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Balance and Perspectives

By Giovanni Ferri

WHAT memories does the year 1938 leave in the minds of the youth of the world? What hopes may fill the hearts of the young generation upon the threshold of a new year?

While it is true that, in casting the political balance of the past year, we must register a severe defeat for the forces of democracy and peace, it is nevertheless only just to emphasise the fact that this defeat is the result of shameful treachery on the part of certain politicians, while, on the other hand, the peoples and the younger generation, throughout the world, have during this same past year given striking proof of their devotion to the cause of liberty, peace and progress.

Among the events of 1938 in which youth played the chief part first place must be taken by the *Youth Congress in New York* last August. Coming from all corners of the earth, delegates of the youth of 54 countries expressed the viewpoints of their generation with regard to the menaces which stalk humanity. The *Vassar Pact*, which concluded the magnificent New York congress, defines the position of youth which embraces peace in the face of the provocations of war. The six points of this pact follow:

- (1) to promote international unity and fraternity among the youth;
- (2) to condemn aggression and the infringement of the independence of the nations;
- (3) to win youth to active struggle against aggression and war;
- (4) to press the respective governments to assist victims of aggression and to apply sanctions against the aggressors;
- (5) condemns the bombardment of civilian populations;
- (6) advocates the use of international machinery for settling disputes between nations without discrimination of peoples.

The great importance of the New York Congress lies not merely in the Vassar Pact but also, and primarily, in the fact that the Congress was able to bring about such a great degree of unity among young people of varying political tendencies and differing religious beliefs.

The New York Congress united all forces, whatever their political platforms, which have declared themselves prepared to struggle for the defence of peace and the rights of youth. From this point of view, the New York Congress represents the highest degree of unity of young people realised so far.

While this Congress opened new perspectives to world youth, there have been other events during the past year in which young people played an important part—events which proved that, if peace is defended at all costs—even with arms—the fascist war-mongers are forced to retreat.

Of this truth, the conflict last August on the Soviet frontier in the Far East, is the most shining example. In these encounters—in which Japanese militarism, extending its provocative activities even to the point of trespassing on Soviet territory, was within a few days decisively driven back across the frontier by the courageous Red Army of the workers and peasants—Soviet youth had an opportunity of demonstrating to the world the capacity of the Stalinist generation of the country of Socialism.

The young Soviet fighters who repulsed with their arms the Japanese aggressors have rendered a great service to peace. Their heroism has spared humanity another war. For the lesson of the fighting at Lake Khasan is clear: There is only one way to maintain peace: not to show the least weakness to the aggressor and to wring his neck if he attempts to put his criminal plans into practice.

The Soviet people and youth have not been the only ones to give to the world an example of how to deal with the war-mongers. In 1938 occurred the end of the second year and the beginning of the third year of the Spanish people's heroic struggle against the invaders of their fatherland. The magnificent resistance put up by this people, the enthusiastic vigour of the youth, the epic valour of the army, born in the shattering tempests of bombardment, and the determination of the Spanish Popular Front Government headed by Juan Negrin—these are facts which strongly marked the year 1938 and which may well be written up on its credit side.

Where do we find the origin of the strength of the youth of Spain? It is in the unity which it welded in 1936 when it created the great united organisation of Socialist and Communist youth; it is in the unity which it achieved in 1937 with the founding of the Young Anti-Fascist Alliance; it is in the unity which, in 1938, they knew so well how to protect against the ignoble intrigues of a handful of political bankrupts.

The Spanish youth has pointed out to us the path which leads to victory over fascism.

Furthermore, 1938 is the year of the heroic struggle of the youth of China, which, like the Spanish youth, is defending in arms the liberty of the people and the independence of its country.

The youth of China, leaving the fields, factories and classrooms to take up arms, has made plain to the world that one must never surrender to the enemies of progress, to the oppressors of the people and those who would destroy the future of the young.

Passing now to the debit side of 1938, we note the actions of the fascists whose audacity has grown and has been encouraged by the scandalous complicity of men who have betrayed democracy.

In March, 1938, Hitler's armies occupied Austria, in the face of that which people call international law. The Austrian youth—which, during the few weeks immediately preceding Hitler's coup de force, had, with considerable hesitation, ventured its first steps along the path of unity against the aggressor—since March has come to know the atrocities of the Gestapo, the concentration camps, death sentences. Accompanied by the bombastic but tragic fanfares of a "Greater Germany," the organisers of the Hitler Youth swarmed down upon the towns and countryside of Austria, forcing upon the Austrian youth that system of totalitarian coercive organisation which has for six years weighed so heavily upon the young people of Germany proper.

In September came the degrading surrender of Munich. This was the culminating point of a political crisis which could

have been solved in a manner which would have spelt catastrophe for the international fascist alliance.

Now, after Munich, Hitler's and Mussolini's new demands have come to disturb the complacency of those who claim to have saved peace last September. The dictators' appetite grows with eating: The one claims colonies, Memel, Danzig, a "Greater Ukraine"; the other, Nice, Savoy, Corsica, Tunisia, Jibuti.

The year 1939 is born amidst the carefully orchestrated clamour of these new demands. Fascism promises the youth of the world a year perhaps even more sensational than 1938. But the past year has yielded experience so richly educational that the youth will more easily find the right road.

The Young Communists will define this road and will lead the way, developing everywhere and primarily the spirit of resistance to the aggressor, as the sole guarantee of peace.

The forces making for peace have not been destroyed, in spite of the betrayal of Munich. The factors favourable to their strengthening are more important now than ever.

The hope of peace which fills the hearts of the younger generation at the outset of 1939 can be translated into reality. The sole condition for this is that the forces of democracy and peace succeed in uniting to form a common front against the threats of the fascist bloc.

To ensure that 1939 will be the year of the victory of Republican Spain; to help to drive out the invaders by increasing material aid, sending foodstuffs, medical supplies, clothing, and so on; to fight against the granting of belligerent rights to Franco and in favour of complete freedom of trade with the Spanish Republic—such is the first of the practical tasks now before the youth in their work for peace.

To strengthen the solidarity with the Chinese people by organising the boycott of all Japanese goods, a boycott which would stifle Japan's military economy and oblige her to cease her aggression against China—such is our second task.

To make known to the youth of the world the happy and cultured life led by the Soviet youth, which is working for the construction of a society of which the greatest minds have dreamed; to make known to them the determined Stalinist policy of peace of the Soviet Union. This is the third task.

And, finally, to continue the task of unifying the toiling youth, of securing that unity which will redouble its confidence in its own strength and its faith in the future. This is the fourth task.

Let 1939 be a year when the youth of the world will enthusiastically and courageously enter upon this path.

And thus 1939 will be the year which will open the gateway upon a future of well-being, peace and liberty for the young people of all countries.

STUDENT ACTIVITY FOR SPAIN

Some idea of the aid Spain activity among their fellow students has been given by members of the international student delegation visiting Barcelona and the central zone on invitation from the National Union of Spanish Students. The delegation appointed by the International Council of the World Student Association consists of four French students from the Students Assembly for Aid to Spanish Children; an English student, Atsbury, from the Student Committee of the B.Y.P.A.; M. Lepoivre, from Belgium, representing the Libre Examen of Brussels University, of which he is president; and Mario Carrasco, of the Student Federation of Chile.

Over £4,000 has so far been raised, said Mr. Atsbury, in the Aid Spain competition between British universities. Eighty-three affirmative replies were received from British students to the question: "Will the triumph of Republican Spain be a victory for civilisation?"

Belgian students work mainly in collaboration with the national Aid Spain Committee, but they also plan and carry out independent activity. 500 students at Brussels University make a monthly donation of five francs.

Fifteen Years After Lenin's Death

LENIN died on January 21, 1924, at half-past-six in the evening, after a life completely devoted to the defence of the toilers and to the welfare of humanity. His tenacious will had maintained his revolutionary labours at a level virtually above human capacity, and his health became definitely affected by this.

During the last two years of his life he fought ceaselessly with illness. He desired to conquer sickness in order to continue with his great work. He gave us an example of courage and heroism, right up to his last moments.

In March and April, 1922, Lenin took part, for the last time, in a congress of the Bolshevik Party, namely, the Eleventh. In spite of his bad health he prepared his report with great care, and supported the election as general secretary of the Party of Comrade Stalin, his best tried collaborator.

Stalin frequently went to visit Lenin during his illness. He would describe the situation to him, together with him examine the more important questions; and would try to spare him all agitation and fatigue, while preserving carefully all Lenin's words.

And now it is 15 years that Lenin has been dead. But his memory is ever among us. Lenin is as present now as ever before among those who suffer and among those who struggle by every means against the crimes of the fascists and for the happiness of humanity.

Lenin is dead, but Leninism lives and triumphs! The Soviet Union has made a magnificent reality of Socialism. More and more do the oppressed peoples place their trust in the U.S.S.R., while the capitalist exploiters are terrified at the "Spectre of Communism" and vainly try to banish it with the fascist dictatorship. Lenin's mighty figure dominates his living work; The Soviet Union, which is building up Socialism under the energetic guidance of Lenin's faithful pupil, Stalin.

In 1939 when the workers call to mind Lenin their hearts are filled with joy and hope; but even his name causes the oppressors to tremble.

And when the toiling youth of the world look towards the future, it is Lenin, living now as always, who is their valued and certain guide.

The young people of the Soviet Union, in their life of happiness and labour, realise all that they owe to Lenin. It is for this reason that their organisation is called the Leninist Communist Youth. They are Lenin's own youth!

The youth of the countries which suffer under the brutal yoke of fascism desire a future other than on the imperialist battle fields. The youth of the democratic countries are fighting bravely and are uniting to resist the fascists' claims to domination. And, finally, the fearless young heroes of Spain and China are replying to fascism in the powerful language of their rifles and their machine-guns. It is in the example and teachings of Lenin that all of them find hope and the pathway of victorious struggle.

PUBLIC HEALTH IN THE U.S.S.R.

The birth rate in Moscow last year was 250 per cent. higher than in 1913, in Leningrad, 350 per cent. higher. The death rate has been halved since 1913.

Four hundred new clinics were set up in Soviet towns last year, and 700, in rural districts. The number of hospital beds in towns increased by 50,000 and in rural districts, by 20,000.

Youth and Politics

The Organisation of Resistance for Victory

By Alfredo Cabello

WHEN the invading troops, aided and abetted by the Trotskyists, broke the Aragon front and so brought the Spanish Republic into the gravest danger it had known since the beginning of the war, the People's Front Government called on the people to resist. Nine months later the results of that call were seen in, for instance, the Catalan battle. The role played by the *United Socialist Youth* in this resistance had aroused world-wide admiration.

In the Aragon retreat, when hesitating elements gave up all for lost, the U.S.Y. undertook to form two divisions of volunteers. Within ten days 22,000 young men answered their organisation's appeal to defend their country. It is no exaggeration to say that the formation of these two young volunteer divisions, by galvanising the spirit of patriotism and illustrating the Spanish people's immense reserves of energy, contributed largely to the possibility of resistance on the Ebro and the Segre, and in putting an end to the manoeuvres of the capitulators. It is interesting to note in passing that the Trotskyists conducted an intensive campaign against the two youth divisions, accusing the U.S.Y. of *infanticide* and trying to rally parents against their volunteer sons. The youth's response and the repulse given by the popular masses broke these attempts of the fascist agents.

It was also at this time that the U.S.Y. sent 300 of its active leaders to Aragon as political commissars, to help in reconstituting the front. This was work of the first importance and the command recognised it as such. Many were the examples, like that of the young U.S.Y. leader who re-formed men who were isolated or in flight, organised two brigades and established a firm line of resistance.

Once the fronts were reconstituted, attention was concentrated on realising the conditions that would make resistance possible. This activity was developed in three principal directions: reinforcing youth unity; developing the military and political capacity of the People's Army; increasing the country's production and resources.

The new military situation, which was favourable to the invaders, demanded reinforcement of the principal weapon of a struggling people: the weapon of unity. The U.S.Y. put forward as one of the necessities of the moment, the reinforcement of the Anti-fascist Youth Alliance, a united organisation of all the youth of the Republican zone. In May 1938 there took place a national meeting of the Alliance, during which decisive resolutions were taken for the progress of united organisation among the Spanish youth. Unfortunately several of these decisions have not been carried out. The anarchist and republican youth organisations have not developed the activity which the circumstances demand. The question remains how to stimulate the activity of the Alliance and to make it *in fact* the leading organism of all the youth of Spain.

The struggle against the enemies of unity is another aspect of this task.

Some of our youth organisations have been penetrated by Trotskyists. Above all it is among the liberals that they have succeeded in establishing themselves. These elements have undertaken a campaign which aims at bringing the anarchist and republican youth organisations into conflict with the U.S.Y. Their main objective is to destroy the Anti-fascist Youth Alliance and to create a Revolutionary Youth Front, an old slogan of the P.O.U.M., and so to isolate the U.S.Y. Even before the U.S.Y. gave its vigorous retort, the wretched manoeuvre had already been broken by the energetic refusal of the liberal youth movement to take up the idea of the "revolutionary" front of the Trotskyists.

In the military sphere, the U.S.Y.'s principal effort has been devoted to increase the number and the activities of the soldiers' educational clubs. These clubs, organised by the U.S.Y. throughout the army, aim at helping the military and political leadership

in raising the standard of the army. The U.S.Y.'s programme for the army can be summed up as follows: to be champions of the army; the first in teaching and in study; the most unity in the army; the first in teaching and in study; the most skillful in the use and care of arms; to form special anti-tank and anti-aircraft groups, etc.; to carry out the most dangerous jobs; to economise on equipment, etc. To-day there are 4,000 such clubs in the army, educating the soldiers "in the spirit of heroism and sacrifice for the defence of our country and of the people's liberties." The clubs in the Ebro army show the success of this work. Before going into action, the army clubs organised a meeting. There the members of the U.S.Y., membership cards in their hands, swore honourably to carry out the directives of the Federation. The epic of the Ebro lasted four months. At the end of this action, a divisional commander, a socialist, who had opposed the creation of clubs on principle, declared: "Without the U.S.Y. clubs we could not have resisted as we have done."

It is impossible to quote here concrete examples of the heroism of our young men, for there are thousands of examples; names such as Parra, Barcia, Vicente Romero are already popular among the army. The youth gained this honour with its blood; on the Ebro 400 group leaders of the U.S.Y. died. Thousands more come to take their place. And to-day the U.S.Y. membership in the army is stronger, more loved and more numerous than ever before.

In the rear, the U.S.Y.'s activity aims at overcoming the difficulties and deficiencies in war production and supply. There are not only permanent shock brigades in the war-industry, in the clothing workshops and in the fields, but national campaigns such as the *Fifteen Days of Aid* for the Levant, during which the working class youth of Madrid raised its production by 200 per cent.; the campaign for the reconditioning of materials, which has placed at the disposal of the factories 6,000,000 kilogrammes of old iron, hundreds of kilometres of barbed wire, 90,000 kilogrammes of rags, wool, etc. These campaigns are of service not only in their immediate practical objectives, but as *one of the most powerful bonds between the front and the rear*. The competitive contact between the youth clubs and the military units, the units' patronage of the factories, and vice versa, increase every day. For example, the Central army assured the youth of Madrid, during these fifteen days of increased production, of square rations which made it possible for them to carry out the maximum effort; in exchange, the Madrid youth gave the army thousands more munitions, arms, etc., than ordinarily.

These campaigns are also *a new form of struggle for the needs of the youth*. Thus the working class youth of Madrid, carrying out its fifteen days of increased production, gained certain advantages from the trade unions (occupational apprenticeship, equality of wages, halls and clubs for the youth in the trade unions, etc.). At the end of the campaign, all the Madrid unions made the demands of the youth their own.

From November 24 to 27, 1938 the United Socialist Youth held an enlarged meeting of its National Committee in Madrid. Besides the members of the National Committee, there were present the secretaries from the provinces and of the commissions for education in the army: in all, 200 delegates. With this meeting the Federation proved that it possessed a magnificent general staff which is capable of leading the youth forward, whatever difficulties there are to be overcome.

The meeting examined the international situation since the Munich betrayal and the home situation, in the Republican and in the invaded zone. The central theme of the meeting was that of "national youth unity, for the expulsion of the invader." After having heard the report made by *Santiago Carillo* on behalf of the Executive, and discussion from the delegates, the meeting unanimously passed the political resolution.

Another of the most important points which was debated in the course of the congress was that of the unity of the U.S.Y.

Three months ago, a little group composed of strangers to the organisation began a campaign to divide the U.S.Y. Supported by certain elements influenced by the views of Largo Caballero, these persons formed a fraction within the United Socialist Youth and succeeded in obtaining some positions in the provincial leadership. Although they had been denounced and condemned by the Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the Trade Union Confederation: although they had been repudiated by the great mass of militant youth in a series of magnifi-

cent meetings throughout the provinces (the meetings at Madrid, Jaen, Albacete, Valencia, etc., were the largest held in Spain since the beginning of the war), these disruptors continued their provocative work for the disruption of the U.S.Y. The enlarged meeting took up this question and unanimously condemned these manoeuvres, removing from their posts those who had upheld them and calling upon the membership to respect discipline on pain of expulsion.

The meeting also considered the demands of young workers and peasants and asked the Government to grant full political rights to the soldiers.

Finally, the meeting of the National Committee, which was awaited with great interest and concern by the youth of Spain, gave the youth and the people new weapons of struggle to assure the independence of our country and a future of liberty and work for the younger generation in Spain.

Every day hundreds of new members flock to our ranks; every day the U.S.Y. is more admired and loved, not only by its members but by the whole youth and the whole people of Spain.

All this has been possible only through unity. The young soldiers on the Ebro said well in their resolution adopted at an enlarged meeting:

"We, young soldiers on the Ebro, are convinced that the best trench and the best fortification against the invaders is UNITY."

The Decree-Laws of the Daladier Government Detrimental to Youth

By Victor Michaut

THE decree-laws of the Daladier-Reynaud Government in France have opened up a period of black reaction and dealt a blow to the magnificent achievements made by youth through the Popular Front.

These decrees of misery and slavery are the unlucky consequences of the capitulation at Munich, and were issued only a few weeks after that event. They are directed primarily against the social laws of the Popular Front Government of June, 1936. Even treason has its logic; and having perpetrated on September 30, in concert with international fascism, the most loathsome attack on the liberties of the people, the Daladier Government turned to carry this same policy into effect at home—the policy of the most reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie.

The recent decree-laws are instruments of struggle against the Popular Front. By these means they are deliberately sacrificing the youth and trying to break its faith in the future.

The forty-hour week has, in fact, been abolished. The owners are permitted, simply by authorisation of the Inspector of Labour, to re-establish the nine-hour day and the 45- or 48-hour week. It is a cruel blow aimed at the leisure so enjoyed by the young workers—for this leisure had made possible an unprecedented development of sport, camping, the Youth Hostel Movement, tourism, and of the arts and popular education.

To make even clearer their will to hold back this rush of youth towards happiness and life, the spokesmen of the capitalist trusts have declared war on the five-day week. Instead of the five-day working week, the six-day week is being reinstated—and many owners are going further and are suppressing the English week-end.

And to crown all this—while official speakers talk unceasingly of "putting France back to work"—mass dismissals are taking place, following the example given by the State on the railways and in the public services. The Draconian measures taken by the notorious "Committee of the Axe" forbid the launching of new projects, thus preventing thousands of young people from being engaged on public work schemes.

Unemployment figures are mounting rapidly, so that already in December, 1938, there were 39,278 more registered unemployed than at the same period of the previous year.

But there is worse yet! The great public works which were launched in 1936 in order "to prevent and combat unemployment" have been interrupted—and this while France is in urgent need of more schools, sanatoria, swimming pools and sports grounds.

For our supporters of Munich, even though they claim to have saved peace for many generations, have adopted as their slogan "Cannons, not street fountains."

No attempt has been made to improve the organisation of apprenticeships or to encourage young people to set up their own homes. On the contrary, everything was used as an excuse for imposing fresh burdens on the people. Under the title of national contribution, an annual tax of 2 per cent. on all incomes was imposed, and a tremendous popular protest was necessary in order that the lower-salaried workers might be spared this new hardship.

Meanwhile, the working youth has been deprived of its basic rights. Previously, salaried workers over 18 took part in the election of workers' delegates. Since the decree laws, they cannot vote until they are 21, and cannot stand for election until they are 25 years of age. By denying the young workers freedom of expression, the lackeys of the two-hundred families hope to break their spirit.

These are the most important effects of the decree laws and their repercussions on the position of youth. To this must be added the multiple taxes on sugar, salt, coffee, beverages and tobacco, which make big inroads on the budget of the working-class family. The successive increases in transport fares and postal tariffs are being felt keenly by sports-lovers and soldiers alike.

The sum effect of these measures, which are unparalleled in the history of the Third Republic, is the complete liquidation of the social gains of the Popular Front by forcing the working class to submit to the demands of the trusts. In spite of all this, things are not going as well as these gentlemen would like. Popular discontent is growing. By the strike of November 30, which was carried out in spite of the war measures taken against the workers the like of which have never been seen in France, the working class has already been able to stop the rapid slide towards fascism. In order to maintain an all too precarious existence for its Ministry, the Government has been forced to accept, through Parliament, certain alterations to the original decrees.

The campaign of the Young Communist League against the decree laws has been particularly energetic. During the last weeks of 1938, more than 2,000 young people replied to these decrees of misery by becoming members of the Communist youth.

It is, however, not only the Socialist youth and a number of the regional groups of young radicals who are opposed to the policy of the Daladier-Reynaud Government on this point. A strong protest has been registered by the young Catholic workers, whose organisations are demanding a "division of sacrifice" (while our ministers ask for sacrifices only from the working people).

Nothing effective can be done towards a real redressing of the grievances of the people in France without the complete abrogation of the Daladier decree laws.

In his remarkable speech, "The Hour of Action," our comrade Maurice Thorez has shown clearly that: The decree laws are unjust and unworkable. The practice of these laws will kill the principle of parliamentary democracy. Besides this, the decree laws give great opportunities to the social demagogues of fascism which speculates on the discontent of the workers. It must never be forgotten that the decree laws of Bruning in Germany prepared the way for the Hitler dictatorship.

It is necessary to maintain and increase the social gains of the Popular Front in France. The Communist youth, which is preparing for its tenth congress at Easter at Paris, propose to gather and unite the younger generation around a constructive programme leading to national and social improvements in our country.

The following are the most important points of this programme:

1. The right of all youth to work and to learn a trade; rational organisation of apprenticeships and of professional and trade training.

2. Development of public instruction through the building of schools, improvement of educational methods, extending the period of compulsory education and training for apprenticeship.
3. Protection of health by reorganising and renewing French sport and by obligatory physical culture.
4. Encouraging marriage by the granting of State loans, thus enabling young people to set up homes.
5. Improving the lot of the soldiers in the army by encouraging the officers and non-com. in the devotion to the Republic through closer contact with the people.

It is in this way that the youth of France will be able to accomplish its noble task by becoming more educated, stronger and happier; by continuing the traditions of France, raising high the torch of liberty and peace in opposition to barbarous fascism.

For the Independence of Yugoslavia

By Pavle Davidovitch

THE infamous pact of Munich has placed the small European states of the Danube and Balkans under an ever-present threat. For all these countries, the problem of the defence of their independence against the threats of Hitler has become the most anxious and vital one.

Of the above mentioned countries, Yugoslavia is one of the first to be affected by the plans of brown imperialism. Situated at the crossroads of the main routes between Europe and the near-East, rich in agricultural products and livestock, in bauxite and other raw materials, the Nazis need it in order to be able to realise their future plans. That is why the Hitlerites have begun to interfere more and more in the domestic affairs of Yugoslavia. They have found a faithful servant in the person of Stoyadinovitch, head of the government, who has had the support of world reaction in carrying out his policy, of social and national oppression. It was Stoyadinovitch who, against the will of the people, bound Yugoslavia to the Rome-Berlin axis. He was responsible for the destruction of the Little Entente and for the weakening of the Franco-Yugoslav alliance. By these actions he rendered great service to Hitler, facilitating the Anschluss of Austria which brought the Nazis to the very frontiers of Yugoslavia. And this record of treason was crowned by his complicity in the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. It was only because of the votes of the small Hitlerised German and Hungarian minorities that Stoyadinovitch was able to obtain his small majority at the recent elections. By shelving the national question, the pro-fascist grand-Serbian reactionaries who now dominate Yugoslavia are carrying on a policy which is directly opposed to the interests of the people. They poison Serbo-Croat relationships, thus weakening the country and preparing a fratricidal war which will hand over Yugoslavia and its people to brown imperialism.

The Munich agreement was responsible for awakening the people to this sense of the danger which surrounds them. Thanks to the campaign launched by the anti-fascist youth and, above all by the Communist youth, the propaganda plans of Stoyadinovitch which aimed at winning over youth to his "peace policy" miscarried, as the recent parliamentary elections proved. The anti-fascist youth understood the danger even before certain leaders of the democratic and peasant parties, who were confused after Munich, and took decisions which lead to concrete action. Radicals, democrats, peasants, workers, students—the united youth forces launched an appeal after Munich denouncing this act of treason against the people. They appealed for action against the nefarious policy of the Stoyadinovitch government, which was nothing more than the agent of Hitler; for the establishment of a free, democratic Yugoslavia capable of defending its independence in alliance first of all, with the Soviet Union, the defender of the small peoples, and with the democratic forces of the whole world. By working out a common programme of action and by linking up the demands of youth with the national interests, the anti-fascist youth played an important part in the electoral struggle which brought such victory to the popular forces. After the elections once again, the anti-fascist youth pointed out to their brothers the path to be followed to secure their happiness—the path to Unity; and this in spite of the efforts

of certain elements who were opposing Unity and supporting capitulation. In this action, the powerful Federation of United Student Youth holds a place of honour. In the recent elections of the Students' Mutual Aid Association, the United Student Youth list was only opposed in one faculty, the Veterinary, and here the government fascist list obtained only 14 votes as against 164 polled by the anti-fascist list.

After Munich, the government threatened to ban a number of youth organisations which had distinguished themselves by their work in support of Czechoslovakia. It hoped in this way to put an end to the resolute action for peace that youth was taking. This act of the government was facilitated by the weakness of the Yugoslavian youth movement, by the narrow basis of its organisation which excluded from this movement anything but completely progressive organisations. Since the movement in support of Czechoslovakia started, however, new youth forces have been drawn into the struggle. Such organisations as the Sokols and others are beginning to collaborate with the youth democratic movement.

After Munich, a wave of national shame and of fear for the future submerged all the hitherto neutral organisations of the youth. First of all the Sokols and then the co-operative youth, sports organisations, the young peasants' movements of Croatia and Slovenia, and even government catholic organisations such as the "Santovski Etseci" were swept into action. Then the anti-fascist youth showed its ability in overcoming its own internal weaknesses. They understood that unity within their own organisation was only a starting-point, for at best they were only allowed to exist in a position of semi-legality. The youth understood that its first duty was to liquidate energetically all the survivals of sectarianism and leftism kept alive by the Trotskyist nuclei. Youth understood that its duty was to work to build a great movement comprising the whole of the younger generation on a concrete programme of action which would capture their imagination. In spite of the difficulties, they understood that they had to become the champions of a broad legal movement of the whole youth.

The appeal to unity of the young anti-fascists found a deep and immediate response. The most important youth review, *Mladost*, devoted its last number to the necessity of achieving at this twentieth anniversary of Yugoslavia, the unity of the younger generation in order to defend the independence of the country and to continue the traditions of the struggle for freedom. It is important to solve the problems affecting the youth, it said, "for only a free, educated, healthy and happy generation can fulfil its duty towards its country." That is why the unity of the youth has become such an urgent need of the whole country.

Such a spirit, such concern for the national interests could not long remain without echo. The students of *Belgrade* solemnly commemorated their comrades who had fallen in the Great War 1914-18. The whole University, led by the rectors, the Patriarch of the Serbian church, a representative of the Minister of War and representatives of the various patriotic and cultural organisations took part in this demonstration. The most significant fact, however, was that the government was not officially represented. A few days later, at the time of the national holiday of December 1, the anti-fascist youth together with the Sokols, the ex-servicemen and others, organised a number of very successful demonstrations and processions in Belgrade and in the working class quarter of Trbovlje in Slovenia. December 1 was usually celebrated only by the official authorities. This year, the government fearing that the demonstrations might be of an unusual character, withdrew the order of solemn festivals issued before Munich and contented itself with a closed official ceremony. But the progressive and patriotic forces realised that December 1 had to be a day of broad anti-Hitler mobilisation expressing the will of the people to defend the independence of their country against the fascist aggressors and against their agents in the present government. The government did not dare to ban the demonstrations and thus, in Belgrade for example, thousands of young people of all tendencies marched with banners affirming the necessity of safeguarding national independence and the liberties of the people.

Thus the anti-fascist youth found the real path leading to the unity of the forces of their generation, the best way of serving the youth of their country. In this way they have taken their rightful place in the national community from which the so-

called "nationalists" who sell their country to Hitler wished to exclude them. A great step forward has been taken on the road of collaboration with the national and neutral youth organisations, with the truly patriotic groups. At this moment a great change of attitude towards the anti-fascist youth is taking place. The great hero of the Serbian army, General Pavlovitch, wrote to the progressive youth, saying: "Your task is an honourable one. Be firm and continue your advance." And the review *Vidici*, giving expression to moderate opinion, wrote recently: "Those who insult our youth are anti-patriotic and intriguers." New action is now being prepared by the youth to develop and carry forward its struggle. The Confederation of Serbian Cultural Associations together with prominent people in scientific and patriotic circles are giving youth their support. It is necessary to set on foot the work of organising action for furthering the demands of youth, and for the unification and education of their great organisations.

Organic unity of the anti-fascist youth has now been achieved at Belgrade University, and a broad cultural movement is now gathering around it. The unity of action of the anti-fascist youth of Serbia and Voivodina has been forged, and is well on the way in Bosnia, Montenegro and Slovenia. The movement for unity and for the defence of national independence in Slovenia and Serbia is going forward. The bonds between the democratic youth, the rest of the youth forces and public opinion grows stronger every day. These facts are cause for rejoicing. But there are still weaknesses. A certain leftism, which must be fought consistently; a tendency which finds its most open expression in the petit-bourgeois parties, to use youth only as a technical aid. And above all, the great weakness resulting from the stationary state of the Croatian youth movement. This is because the leaders of this movement do not want an independent youth organisation, and also because the youth forces of the left have not yet found the practical way out of their position of isolation. Tremendous difficulties are also created by the consistent repression, growing more violent from day to day, practised by the government against youth in its cultural and trades union organisations.

Most important, however, is the fact that the youth movement is on the road leading to success and victory. They are advancing towards the unity and fraternity of the youth of Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia in the struggle for a better life, for the independence of a free and happy country. In this great struggle they have aligned themselves on the side of the free peoples and against Hitler, Mussolini and their agents in Yugoslavia.

WORLD YOUTH LEADERS DEMAND JUSTICE FOR SPANISH REPUBLIC

Paris, January 23.

Summoning the 20 million young people they represent to swift action to get justice for the Spanish Republic, members of the International Youth Commission for Aid to Republican Spain have called on them.

(1) To start work immediately and exercise pressure on governments and public opinion to obtain without delay provisions of war material to the Spanish Army.

(2) To multiply all efforts to save the people of Spain, its glorious soldiers, wounded, women and children from ghastly famine.

This appeal, issued by unanimous consent, was decided on after the *International Youth Commission* met here on Saturday to examine the situation in Spain and its consequences for world peace.

After pointing to the horrible sufferings, famine and bombardments, of the Spanish people, and the indescribable heroism of their Army, which if it had the weapons it needs could annihilate the fascist invaders, the appeal states:

"Once again the International Commission recalls that Spain is not demanding intervention but solely that international law as regards freedom of trade be applied.

"In all urgency the International Commission calls on all youth organisation, all those who want to live a free life, for whom the word conscience still has meaning, to intensify their activity on behalf of the Spanish Republic, rampart of liberty."

In the Country of Socialism; Chkalov—An Example for All Youth

IT was with deepest sorrow that the progressive youth of the world received the news of the death of the great aviator Valery Chkalov.

With the great Soviet people, with all people who love liberty and progress, the youth deplore the loss of this magnificent hero whose whole life was dedicated to Soviet aviation.

On December 15, 1938, when he was only 34 years old, death took him from his work and his friends while he was experimenting on a new prototype machine.

Characteristic of the finest qualities of the great Soviet people, which flourishes in this epoch of Stalinism, Chkalov was the son of a coppersmith from the village of Vassilievskaya Sloboda, near Gorki. Up to the age of 15 he was stoker, and an oiler, on a boat. In 1919 he joined the ranks of the Red Army as a volunteer to defend the great October Revolution against foreign intervention. Later, at the fourth airdrome of Kanavini, he became a foreman mechanic. In August, 1921, eager to become a flyer, he entered the Regorevsk flying school. Two years later he was admitted to the advanced aviation centre in Moscow. After his graduation he served the workers' and peasants' Red Army as a military pilot from 1924 until 1932.

Then, continually extending the scope of his knowledge and activities, he entered the Institute of Scientific Aviation Research and became a test pilot. On May 5, 1935, the Government decorated him with the Order of Lenin for the courage and hardihood he had shown in his testing of new types of airplanes. He carried out the testing of more than 70 different types of machine.

The world heard of his exploits. In 1936 he made a flight over the "Stalin Route": Moscow, the Barents Sea, Franz Josef Land, Cape Chelyuskin and Petropavlovsk. After 56 hours and 20 minutes flying, he landed on the little island of Oud, which to-day bears his name. For having accomplished this non-stop flight over the icy Arctic Ocean, under the formidable conditions of that region, the Soviet Government awarded Chkalov and his companions, Baidukov and Belyakov, the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

In June, 1937, piloting the aeroplane "The Stalin Flight," Chkalov, again accompanied by Baidukov and Belyakov, flew from Moscow to the State of Oregon, in the U.S.A., passing over the North Pole. This magnificent exploit compelled the admiration of aviators and public the world over.

A son of the people, devoted to the people, it was from the struggle for the victory of Socialism that he derived that power of achievement which was the secret of his splendid exploits. When he made his flight to the United States, an American millionaire once asked, "Are you a rich man?"

"Sure!" replied Chkalov.

"How much do you own?"

"I have 170 millions."

"What! In dollars or roubles?"

"Neither. There are 170 million people who work for me, as I work for them!"

Chkalov joined the Communist Party in 1936. His active interests extended far beyond the limits of his own profession. He served his country faithfully and well up to his last day. He was a real Bolshevik.

In the eyes of the youth of the Soviet Union, Chkalov was the embodiment of the highest qualities. To-day, this hero's life is an example for the progressive youth of all countries.

The place he leaves will be taken by other heroes who, like himself, are true sons of the Soviet Union and of the Party, and whose sole aim is to respond to the call of the Central Committee: "Be Like Chkalov!"

Facts and Figures about Public Instruction in the Soviet Union

LENIN once said that "without science, the workers are defenceless; with science, they are the main force." On this point also, facts show how truly and faithfully Stalin has carried out the work of the great Lenin. For, under the energetic leadership of comrade Stalin, the Soviet Union has achieved great success in all spheres of Socialist construction. It has developed public instruction to such a miraculous level that the Soviet Union might justifiably congratulate itself. The following facts and figures prove this beyond doubt; and the Leninist Communist Youth of the Soviet Union has played a primary role in this admirable task.

If, in 1930, the country had only 388,000 school-teachers of primary and secondary schools, in 1937 this number had been trebled: there are now more than 900,000 teachers of these grades.

During twenty years of Soviet power more schools were built than during two-hundred years of Russian absolutism.

In the whole period of the existence of Russian absolutism only 74 colleges were built in the Central Russian region. In Moscow alone during 1936, 72 schools were built which, for their size, exceed by far the old tsarist colleges.

In 1936 there were in the Soviet Union 170,000 schools for general education, 2,572 technical schools, 700 institutes of higher education and 695 workers' schools.

During the first five-year plan 10,000,000,000 roubles were spent on public instruction; during the first four years of the second five-year plan 33,097,000,000 roubles were spent. In 1937 the Socialist state spent 18,270,000,000 roubles on education, 140,000 times the amount spent by tsarist Russia in 1913.

In the period 1929-37, during the first two five-year plans, 40 million adult workers in the Soviet Union learned to read and write.

In 1936-37 there were 38 million students attending the schools of primary, secondary and higher education. In 1938 this figure had increased to 40 millions.

The extent of the development of education is particularly evident in the national republics. Before the revolution, in the republic of Azerbaijan, 90 per cent. of the Turks living in the villages were illiterate. In 1936-37, in the 3,230 schools of this republic, there were 549,000 children studying. In Azerbaijan before the revolution there was not a single institute of higher education. Now there are 10 with 10,000 students, of which number, most are Turks.

In the republic of Georgia, in tsarist times, there was only one institute of higher education; now there are 17.

65 per cent. of the population of Soviet Armenia used to be illiterate; now, 90 per cent. of the population can both read and write.

Most of the students studying at institutes of higher education and technical schools receive a scholarship. Thus in 1937, 80 per cent. of these students received a bursary, while 88 per cent. of these students board and lodge at the expense of their school.

In the seven years 1930-6, the Soviet institutes of higher education have turned out 350,000 specialists with diplomas, while the technical schools have made 700,000 technicians.

Since Soviet power has been established many intellectuals and savants have come from the old backward villages (without speaking of the more advanced towns and villages). For example, from 1867 to 1917, the Tchouvachian hamlet of Turiema managed to produce 20 "intellectuals": 3 postal workers, 3 telephonists, 1 doctor's assistant, 1 railroad inspector, 3 army officers and 9 priests. In the 19 years following the revolution, this same village has given more than 400 intellectuals to the country. Of these, 22 were teachers, 11 engineers, 3 agronomists, 4 forestry inspectors, 3 directors of concerns, 5 surveyors, 1 doctor, 29 accountants and 30 Red Army commanders; and all this from a village which used to be the most backward.

This is the balance-sheet of the work achieved by the land of socialism for public instruction. Which capitalist country can show results even to compare with these? It would be much easier to cite examples of the suppression and destruction of schools and universities than to do this.

From the Two Hemispheres

The Political Heritage of Vandervelde

By Pierre Bosson (Belgium)

EMILE VANDERVELDE is dead! Affectionately nicknamed "the Boss" by the Belgian workers, he has disappeared suddenly in the middle of a period of intense struggle on the outcome of which the lot of youth will depend to a very great extent.

The youth regarded Vandervelde as a typical representative of the powerful Socialist movement of Belgium. They respected him for the firm attitude he took up at the end of his life in defence of their cause and of the cause of the Spanish Republic.

They did not know the Vandervelde of before the war. At that time, he was opposed to all forms of revolutionary struggle and was a strong supporter of a reformism always so strenuously opposed by Lenin. Neither did they know him as a signatory of the Versailles Treaty, the tragic consequences of which are only being fully recognised to-day. The young workers know Vandervelde by his resolute action against those who tried to drag the party, with which he had worked all his life, towards National-Socialism. They know him through the aid he brought to the cause of Spain by leading the Belgian workers' party in their opposition to the recognition of Burgos. It is the memory of these actions of Vandervelde, that youth will preserve and cherish. And it is by carrying on his work in this direction that they can best honour his memory.

Vandervelde successfully resisted the attempts of P. H. Spaak and his national-socialist accomplices to drag the workers organised in the Socialist party and the trades unions of the C.G.T.B. (Belgian T.U.C.), towards collaboration with the bourgeoisie and capitulation to their demands. In the future, it will be the youth that will give the incentive to such resistance against the renegades to socialism. They will take good care of the party which "the Boss" has entrusted to them, and to which their own organisation, the *Young Socialist Guard* is affiliated: they will prevent the class enemy from seizing their organisation and will go forward confidently to the goal of Unity. They will always keep in mind the great importance that Vandervelde attached to the task of bringing material aid to Republican Spain. They will intensify this work and will bring new strata of the population into this work of assistance.

The United Socialist Youth, who have already organised many collecting campaigns for Spain, will remember the pride showed by "the Boss" when speaking of their work. At this moment, they have taken important decisions to increase the supplies of material assistance to their Spanish brothers.

Vandervelde has died at a time when a struggle of considerable political importance is developing in Belgium. One of his last political acts, and surely one which does him great honour, was the launching of the slogan "No recognition for Burgos" (Burgos never!). This slogan is, and must remain, a reality. Not at any price must Spaak be allowed to take advantage of the death of Vandervelde to carry his reactionary plans into effect.

"No recognition for Burgos" is the core of the political heritage which Emile Vandervelde has left to the Belgian workers and, more particularly, to the youth. They will do all that lies within their power to see that this last wish of "the Boss" shall be respected. United, animated by the respect they owe to this great man, they will prove themselves worthy of his memory by continuing the work which he began during the last years of his life.

* Last year saw a marked increase in membership of the *Young Communist League* of the Soviet Union—one million recruits. There are now nearly a million State administrative workers in the Young Communists ranks, over 200,000 teachers, 605,000 students, and 170,000 tractor and combine drivers.

Silence the Capitulators!

By Elie Duguet (France)

"Liberty and happiness can be won: that is written on the pages of history in letters of blood. They are won at the cost of great battles, in which men need intelligence, enthusiasm, iron courage and iron will, and sacrifice and heroism."

Marcel Cachin.

NOW when the youth of the working class should be sounding a rallying call to all the younger generation to take an energetic stand against the war-makers, the voices of capitulators, the adherents of Munich, are to be heard in our own ranks, calling on youth to prostrate itself before the Berlin and Rome dictatorships.

In the *Cri des Jeunes* (Youth Call), second number November 1938, one of the editors of this organ of the Young Socialists of France wrote:

"Faced with the same possibilities as in 1914, but taught by experience, the Führer of the Third Reich will no doubt hesitate to hurl his country into a war the issue of which would be fatal for the belligerents, no matter who won." One would expect the editor of the *Cri des Jeunes*, having appreciated this point, to go on to draw the logical conclusions for resistance to the fascist demands, to Nazi aggression.

But he continues:

"And if he (Hitler) finds he has to deal with men disposed to resolve peacefully the existing differences, one may well suppose that peace can be assured for a long time."

This is how the editor of a Socialist youth paper, consciously or not, transforms Hitler into an angel of peace. Peace is not endangered by the clique of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis, but by those who are not disposed to settle the existing differences "peacefully." For the editor of the *Cri des Jeunes* peace is the same as capitulating before all fascist demands. Following this style of reasoning we might say: it is General Chiang Kai-shek and his people who are responsible for the war and the massacre of women and children in China, since they refuse to bow under the domination of the Japanese imperialists.

In the same way we could say: those who are responsible for the appalling war in Spain are President Negrin and the heroic people who are defending the independence of their country against the invasion of Mussolini and Hitler.

And we could say, if we adopted this line of thought, that if Czechoslovakia had resisted dismemberment, it would have been the Republic and not Hitler which bore the responsibility for what happened.

So, if we want peace, we must deliver China to the Japanese imperialists as Czechoslovakia was delivered to Hitler; we must hand over Spain to Mussolini, colonies to Hitler, Corsica and Tunisia to fascist Italy, and Alsace must become Nazi. In a word, we must accept slavery under the fascist lords, the assassins of Matteotti and Gramsci, the Reichstag incendiaries, the executioners at the block, the fomentors of pogroms, those who persecute the working class and the German people, while they dream of extending their reign over the whole world.

What the editor of the *Cri des Jeunes* is asking of us is such miserable capitulation and slavery, as if youth had lost all confidence in the struggle, all its socialist ideals, and all the spirit of liberty. Beyond the Pyrenean frontier is there not an entire people with its youth which, in the midst of the gravest difficulties, fights self-sacrificingly, gun in hand, preferring "to die on their feet rather than live on their knees?" And throughout the world are there not, in Mussolini's prisons, in Hitler's concentration camps, on the Chinese battlefields, representatives of courageous youth, confident in the future, ready to make the greatest sacrifices because they know that happiness, liberty and peace are only to be won after a stern fight?

No, we say. A thousand times no. Youth is far from being Munichised. We remember the young Spanish airman who, when he was wounded, summoned up his last strength and crashed his plane against the enemy machine; the young machine-gunner

who resists till the last bullet; the anti-tankist in the trench, grenades in hand, coolly waiting for Mussolini's tank to come over. We remember the young men of The Marseilles Brigade who, in March 1938, on the Aragon front, had no anti-aircraft guns, grouped themselves in tens and with their rifles brought down four enemy planes.

The spirit which inspires youth and fills it with enthusiasm and admiration is the spirit of Dimitrov at his Leipzig trial, Dimitrov accusing his judges, never retreating, and finally winning his duel against Goering.

Capitulators to the last, the editor of the *Cri des Jeunes* quotes these well-known words of Hitler's :

"Yesterday at Munich it was possible for me to reach an understanding with Mr. Neville Chamberlain, but if tomorrow it is Mr. Duff Cooper or Mr. Eden who comes to power, who knows if I should find in them the same peaceful desire for collaboration."

And he comments :

"Far from seeing in these words any attempt to intervene in the internal affairs of a foreign country, we read them as a cry of alarm which we should do well to listen to ourselves."

That is to say that the editor of the *Cri des Jeunes* approves if Hitler forbids Léon Blum to return to power, since Blum's resolution on foreign policy, adopted at the recent Congress of the French Socialist Party, had been described by the Nazi press as bellicose. But the Young Socialists and Young Communists of France who fought against de La Rocque's followers in February 1934 did not drive back fascism at home only in order to stand at attention before foreign fascism. The editor of the *Cri des Jeunes* warns us that anti-German feeling must not be worked up under the cloak of anti-fascism. He may rest assured; we are Thaelmann's brothers, whose hearts bleed when we have to see how German anti-fascists are now being handed over to the executioner by the new government in Prague, controlled by the Third Reich. It was we Young Communists and we alone who, after the reoccupation of the Ruhr, organised fraternisation between the French soldiers and the German people, and that in spite of long months imprisonment. We are not anti-German; we raise higher than ever the internationalist banner of Marx and Engels. But we will never surrender to Hitler, under the false pretext of avoiding anti-German feeling. Supposing the gallant soldiers on the Ebro, under the pretext of not being anti-Italian, had left the roads of Barcelona open to Mussolini. Young revolutionaries and young anti-fascists must know that our struggle against Hitler and all French Nazis is also the struggle of the German people against its executioners. Let us remember that the first official unity demonstration between Communists and Socialists in France was organised to demand Thaelmann's release. Hitler's strength and the strength of fascism in general has always been made up of the cowardice and treachery of those who ought to have barred the way. But Dimitrov's courage and resolution won the day at Leipzig; the courage and resolution of the Red Army drove back the Japanese from the border of Lake Khassan. That is the reality which will mobilise the forces of the young generation against the fascist war-makers.

The working class youth knows that Hitler, Mussolini and their Japanese accomplices have already begun their imperialist war against the peoples of Abyssinia, China, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia, without listening to the squeakings of the pacifists. This is a reality which we cannot ignore; it is the reason why we take up our stand alongside young revolutionaries and anti-fascists of all countries, above all beside our brothers in Germany and Italy, in order to bring about the defeat of Hitler and Mussolini.

Any other solution would deliver us up, without a struggle, into the hands of our mortal enemies. This is so true that the editor of the *Cri des Jeunes* is forced into defending the Nazi regime :

"It is undeniable," he writes, "that the material situation of the German people is better this year than it was last year. Doubtless the addition of the Sudetenland will contribute further to this improvement."

We really did not expect to find such statements in the columns of the *Cri des Jeunes*, organ of the Young Socialists of

France. We are convinced that this does not represent the views of the Young Socialists. Like us, they are filled with indignation against the pogroms; like us, they are aware of concentration camps; like us, they know that the working week in Germany is about to be extended to 60 hours. Like us they reject the capitulationist theories which lead to the glorification of fascism. More firmly united than ever, enthusiastic and militant, the anti-fascist youth of the world will rally the entire young generation and put a check on the war-makers.

On December 2, there was held in Paris a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Youth International. The resolution voted by representatives of all countries, except those of France, said :

"In view of the fact that, some weeks only after the Munich agreement, the German and Italian dictatorships are already making new claims, on the colonial question as well as in Spain, the E.C. of the S.Y.I. welcomes the appeal of the Executive of the Labour and Socialist International for all forces of democracy to gather. It expects especially that the organisations of the socialist workers movement and that the governments of the democratic countries will use all their influence to prevent the Spanish question being 'solved' by a second 'Munich agreement.' The Spanish question must be solved by the Spanish people themselves."

The resolution demands the withdrawal of all foreign troops fighting for Franco, protests against the bombing of open towns and calls on the youth to unite. The resolution appeals to France to carry out her role in the struggle for the freedom and peace of Europe, and concludes :

"It (The Executive Committee) is not unaware of the severe blow suffered by the European democracies as a result of the Munich agreement. The consequences of this black-mailing foreign policy of the Third Reich and the recent pogroms of the Hitlerian system against the Jews, barbarous and cruel, are only a new and heart-rending proof that fascism does not lead the peoples to liberty but into an abyss of ruin and barbarism. The Executive Committee of the S.Y.I. expresses the deepest sympathy of the socialist youth to these new victims of Hitlerian terror, and it appeals to the youth of the whole world that in view of the horrors and sufferings which fascism brings ever and again, to the peoples over whom it has gained mastery or who have surrendered to it, that in view of this they keep loyal to the ideals of humanity and human dignity."

Thus the E.C. of the S.Y.I. condemns the Munich policy as "... a severe blow for democracy" and denounces fascism as the maker of war. We regret that only the French delegation voted against this resolution, in order to present another in which the names of Hitler and Mussolini are not once denounced or charged as war-makers. The French delegation to the S.Y.I. (which in the course of the congress before the last, October 3, 1938, called down upon itself, in the person of B. Chochoy, a stinging retort from Adler, the President of the S.Y.I.) should call to mind that in France itself the extraordinary Congress of the Socialist Party, held at Montrouge, held an opinion different from that of the delegation.

We are glad to be able to emphasise that in face of some partisans of total capitulation the majority takes a firm stand within the S.Y.I., as it will certainly do so inside the Socialist youth movement in France, to resist fascism. Nevertheless, the E.C. of the S.Y.I., in spite of the wish of several of its affiliated bodies, remains hostile to unity of action. It is unity which holds back the invading forces in Spain and will assure victory. Unity which, in Belgium, has put the Rexist campaign into retreat. Unity which, in February 1934, in France, checked Colonel de La Rocque, while in Germany and in Austria fascism has raised itself to power thanks to disunity.

There is no doubt that voices will be raised more often and more loudly in all youth organisations demanding unity and action to save the younger generation from fascism.

* During the 20 years of Soviet power 110 million copies of Lenin's works were published. *State and Revolution* appeared in 17 languages and 1,700,000 copies, *Imperialism* in 22 languages and 1,800,000 copies.

The States General of European Youth

By H. Grauser

THE Second Session of the *Etats-Generaux de la Jeunesse Europeenne* (E.G.J.E.) was held in Paris from December 14 to 18. The seemingly harmless activities of the E.G.J.E. mask dangerous semi-fascist tendencies as will be clearly seen from what follows.

HISTORY AND ORGANISATION OF THE E.G.J.E.

The first number of the *Cahiers des Etats-Generaux de la Jeunesse* appeared in June, 1934. The sub-title was "For the free confrontation of youth and their assertion in the life of the nation." Nowhere in this issue, or in any subsequent publication of the E.G.J.E., does there appear any indication of the origin or of the backing of the organisation. We find instead an editorial, written by *Jeanne Canudo* in the name of the Central Organisation Committee of the *Etats Generaux de la Jeunesse*, in which she calls the *Etats Generaux de la Jeunesse* "One of the necessary means of youth expression." Note that at this time the *Etats-Generaux* was a purely French organisation; the European angle was added later. The *Etats Generaux de la Jeunesse Francaise* was launched at a preliminary meeting held in Paris on June 23 and 24. Naturally there was a response on the part of youth to an effort which seemed to help to bridge the gap between the different organisations of youth, but when it was seen that the organisers had certain ulterior aims and acted in a thoroughly undemocratic way, the majority of organisations severed all connection with the E.G.J.E. In the last four years numerous denials have appeared in the press, of organisations and individuals declaring that their names have been used by the E.G.J.E. without their consent. Note for example, a short note to that effect, that appeared in *Le Temps* of October 20, 1937 by *Jean Zay*, Minister of Education.

Long resolutions, in character a mixture of reactionary and left-revolutionary character, were passed. But nothing was heard of the E.G.J.E., between 1934 and 1937, and the E.G.J.E. was discredited everywhere.

Since 1937, however, the E.G.J.E. has taken on a new life, this time as the "*Etats-Generaux de la Jeunesse Europeenne*." The first conference of the E.G.J.E. was held in Paris during the Exhibition, in September, 1937; and its second conference in December, 1938. The French Minister of Foreign Affairs *Bonnet*, and other pro-German elements patronised this latter conference.

Les Cahiers des Etats Generaux de la Jeunesse Europeenne, as the publication was now called, with a sub-title "For the free confrontation of the youth of Europe and their assertion in the life of the world," contains pages and pages of vague, mystical articles and inquiries on every conceivable subject. The two mainly active people in it are still *Jeanne Canudo* and *Armand Mora*, "permanent secretary," a title indicative of the manner of work of the E.G.J.E.

Who took part in the conferences of the E.G.J.E.? The Press communiques prepared by their organising committee announced "500 delegates from 25 countries" in September, 1937. Delegates say that there were never more than 120 or 130 people present. There were indeed official delegations from Germany and Italy (remember the official reception to the delegates in the German pavilion of the Exhibition, when the health of Hitler and Mussolini was drunk!) and from Belgium, under the patronage of M. Spaak, the Foreign Minister of Belgium. (Half the Belgian delegation, disgusted with the German and Italian demonstrations went home half way through the Conference.) The real character of other delegations can be judged by the case of the "British delegation." A young visitor to the Exhibition, a Mr. Ambrose, thinking the conference had something to do with the *Groupe Savoir*, a popular front cultural organisation, (because the offices of the E.G.J.E. are in the Hotel des Societes de Savantes) was the only Englishman present, and was asked to speak in the name of "British youth" at official sessions, at banquets and on the radio . . . and he was not a member of any youth organisation and no one had mandated him. This is the way in which the E.G.J.E. collects its delegates! If this was the constitution of the British delegation, one can imagine how real were the delegates from Yugoslavia, or Roumania or Sweden.

As for the French delegation, the large youth organisations of the Popular Front stayed away, but a manoeuvre was adopted to pretend that the delegation was really representative. In the words of *Pierre Picherit*, one of the delegates, writing in *Le National* of October 9, 1937:

"Each country had three votes. French votes were divided in this way: one for the 'right,' i.e., the royalist students, France Reelle, National Youth, U.P.J.F. (Doriotist youth); one for the 'centre,' i.e., for the Youth section of the National Union of Ex-Servicemen (in reality a right wing organisation), and youth of the Alliance of Independents; one for the 'left,' but since these organisations were absent, the vote was attributed to Armand Mora, the general delegate of the E.G.J.E." ! ! !

This is a typical manoeuvre of the E.G.J.E.

At the Second Conference of the E.G.J.E., held from December 14 to 18, 1938, delegates present announced an average participation in plenary session of 60, or some 6 or 7 in each of the six sections. German and Italian delegates were there again, but very much in the background at the Conference. Seemingly they were unwilling to compromise themselves by associating with a conference that was small and weak in participation and discussion. There were no English, Scandinavian or Dutch delegates, for example.

IDEOLOGY OF THE E.G.J.E.

The original convocation for the *Etats Generaux* in 1934, when a purely French organisation, begins with the astonishing statement that "Few adults are living, nearly all young people are still alive. Youth is the most living truth in the world. . . Life has a certain aim, and it is youth alone which can rectify deviations in its direction." Beginning with such a vague and mystical conception, the surprising form of the subsequent "inquiries" and surveys launched by the E.G.J.E. is to be expected. Passing from such empty phrasemongering in 1934 that "Les Etats-Generaux declares itself revolutionary by necessity. . . and hopes to be able to arrange an assembling place for an effective Revolution which will wipe out the roots of the capitalist power," to others equally fantastic because so banal as "Europe is a fact. Neither ideologies, nor particular interests, etc. . . can destroy the fact that Europe exists;" it appears that the "immediate object of the *Etats-Generaux* is to make Europe."

Wrapping itself around with this peculiar jargon, it is not surprising that the E.G.J.E. has not succeeded in finding a mass basis. What is, however, more dangerous, is the political significance of some of its more recent expressions. In the first place, its conception of Europe: according to the E.G.J.E. Europe consists of 27 countries, that is to say the Soviet Union is excluded. Why? "For many reasons, geographical, political, and cultural, the U.S.S.R. is more an Euroasiatic power, or rather continent, neither European nor Asiatic, but both at the same time." So writes Armand Mora. And he goes on to add (see article in *La Republique*, September 19, 1937.) "There is another fundamental reason, of a practical order, and against which we can do nothing. It is that such a number of European nations demanded the exclusion of this power (the U.S.S.R.) that it would have been useless to call a European Conference with the U.S.S.R. there, since none of the great western powers would have come." Who are all these powers asking for the exclusion of Russia? Italy and Germany? It must be so, for we have the example of the World Youth Congress held in Geneva, where every country in Europe was represented, except Italy and Germany, and where not one of these delegates made any objection to the presence of the Soviet delegation and many of these delegations came with government support.

Finally, four strongly fascist tendencies are to be noted. (1) A constant reference to the different "spiritual currents" of Europe to-day, such as the celto-British spirit, the German spirit, the Mediterranean spirit, etc. Here is the beginning of racial doctrine. (2) Attitude to women. "Women, and her civilising mission—art, beauty, culture . . . Is not women's primary social mission that which keeps her at home?" (3) Attitude to the colonial problem. "Africa poses a grave human problem; being an immense reservoir of raw materials, an enormous consumers' market, a possible outlet for the surplus populations of Europe, and a complex mixture of European political

sovereignities; what is the best way for Europe to use her (Africa's) possibilities to her own interest and prestige, and for the benefit of her native people?" (4) The leading role of the U.P.J.F. (Doriotist youth) in the recent sessions of the E.G.J.E.; they boast in their publications that as a result of the work of their delegates, resolutions were voted condemning "the political doctrine of communism," the Workers Sports International, etc.

Finally, the E.G.J.E. is dangerous as a potential centre grouping all the anti-democratic, pro-German forces amongst youth organisations. It is not enough to laugh at the stupidities effected by the E.G.J.E. in the past; nor to disregard its activities because of its mystical and often stupid formulations. Every effort must be made to break down such slight influence as the E.G.J.E. has to-day, and to prevent it from being regarded anywhere as an organisation which represents youth. At a time when youth is faced by ever-increasing threats of aggression, when unity is more than ever necessary in the fight against the fascist menace, we must fight against all such efforts as the E.G.J.E. which will split the forces of youth. Already youth has found its own methods for working together and will not be carried away by such efforts. Youth has seen the necessity for organising the widest possible anti-fascist front and the struggle for freedom and for peace must be carried on more firmly than ever before, destroying in the process all such reactionary efforts described above.

Fourth Annual Congress of American Students Union

By Joseph Starobin (New York)

THE American Student Union, the leading organisation of American high school and college students, held its Fourth Annual Convention in New York City, December 26-30. 606 delegates from 107 college chapters and 76 high school chapters met in the building of the City College of New York upon the invitation of the New York Board of Higher Education, a fact which signals the changed relationship between the progressive American student body and the democratically-minded college administrations.

The large proportion of high school students indicates the progress which the Student Union has made among this major section of the student body. The presence of about 45 Negro students, representing colleges in the Middle West and the South, is in itself a measure of the achievements of the Student Union, as well as its shortcomings.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt sent personal greetings expressing the hope that the Student Union would make each campus "a fortress of democracy." The opening remarks by Fiorello La Guardia, progressive Mayor of the City of New York, emphasised the position of the American Student Union in the framework of American political life. Greetings came also from John L. Lewis, of the Committee for Industrial Organisation and William Green of the American Federation of Labour. Mrs. Thomas McAllister, chairman of the Women's Division of the National Committee of the Democratic Party, found it worth her while to welcome the delegates and spend several days at their sessions.

On the basis of its previous programme and its activities during the year, the American Student Union has already demonstrated its support of the Chinese and Spanish peoples. Its stand in favour of international good faith among nations, against violation of treaties, and for a positive American foreign policy was symbolised last April in the traditional one-day student strike against war. The Armistice Day celebrations this year found the Student Union carrying through demonstrations in defence of Czechoslovakia. And the recent Nazi pogroms against the Jews and Catholics brought forth the same intense indignation from American students as from the people as a whole.

But this December, in the post-Munich world, the American Student Union found it necessary to re-emphasise its past position and formulate certain new orientations. Basing themselves upon the annual report of Joseph P. Lash, executive secretary, the delegates resolved by a vote of 434-9 that

"efforts to have democracy adequately serve human needs

in the United States cannot be divorced from efforts to achieve and strengthen democracy throughout the world. Nor can they be divorced from the struggle to restore and strengthen peace throughout the world."

Because they were convinced that "vigorous leadership by American democracy is more necessary than ever after Munich," the students demanded revision of the American neutrality acts and voted in support of a democratic application of the Good Neighbour policy. They also complimented U.S. Secretary Harold Ickes for his recent rebuke to Hitler.

While they insisted that a positive foreign policy against aggression must constitute "our first line of national defence," the students added a new note to their programme by declaring that

"in the present circumstances, the American Student Union does not believe it possible to urge unilateral disarmament on the part of American democracy. We believe that disarmament can be realised only when nations act in concert to re-establish a climate of security, friendship and peace."

The A.S.U. repeated its friendly approach to students in the Reserve Officers Training Corps (the government agency to train student military officers), but favoured a "review of the personnel and syllabi of the R.O.T.C. so that there may be no doubt of its devotion to democracy."

It was, therefore, only a logical result of this new orientation toward military training on the campus that the American Student Union greeted President Roosevelt's announcement that 20,000 aeroplane pilots and 20,000 aeroplane mechanics will be trained in American colleges in the next period. By a vote of 256-72 the A.S.U. asked that the training take place under the auspices of the National Youth Administration, but not at the expense of other funds which ordinarily go to help thousands of American students complete their academic courses.

As the voting shows, the isolationists, the isolationist Socialists, and the Trotskyist-influenced Socialists were outnumbered by overwhelming proportions. Their forces were limited to observers, whose speeches made little impression on the delegates. This year the isolationists held a separate student conference under the name of Youth Committee Against War at Columbus, Ohio. Their attempt to establish a dual student centre constitutes a new danger for the American Student Union, but it also indicates that the isolationists and their friends can no longer operate openly within the organisation. In that sense, it reveals their organisational crisis as well as their political bankruptcy.

The Convention urged local college and high school chapters to take part in local political action and strengthen the collaboration of progressive forces in the 1939 municipal and the 1940 general elections. Under the slogan "Education for Democracy; Democracy in Education," conferences will be held on each campus to democratise the educational curriculum, to revise textbooks, etc., and co-operate more actively with progressive administrations. At various panels, in which prominent Liberals, Labour leaders, educators, and writers participated, the students discussed what they could do to help refugee students, to improve the economic conditions of the professionals, and advance unity with the Negro student body.

In the next year, the American Student Union will campaign to get 250,000 signatures to a **Human Rights Roll Call**. This activity will culminate in a National Student Assembly, embracing wider sections and other kinds of student organisations. This Student Assembly will constitute a national mobilisation for progressive political action in 1940 and will provide a channel to dramatise student support for the objectives of the New Deal.

Four years ago, the American Student Union emerged out of the unity movement of Socialist and Communist students. Its December, 1938, convention demonstrated that the A.S.U. has come of age; has rallied support among students of Liberal, rather than exclusively radical, affiliation.

This convention expressed more of the authentic, collegiate atmosphere of the average American college than any other. And while the A.S.U. is attracting more average American students, it nevertheless continues to be the most politically alert, the most politically sensitive democratic force on the American campus.

A Letter of President Roosevelt

IN a letter addressed to Miss Shields Collins, General Secretary of the World Youth Movement, President Roosevelt wrote:

"I have been much interested in the plans you outlined to me in connection with your request on behalf of the World Youth Congress Movement.

As one who believes that the cornerstone of our international relations should be the policy of the good neighbour, I am gratified to know that your organisation is resolved to emphasise the necessity of building a constructive peace based on justice.

Closely allied to this determination to work for peace is your purpose of aiding, as far as possible, the victims of war. Young people from neutral countries can be of immense usefulness by co-operating wherever possible in the humanitarian work of the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees. And it is encouraging to know that you are determined at all times and under all circumstances to exercise your influence on behalf of peace, peace based upon justice and good will.

REPLY TO THE LETTER OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

"The Council of the World Youth Congress Movement, representing youth in fifty-four countries, meeting in Paris on December 11, 1938, expresses to you its sincere thanks for the message which you addressed to our Movement, in which you emphasised the role that youth should play in working for a lasting peace, a peace based on justice.

The events of the past few months, which have forced a country under intolerable pressure to make the highest sacrifice have resulted in a situation in which the peace of the world is becoming ever more precarious. Nevertheless, in replying to your message, we wish to assure you that we are prepared to accept the challenge of our time—the defence of the high principles of justice and liberty. We, therefore, undertake to work for a better understanding among the youth of the world, and at the same time carry out daily the ever more urgent work of assisting refugees and the victims of war and of racial persecution.

Recently, at a time of acute international tension, you proposed the calling of an *international conference* to which all the governments of the world should be invited, with a view to settling international disputes and re-establishing the co-operation of all nations in order to avoid the likelihood of aggression. The World Youth Congress Movement wishes to assure you of its enthusiastic support for the furthering of this aim, which, if attained, will enable the peoples of the world to find the fulfilment of their peaceful ideals before it is too late."

AID FOR SPAIN

Since July, 1936, to the end of 1938, national and international I.F.T.U. bodies have contributed 80 million francs in direct and indirect aid to Republican Spain.

On an international scale, 35 million francs was raised. 14 million from Great Britain, six from Sweden, five from Belgium, two from Holland, one from France. Of this, 17 million was spent on buying foodstuffs, four million on clothes and shoes; one million on tobacco and soap; four million on setting up and maintaining the hospital at Onteniente.

British, French and Danish trade unionists have provided money so that Spanish children could be sheltered in their countries. Miners in Britain supplied seven million francs capital so that orphans' homes in Catalonia can be kept going for four years.

Dutch trade unions gave 2,200,000 francs to support three Spanish children's homes in France.

Nine million francs' worth of gifts have been sent direct to Spain by the French trade union movement; and another 3,600,000 francs given to provide shelters for Spanish children.

Between 12,000 and 13,000 tons of foodstuffs, medicaments, clothes and soap have been distributed to the civilian population of Catalonia, Valencia, Madrid, Alicante—from August, 1936, up to the end of last November.

Youth and Economic Life

Youth in Britain

By Cecil Thomson

EVERY normal young lad or girl has the desire to do some kind of useful, constructive labour and to acquire skill of one kind or another.

The overwhelming majority of young people want to become skilled craftsmen. They look forward to the day they will leave school and learn a trade.

But these and many other healthy instincts are crushed by the difficulties which confront them when they enter into industry. It is well known that a tremendous decline has taken place in apprenticeship in Britain. At least ninety per cent. of the youth are either completely unskilled, or only semi-skilled. A big decline has taken place in all the important industries and young people are drifting away from them into the light mass production industries, such as, electrical and radio equipment, motor vehicles, canning foodstuffs, etc. Practically every industry has become a blind-alley for the youth and the demand for child labour and sacking at eighteen or twenty years of age has continued without interruption in the past few years.

Between August 23, and December 13, 1937, the number of young people between fourteen and sixteen years of age who were unemployed, dropped from 21,014 to 10,481. But during the corresponding period the number of unemployed between sixteen and eighteen years of age, increased from 24,030 to 26,644. During this period in 1938 the same thing happened but the number of unemployed in both age groups was considerably higher than the previous year. The figures at November 14, 1938, were, 18,941, between fourteen and sixteen years of age, an increase of 5,866 over the previous year, and 32,069, between sixteen and eighteen years of age, an increase of 7,868 over the previous year.

Instead of assisting young people to fulfil the ideals and aspirations with which they set out in their early years, the employers cast them aside without any consideration for their well-being and future and take in new fresh young lads and girls to work for low wages and they in turn are cast aside. The employers and the government may thwart the desire to learn, to do some useful, constructive labour, and in many cases condemn young lads and girls to idleness, but they cannot crush the spirit and desires of youth for these things. Youth are in revolt against their long hours, low wages, and lack of training. The wave of *strikes* among the young engineers, young miners, clothing workers, and many other sections of youth, some time ago, are indications of this revolt and the possibilities which exist for a big advance in youth conditions in 1939.

Wide sections of the people in all walks of life are interested and concerned about the future of the youth. All from different angles and for different reasons but all imbued with the idea that something must be done, and done soon, to prevent any further deterioration in the standards of the young people. 1938 was a year in which many new steps were taken to improve youth conditions. Youth themselves entered the struggle more and more for their own rights and many new allies were won to their side.

In January, 1938, the Trades Union Congress, General Council, called a special conference of union executives to discuss the problems of youth. They adopted the *Youth Charter* which puts forward demands for a forty hour week, technical training, holidays with pay, etc.; demands, which, if won, would alleviate to a large extent the intolerable conditions of the young people. They also launched a campaign to win these demands and to win two million new young members to the trade unions.

Mr. H. H. Elvin, President of the T.U.C. at that, said, "there will be continuous effort until the problems of youth in industry are solved."

A series of conferences were organised by the T.U.C. which met with a wide response from the trade unions and many young people were recruited as a result of the campaign.

Some of the unions in the important industries have applied

the charter and vigorous campaigns are being conducted to win the youth to the unions and win the demands put forward.

The Amalgamated Engineering Union, National Committee, adopted demands which meet the needs of young engineers and a very successful youth conference was held in London which adopted demands based on those put forward by the National Committee. An important agreement on youth was concluded by the building workers union in London and a beginning has been made in applying the charter to clothing, clerical, print, and distributive industries. Experience has shown that if unions in each industry adopt demands which meet the needs of the youth, and vigorous campaigns are conducted to win these demands the youth will respond in no uncertain way.

Considerable progress has been made in building youth organisation in the trade unions. There are now sixteen *Youth Advisory Councils* attached to some of the main Trades Councils in London and the provinces and nine or ten are at present considering forming them. In London there are Youth Councils attached to nine District Committees of unions and four more are considering setting them up. A beginning has been made in some places in some of the main unions, in developing wider forms of organisation for the young trade unionists. The A.E.U. Youth Committee in *Glasgow*, has a football league with sixteen teams from the main factories on the Clydeside. Clubs have been set up in one or two places and attempts are being made to extend this on a wide scale. Other methods are being tried all of which aim at organising all the free time of the young people in and around the trade unions.

In May, last year, the *British Youth Peace Assembly* adopted a charter of youth rights which is in essence the same as that adopted by the trade unions. This charter has the support of thirty-one national youth organisations and many prominent people concerned with youth problems. Many sections of the youth movement nationally, and in the areas, are active in support of the demands put forward and at present investigations are being conducted into the conditions of youth in preparation for the National Enquiry which is now on and will continue to February 4. The members of the commission of enquiry include such well-known people as, Mr. *Michael Bruce*, London and Home Counties Fitness Council, Rev. *Henry Carter*, Methodist Church, Mr. *Howard Marshall*, broadcaster on youth and social problems, a young trade unionist, and the secretary of the commission is Mr. *John Platts-Mills*, barrister. Reports on youth conditions will be made, by trade unions, National Council of Girls Clubs, Teachers organisations, National Union of Students, Local Assemblies, Student Christian Movement, National Police Court Mission, Social Service Councils, and young people from the different industries will appear before the Commission to report on their conditions of work.

The charter can be won provided that the whole youth movement becomes transformed into an active force, conducting local activities and winning the progressive people to support of the needs of the young people, and the campaign by the trade unions is carried forward to a new stage bringing new thousands of young people into the struggle for their own rights.

Unemployment and Misemployment of Young Professional Workers

By André Victor

THE problem of the future which is of such concern for the whole of our generation also presents itself very sharply to the young intelligentsia. The possession of degrees and diplomas, after several years of study often under very difficult circumstances, no longer brings with it the certainty of finding a job or being able to use one's capacity and qualifications. Young graduates are to be found increasingly together with young workers and peasants in the ranks of the unemployed. In general, it is difficult to give exact figures for post-graduate unemployment, since graduates are not signed on at labour exchanges and there are no regular figures issued concerning them. There is, furthermore, misemployment of young intellectuals who cannot find the work for which they are fitted and who accept whatever they can get.

The years after the world war saw a considerable increase in attendance at universities and technical schools. Here are some instances:

	1913	1934
France	41,044	87,152
Sweden	6,363	11,302
Great Britain	55,922 (1925)	64,427
Rumania	5,930	39,670
United States	424,441	989,757

Throughout this period an important number of women attended higher education centres.

Parallel to this increase in the number of young graduates, the possibilities of employment did not develop to the same extent. This does not, of course, mean a plethora of young professional workers.

For doctors, the following figures have been provided by the Consultative Commission for Intellectual Workers of the International Labour Office in 1934:

	Possibilities of jobs per year	Number of graduates
France	500	1,000
Holland	600	1,485
Norway	50	100
Sweden	1	60
Switzerland	80	150
Yugoslavia	20	350

In France, the number of doctors increased from 24,000 in 1926 to 25,400 in 1935, an increase of 5.8 per cent. In the same period the actual number of those who passed medical degrees increased from 7,536 to 10,242, an increase of 39.6 per cent.

Unemployment is not less considerable among teachers, engineers and technicians, nurses, etc.

The policy of restriction and economy cuts, pursued by reactionary governments, has also contributed to the increase in the number of unemployed professional workers. The reduction of teaching staffs, the stopping of recruitment to the civil service, the suppression of public works, have produced an important decrease in the number of jobs. This policy of the decrees, inaugurated in France under Laval, has been continued by the *Axe-commission* of Paul Reynaud, which practically liquidates the improvements brought about in this sphere by the governments supported by the Popular Front.

As we have already indicated, alongside unemployment proper we have to consider the important phenomenon of misemployment among the young intelligentsia. In *Belgium*, an enquiry undertaken among 1,200 students showed, even in 1934, that only three quarters had a position fitted to their studies, 7 per cent. were doing work for which their university courses had not fitted them, 7 per cent. had given up their courses, and 4 per cent. were unemployed. Similar figures could be given for many countries. We will only quote the fact, mentioned in the Italian paper *Cantiere*, that when a competition took place in Rome for 60 police jobs, of 3,000 who applied for the job, 1,000 were university graduates.

It is not necessary to insist upon the moral and social effects of this state of affairs among the young professional classes. It is one of the vital causes of the lack of equilibrium, the disorientation of youth, and also of the birth and development of a feeling of revolt against the old world, which shuts out any prospect for the future. It explains why, in some countries, as in Germany, these young men and women fell an easy prey to fascist demagoguery and that, on the other hand, those who understand that their interests and their future are bound up with those of the broad popular masses have gone to swell the great progressive movement, giving rise to a widespread progressive movement among students in many countries.

Confronted with the development of unemployment and misemployment of young professional workers, the pressure of public opinion and of the young intellectuals themselves has caused various remedies to be discussed, whether abortively or with success. Most of them under the pretext of reducing a plethora of professional workers, aim in reality at striking grave blows against the right to higher education.

Indeed, the first idea which occurred to the authorities and the official organisations was to reduce the number of students. Thus a whole series of measures were adopted barring the way into the universities.

In the totalitarian countries, there was open introduction of the *numerus clausus*. In Germany, for instance, a decree of April 25, 1933 fixed the number of students to be admitted to the

universities at 15,000, the number of students not being allowed to surpass 10 per cent. of this total. The number fixed represents about half the number of those at the universities before the decree. In 1935, the number was reduced again by a third and limited at 10,000. In Hungary, Italy, Poland, Rumania and Greece, the law permits a limit to be fixed for the number of students admitted to the universities.

In other cases, more flexible methods have been used to obtain the same results. In France, the U.S.A. and Luxembourg, the authorities proceeded by stages throughout the last few years to render more difficult the access to universities and to pass examinations. Nobody objects to the raising of the general standard of the studies, written examinations, increase in the number of certificates for a degree, etc., aim above all at creating additional difficulties and reducing the number of graduates. At the same time, we must mention the increase in the cost of studies and of exams, which, with the decrease in scholarships, eliminates a stratum of less wealthy students.

Intellectual overproduction has been attributed above all to competition by women, and a great many measures have been proposed or carried out, tending to exclude them, at least to some extent, from the university. It is thus that in England, for instance at Oxford, the number of women students may not exceed a quarter of the total number of students. In a great many countries, the number of women students is limited.

In Germany and in Italy, another form of *numerus clausus* and even of *numerus nullus* is applied, based on "race." Since the recent pogroms there is not a single Jewish student at a German university. The same thing is aimed at in Italy since the application of the racial laws; this applies also in the Balkan states and in Poland.

Other measures, aiming at organising a system of professional employment for young graduates, reached a better solution within the limits of present possibilities. In Britain there are employment bureaux which offer jobs for which university graduates are fitted. In several countries university statistical bureaux have been set up, with the aim of providing figures and information about graduates (France, Belgium, etc.). Quite recently, an *international bureau of university statistics* has been created by the International Institute for Intellectual Co-Operation. The tendency here has been to insist on the necessity for diverting young professional workers to the country. Among doctors, particularly, there is a big concentration in important towns, while the country is short of doctors. We can only approve of these measures in general, as aiming at bringing young graduates more easily into the liberal professions. On the other hand, all this is far from adequate to bring about a radical improvement.

A third series of measures aims at creating *self-aid organisation* for young unemployed intellectuals. In several countries these people are used in establishing statistics and in librarian's work, etc. In some countries, *Labour services* have been formed, that is to say occupational centres for young unemployed, often in the form of labour camps. In Germany, this service is compulsory, being a preliminary condition to entrance to a university.

The progressive student movement in various countries has often had to examine this problem. Two fundamental ideas emerge from the many discussions, conferences and congresses devoted to the question:

(i) Absolute opposition to the reduction of the number of students, in any form whatever. For this means an attack upon the right to education; and because there is not a real surplus of professional workers in relation to the real needs of society.

(ii) The only important remedy which can be arrived at within the present structure of society is the opening of new possibilities of employment, by the organisation of widespread public works, by a better organisation of the public health services, by the construction of schools and hospitals, in a word by the medical and technical equipment of the country.

Here are some essential characteristics of the problem. There is one country where the problem does not arise, a country where the right to work is guaranteed: the *Soviet Union*, which

has no unemployment. That is why *Molotov* could declare at the first conference of workers in higher education in the U.S.S.R. (May 15, 1938)

"Try to find here a scholar without work, a specialist without work! If anyone can discover a scholar in the Soviet Union who has no work, we will give him a prize! Here, the contrary is true. Soviet higher education produces up to a hundred thousand experts every year; and in spite of that we are still suffering from a lack of experts in a good many branches. Here, the words *unemployment in the learned professions* sound really grotesque."

Fascism and Youth

Have the Nazi Conquests Improved the Lot of German Youth?

By Karl Kunert

DURING the last year Nazi fascism won rich booty. Hitler owes these successes largely to his yes-men in Western Europe, a fact which does not prevent him from systematically plundering these same yes-men. Austria has been occupied, Czechoslovakia dismembered. The German fascist brigands have brought back into the Reich the Sudeten regions—which never belonged to the Reich. Since the national oppression of the Austrian people, Germany is crushed under the weight of its new name: "Greater Germany," which is a war slogan, the slogan of the Nazi aggressors.

The Nazis celebrate their successes: "Greater Germany," the destruction of the Versailles Treaty.

We should like to ask: do these fascist victories convey any positive benefit to the youth of Germany? Not in the least. If Germany has become larger, she has not become greater; she has not become a better place for youth, but a far worse place. "Versailles at home," i.e. the utmost exploitation of the German working people, of the sons and daughters of Germany, by the fascist usurpers who reign for the benefit of the armament profiteers, is worse than ever and a thousand times more shameful. "Greater Germany" has only become greater for the big capitalists of the Krupp and Thyssen type, for the financiers, the new-rich, the Nazi millionaires after the style of Goering and Co. Like jackals, this gang has set upon the occupied territories, grabbed their wealth, shared out their banks, factories, mines, land and forests. This is the real face of the fascist "liberators" who have subjected to their domination the people and the youth of Austria and the Sudeten Germans seized from Czechoslovakia.

After each of these acts of violence, with each occupation of foreign territory, Nazi fascism has driven German working class youth further and further into profound slavery and oppression. Thus, the annexation of Austria was followed by the promulgation of the fascist law alleged to be for the protection of youth; it is a law which subjects youth to still greater exploitation, in the interests of the four-year war plan; it imposes a limitless number of hours of overtime upon apprentices—unpaid overtime of course. The decree made at the beginning of the year by the fascist labour ministry imposes upon all workers a *ten hour working day*; from this we can judge something of the incredible oppression of youth from now on. Another, no less reactionary, measure was issued in the notorious law for youth: the suppression of apprentice wages, to be replaced by an "obligatory contribution to the expenses of apprenticeship." In almost all cases this simply amounts to a shameful *reduction of wages*. In the Harpen mines, for instance, young miners raised to the "apprentice" class will, in future, receive instead of their former wage of RM. 1.83 (piece rates) only RM. 0.62. The young agricultural workers of Pomerania have suffered a no less shameful reduction of wages, amounting to 50 per cent. After the occupation of Austria, Goering proclaimed national service for all German workers. Consequently, tens of thousands of young workers were torn from their work and made to labour at fortifications against France, on the Reich's Western frontier. Now the humiliation of this one year of forced labour has just been inflicted on *all working class girls* between the age of 14 and 25, compelling them to do domestic work without pay for a year in

the houses of the wealthy and the Nazi bureaucrats, the landlords and the big farmers.

After the annexation of the Sudeten regions, there was a fresh series of brutal attacks made against German youth; it was cunningly arranged that the horrible anti-semitic pogroms should precede these attacks. Young people and even children in the fascist youth organisations have been forced to save, it being understood that the fascists intend to use these savings to cover the cost of militarising young people and children in compulsory "holiday" camps. These girls and boys are not allowed to make use of their own savings; this right is reserved to the leaders of the Hitler Youth. In their hostility to youth the fascist chiefs are cynical enough to declare that "the obligation of saving will be a well-deserved lesson to those, far too many, who spend their pennies for selfish purposes." Even the last pfennig is taken away from youth to swell the war-chest.

That is not all. The exploiter's fetters tighten around the wrists of German youth. Increased exploitation for young workers in the arms industry is the real meaning of the decree issued at the end of December 1938 by Goering, abolishing from January 1, 1939, even the slight social benefits provided by the youth "protection" law which has existed up to now, although already mutilated, have been abolished. Under this latest decree youth when engaged on piece work have to put in nine or ten hours a day. The armament capitalists will rub their hands together gloatingly when they think of the profits so raised. But the struggle is not over. Struggle is more than ever a vital necessity under the cruel war-regime of the Nazis. And youth will know how to make use of the hypocritical slogan issued by Baldur von Schirach for 1939: "Youth's health comes first." The proof is offered by the fact that 23,000 young girls (a figure admitted by the Nazis themselves) last year, with the aid of their parents' advice and that of free youth, with the aid of their various ways from the one year's forced labour for all German girls. Another example: the action of the young miners against the intolerable new law which compels them to serve seven years' apprenticeship, robbing them of hope for the future and keeping them for years at a time at one and the same mine. A third of the young miners refused to accept this agreement. And the compulsion was dropped.

These acts of resistance reflect the deep longing for a better life felt by young German workers. German youth wants higher wages, liberty instead of everlasting service, drill and restriction. But Hitler's war policy, far from bringing them the least of their demands, means more cruel oppression. Fascism's imperialist policy has nothing in common with the ideals German youth has for a free Germany for the German people, an honoured Fatherland with a future. Fascism's policy serves only the imperialist plans of the hated German monopoly capitalists. It is for their interests, which have nothing in common with the interests of the German people, that the government wants to doom German youth to death in war. It is for this that the Hitler fascists have women and children massacred in heroic Republican Spain.

Now Hitler is preparing new war provocations. But German youth's demands will not be satisfied in such a way; for that, a peaceful Germany is needed. Thanks to the propaganda campaigns of anti-fascist workers and parents who love freedom, the youth begins to understand this more and more clearly. In the factories, in the Hitler Youth and in the barracks, young workers begin to unite in real comradeship in order to help each other defend their common rights and to insist upon a real policy for peace and freedom and fraternal understanding with the youth of all countries.

Learn and Comprehend

A Guide to the Study of Marx's "Capital"

By J. Alpari

2.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORM OF VALUE

IN his article *On the Question of Dialectics*, Lenin gave as an example of how dialectics should be presented, the Marxist method of *Capital*. This brief characterisation is already an exceedingly valuable aid to the Study of *Capital*. Lenin writes:

"In *Capital*, Marx in the first place analyses the most simple, ordinary, typical, everyday relation, which can be observed a thousand times, of bourgeois commodity society: exchange of commodities. The analysis lays bare in this most simple phenomenon (in this 'cell' of bourgeois society) all the contradictions (or the germ of all contradictions) of modern society. The further presentation shows us the development (growth and also movement) of these contradictions and of this society in the sum of its fundamental constituent parts, right from its beginning to its end."

The learned men of the Second International have continually complained that Marx did not develop his economic teachings within the framework of a history of economy. We shall see that the first chapter of *Capital* contains already a brief history of economy; it is true, only a logical development,

"stripped," as Engels says, "of the zig-zags and of the disturbing accidents of the historical process."

Marx does not, however, place the history of economy at the head of his work. "Our investigation must therefore begin with the analysis of a commodity," says Marx in the first paragraph of *Capital*. Marx does in fact proceed from the cell form of bourgeois society.

"That must be the method of presentation" said Lenin in the above mentioned article. In choosing this scientific method, Marx reveals already in the simplest exchange relations all the contradictions, or the germs of the contradictions, of modern society.

Exchange relations presuppose a definite social form of labour products. The tallow candle which the peasant woman makes for the family use is consumed in the family, does not come into exchange relations with other products of labour. Where products of labour regularly reach the consumer indirectly by way of exchange or purchase (purchase is also only a form of exchange, namely money for commodities) there commodity production prevails. The commodity has a use-value, otherwise it would never be demanded in exchange; but it has in addition an exchange-value. As a commodity it is produced for exchange.

"Use-values... constitute the substance of all wealth, whatever may be the social form of that wealth. In the form of society we are about to consider, they are, in addition, the material depositories of exchange value," says Marx. Marx presents this thought in a somewhat different way in his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*.

"One cannot tell by the taste of wheat whether it has been raised by a Russian serf, a French peasant or an English capitalist... Use-values do not bear any marks of the relations of social production."

Where the products of labour appear as exchange-values, there we have at the same time a definition of the social relation under which they were produced. They arose from commodity production.

Here use-value has only the role of being the depository of exchange value.

One must sharply distinguish between use-value and exchange-value. Nearly all the misunderstandings and deliberate confusion of the bourgeois professors arise from the mixing together of these two categories. Use-value is a necessary condition of exchange, but it does not determine exchange-value.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WITH SPAIN

* The Young Communist League of France issued the slogan to collect one million francs by the French Youth up to February 5. On this day the Y.C.L. will open 8,000 individual collection boxes and transfer the results to the Spain Aid Committee.

* The French People's Aid commenced the organisatory preparations for the "grain week" to be held from February 12 to 19.

and certainly not the amount of exchange value. Exchange-value is indifferent towards use-value and pays no regard to it. Marx gives some striking examples of this in his *Critique of Political Economy*.

"A volume of Propertius (a romantic poet highly esteemed by Goethe) and eight ounces of snuff may have the same exchange-value, in spite of the disparity between the use-values of tobacco and elegy."

Here we find also the oft-quoted passage:

"The exchange-value of a palace can be expressed in a certain number of tins of blacking. London blacking manufacturers have, vice versa, expressed the exchange-value of their numerous tins in palaces."

Marx develops this idea in much greater detail in *Capital*, employing other examples and arrives at the result:

"As use-values, commodities are, above all, of different qualities, but as exchange-values they are merely different quantities, and consequently do not contain an atom of use-value."

After having, in another connection, in *Capital*, on the Fetishism of Commodities, brought to a conclusion his treatment of the differences between use-value and exchange-value, Marx states:

"Since exchange-value is a definite social manner of expressing the amount of labour bestowed upon an object, Nature has no more to do with it, than it has in the fixing of the course of exchange."

It is a definite skilled work (tailoring, shoemaking) which converts commodities into use-values.

"If we make abstraction from its use-value, we make abstraction at the same time from the material elements and shapes that make the product a use-value; we see it no longer a table, a house, yarn, or any other useful thing. Its existence as a material thing is put out of sight. Neither can it any longer be regarded as the product of the labour of the joiner, the mason, the spinner, or of any other definite kind of productive labour. Along with the useful qualities of the products themselves, we put out of sight both the useful character of the various kinds of labour embodied in them, and the concrete forms of that labour; there is nothing left but what is common to them all; all are reduced to one and the same sort of labour, human labour in the abstract."

In order to explain this idea, the following passages may be quoted from the *Critique of Political Economy*, which deals here with the same subject but in a different manner:

"In order to measure the exchange-value of commodities by the labour time embodied in them, the different kinds of labour must be reduced to uniform, homogeneous, simple labour, in short, to labour which is qualitatively the same, and, therefore, differs only in quantity."

"It matters as little in the case of labour whether it be embodied in gold, iron, wheat, or silk, as it does in the case of oxygen, whether it appears in the rust of iron, in the atmosphere, in the juice of a grape, or in the blood of a human being."

"This reduction appears to be an abstraction; but it is an abstraction which takes place daily in the social process of production."

"This abstraction of human labour in general virtually exists in the average labour which the average individual of a given society can perform—a certain productive expenditure of human muscles, nerves, brain, etc. It is *unskilled* labour to which the average individual can be put and which he has to perform in one way or another."

In Marx's time gold was mined with the most primitive means, and therefore it contained only unskilled labour. And this product of unskilled labour, in which was embodied only the most unskilled human labour, average human labour, became gold-money, in which all commodities were estimated, or measured. The abstraction of human labour from every *special* quality is realised, among other things, also in the most valuable of all commodities, in gold; it is, or it was, the product of the most unskilled labour.

Marx develops this thought further:

"A use-value, or useful article, therefore, has value only because human labour in the abstract has been embodied or materialised in it. How, then, is the magnitude of this value to be measured? Plainly, by the quantity of the value-creating substance, the labour, contained in the article. The quantity of labour, however, is measured by its duration, and labour-time in its turn finds its standard in weeks, days and hours."

"Some people might think that if the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of the labour spent on it, the more idle and unskilful the labourer, the more valuable would his commodity be, because more time would be required in its production. The labour, however, that forms the substance of value, is homogeneous human labour, expenditure of one uniform labour-power. The total labour-power of society, which is embodied in the sum total of the value of all commodities produced by that society, counts here as one homogeneous mass of human labour-power, composed though it be of innumerable individual units. Each of these units is the same as any other, so far as it has the character of the average labour-power of society, and takes effect as such; that is, so far as it requires for producing a commodity, no more time than is needed on an average, no more than is socially necessary. The labour-time socially necessary is that required to produce an article under the normal conditions of production, and with the average degree of skill and intensity prevalent at the time."

These are some of the most essential passages in *Capital* in which Marx sums up his theory of value.

Let us call to mind what Marx says in his letter to Kugelmann. Even if he had not written a special chapter on "value," he says there, his analysis of the real relationships would contain the proof and demonstration of the real value relation. In fact Marx shows that the production of commodities is a relation of social production, where social labour must be distributed in definite proportions. *A priori* there does not take place any conscious social regulation of production. The reasonable and the necessary in nature asserts itself only as a blindly working average, in that every individual labour must prove to be a proportional part of the total social-labour, and only thus constitutes an exchange value. An analysis of the social-labour in the production of commodities, and not an analysis of the commodity, therefore, leads us to an understanding of exchange-value, which is nothing else but the proportionate part of the total social labour contained in the commodity.

Marx then, however, proceeds from the commodity and by a sharp analysis comes to the definition of exchange value.

One of the bitterest opponents of the Marxist theory of value was Professor Sybel. He was one of the first critics of *Capital*, but nevertheless admitted:

Marx's arguments are in the highest degree concise and conclusive; whoever accepts his premises is irresistibly compelled to recognise the final conclusions.

Sybel's criticism arises from the fact that he confuses exchange-value and use-value. He writes:

"The buyer does not ask how much time it has cost to produce a commodity, but whether its consumption, by satisfying his need, imparts to him a corresponding quantity of vital force. The value of coal increases in winter, because more coal is needed for the production of bodily warmth." To which Dietzgen aptly replied:

"If in Russia (where coal was to be had at half price compared with Germany) a ton of coal is produced in half the time, that is to say, if the coalmines there yield so much more than in the south (Germany), then the value of the coal there, or its average price, will be only half as much, although the winter may be twice as cold and twice as long."

To all similar objections, however, Marx replied himself. If the utility, that is to say the use-value determines the amount of the exchange value, how is one to explain the difference between the value of bread and diamonds? Here only the labour theory of value can provide a correct explanation.

"Diamonds are of very rare occurrence on the earth's surface, and hence their discovery costs, on an average, a

great deal of labour-time. Consequently much labour is represented in a small compass. *Jacobs* doubts whether gold has ever been paid for at its full value. This applies still more to diamonds. According to *Eschwege*, the total produce of the Brazilian diamond mines for the eighty years, ending in 1823, had not realised the price of one-and-a-half years' average produce of the sugar and coffee plantations of the same country, although the diamonds cost much more labour, and therefore represented more value. With richer mines, the same quantity of labour would embody itself in more diamonds and their value would fall. If we could succeed at a small expenditure of labour, in converting carbon into diamonds, their value might fall below that of bricks."

Marx points out the dialectical opposition both in the commodity and in exchange-value.

He speaks of the two factors of a commodity: use-value and exchange-value, and of the two-fold nature of the labour contained in commodities: concrete individual labour, which determines the use-value, and abstract social labour, which determines the exchange-value. This revelation of the opposite sides of one and the same commodity is of tremendous practical importance. If the productive power is increased, then instead of one coat, two coats can be produced in the same time. The material wealth will increase. But at the same time the exchange-value falls. For if two coats can be produced in the same time (assuming that the productivity is the same in all the labour processes in question) as formerly it took to produce one coat, then the two are worth only as much as the one was before. The two-fold character of labour produces an antagonistic movement.

In exchange-value there are likewise two opposite sides. Individual labour and social labour confront each other, that is to say, individual labour must assume the character of social labour. This contrast has an even greater practical importance. Because, in the process of exchange, individual labour must prove to be social labour, i.e., has value only in so far as it contains really necessary social labour, there arises out of this contradiction a whole number of social convulsions through so-called depreciations or over-appreciations on a national and international scale.

"If the market cannot stomach the whole quantity (of linen) at the normal price of 2 shillings a yard, this proves that too great a portion of the total labour of the community has been expended in the form of weaving. The effect is the same as if each individual weaver had expended more labour-time upon his particular product than is socially necessary. Here we may say with the German proverb: 'caught together, hung together.'"

The form of value does not appear in the individual commodity.

"Turn and examine a single commodity, by itself, as we will," says Marx, "yet in so far as it remains an object of value, it seems impossible to grasp it."

Marx therefore proceeds to an analysis of exchange, when two commodities confront each other. Here there is first fully unfolded the play of dialectical opposites which are inherent in the products of human labour as soon as they assume the form of commodities.

Two commodities are to be exchanged for one another; let us say 20 yards of linen for one coat. There results the equation: 20 yards of linen = one coat. The equation implies that there must be contained in them something common which is different from their bodily form, for only thus can there be a common measure for them. One cannot add together five cups and four plates. If, however, we disregard their special qualities and consider only what is common to them, that they are pieces of crockery, then they are commensurable and one can say, five cups and four plates added together make nine pieces of crockery. What is common in linen and a coat is the exchange value contained in them, the same human labour embodied in the linen and coat are in the given example, perfectly equal to one another, but in exchange relations they play different parts. The linen expresses its value in the coat; the coat serves as the material

in which that value is expressed. The value of the linen is related to the coat; it appears as its relative value, and we thus have before us the relative form of value. The coat officiates as equivalent, or appears in equivalent form. Both forms belong to each other, but they stand in opposition to each other.

"The relative value form and the equivalent form are two intimately connected, mutually dependent and inseparable elements of the expression of value; but at the same time are mutually exclusive, antagonistic extremes—i.e., poles of the same expression. They are allotted respectively to the two different commodities brought into relation by that expression. It is not possible to express the value of linen in linen. 20 yards of linen = 20 yards of linen is no expression of value. . . . The value of the linen can therefore be expressed only relatively, i.e., in some other commodity. The relative form of value of the linen presupposes, therefore, the presence of some other commodity—here the coat—under the form of an equivalent."

Marx describes this equivalent form as a mirror of value in which the value is reflected, and the special bodily form of the commodity recedes more and more into the background. To this expression he adds the following brilliant remark:

"In a sort of way, it is with man as with commodities. Since he comes into the world neither with a looking glass in his hand, nor as a Fichtian philosopher, to whom 'I am I' is sufficient, man first sees and recognises himself in other men. Peter only establishes his own identity as a man by first comparing himself with Paul as being of like kind. And thereby Paul, just as he stands in his Pauline personality, becomes to Peter the type of the *genus homo*."

This remark contains a profound philosophic idea. For us it is important in the first place as an elucidation of the concept of value. The comparison is a striking one. In order to be able to speak of man, I must disregard the special qualities of man, the qualities of the individual person. Whether child or adult, man or woman, Christian or Jew, German or Frenchman, black or white—all belong to the human race. The case is similar with regard to value. It is not a question of joinery, tailoring, or weaving—but only general labour, which is contained in all commodities.

Like the comparison: individual and man as genus, so is the comparison linen as individual commodity with the coat as the expression of value, in which what is common to them both, value, finds expression.

Accordingly, the dialectical contradictions of exchange value are most clearly apparent in the equivalent form, which Marx then also develops in detail.

As we are not able in these articles to give the contents of *Capital*, but only wish by some elucidations and hints to render easier its study, we must content ourselves with this simple reference. We would mention, however, that the advantages of the French edition of *Capital* were never so plainly apparent as in the development of the form of value. Marx himself, already in the first German edition, pointed out that the German *wertsein*, to be worth, expresses in a less striking manner than the Romance verbs *valere*, *valer*, *Valoir*, that the equating of commodity B to commodity A, is commodity A's own mode of expressing its value. He uses here as an example the well-known saying: *Paris vaut bien une messe*—Paris is worth a mass—the placing of Paris on the same level of value as a mass, being much more pregnant in the French original than in the German translation.

But it is not a question of a word. The presentation of the value form is full of exact and precise shadings. Marx made use of the clear cohesion and logical construction of the French sentence in order to produce also from the purely stylistic standpoint, a work which neither *Voltaire* nor *Diderot*, these great masters of French philosophic prose literature, ever approached.

For the reader with some dialectical training, and possessing diligence and perseverance, these arguments in the French edition give the greatest pleasure.

The form of value in which two individual commodities confront one another, Marx calls the simple individual or chance accidental form. He takes example from modern life. In actual

fact such a value form dates far back in human history. Already in the stone age tribes came together in order to exchange certain products with each other. The one had some superfluous salt, the other a superfluous stone axe, and exchanged the one for the other. In the equation; a certain quantity of salt—one stone axe, there is the first value form, beyond which man does not go for centuries, even if the products of labour to be exchanged change. Nomadic tribes exchange furs for weapons, coloured cloths for draught animals. Here exchange-value appears as something accidental, independent of the labour contained in the commodity. In reality, however, we know that the labour which was necessary to produce the commodity already played a decisive part in this primitive barter. Value was a measure of labour.

The logical development of the value form by Marx reflects a great span of real historical events.

Later on exchange was no longer confined to various tribes which were alien to each other, but production of commodities spread more and more in the one and the same community. To use the example given by Marx: 20 yards of linen = 1 coat or 10 lbs. of tea or 40 lbs of coffee or 1 quarter of wheat or 2 ounces of gold or half a ton of iron. This form of exchange relation, where one commodity is exchanged for many other commodities, Marx calls the total or expanded form of value.

If 20 yards of linen exchange for one coat, if this form of value exists only accidentally, then the expression of value also appears only by accident. If however the one commodity stands in exchange relations with various other commodities again and again and in definite proportions, then here the value-expression is no longer a chance one. The value of the linen represents a quite definite quantity, whether it is expressed in coffee or in wheat, in gold or in iron. The value can be recognised here as the same human labour expressed in various forms, in the coat, in iron, in wheat or gold.

But here, too, there are a number of contradictions which entail exceedingly sharp social complications. As the commodities confront each other in their natural form, one private labour is confronted by other private labour, and the exchange only takes place if the owners encountering each other need their commodities in their natural form, the result may be somewhat as follows: a joiner goes to the market and seeks to exchange his product for flour. There comes a miller with flour to the market. He, however, wants wine for the product of his labour. There come a vinegrower with wine, but wants to exchange his wine for linen. A linen-weaver comes along: he however wants to obtain a goat, and so on. There are commodities on the market, for every one of which there is a demand, but because they can only be exchanged in their natural form and the requirements do not mutually cover each other in their natural form, no exchange can take place. The contradiction is solved however. In the course of development a single commodity becomes the expression of the value of all other commodities, the universal equivalent form, a commodity which everybody accepts even if he does not need it in its natural form but can always employ it as a means of exchange. One commodity becomes the universal equivalent form. This form of value, Marx calls the general form of value and presents it in the following formula:

1 coat	} = 20 yards of linen.
10 lbs. of tea	
40 lb. of coffee	
1 quarter of wheat	
2 ounces of gold	
½ ton of iron, etc.	

This form corresponds perfectly with the money form, except that here linen takes the place of gold.

Gold, however, does not always function as money. In Tyrol for example, up to the 16th century, linen served as money. Those who have read Stanley's book: "How I found Livingstone," know that when he went on his expedition to Africa he had to take with him a large quantity of wire, which there, up to the end of last century, served as money.

A great historical development was necessary before precious metals took over the exclusive role of money.

In the money-form one of the main contradictions of commodity production is solved. Commodities represent values only insofar as they represent *general social labour*. That is what is common to them, and therefore they can be exchanged. But they appear in their opposite in the form of *special labour* (joinery work, tailoring work, etc.). In the course of development, however, one commodity, (linen, wire, gold) assumes the form of a general commodity, that is, a form which is independent of its use value, and in which, therefore, *general social labour* is most plainly apparent, without, however, losing the character of special labour. It is commodity and money.

"Money is a crystal formed of *necessity* in the course of the exchanges, whereby different products of labour are practically equated to one another and thus by practice converted into commodities. The historical progress and extension of exchanges develops the contrast latent in commodities, between use-value and value. The necessity for giving an external expression to this contrast for the purposes of commercial intercourse, urges on the establishment of an *independent* form of value, and finds no rest until it is once for all satisfied by the differentiation of commodities into *commodities and money*. At the same rate, then, as the conversion of *products of labour into commodities* is being accomplished, so also is the conversion of one special commodity into money."

With the development of the form of value from its most simple expression up to the money-form, Marx has accomplished a scientific achievement, which the bourgeois economists had not even ventured to tackle. The solution of the money riddle is one of the greatest theoretical achievements of political economy. Nobody until Marx had been able to give a correct explanation of money. Lassalle, who was far in advance of the bourgeois economists of his time, wrote in the fifties of the last century, in his *Heraklit*:

"Money itself can never be really consumed: it signifies thereby only the products which can be exchanged for it and which, therefore, it only represents."

"Money is quasi means of exchange, only the personified value the *obvious abstract unit* of production."

"That money is nothing *real* but is something only *ideal* is shown by the fact that money, or its value as such, can never really be consumed."

During the imperialist world-slaughter and since then, one experienced how even Louis d'or can be consumed, when, for instance, one had to visit the dentist. If one wanted one's false teeth repaired one had to part with the last hoarded piece of gold in order that it could be used for that purpose.

The Marxist theory of value, however, is of great practical importance. There has always been swindling and juggling with money; in our days more than formerly. In order to render this swindle easier, the learned men of the bourgeoisie put forward and still put forward appropriate theories of money. These theories are best refuted by the bankruptcy to which they lead. "Bankruptcy assumes the role of practical criticism." (MARX)

(To be continued)

Lenin as Student

HAVING finished, in the spring of 1887, and at the age of 17, his studies at the Simbirsk secondary school—for which he obtained the gold medal and a certificate marked "excellent"—Lenin entered Kazan University on August 25, 1887. But he did not study there very long, being expelled three months later, in December.

According to university regulations of 1884, all prospective students had to produce a certificate of political reliability, to be furnished by the local police. Students were forbidden to organise students' reading-rooms in the universities, to visit refectories. Public meetings were also prohibited, and there were numerous other restrictions. Students were forbidden to take part in any kind of social group.

After the attempt on the life of Alexander III, which was organised by a group of the Narodovolski (People's Will) group,

posed almost entirely of students, the forces of reaction were further strengthened. Repression now extended to the middle and higher schools.

In Kazan University, as in other universities, there existed the illegal student organisation "Zemlchestvos." The "union council" of the Zemlchestvos directed all the social life of the students. After his entry, Lenin became an active member of the Simbirsk university Zemlchestvos.

Towards the end of autumn, 1887, unrest among the students began to increase. In the universities, and particularly in that of Kazan, the students began preparations for a protest against the reactionary rule and the existing regulations.

The students were also greatly aroused by the arbitrary expulsion of whole groups of students, purely on suspicion or because of the reports of officials.

It was impossible for Lenin to remain outside of the revolutionary agitation of the students of Kazan.

Already, when a high school student, he read a great deal, preparing himself for revolutionary work. Even before entering the university, Lenin had his own revolutionary convictions.

"While in his last classes at high school, Vladimir Ilyich passed every evening in reading, in preparing himself . . . for revolutionary work. In the spring of 1887 . . . we received news of the execution of our elder brother. Many years have passed since then, but I can still see the expression on Vladimir's face at that moment, and I can still hear him say: 'No, we shall not follow on that road—that is not the road to follow.' He began to prepare himself for that road which, according to his opinion, should lead, and really led, to victory." ("On Lenin," by D. I. and M. I. Ulianov.)

On December 16 (December 4, Old Style), 1887, a students' general meeting was organised in Kazan University, which lasted over four hours. It elected a committee to conduct the meeting, at which V. I. Lenin also spoke. This is what N. N. Alexeiev wrote about this speech in his memoirs:

"At this meeting there also spoke Vladimir Ilyich Ulianov, still a youth, with a frank and sympathetic face and sparkling eyes. He spoke of the tsarist yoke, of the injustice of the tsarist courts, and of the necessity of a protest by the students of all universities against the existing regime."

The organisers and all who took an active part in the meeting were expelled from the university. They were arrested and detained in the police station or in underground cells in the fortress of the Kremlin of Kazan. After his arrest, Lenin was placed in one of the underground cells.

In the list of students, expelled because of their participation in the meeting, drawn up by Potapov, the inspector of the university, Lenin's name is marked by three crosses, indicating that he was the most dangerous.

On December 19 (December 7, Old Style), 1887, Lenin was exiled to the village of Kukushkino, of the Laishiev District, near Kazan, where he was kept under strict police surveillance. He stayed in exile until the autumn of 1888, when he was permitted to return to Kazan.

During his banishment, Lenin was able to work a great deal at his education. He read many books on social questions, hunted up interesting articles in old copies of reviews, and read books sent him from the Kazan library. On his return to Kazan, V. I. Lenin studied with particular attention the first volume of *Capital*.

There existed at that time numerous Marxist groups in Kazan, organised by an active revolutionary, the Social-Democrat N. E. Fedozeiev. Vladimir Ilyich was an active worker in one of these groups.

In May, 1888, Lenin applied for readmission to Kazan University. When forwarding Lenin's application to the Ministry of Education, the head of the Kazan local education authority wrote: "This applicant is the brother of the Ulianov who was executed for participation in a political crime, and, in spite of his high ability and considerable knowledge, he . . . cannot now be regarded as a reliable person." In agreement with this, the Minister of Education wrote at the foot of Lenin's application: "He is the brother of the other Ulianov, isn't he?" (meaning Alexander Ulianov). Then, further on: "Yes, that can be gathered from the conclusion of the application. Not to be admitted by any means."

Finally, however, after numerous appeals by Lenin's mother,

they permitted Lenin to sit for his university examinations as an extra-mural student. Without neglecting in any way his revolutionary work in Samara, where he was a member of a Marxist circle, Lenin studied widely and diligently for about a year and a half, preparing himself for his examinations. These he eventually passed at the University of St. Petersburg, obtaining the highest credits.

Many of those who knew Vladimir Ilyich were amazed at the way in which, without any help, he had prepared for his examinations so rapidly and with such brilliant results. Besides his great abilities, Lenin was also aided by his tremendous capacity for work.

Realising the immense importance of a knowledge of foreign languages, Lenin always devoted considerable time to their study. He knew English, French and German.

F. Kerenski, the principal of the high school which he attended, frequently told M. A. Ulianov, Lenin's sister, that what he particularly liked in Lenin's compositions was: "The carefully considered scheme, the abundance of ideas joined to conscientiousness; the clarity and simplicity of the style."

Both in high school and university, Lenin studied extensively, systematically and assiduously. He believed that any given question should be studied according to a set plan.

He did not merely read through his books, but really studied them, writing summaries, taking notes, and writing his own ideas on their theses.

In his work, Lenin was exact, painstaking and systematic, being conscientious and self-disciplined in everything he undertook. His working-day was always carefully planned, and he scrupulously respected his daily time-table.

In spite of his full days, Lenin also found time for sports and for playing chess. He also liked to listen to music in the evenings, and he himself sang to his sister's accompaniment. This young man abounded in life and energy and liked to laugh, to amuse himself, during his hours of rest and leisure.

The systematic methods of reading which Lenin developed in his youth, his great capacity for work, the extraordinary tenacity and perseverance with which he had worked at high school and university, remained with him all his life. In prison in St. Petersburg, in exile, in emigration, and, later, under the Soviet power Lenin worked extensively and hard. He made use of nearly 500 volumes in preparing his classical work: *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*.

The work of the young Lenin at his education, in schools and university, were only a preparation for his vast revolutionary activity. He knew how to combine tenacious and intensive study with vast revolutionary energy, with great passion and an unbreakable will in his struggle against his enemies.

Lenin's Advice to the Youth

Extracts from an address delivered by Lenin on October 2, 1920, to the Third Congress of the Young Communist League.

WE can only build up Communism with the sum of knowledge, organisations and institutions, with the reserves of human strength and the resources taken over from the old society. It is only by radically transforming the education, organisation and training of youth that we shall be able to ensure that the efforts of the young generation will result in the creation of a society which does not resemble the old one; that is, the creation of a *Communist society*.

This is why we must study in detail the question: what should we teach the youth and how should the youth learn, if it is really to show itself worthy of the name of Communist Youth, how shall it be prepared so that it will be capable of building to the end and of completing that which we have begun?

I must state that the reply which comes first and which appears to be the most natural is that the Youth League—as all youth in general which desires to proceed to Communism—should study Communism.

But this answer, "study Communism," is too general. What should we do in order to learn Communism? What should we choose from the sum of general knowledge in order to acquire a knowledge of Communism? Here we are threatened by numerous dangers which frequently reveal themselves as soon as the task of learning Communism is presented in an inexact manner or is too narrowly understood.

It is natural that, at first sight, one should imagine that to learn Communism means to assimilate the totality of knowledge contained in Communist manuals, pamphlets and books. But such a definition of the study of Communism would be inadequate and too crude.

If the task of studying Communism consisted solely in learning that which is contained in written works, in Communist books and pamphlets, we would too easily produce Communist braggarts; now, that would harm us and would be to our continual detriment, because people like that, who had learned and read what is contained in Communist books and pamphlets, would find themselves incapable of assembling all this knowledge and of acting as Communism really demands.

One of the evils, one of the greatest scourges which the former capitalist society has bequeathed us, is the complete rupture between books and practical life; for we had books in which everything was written down, as it could not be better done, and, in the majority of cases, these books represented the most ignoble and hypocritical untruth, and presented the Communist society to us under false colours. This is why simply to assimilate what is written about Communism would be false to the ultimate degree.

Nowadays, our speeches and articles do not simply repeat that which was formerly said about Communism, because these speeches and articles are related to daily work, which affects every side of life. Without work, without struggle, the bookish science of Communism, drawn from Communist pamphlets and books, is worth absolutely nothing, for it would continue the old rupture between theory and practice, a rupture which represents the most ignoble feature of the former bourgeois society.

The danger would be even greater if we were to restrict ourselves merely to assimilate the Communist slogans. If we had not realised this danger in time and had not directed our entire work so as to avoid it, then the contingent of a half-million or a million of men, of young men and girls, who would have called themselves Communists after such a study of Communism, would have occasioned great detriment to the cause of Communism.

Marxism is the example which shows how Communism is the product of the sum of human knowledge.

You have read and have heard it said how Communist theory, the Communist science created principally by Marx, how this doctrine of Marxism ceased to be the work of a Socialist of the Nineteenth Century, genius as he was, and how this doctrine became that of millions and tens of millions of proletarians throughout the whole world, who apply this doctrine in their struggle against capitalism.

And if you had asked the question: why has the doctrine of Marx been able to take hold of millions and tens of millions of hearts of the most revolutionary class, you could have obtained but one reply: it was thus because Marx relied upon the solid foundation of human knowledge conquered under capitalism; after having studied the laws of the development of human society, Marx understood that the development of capitalism leads inevitably to Communism, and—and this is the essential—he knew how to prove this by relying solely on the most precise, the most detailed, the most profound study of this capitalist society, and because he had completely assimilated all that the old science had yielded.

He made his criticism of everything that human society had created, he recast it, leaving no question in shadow. Everything that had been created by human thought, he recast, criticised, verified by the working-class movement, and he drew from it conclusions that men, limited by bourgeois environment or shackled by bourgeois prejudices, had been unable to draw.

It is this that we must keep in mind when we speak, for example, of proletarian culture. Without a clear understanding of the fact that only a precise knowledge of the culture created by the entire development of humanity, that only the recasting of this culture, will permit of the creation of proletarian culture—without such understanding we shall not be able to accomplish our task.

Proletarian culture does not appear from no one knows where, it is not something invented by men who call themselves

specialists in proletarian culture. That is an absurdity. Proletarian culture should appear as the logical development of the sum of that knowledge which humanity has accumulated under the yoke of capitalist society, of the society of land-owners, of the society of officials.

One can only become a Communist after having enriched one's memory with a knowledge of all the riches produced by humanity.

Sports Movement

World Workers' Sport Movement

By Andre Delaune

THE question of the Workers' International Sports Movement should engage the attention of the youth of the world.

Indeed, in the course of the last few years, this movement has been severely tried. With the coming into power of fascism in Germany, and Hitler's annexation of Austria, numerous sports organisations have completely disappeared.

In Germany particularly, before the rise of Hitler to power, the Labour and Socialist Sports International, on the one hand, and the Red Sports International, on the other, had many thousands of members. Each of them possessed fine sports grounds, stadiums, gymnasiums and swimming pools. With the advent of the Hitler regime, all this equipment was seized by the Nazis. And to-day some newspapers in various countries actually claim that it is Hitler who has given the young people all this sports equipment for open-air recreation and physical culture.

It is interesting to note that under fascism the sports movement in Germany is on the decline. At the end of 1932, unattached and independent organisations had a membership of eight millions; in 1936, under Hitler, published figures showed a membership of five millions.

Before Munich a strong workers' sports movement existed in Czechoslovakia, with 220,000 members belonging to the section of the Labour Socialist Sports International, and 50,000 to that of the Red Sports International. After Munich, the affiliated organisations of the Labour Socialist Sports International withdrew from the International. The Red Sports International no longer possesses many national sections. In most countries these have now affiliated to the L.S.S.I. to help unite the workers' sports movement.

But one section always remains in existence. It is composed of millions of young men and women, and each day it grows bigger and stronger. Its members excel in their various branches of sport and hold many world records. This is the section of the Soviet Union. The organisation has a total membership of nearly 13 million young sports enthusiasts, of whom, including the junior teams, three millions are footballers, two million are interested in athletics, and there are three million women actively participating in sports.

There are also two national movements which are unattached to any International, having great influence among the sports enthusiasts in their respective countries. These are the Norwegian workers' sports movement with its 80,000 adherents, and the Labour Sports and Gymnastics Federation of France, with its 160,000 members.

Before 1936 there was a very strong section of the R.S.I. in Spain, with more than 70,000 young people, forming the Labour Sports and Cultural Federation. In spite of war conditions in Spain, those who are struggling with all their might to rid their country of Hitler's and Mussolini's troops are by no means indifferent to the necessity of young people's sport.

Such then, in brief, is the situation of the workers' sports movement throughout the world. The essential task facing that movement is the immediate realisation of international sports unity. One must regret that certain leaders of the Labour and Socialist Sports International are still opposed to the realisation of this end. But we are convinced that, in spite of this, the workers' sports movement of the world will join together in one International.