.) The provision for an international youth secretariat, unanimously accepted by the conference, began with the sentence:

"The Socialist Youth organizations affiliated to the international center hereby establish a secretariat, which will provisionally be located in Switzerland."

This provision relieved the Vienna Bureau of its functions and withdrew the mandate of office from Robert Danneberg, the international youth secretary to that

date.

The accepted organizational regulations provided for a tight-knit organization with a common international periodical, with international financial support to the international youth secretariat, and a series of organizational tasks, that were regarded as a guarantee for the creation of an active and really functioning Socialist Youth movement.

Elect Munzenberg

The conference closed with the election of an international secretary, to which post I was elected, and the election of additional representatives in the international bureau as follows: Olausson for Norway, Christiansen for Den-

CCC FUNDS ARE CUT

While the Roosevelt government pours millions of dollars into its other of its cuts in governmental aid to youth by reducing the number of CCC camps from 1,500 to 1,227. The amount of money which is being diverted from CCC to war purposes is insignificant in terms of war preparations: a few airplanes, or a couple of batteries, or at most a second-rate cruiser. But it means that nearly 40,000 young men who have been working at CCC jobs — inadequate enough now! — will become completely destitute. Fair exchange, isn't it? A cruiser for 40,000 youth.

mark, Notz for Germany, and Catenasi for Italy.

The Bern Conference signified a mighty step forward in the revolutionary development of the proletarian youth and in the creation of a fighting, centralized Socialist Youth International.

The resolutions and reports in which the happy achievements of the Berne Conference were recorded, were received with great enthusiasm by all the Socialist Youth organizations and by hundreds of thousands of young workers in all countries. The fact, that during the course of the war, at a time of wild social patriotic tumult and chauvinistic baiting, representatives of the Socialist Youth organizations assembled in an international conference and clearly and sharply proclaimed the revolutionary struggle against war, had the effect of sobering up the masses from the patriotic orgy and rapidly achieving a proletarian front against the war, above all, among the youth.

* * *

(The above article concludes the series of excerpts from Munzenberg's "Die Dritte Front," an autobiographical and historical account of the Socialist Youth movement during the last war. The book was published in German in 1929 and the material here presented was its first appearance in the English language.)