

Pass
the
AYA

THE

CHALLENGE OF YOUTH

Help the
Spanish
Anti-Fascists

Vol. V.—No. 1

561

LATE FEBRUARY, 1937

Three Cents

DEBS COLUMN FIGHTERS SAIL TO FIGHT FASCISTS

Youth Descend On Washington In AYA March

FLASH!

William Hinckley, chairman of the American Youth Congress and Abbot Sinnon, National Legislative Counsel, were arrested in Washington, D. C. charged with violating their parade permit for the American Youth Act Pilgrimage.

They were waiting in front of the White House for the arrival of a wagon load of AYA petitions which were to be presented to the President.

Hinckley and Abbott were part of a crowd of young people who sat in the middle of the Avenue behind the White House as the petitions were brought up from the rear of the parade.



Working class militiamen on guard outside Madrid. Debs Column volunteers will join them in the fight against fascism.

As we go to press the first detachments of unemployed and student youth are arriving in Washington, D. C., to participate in a three day demonstration for the American Youth Act. The American Youth Act Pilgrimage, of which they are the vanguard, takes place on the 18th, 19th and 20th of February. It includes a full program of meetings and interviews whose aim is to bring to Congress and the President the demand of underprivileged young people for the passage of the American Youth Act.

It was exactly eleven months ago that the Youth Act hearings in Washington made the

plight of youth a nationally discussed issue. Today, the cuts in relief appropriations have made it evident that nothing is to be expected from the goodwill of the administration without the organization of youth themselves.

Many of the Pilgrims will come completely disillusioned as to the nature of Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. Many young people supported both in the last elections. However, the curtailment of relief, the huge

armament program and the increasing conservatism of the administration are opening their eyes to the evident fact that Roosevelt is after all a spokesman of capitalism.

To these disillusioned young people the Pilgrimage is offering a chance to register their demands in a way which offers a possibility of fulfillment.

They are determined to fight along with the workers and unemployed to wrest their exist-

(Cont. on page 4)

Many Skilled Men Sent; Communists Break Unity

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

BARCELONA, Spain — These lines are written just after a most disastrous incident to the working class movement in Madrid. Under pressure from the Communists the government has closed the headquarters, the radio station, and the printing press of the P.O.U.M. This was the climax of a campaign of slander and denunciation by Communists against all non-Communist working class elements. These attacks have coincided almost exactly with the Moscow trials and come at a time when Madrid is being hammered heavily by Franco's forces.

The P.O.U.M. has been accused in the Communist press of being representatives of the fascists behind the lines. The activity of members and sympathizers of the P.O.U.M. in organizing the workers' militia immediately after the fascist rising disproves these accusations. The tremendous numbers of men that the P.O.U.M. has sent to the front and the struggle of the P.O.U.M. behind the lines against counter-revolution stand as refutations of the charge of being pro-fascist.

In Barcelona, Communist groups have even initiated armed violence against the C.N.T. towns. Their recently organized Cheka and armed groups are a real danger to the P.O.U.M. and the C.N.T.—in fact to all working class elements not followers of Stalin.

NEW YORK—The Friends of the Debs Column announced recently that the first contingents of the Debs Column have left the United States to join the International Brigade for the fight against fascism in Spain.

The Friends of the Debs Column was organized with the backing of the Socialist Party and the Young People's Socialist League, to make possible the sending of men to Spain who desire to volunteer to fight fascism. The Committee includes such prominent people as Roger Baldwin; Harold Gibbons, vice-president, American Federation of Teachers; Roy Burt, executive secretary, Socialist Party of the United States; Ben Fischer, national secretary, Young People's Socialist League; Frank Trager, national labor and organization secretary of the Socialist Party; V. F. Calverton, Editor, *Modern Monthly*; Norman Thomas; Ludwig Lore, newspaper columnist; Girolamo Valenti, Editor, *La Stampa Libera*; Upton Sinclair, novelist and many others.

Hal Seigal, secretary of the Friends of the Debs Column, announced that the committee "was not recruiting men for Spain, but was engaged in raising money to aid those who were volunteering."

Louis Fischer, speaking at a send-off rally here for fifty anti-fascist volunteers, pointed out that it was the International Brigade composed of working class volunteers which saved Madrid during the second and third weeks of the siege.

Militant Leader of Auto Women

An Interview with Genora

BY HY FISH

"The women got together and they formed a mighty throng.

"Every worker's wife and mom and sister will gelong."

These two lines come from the theme song of the Women's Auxiliary of the United Automobile Workers' Union during the sit-down strike in Flint. These women with their red berets and Emergency Brigade armbands have been front page publicity all over the country.

Back of the organization of this flashing, militant organization of "worker's wife and mom and sister" is the story of Genora Johnson, vice president of the Women's Auxiliary and Captain of the Emergency Brigade. She is young, fiery, slim, with soft brown eyes that flash when she speaks proudly of the 'EB.'

She talks freely about the strike, about the future of the union and the Women's Auxiliary; but I had to hunt elsewhere for facts about herself. Her husband is Kermit Johnson, chairman of the strike plant committee in the Chevrolet Plant No. 4, the last plant to be closed during the sit-down strike. Before marrying Kermit she worked long hours in a department store. Kermit working in the auto industry barely made enough for them to live in a trailer outside of town. Kermit's father, active union man in Chevrolet No. 4 brought them into the Socialist party.

The places, of responsibility that Kermit and Genora occupied in the strike were the result of their understanding of the needs of the crisis. Kermit was simply a rank and file member of the union. When the strike broke

he recognized the need for recreational activity. He became chairman of recreation. When it was decided to close Plant No. 4 his experience in the plant make him the logical chairman of the plant committee.

Genora's story is the same. Running errands, doing odd jobs, she became interested in the problems of the women. It was she, who desirous of bettering the morale of the strike, called the first meeting of the Women's Auxiliary. I asked her about the origin of the auxiliary. "You see some of strikers' wives did not understand why the men were striking. When the strike started many of the women called to the men and threatened to 'walk out' on them. Some of them even started divorce suits. Well, that convinced us that women had to be organized

(Cont. on page 3)

CHICAGO, Ill.—Hans Amlie, brother of Representative Thomas A. Amlie of Wisconsin enroute to New York stopped in Chicago with a group of men from the West Coast who have volunteered for military service against fascism, to speak for the Chicago Branch of the Friends of the Debs Column.

"All of us are qualified for service of either a military or technical nature in Spain," Amlie said. "One of our members is a former member of the United States Marines who saw service in South America. We desire to thank the Socialist Party and the Friends of the Debs Column for making possible our going to Spain to help defeat fascism."

Youth Plan United Aid

Largely due to the initiative of the YPSL, negotiations are under way for a United Front of National Youth Organizations for aid to the Spanish Anti-fascists.

The results of the negotiations will be announced shortly. At the time of going to press no definite commitments had been made.

It is hoped that the achievement of this united front will do much to rally more moral and material support for the Spanish fight against fascism than has hitherto been forthcoming from young people.

LABOR FRONT

STEEL

Recent data issued by the Committee for Industrial Organization shows that the Steel Workers Organizing Committee has organized into the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers about fifty per cent of the industry.

The recently concluded auto strike was a foretaste of the coming struggles in steel. Regardless of the final moves of the steel barons, a lesson learned in the auto strike will be equally applicable to the coming struggle in steel. Any gains of the union will have to be won on the picket-line through independent mass action of the workers rather than through arbitration conferences in Washington.

The union has called for a national convention to convene in Pittsburgh sometime in March. Delegates to this convention will not be the same kind that have come to the conventions in the past. There is a new element taking over leadership in the steel unions — workers of the types that made the Maritime Federation of the Pacific possible. Horse and buggy unionism has passed under the bridge. The day of the militant from the rank and file, backed by the rank and file has come.

MARINE

SAN FRANCISCO—After a strike of 99 days, the great West Coast Maritime strike, came to an end Feb. 4.

The agreements secured represent one of the most sweeping victories for unionism in the West since the maritime strike wave that started in 1933.

The unions secured their major demands of control of hiring halls, wage increases and strengthened recognition of the unions.

The victory of the unions represented a victory of the 'strike policy' advocated by Socialists and other militant elements in the unions as opposed to all substitutes represented by proposals for delay, mediation, 'waiting for Roosevelt' and trust in 'friends in the government.'

Two weeks after the strike victory, the 40,000 members of the Maritime Federation returned to work as fast as vessels could be put into shape and loaded.

The big battle now ahead for the maritime unions is to struggle against the Copeland Fink Book—which makes possible the blacklisting of union men with government aid.

HOSIERY

READING — Thousands of workers from the Berkshire Hosiery Mills have been out on strike since Oct. 1st. The strike is now entering its fourth month.

Against company unions, imported foremen from fascist Germany and all the equipment of strike breaking, the American Federation of Hosiery Workers has been unable to crack the mill until this strike.

Since the strike has been in progress, the mill has been the scene of riots, with State Police sent against thousands of pickets and spectators. At one time over 150 strikers were imprisoned. Hundreds of homes and cars have been wrecked by imported strike breakers.

Though the union supported Gov. Earle of Pennsylvania, union delegates have been unable to get any satisfaction from the Governor except the sending in of more State Police. Committees to Roosevelt have met with similar success.

Young Socialists in Reading have distributed a regular strike bulletin, "Labor Front." They have been a regular feature on the picket line.

AUTO

ANDERSON, Ind.—The settlement of the automobile strike had just been announced, and auto workers in Flint and Detroit were just setting themselves the task of building and strengthening their union during the next six months, when trouble broke out here.

Indiana, with its Democratic Governor Townsend, continues to seek the doubtful honor of being the most nearly fascist state in the union. Martial law continues to be a weapon used here against the workers as the result of a long series of vigilante actions aided by the Mayor and Chief of Police.

Vigilantes have been active since the strike began. On January 25th, armed groups succeeded in running the organizers of the Auto Union out of town. Socialist Victor Reuther, union organizer, came in next day, reorganized the picket line and revived morale among the strikers. The picket line was increased from 75 to 300 pickets.

Upon the announcement of the strike settlement, the union organized a victory celebration with nearly 1,000 men, women, and children present. A crowd of company thugs and vigilantes combining with the police marched on the meeting to drive Reuther out of town. The Chief of Police agreed to the demands of the mob and attempted to persuade Reuther to leave. His answer was that he "would only leave on orders from his union."

The next day a disturbance of vigilantes at a tavern involving the shooting of one man, was used as the excuse to declare martial law, but only against the union.

Under the regime of the military, 17 men, some of them wounded, are held incommunicado. The Colonel exercises censorship over the union paper and union meetings.

Students Call Annual Strike For April 22

High School and college students all over the nation will strike against war on April 22.

From some 25,000 students participating in 1934, the strike has expanded to some 500,000 students in 1936. This year, the most important organizations sponsoring the strike are the American Student Union, the youth section of the Emergency Peace Campaign, the Intercollegiate Councils of the Student YMCA and YWCA, the National Council of Methodist Youth and the National Student Federation of America. These organizations have formed the United Student Peace Committee.

Focal points of this year's strike will be the demilitarization of the campus, opposition to Roosevelt's billion dollar war budget, transfer of military funds to education and relief for unemployed youth, support of the Oxford Pledge, and opposition to the M-day plans of the government, which would mean military dictatorship in war time.

Last year, workers in various cities demonstrated their solidarity with the student anti-war movement by five minute work stoppages. Students are realizing that they must depend upon the political power of the working class if there is to be vital opposition to the war system. As has been pointed out in preparations for the Student Strike in past years, students know that only the force of an organized working class can successfully destroy the roots of war.

Young Socialists have already started preparation for the strike.

Appeal to Workers Only Hope in Spain

ERNEST ERBER

The decisive factor in the Spanish conflict is the amount of foreign aid which the anti-fascist forces, in the present republican government or in a possible workers' government, receive in order to counteract the aid given Franco by Hitler and Mussolini. The realization of this fact has guided the policies of the leaders of the Spanish workers and the way they have sought foreign aid has determined their domestic line. They have attempted to effect an internal policy that would guarantee them a maximum of foreign aid.

Two Policies

Two mutually exclusive policies are possible. The first is that which the Bolsheviks followed in 1917: dependence on the revolutionary struggle of the workers within and without Russia. The other is the policy, now used by the Soviet Union, of utilizing the differences between imperialist governments to line up with one camp against the other.

Under the influence of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union, the latter course is being followed in Spain. In order to gain the desired aid from the capitalist democracies, the propaganda of the Loyalist government and the Comintern has described the situation in Spain as an invasion by Italy and Germany aided by a few corrupt Spanish generals and has denied that it is a civil war. This is the basis of the appeal for aid from the League of Nations and from capitalist governments.

Capitalists Won't Help

Now, as the revolutionary socialists point out that capitalist nations go to war in furtherance or in defense of their imperialist interests. If France and England go to war in aid of the Loyalists it will only be because a victory of Franco will endanger those imperialist interests. In such a war, the workers of France and Britain would have nothing to gain. They would be betrayed as in 1914 if they fell for the slogans of, "Make the world safe for Democracy" or "poor little Spain," for the war would be an imperialist war.

If it were merely a case of the defense of Spain against invasion, the workers of Spain and of the world would not be supporting the struggle. But it is a class conflict that is raging in Spain. Franco, of course, is receiving aid from foreign reac-

tionaries, but this only serves to emphasize the class character of the war. In truth, the workers and their allies, the peasants and the middle class are fighting against the whole reactionary alliance of the exploiting classes, the bankers and the industrialists, the landowners, the military caste and the church.

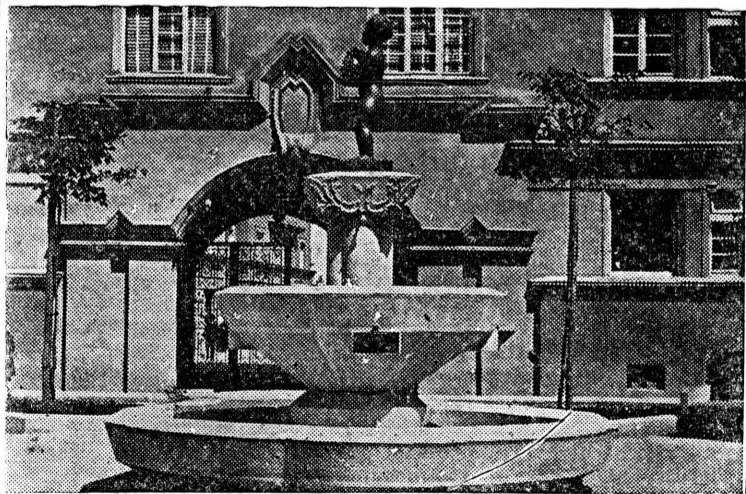
A workers' government could be organized tomorrow if it were not that internal problems have been subordinated to international policy. The non-proletarian Loyalist forces would have more confidence in the government that carries out the centralization of the anti-fascist fight and offers a program of economic reorganization to raise the economic and cultural level of Spain—something impossible under capitalism.

But aid from capitalist countries is out of the question for a Socialist Spain. Hence it is necessary to maintain a conservative republican front. Since this policy means the desertion of the revolution it must be rejected. It will not fool the capitalist nations into aiding the revolution and will only mis-educate the workers.

Bolshevik Policy!

This policy, whose most vociferous exponents are the Communists, must be replaced by the policy that the Bolsheviks followed. A workers' government must be organized and a revolutionary foreign policy adopted. The Spanish working class must clinch its victory with the assistance of the workers of the world. The workers of France and British can act against the neutrality blockade. They can send men and supplies for the International Brigade. The Soviet Union can supply aid. The policy of aiding a workers' Spain would sharpen the struggle in the rest of Europe and extend the revolution, the only permanent defense of the Soviet Union and a Soviet Spain.

Hard as it is to believe, we must state that it is the transplantation of the international peoples' front strategy of the Soviet Union into Spain that is preventing the formation of a workers' Spain. If one must rely upon capitalist nations rather than upon the working class for aid, it follows inevitably that one must keep the workers within the limits permitted by the bourgeoisie. This is the tragic situation in Spain. The Soviet Union carries out a policy which means no Soviet Spain.



The homes of the Vienna Socialists recall their brave uprising just three years ago. Socialism will yet triumph in Austria and throughout the world.

CHICAGO — At the annual Action of the National Council of the Executive Committee of the National Council of Methodist Youth, Feb. 4-6, endorsement of the Student Strike was voted.

Al Hamilton, Chairman of So-

BOOKS

THE MOSCOW TRIALS—The Greatest Frameup In History— by Max Shachtman. Published by Pioneer Publishers. 142 p.; \$25.

THE WITCHCRAFT TRIAL AT MOSCOW — by Friedrich Adler. Introduction by Norman Thomas. Published by the Socialist Party. 40 p.; \$10.

THE FIRST TWO MOSCOW TRIALS, WHY? — by Francis Heisler. Introduction by Roy Burt. Published by the Socialist Party. 200 p.; \$25.

Within a period of six months the world labor movement has suffered two mortal blows in the so-called "Trotskyite" trials in Moscow. Their effect has been to stun and bewilder the working class, even that section in the ranks of the monolithic Comintern.

To the extent to which the trials are obvious frame-ups,—and the pamphlets on the basis of the materials obtainable conclusively prove this—they can only discredit the revolutionary movement. To the extent to which the trials are the jumping off place of an attempt to split the working class of the world they represent a grave danger to it.

At all times the working class movement, particularly the revolutionary section, must avoid the possibility of the charge that in power it would act as the fascists do, that its appeals to liberty and freedom are but demagoguery that will be cast aside on the day of the revolution. The opportunity of the fascists is precisely the time when disillusioned workers cry out in bitter surrender, "A plague on both your houses!" The trials have been a discredit to the party that rules the Soviet Union. But unfortunately, not only the Comintern is discredited, but the very ideas of workers' power and Socialism have been dimmed in the minds of many workers.

This has been bad, but the trials have created division, suspicion and hatred in the ranks of the advanced working class of the world. And this situation has been intensified since the Communists have used the trials as the basis for an attack upon all those working class elements not followers of Stalin. Tragically enough in Spain the Communists have started to wage armed conflict against the anarchists and the P.O.U.M.—in fact against all who do not support Stalin. This division has been precipitated at a time when unity of action of the working class in Spain is of particular importance.

Finally, the vicious attack on the "Trotskyites" is the beginning of the campaign in America to line up the working class on the side of its imperialist government in war. Because revolutionary socialists are carrying on their organization and agitation on the basis of relentless struggle against capitalist war, the Communists have determined to do all they can to discredit them. The old cry is being raised again that the fighters against the capitalists' war are enemy agents. Such accusations, based on the absurd "confessions" of the second trial, come with slight grace from those who for so long suffered the same persecutions. The development of the Communist International toward the right continues. Those who place their hope in a revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system can only mourn the loss of these who ought to be fighting shoulder to shoulder with them against capitalism.

The pamphlets under review present completely the case against the justice and validity of the Moscow Trials. But the questions of the details of the trials fade into insignificance in the light of their consequences.

ORGANIZATION NOTES

In January new circles were chartered in Chicago, Camden, Baltimore and Rochester. To this growth in the League organization can be added a number of Socialist Leagues that have been organized in high schools and colleges.

March is the deadline for the issuance of 1937 dues books. Books must be paid up for 1936 to obtain the 1937 books. Sections of the League are urged to increase their orders for dues stamps.

The administration of the University of Chicago is investigating Circle No. 6 for leaflet distribution and picketing of a Pontiac amateur hour broadcast from the campus recently. The leaflet distributed called upon students to support the General Motors strikers. The demonstration was conducted as a united front action between the YCL and the YPSL on the campus upon the suggestion of the Socialists.

President Soper, of Ohio Wesleyan University, refused permission to the Ohio State organization of the American Student Union to hold a conference with labor leaders on the O.W.U. campus. Mary Felton, Ohio A.S.U. organizer and leading young Socialist, is leading the fight to have the meeting held at the university.

Leo Koutouzos has been appointed National High School Director of the League. He is working with the National Student Committee to develop high school organization in key centers.

Hy Fish, NEC member, has been assigned by the National Office of the Party to Flint, Michigan.

Pennsylvania's State Committee has mapped out ambitious plans for intensive concentration on three areas within the state and expects to have several new circles organized soon.

California's State Secretary, Howard Rosen, reports that the student group at Berkeley, California, is especially valuable. It is providing leadership throughout the state to the work of the League.

San Francisco has gained quite a few members from the maritime workers. The Yipsels are extremely proud of their Waterfront fraction.

Ben Fischer has just completed an intensive week of teaching, speaking and organizing in the Pittsburgh area.

Alvaine Hollister, National Student Director, is at present traveling in the east getting YPSL work on the student strike under war. She is visiting Syracuse University, Cornell University and Skidmore College among other places.

The National Executive Committee of the League will meet at the end of March and the beginning of April in Chicago.

Ernest Erber is now touring the west coast rallying aid for the Debs Column. Since Comrade Erber returned from Spain in November, he has spoken at 35 meetings in the east and mid-west for the Spanish Solidarity Fund of the Party and the Friends of the Debs Column.

"Soapbox," publication of the U. of Chicago Socialists, will come off the press within two weeks.

New Berne Necessary to Unite Youth Against Imperialist War

BEN FISCHER

The fight against imperialist war is today a burning question—international crisis ending in world war appears more and more likely. What is to be done?

Young Socialists of America have answered this question—build the student strike against war, forge a link between youth and labor, fight against militarism (the CCC, the ROTC, the CMTC, the war budget of Roosevelt.) In these struggles we are building a mighty force against war, dedicated to opposition to any war which the United States government may undertake.

But the fight against imperialist war is not a question merely of concern to American youth; it is a question for youth of all nations. In the spirit of the Berne Conference of 1917, when young Socialists from enemy nations met in Switzerland and pledged their undying opposition to the war then in progress, young fighters against war must gather again to solidify their ranks, and this time plan their struggle and their opposition to war in advance.

The World Youth Congress held this summer was announced as the occasion for forging unity of youth against war. This Congress did forge unity—but not against war. It attempted to build a unity between the youth delegates and the League of Nations the "thieves' kitchen at Geneva." It was designed especially to mobilize youth behind a possible French-British bloc—the democratic nations. It was a congress for war because it rallied youth behind slogans for peace which must inevitably lead them into support of the war machines in their own countries. Few were the voices raised against the imperialism that is bringing the world closer to war today. But one was the voice of revolutionary Socialism, of the national chairman of the Y.P.S.L. of the United States—Ernest Erber.

"Collective security" is the pre-war edition; "save democracy" will be the actual slogan when the bugles call us to bat-

tle. We will fight to save democracy from the military dictatorship of war time; we will fight to make political democracy a Socialist democracy. But this can only mean that in a new imperialist conflict our fight will be against the war, against our own government, for the utilization of the war to destroy the war system and build a workers' world.

We believe that it is only those who are determined to fight against all imperialist war who can give leadership in the forging of anti-war unity that will last into the conflict itself.

We young Socialists are pledged to this task. We are striving to lay the groundwork for a new Berne—another gathering of youth determined to be prepared for the time when the bugles of war will blow.

Every peace slogan must be examined. It may be a cover for a policy leading to war. Every peace movement must be carefully considered.

The next war will see the threat of spreading fascism and destruction of the Soviet Union.

Unity against war, even though it may fail to avert war, can be the framework of the anti-fascist struggle in every nation.

Unity against war is the safest guarantee of the defense of the Soviet Union. It can be the framework for the struggle for a workers' world, for the struggle against every attack on the Soviet Union. Let no temporary alliance of capitalist forces with the U.S.S.R. deceive us! Every capitalist force seeks the end of Soviet power! Every Soviet friend must mobilize now and during war time for the struggle against capitalism, the only guarantee for the defeat of fascism and counter-revolution.

Workers of the World Unite! Youth of the world, unite behind the banners of the workingclass against all imperialist war. A New Berne must mark the advance of this unity.

Genora Johnson

(Continued from page 1)

for support of the men in the plants."

As she told about the work of the auxiliary the pronoun was always 'we' never 'I.' The first meeting was called Jan. 12 with about fifty women in attendance. A sick committee with trained nurses was organized; a speakers' department set-up; and the Emergency Brigade with a membership of over 300 women was formed for defense of the men in the plants.

Genora told me of the gassing of the men in C. v. rolet No. 9 the night that C. v. rolet No. 4 was closed. Her story is decidedly different from the description by Lowell Thomas, newsreel commentator, who described the breaking of the windows by the EB as a mad riot. As Genora talked, I could see the flash of red as the women went into action. With almost military precision, using their hammers, they did break the panes of glass but only so their men might breathe after tear gas had been thrownhappiness."

in the plant by company police.

She is proud of the fighting ability of the women she captained during the strike—she is proud of their untiring activity; "They did a noble job. So did our men. For all of us the union and collective bargaining means security and release from fear."

As we finished our conversation, Genora told of the long range program the auxiliary is planning in Flint.

"We all know the job of our men is to build a system of shop stewards and increase our union membership. The job of the auxiliary must be to learn the reason why the picket line was necessary and the way Flint and the rest of the country can be organized so that picket lines will not be necessary. We are planning classes in labor history, public speaking and workers' political movements."

Genora, the Socialist—the unionist, looks now to the future with all the quiet determination that has marked sleepless nights and militant strike activity: "United we can build our workers' world of security, peace and

N. J. Jobless Endorse AYA

TRENTON, N. J.—The state convention of the Workers' Alliance of New Jersey meeting Feb. 6-7, came to the support of unemployed youth by calling for the passage of the American Youth Act, and the organization of NYA workers' unions.

Milt Arons, Hy Gorrell, and Seymour Pilch, young Socialists from Essex county, were elected to the youth committee of the state executive board.

During the elections for the executive board, Communists attempting to split the unity of the convention, attacked the Essex county delegation, charging that the leaders had come to the convention to prevent any Negroes from being elected to the executive board. Socialists, speaking for the delegation pointed out that the among Essex county delegates were many Negroes.

The majority of the members of the board elected in the final poll is progressive and Socialist.

The convention rejected a resolution in support of a People's Front Spain and adopted instead a resolution calling for support "of the heroic fight of our working class brothers and sisters in Spain against fascism and for the workers' Spain they are trying to build." In line with the defeat of the resolution of a People's Front Spain, was the overwhelming defeat of a resolution calling for endorsement of Labor's Non-Partisan League.

Eugene V. Debs Column



Volunteers for Spain

Some have left Others are ready to go All are trained

\$ Are Needed

Send Contributions

HAL SEIGAL, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS COLUMN
41 Union Square, New York City

CHALLENGE NOTES

The CHALLENGE has not appeared for some time. You have all missed it. It now appears as a four page issue instead of the eight and twelve page paper you have grown accustomed to.

The reason for its not appearing has been financial. We don't intend to bore you with the financial woes of the N. O. in the past. Despite increased circulation and interest the CHALLENGE income from the League hasn't been large enough.

Now we're back in print. We're determined this time to assure prompt and regular appearance of the CHALLENGE. Henceforth the size of the paper will be based on income and not on the hope of income. Of course, we hope to be able to return to the large paper as soon as possible. Here in the office we will do our part. But the N.O. cannot finance the paper. The whole League must do that.

The CHALLENGE received no subsidy. This means that not only the cost of the four page paper must be paid by the League but additional money must come into the office if it is to be enlarged.

Chicago ran two parties for the CHALLENGE this month. Is a party a month too much for you?

What else can you do? Young Socialists must sell the paper everywhere. It must be taken to the unions, clubs and other organizations to which you belong. Friends, shopmates, clubmates, must get the CHALLENGE. At work or in school the CHALLENGE must be sold. The more you sell the larger the circulation and the more chance of enlarging the paper.

Sections of the League should seek to double their orders for next month. If you can not double them, at least increase them. But—money must come into the N.O. in advance. Keep the CHALLENGE money separate. And see that we get it.

If sales of the CHALLENGE are doubled (which in turn means a doubling of money received), we will have just as much chance to increase the size of the CHALLENGE.

Let's go!

The Challenge of Youth
Official Monthly Organ of the Young People's Socialist League of America
549 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
National Sec'y.—Ben Fischer
Editor—Ernest Erber
SUBSCRIPTION RATE
25c for 12 issues
entered as second-class matter December 7, 1935, at the post office at Chicago, Ill., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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by FRANCIS HEISLER
Preface by ROY E. BURT, Executive Secretary Socialist Party USA.
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THE PARTY CONVENTION

Nov. 20-23, 1936, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, meeting in New York, issued a call for a special convention of the Party. The convention call and the agenda for the convention has as its basis the building of a party with the programmatic clarity and the organizational set-up that will make possible disciplined Socialist leadership in the mass struggles of workers.

To help prepare the delegates for the convention, the N.E.C. adopted a perspective on the "Future Role of the Party." Whatever else may be said of the perspectives drawn up by the N.E.C. they clearly stand as a step forward in the development of a revolutionary party. This has been the basis of the work of the National Office during the period between the New York meeting and the special convention.

Comrades Roy Burt, Executive Secretary, and Frank Trager, Labor and Organizational Secretary, are to be congratulated for the initiative and direction they have displayed in giving the Party a disciplined, independent and constructive role in mass work since they have been in office.

Out of the activities that have been initiated and directed by the national organization in the last few months, the party is preparing itself for the programmatic and organizational expression necessary for a revolutionary Socialist movement in America.

If revolutionary Socialism is to increase its influence and effectiveness in workers' struggles there must emerge from the special convention the basis for the type of party that the Socialist Call in its pre-convention discussion has termed—a party of struggle.

On to the National Convention!
Forward to a party of clarity in action!

CLASS SOLIDARITY

Class conscious solidarity with the victims of capitalist courts is often thought of as meaning only material aid—meetings, collections. Sometimes those who are active in daily struggle forget what a word from outside—a letter of encouragement—can mean to those who are in jail.

Al Russel, young Socialist organizer in Minneapolis, recently was convicted on a framed charge of contempt of court. In the spring of 1935, when the Hosiery Workers Union struck against the Strutwear Stocking Company, the courts intervened, ordering the marshal of the court to start delivery of some goods that had been ordered by a dummy corporation set up by Strutwear. As the trucks left the plant a milk bottle was thrown at them.

Known for his militant activity, Russel was arrested, charged with contempt of court and sentenced to six months. The case was appealed to the Circuit Court and the decision of the lower court upheld.

Russel still has several months to serve. His address is Hennepin County Workhouse at Parkers Lake, Minn. Though he is allowed to write only one letter a week he can receive all that are sent him. It should be remembered however, that all his mail is carefully read.

Write to him comrades! Let Comrade Russel know that he is not forgotten for his militant strike activity. Show him that the solidarity of the revolutionary movement extends beyond the bars of his jail.

COMMUNIST HOOLIGANISM

The term "hooliganism in the labor movement" was born during the so-called third period of Communist Party history when it regarded every working class organization that refused to follow its line as a "social fascist" organization. Its splitting tactics in the trade unions and mass organizations and its attacks upon Socialist meetings, culminating in the attack upon the Austrian Solidarity meeting in Madison Square Garden, were thought to mark the low point of conduct for a Party that regards unity as its highest objective.

Members of the Young Communist League in Boston launched a violent physical attack upon members of the Young People's Socialist League for distributing leaflets at a Communist meeting.

One leaflet announced a mass meeting for aid to Spain at which Powers Hapgood, C.I.O. organizer, was to be the main speaker. The other leaflet was for a meeting in support of the seamen's strike with Norman Thomas and Joe Curran, leader of the east coast strikers, speaking.

Young Socialists in Chicago were attacked by Young Communists for distributing a leaflet addressed to members of the Y.C.L. asking for a united front for aid to Spain after the Y.C.L. leaders had turned down the united front denouncing certain members of the Y.P.S.L. negotiating committee as Trotskyites, a term they use to describe every Marxist critic of the current Communist line.

We beg to point out to the Young Communists that we are not pacifists. We have proven our mettle in more than one scrap with the forces of the capitalist state in demonstrations and with thugs and scabs in strikes. We desire to conserve our energies for such combats with the class enemy. But we insist upon our right to free expression wherever we please. We warn the Young Communists that we will be prepared to defend this right.

We hope that young revolutionaries will help to stop the development of a situation in the United States similar to that of Spain where Communists are inciting armed violence against other working class groups.

We know the need for unity of action even though there may not be political unity at this time. The recent actions of the Communists bode ill for this unity of common struggle.

Odds and Ends

Herb Passin, who now attends the U. of Chicago, has gotten a lot of publicity in the Hearst press. A boy he won over to the YPSL when he was at the U. of Illinois, at Champaign, Ill., left home in order to join the Debs Column. He was not accepted so he stayed in Chicago and found a job. His mother knew that Herb had convinced him of Socialism and so she raised a merry rumpus with the papers, the District Attorney and the police. She swears she'll not rest till Herb is behind bars.

During the recent flood our Louisville Yipsels worked very hard helping relieve the suffering of the refugees. A few wrote to the National Office as soon as mail could get through. The letters were not written in collaboration, since the writers were not able to reach each other, yet they all spoke of their increased Socialist determination and hatred for capitalism.

The comrades in Pittsburgh made a serious mistake when they organized the class which Ben Fischer taught there recently. They scheduled a party for Friday night and the last class for Saturday morning. As a result, altho the previous sessions were well attended, Saturday's had only a handful. Tut, tut—but we guess it must have been a swell party.

Karl Shier of Chicago boasts that he has devised a new tactic in street fighting.

During the recent attack by YCLers on Yipsels (of which we don't want to make light) he grabbed a belligerent YCLer and pulled him onto a street car. After paying fare for himself and the other fellow, he got off the car and left the scrappy one on board....

We can't understand this tactic and appeal to our readers for aid.

Ernie Erber reports that while he was touring upper New York State some detectives were investigating the Debs Column. They attended the meeting at which he spoke and bought copies of every single piece of literature offered there for sale. "Poor fellows," wrote Ernie, "they had to plough thru every page of the 'Marxist Quarterly,' and some of those articles are difficult enough to have given Marx himself a headache."

One of the best wise crackers among radicals is Oscar Ameringer who publishes and edits "The American Guardian." Here are a few of his gems:

"Roosevelt is a well intentioned man doing his best for the preservation of the worst—profit."

"It is safer to pick everybody's pocket than to pick one

pocket." "Man is the only animal that skins its own kind alive and then preserves the victim for further skinning."

Department of Justice Agents are proud that they know of every person who has left America to join the Debs Column of the International Brigade. They appear to have been so busy doing that they haven't had time to attend to minor matters like the spring on workers in factories which the La Follette Committee recently unearthed.

Genora Johnson was discussing his day at School with one of her boys one evening during the auto strike. The teacher had been asking what the children wanted to be when they grow up. Most of them gave the answers that are usually given by youngsters. Some wanted to be fireman, others, policemen, and so on. But Genora's boy spoke up, "I want to be a striker like my daddy." Some boy!

Lewis Cohen of Louisville wrote that he got a big thrill confiscating supplies in stores for the relief of flood sufferers. "But I got my biggest kick," he said, "In a church, setting up a bar for a tired boat crew behind the pulpit."

Letter to the Editor

TO THE EDITOR:

Dear Comrade,
Pacifism has been a word used to cover a number of groups and their attitudes on international and civil war. Ordinarily the term pacifist is used to characterize one who refuses to take part in armed conflict of any nature.

The roots of pacifism are to be found in ethical and religious approaches to the war question. Pacifism approaches the question of opposition to war primarily on the basis of convictions of individuals. These convictions may run from a horror of war to a religious belief that leads to refusal to fight. However, in recent years large groups of pacifists have begun to understand that war is not primarily the result of mental attitudes, but is rooted in imperialist conflicts between nations.

"Radical" Pacifists
It has been this group of the "radical" pacifists who, largely thru the War Resisters' League and the Fellowship of Reconciliation have refused to support sanctions in the recent Italian Ethiopian conflict because of their recognition that economic sanctions was the prelude to military sanctions.

These two groups, perhaps more than any other of the pacifist groups, have recognized that opposition to war is bound up with the struggle against capitalism.

The revolutionary approaches the problem of war primarily as one phase of the class struggle. The revolutionary sees war—i.e. military conflict—as springing from imperialism. Socialists oppose preparations for war not because they are opposed to armaments as such, but because of the link between armed preparations for war and capitalism.

Pacifist Dilemma
There are two situations in the working class struggle for power which place the "radical" pacifist in a dilemma. When the working class takes power it is placed in the position of having to provide for defense from counter-revolution both within and without. Or the case may arise, as in Spain today, where the working class is forced to

take up arms to defend itself against a military fascist attempt to destroy all working class movements and take control of the state.

Discussion of a theoretical nature on the question of civil war has filled pacifist ranks during recent years. Now the situation in Spain and the recent action of the Socialist Party in supporting efforts to get volunteers to Spain for the International Brigade have raised the question in a practical manner.

It must be apparent to pacifists that they are faced with a realistic situation. It is not enough to criticize, as many pacifists have, the People's Front government for not taking steps that would have taken power out of the hand of the fascists—such as removal of the Army bureaucracy. It is important to realize that the very nature of a People's Front government makes impossible the taking of any real steps toward eliminating the capitalist state apparatus and advancing toward workers' power. Witness the failure of the People's Front in France today to follow a working class policy on the question of aid to Spain.

Must Choose
Pacifists have either the choice of victory or defeat for Franco. Victory of the loyalist forces will give the workers and peasants of Spain some chance to solve their problems, and will mark a possible beginning of a Socialist economy. The victory of Franco on the other hand can only encourage fascism and weaken the international forces of the working class. Victory or defeat is a military question. It is choice of military activities or surrender.

Revolutionaries can cooperate with pacifists on many points in the struggle against capitalist war, but when pacifism becomes a program of inaction and surrender weakening the struggle of the working class that has been thrust into civil war—it become reactionary. Those who do not support all efforts to win a military victory against Franco and his allies become in reality supporters of Franco. They may deny this. But results of a

policy speak louder than phrases. The attempt to support medical aid, technical assistance, etc. and abstain from support of the military aspects of the conflict is a very poor attempt at rationalization. All phases of help become part of the military struggle.

Pacifists who seek a solution to their dilemma and at the same time follow a policy in the interest of the working class must come to the support of the anti-fascist struggle. There is no other solution to the problem of the pacifist that is not either a rationalization or directly reactionary in result.

Fraternally,
Al Hamilton.

YOUTH DESCEND ON WASHINGTON

(Cont. from page 1)

ence from those who control it. The American Youth Act, to which the Pilgrimage is dedicated, is a bill before Congress that provides for a democratically managed system of support for unemployed youth and students. It sets a minimum for student aid. It provides that union wages be paid for work done under its provisions. The funds for carrying out the Act are to be raised thru taxation of high incomes.

The supporters of the AYA do not see in its passage the achievement of all that young people must have to live adequately. But they do know that when private industry has locked out thousands of young people their only course is to turn to the government for aid. The AYA is not a panacea or a cure; it is the minimum demand of young people today.

Young people of all political beliefs are participating in the Pilgrimage. They come from all religious groups, from cultural clubs and athletic societies, from the YM and the YW, from trade unions, from the American Student Union.

They represent thousands who are saying to the administration: PASS THE AMERICAN YOUTH ACT. JOBS NOT MILITARY UNIFORMS.