

THE

CHALLENGE OF YOUTH

Vol. III. — No. 8

561

NOVEMBER, 1935

Three Cents

Drive Hearst out of the Movies!

"WORLD WAR IN 60 DAYS"

Fight Made for Youth at AFL

PROGRESSIVES LEAD STRUGGLE AT CONVENTION

(The Brewery Worker)
ATLANTIC CITY—Floor insurgency at the American Federation of Labor convention repeatedly placed Chairman Matthew Woll and Secretary John P. Frey of the resolutions committee on the defensive, when they reported on youth resolutions, use of troops in strikes and other questions.

Particularly effective was the fight put up by younger delegates and their friends for the fostering of labor youth activities. The committee recommended rejection of resolutions favoring labor sports, schools and other special attention to organizing young people, on the grounds that youth movements had been formed in other countries by Communists and Fascists, who are also trying to launch such movements in this country.

A motion to refer back the committee's report was declared lost only after a division had been called for on account of the closeness of the voice vote.

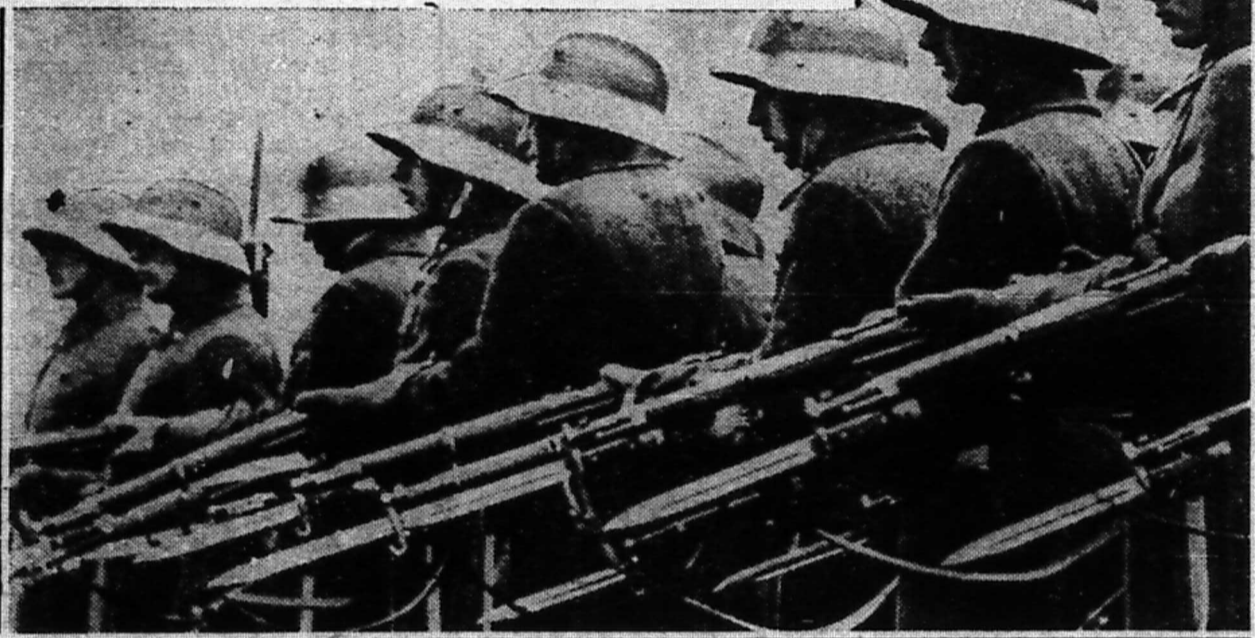
Strong Criticism
In the discussion of youth activities, Julius Hochman of the International Ladies Garment Workers criticized the report of the resolutions committee for slurring European labor youth movements with its remarks about Communism and Fascism. "There is a youth movement already," he said, "and there is no reason why the American Federation of Labor should not lead it." He urged that the report be referred back to the committee.

Delegate Fine, of Chicago, Costello of Kenosha, Kuehnel of



Wm. Green, AFL head

Hartford, and Martel and Mira Komaroff of Detroit all fought the report in loudly applauded speeches. It was pointed out that the employers, through company unions and other means, are using sports and other activities to keep young workers from the trade-union movement.



Germany is witnessing many scenes like this as 6 00,000 "war babies," young men born at the beginning of the "first World War," are being conscripted in preparation for the next!

Young Socialists Move to "Drive Hearst from Movies"

CHICAGO—A campaign of anti-war reprisals against Hearst's Metrotone Newsreels, one of the chief instruments of America's most prominent war-monger, will be initiated by labor, junior, on Armistice Day. The machinery of the Young People's Socialist League will be set in motion to "drive Hearst out of the movies" by a determined anti-Metrotone drive, in the name of the youth of America "whose lives are jeopardized by the existence of institutions engendering international hatred and endangering international peace."

Local circles, county leagues, and state federations of the young Socialist organization have been instructed to do everything in their power to rid their territories of the Metrotone nuisance. The drive, which will be waged intensively from November 11 to December 1, is expected to clear the Metrotone clips from a large percentage of the motion picture theaters against which the campaign will be directed, and to cripple Hearst's influence in the news-reel field.

Optimism over the results is based on the success of test anti-Metrotone drives made on several theaters in various parts of the country. In a majority of these the theater managers consented to stop using the Metrotone news clips.

The methods will include picketing, leaflet distribution, and street meetings. League subdivisions will spread their forces so as to cover the greatest possible number of theaters in their districts. In every case theater managers will be visited by

delegations before any action is taken, in an effort to have the newsreels withdrawn with the greatest economy of effort, so as to release energy for further extending the campaign.

Explaining the motives behind the drive, reminiscent of the "Don't Read Hearst" campaign last Spring, the Young People's Socialist League charged that the Metrotone News glorify war and the military machines of the world, call for "preparedness" and increased armed forces, provoke hatred against potential "enemy" nations, play up the military glory of Fascism, and nurture anti-labor and anti-

progressive sentiment.

"Hearst Metrotone films are a danger to us," the YPSL national organization committee declared in a ringing indictment. "They are fighting against everything we are fighting for. They are perverting the minds of Americans against us and our work. They are laying the groundwork for an organized assault against the labor movement, the anti-war movement, and all Socialists. They are fighting us. We must fight back. FIGHT METROTONE NEWS."

National Youth Machinery Collapsing Under Stress

WASHINGTON—The complete inadequacy of the National Youth Administration has become so obvious that a pall of gloom is settling over the NYA offices here. In New York the machinery was so inadequate to cope even with the small number of young people affected by the NYA that no jobs could be provided and the few young "beneficiaries" of the NYA had to be granted government charity.

At the University of Pennsylvania students rebelled at the bureaucratic set-up of the administration and forced the government to place the local control of the NYA in their hands.

In New Jersey the Work Pro-

gress Administration, confused by the National Youth Administration program, announced that it would place adult workers in private industry without wages, and created such a furor of indignation that the announcement had to be withdrawn, an ominous incident for the NYA.

The general protest against the NYA program of placing youth at the disposal of private employers has temporarily checked the administration from putting it into effect.

Aubrey Williams, executive director of the National Administration, has become more aware of the futility of the program with each successive failure.

LLOYD'S BETS 3-1 ON WORLD CONFLICT NOW

LONDON—The foremost statistical gambling agency in the world, Lloyd's Insurance Co., Ltd., has offered odds of three hundred per cent on the possibility of a general European conflict before New Year's, and there are few takers.

The government here, after withdrawing several cruisers from Mediterranean waters, immediately replaced them with others and is continuing the fortification of its naval bases.

Italy withdrew some troops from the border of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in Italy's Libya, but immediately shipped them to Eritrea instead.

Germany has completely re-armed, and has conscripted an army of over half a million youth born at the outbreak of the World War, and hinted its readiness to concur in sanctions. Now that Germany is allying itself with England, the dominant power in the League of Nations,



Stanley Baldwin

the latter has given up all pretense of enforcing the Treaty of Versailles which arbitrarily forced disarmament on Germany.

In the face of the international situation England is covering up its war preparations by a half-effective masquerade as a defender of Ethiopia. Taking advantage of the Labor Party's stand in favor of sanctions, Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin is appealing for reelection on the basis of support for the government's "peace" policies.

In Italy anti-British riots were winked at by the government, and British residents are being treated more and more like enemy aliens.

As the situation tenses it becomes increasingly obvious that "sanctions mean war" and their application has been repeatedly postponed to leave time for the anti-Italian imperialists to complete their military arrangements.

PEACE FORCES GROW

The revolt of labor against support of sanctions is steadily growing as the imperialist motives lurking behind the League of Nations' sudden desire to become a vigorous angel of peace.



View of the United front anti-war demonstration in Columbus Circle, New York, in which Socialist and Communists demonstrated side by side.

In England, where British imperialism is preparing to go to war against Italy for its threatened colonial possessions, large sections of the working class, at first swept off its feet by emotional appeals to "defend Ethiopia," are reversing the pro-sanctions position taken by the British Trade Union Congress.

The bootmakers' and other large unions voted not to support sanctions, and there is a growing membership "revolt" on the question in the remainder of the unions affiliated to the TUC.

The Socialist League, the Independent Labor Party, and other pacifist or revolutionary groups, are making great headway.

In Australia the Laborites and in Canada the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation did not follow the footsteps of their English cousins, voting overwhelmingly not to support sanctions.

In America the Socialist movement is taking very seriously its task of shouldering the burden of the anti-war movement, now that the Communists have joined the extreme right wing of labor in advocating sanctions.

While insisting firmly on their principles, Socialists have not allowed this major difference to check their fight for working-class unity. In Chicago a united front between the Socialist and Communist Parties was formed in sympathy with invaded Ethiopia. In New York a monster demonstration was held in Columbus Circle to protest the Italian robber-invasion, in which the Italian Socialist and Communist Federations, the Young People's Socialist League and the Young Communist League, and other Socialist and Communist groups demonstrated their united opposition to war. The meeting was attacked by the police.

The American Socialist Movement, however, not content with simply indicating that it is "against war" has issued to import proclamations revealing its position on the do's and don'ts of the anti-war fight.

The proclamations, issued respectively by the National executive committee of the Socialist Party and the Young People's Socialist League, declare themselves for independent working-class action aid against capitalist instruments of "peace" such as League of Nations sanctions.

CO-OP LEAGUE ASKS SUPPORT OF CHALLENGE

HUBBARDSTON, Mass.—The fourth annual convention of the Mass. League of Coop. Club was held here, October 12-13. Delegates and fraternal delegates from over twenty five Cooperative organizations representing over 60,000 cooperative members were present. Sunday at the forum there were more than 150 people. Program started Saturday afternoon with a business session. Cooperative products were there displayed. A banquet in the local Congregational Church was held with Mr. Curtis, vocational director of the County extension service and Donald Kendall of the Eastern States Farmers' Exchange as speakers. A dance in the Farmers' Hall followed.

A resolution to support Consumers' Cooperation and the Cooperative Builder as cooperative papers and Raivaaja and the Challenge as papers sympathetic to our aims was adopted.

The League affiliated with the Eastern States Cooperative League. A new constitution, which enables the League to extend its work over all New England was adopted.

A motion to hold a Cooperative Institute in every county in the State this coming summer was passed. This step if properly carried out will do more to acquaint consumers and farmers with the Cooperative movement than anything previously done. To accomplish this end all sympathetic groups as farmers' exchanges, Churches, Garages, trades unions are requested to assist in every way possible.

A definite anti-war stand was taken, the resolution stating that Americans were being conditioned to fight for "poor little Ethiopia" as they once fought for "poor little Belgium." The International Student Strike against War and Fascism was endorsed.

Sports Internationals In United Front Pact

PRAGUE, Czechoslovakia. — Under the chairmanship of its president, Julius Deutsch, the presidium of the Labour and Socialist Sport International met in Prague recently.

Representatives of the Red Sport International, under the leadership of Scholdaks of the supreme council for physical culture in Moscow, had come to Prague, in order, for the first time, to enter into direct negotiations with the representatives of the Labour and Socialist Sport International. After exhaustive discussions the following joint manifesto was adopted by the two sport internationals, calling for the boycott of the bourgeois Olympic games, which are to take place in Berlin in 1936:

"The Olympiad which is to take place in Berlin in 1936 has become something more than a purely sporting event. The present holders of power in Germany are making use of the Olympiad as a piece of propaganda for Fascism. It is not the German people but the oppressors of the man people who will give the Berlin Olympiad its stamp. It is the holders of power in Germany, who have brutally subdued the workers of their country, who have destroyed the liberty of the German nation, and at the same time, have increased the danger of war in Europe to its highest pitch, who are now inviting the athletes of the entire world to come to the

Yipsels Held

LOS ANGELES, Cal.—Ignoring the Los Angeles city ordinance which provides for free speech zones in certain sections of the city, police disrupted an anti-war street meeting held by the YPSL and intimidated six young Socialists for over an hour and a half while holding them in unofficial custody.

Second of a series of meetings at the same intersection, and second Socialist street meeting in Los Angeles in two years or more, the gathering had been under way for forty-five minutes before the officers arrived. Howard Rosen, executive secretary of the circle, and Gardner Wells, Yipsel and member of the California SEC of the Socialist Party, had already spoken. Nancy Bedford-Jones, recently-joined Yipsel and daughter of the red-baiter, H. Bedford-Jones, was forced from the soap-box by the police.

Several times the officers threatened to beat them, slug them, and apply black-jacks to silence them. At the city hall they were subjected to extended questioning and paternal advice and finally released without being charged with any violation of the law. A large quantity of literature was illegally confiscated by the police.

Labor Sports Notes

The biggest news of the past month for labor sportsmen is the unanimous vote of the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor to boycott the 1936 Olympics scheduled for Nazi Berlin. This action culminates many previous resolutions by local, city and international labor bodies.

It now remains to turn this opposition to the Berlin Olympics into effective support for the Cleveland Labor Olympiad to be held July 4, 5 and 6 next year under the auspices of Workers' Sports League groups. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union's excellent baseball team as well as track athletes are considering participation.



Hugo Erickson

The organization conference of the Middle States District of the WSL is taking place, October 26th, as we go to press. The Cleveland DTJ organization, headed by Henry Huefner, Mid-west chairman, is acting as hosts to the delegates from Pittsburgh, St. Louis and cities between.

The DTJ farm in Taborville, on the outskirts of Cleveland, is the scene of much activity as it is being prepared for the Labor Olympiad. Its large field is being extended, an improved gymnasium erected, and accommodations prepared for the thousands who will attend.

Braving cold and rain, nearly 2,000 labor sportsmen from all parts of the East, gathered at Forest Park, Queens County, New York, for the track and field meet of the Metropolitan Section of the Workers' Sports League. A crack squad of 150 gymnasts performed their mass calisthenics with pleasing precision and snap.

Hugo Erickson, National Secretary who was called upon to address the crowd, told the listeners that "Our aim is to develop healthy men and women, not to develop idolized stars."

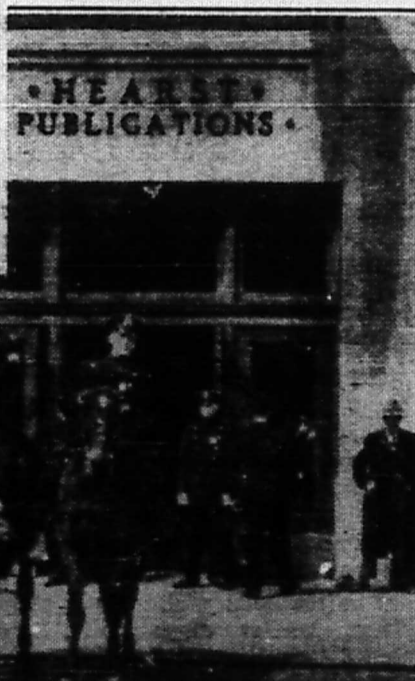
The Challenge of Youth

Official Monthly Organ of the Young People's Socialist League of America

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Hearst Publications building near Columbus Circle in New York, being protected by police as a workers' parade marches by.

Labor College Is Organized in West

FRESNO, Cal.—A new labor college to be called the Western Labor College was founded at a conference of prominent labor leaders and educators on October 19 here.

"Western Labor College is to be established," declares their statement of purpose, "as a non-factional and non-sectarian school dedicated to the cause of Labor and the common people and aiming to prepare its students for active participation and leadership in those various economic, political, and cultural activities which may be inclusively described as the 'farmer labor movement'."

The active membership in the Western Labor College Association is restricted to the original founders, to official representatives of bona fide labor, farmer and co-operative organizations and to individuals in active sympathy with the aims and ideals of Western Labor College Association who can contribute moral and material assistance in furthering the work of this organization.

The executive board elected includes A. Allen Clark, Milen Dempsey, I. Feinberg, John L. Kerchen, Stanley Most, and Samuel S. White. George P. Hedley, Walter Cowan, Cameron King, and Glenn Trimble are only some of the others connected with the founding of the

institution.

It was suggested that a farm and orchard, if possible, be operated in connection with the labor college in order to help make the institution self-supporting, and as an educational project as well as a means of reaching and serving the workers of the predominantly agricultural West.

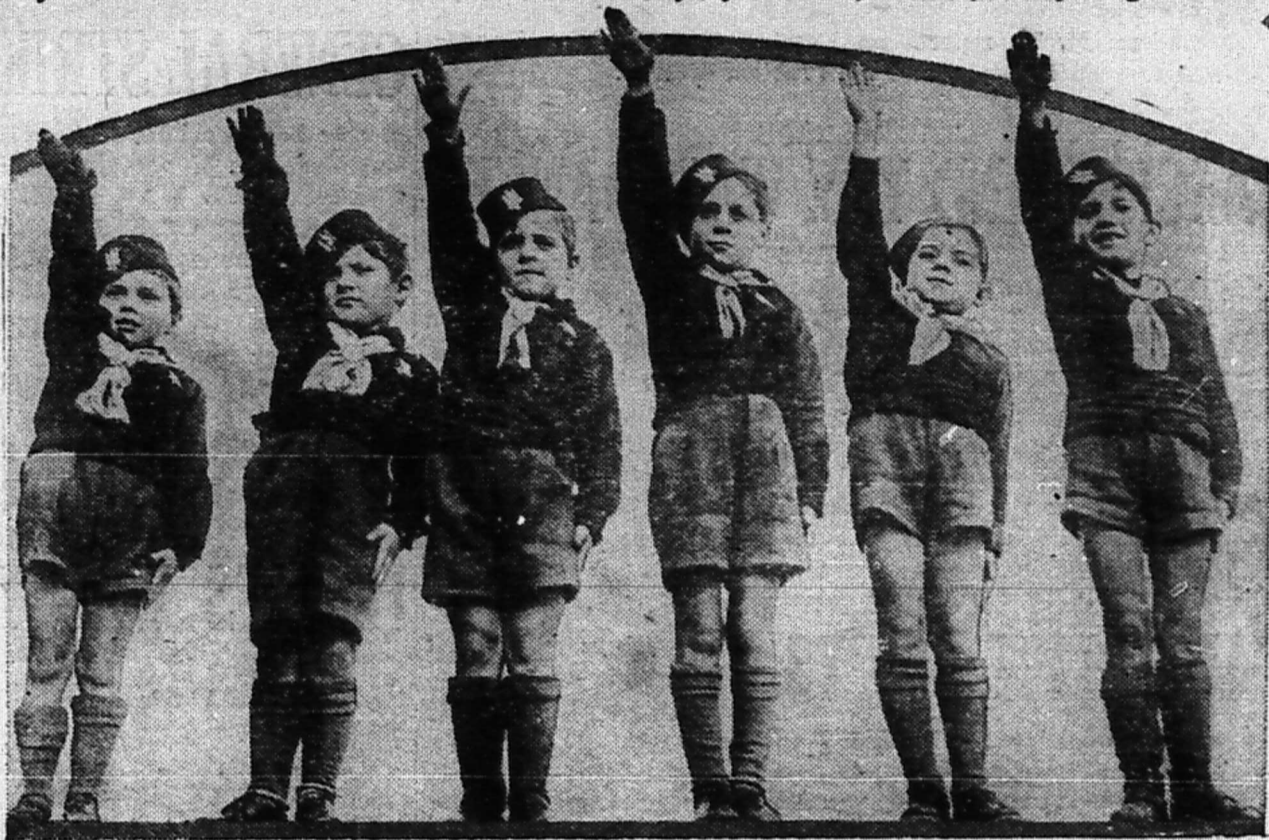
The minimum desirable acreage for the college was estimated at about three hundred fifty acres of which approximately two hundred would be adaptable for farm use.

Interviewed about the college, several Socialist leaders declared their agreement with a statement that "new people in the labor movement realize how important a workers' training college is. While every capitalist business tries to secure experts to do the work the working class movement must in the main rely on 'amateurs.'" If the Western Labor College succeeds in merely adding to the few trained workers which Brockwood Labor College turns out each year it will be accomplishing even what the Socialist movement by itself has been unable to do."

General enquiries from friends of workers' education and from prospective students of the college will be welcome at the established headquarters of the Western Labor College Association, 5837 San Pablo Avenue, Oakland, California.

Student Peace Mobilization Intensifies Anti-War Fight

NEW YORK—A gigantic onslaught on three fronts against war and mobilization of youth will be undertaken for Armistice Day by student, church, and young Socialist



In Italy Military training begins at eight years

groups throughout the country. The student bodies of every college will hold a "student mobilization for peace" on November 8, under the auspices of nine national organizations, while the churches are holding joint peace rallies on November 11, and the Young People's Socialist League is initiating an anti-Hearst Metrotone campaign on the same day.

Socialists Gain

Socialists made big advances in city elections. In Reading, Pennsylvania, the Socialists swept into power gaining complete control of the city government. They had been defeated by a fusion two years ago but this time rallied back stronger than the combined force of their opposition.

In Bridgeport, Conn., Mayor Jasper McLevy, Socialist Party candidate, was reelected and the entire Socialist slate swept in with him.

The workers of Jeanette, Pa., elected Earl C. Englehart, veteran Socialist, to the city council. Large gains were made in other cities.

John C. Taylor, Socialist, was elected to the School Board in Toledo as a candidate of the Toledo Labor Congress. Tim McCormick, Young Socialist of Toledo, is given a chance to win in the elections for City Council of that city but as the Challenge goes to press the returns have not yet been announced.

Hearst was kicked out of Harvard University because of rowdiness.

YIPSELS GAIN FROM NEWARK STRIKERS



Newark strike scene

NEWARK, N. J. — A strike wave sweeping through the garment trades of this city has been so ably led by the Young People's Socialist League that YPSL sympathy among the young union workers has reached a new high.

There is already a circle composed entirely of the girl-workers of one union, in the process of formation, while a second union circle is contemplated in another local.

The Newark Young Socialists, who will be hosts to their national executive committee next Christmas, have furnished leaders in practically all of the strikes.

INT'L SOCIALIST YOUTH WEEK SUCCESS THROUGHOUT U. S.

Young Socialists throughout America mobilized their forces for International Socialist Youth Week last month. Outdoor and indoor demonstrations were held in Milwaukee, Chicago, the West Coast, Newark, Detroit, Toledo, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Philadelphia, New York, sections of New England and smaller communities throughout the nation.

The main features of the celebrations, however were the Saturday night solidarity bonfires. Thousands of Young Socialists, members of the YPSL, the Young Circle League, the Young Pacl Zion Alliance, the Red Falcons and the Workers Sports League as well as smaller organizations, rallied during the night of October 6th.

Despite heavy rainstorms in some parts of the country the turnout was large. Huge bonfires sizzled as determined

Young Socialists pledged their devotion to the struggle against all imperialist war, the struggle against Fascism, and declared their undying solidarity with the youthful victims of foreign Fascist tyranny who are bravely building their forces for the overthrow of their Fascist rulers and the establishment of Socialism.

Most of the meetings were held at the very same time that Mussolini began his campaign against the Ethiopians. This added to the seriousness of the bonfire demonstrations as Young Socialists realized the trying tasks ahead of them.

In New York, more than 300 Young Socialists gathered at the Palisades on a cold drizzling night. Melvin Wilbach, leader of the New York YPSL, spoke, along with representatives of other Socialist organizations. In protest,

Movie Reaction Is Attacked

NEW YORK — Members of the SLID and the National Student League staged a demonstration before the Rivoli Theater on Times Square where "Red Salute," a vicious reactionary movie was being shown.

Cops Assault Lash

After seeing the movie, Joe Lash, SLID leader in New York asked to see the theater manager to lodge a complaint. Before he could reach the manager he



Slugged

18 More Arrested

Eighteen students were arrested when members of the SLID and NSL formed a picket line around the theatre in protest against the picture and the police brutality. They were charged with unlawful assembly.

A doctor at the police station sewed two stitches in Lash's bleeding eye, and one of the policeman said pleasantly:

"Too bad he didn't take your eye out!"

Charges were preferred against Police Captain Curry for his unwarranted attack on Lash.

The matter hasn't ended there, as picket lines are still moving in protest.

The student mobilization has been called on the basis of a four-point program including American neutrality in case of war, the demilitarization of the colleges, curricular and extra-curricular opportunity for discussing war, and refusal "to

support the United States government in any war it may undertake." The latter point has in the past, however, been interpreted by one of the participating Communist organizations, the National Student League, to mean refusal to support the government in wartime, but not necessarily refusal to support the war. This interpretation is a bone of contention between the NSL and the Student League for Industrial Democracy, which the latter insists must be cleared up before the two organizations unite to form the "American Student Union" next Christmas.

National student organizations cooperating in the mobilization are the National Student Federation (student councils), the National Council of Student Christian Associations (Student YMCA) the National Student Council of the Young Women's Christian Association, the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the Committee on Militarism in Education, the National Student League, the American Youth Congress, and the Intercollegiate Council for International Cooperation.

Originally scheduled for Armistice Day, the demonstration was set back to November 8 because of the fact that the 11th is a legal holiday in thirty states, and it was desired to make the demonstration part of a regular school day. The National Council of Methodist Youth, on endorsing the demonstration, also unofficially requested that the mobilization be so arranged as not to interfere with the church rallies on November 11.

The mobilizations will, if possible, be held on every campus as "an official meeting of the student body" called by the college student council, in cooperation with the campus chapters of the sponsoring organizations and all other local student groups willing to cooperate. They will begin with two minutes of silence in commemoration of the thirteen million youth killed on the battlefield during the last war, and follow with speeches stressing the four-point objective of the demonstrations, since "peace sentiments must be translated into concrete action."

Text of the Socialist Party's

WAR RESOLUTION

Rearranged and Analyzed for the Readers of the Challenge

Socialism, M. D. reports on Fascism and the War Danger, Italy's Attack on Ethiopia, and the Problem of War.

I. THE DISEASE FASCISM AND THE WAR DANGER

DIAGNOSIS
FASCISM. (Omitted).
THE WAR DANGER Once more the world is on the threshold of a new war. Even if the Ethiopian crisis does not result in an immediate and general outburst, the steadily mounting armaments and the rapidly deepening internal conflicts of the world make new war inevitable in the not distant future. Nothing less than the maximum effort of the American people, based on the most realistic policies, can prevent their country from being drawn in.

FALSE REMEDIES
CAPITALIST GOV'TS The workers must not be caught in such a trap (as sanctions). In 1914 the world was deluged with blood on the pretext of defending Belgium. The American Socialists saw clearly through the sham, and fought steadfastly, if unsuccessfully, to preserve American neutrality.

AGAIN IT IS THEIR DUTY TO PROCLAIM THAT NO CAPITALIST WAR CAN BE A GOOD WAR; THAT NO DEVICE CONTROLLED BY CAPITALIST GOVERNMENTS CAN BE A TRUSTWORTHY INSTRUMENT OF PEACE! THAT WAR CAN BE ENDED ONLY WHEN CAPITALISM IS ENDED, AND NEVER BY ALLIANCES WITH CAPITALISM. NOR CAN FASCISM BE DESTROYED BY WAR; UNDER PRESENT ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES FASCISM IS INEVITABLY BRED OF WAR. WE REPUDIATE ANY POLICY OF COLLABORATION WHICH SUPPORTS AND BUILDS UP CAPITALIST NATIONALISM IN ANY COUNTRY AS A MEANS OF DEFEATING FASCISM IN ANY OTHER COUNTRY.

We call for ceaseless working class struggle against all capitalist governments. War and Fascism must be fought simultaneously; we are opposed to all programs which rely on war by capitalist states to overthrow Fascist dictatorships. We urge clear-cut, uncompromising action by the workers against all warmaking capitalist governments, including the government of the United States.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS The League of Nations has not fulfilled the hope of the world's pacific elements in the organization of a true collective peace system. This is no fault of the Socialist Party of the United States, which alone among all the political parties, in its platforms during the last two presidential campaigns stood for cooperation with the League, but only through reservations designed to free the League from the domination of the large imperialistic countries, and to direct its procedure into channels of democracy and peace.

RIVAL IMPERIALISMS The clash of rival imperialisms, even in the name of war and peace, cannot be construed as a summons to the American workers for support of peace forces as opposed to those of war and Fascism. The foe against which the American working class must struggle is the whole interlocking system of nationalism, militarism, capitalism, and imperialism, of which the present crisis is only the most recent development.

THE CURE
YOUTH RESISTANCE ESPECIALLY, WE CALL UPON THE YOUTH OF AMERICA TO RESIST THE GROWTH OF THE WAR SPIRIT FOR ANY PURPOSES WHATSOEVER, TO FIGHT AGAINST MILITARY TRAINING, PREPAREDNESS AND INDUSTRIAL MOBILIZATION OF THE WORKERS; AND WE PLEDGE THEM THE SUPPORT OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY FOR A PROGRAM OF WAR RESISTANCE IN A WAR EMERGENCY, INCLUDING REFUSAL TO BE CONSCRIPTED FOR MILITARY SERVICE.

NEUTRALITY STRUGGLE Specifically, we ask the organized trade unions and the unorganized workers to unite in a nation-wide effort to force through Congress, in the early days of the coming session, legislation which will assure American neutrality so far as official acts can do so. The present neutrality law should be revised and stiffened; more significantly, it should be extended to cover loans and credits, public or private to any belligerent. (This section has not yet been endorsed by the Young People's Socialist League.)

LABOR ACTION Fundamentally, however, THE WORKING CLASS CANNOT SAFELY DEPEND UPON CAPITALIST LAWMAKERS. Above all, it must be prepared to deny its cooperation to the war program of the Army and Navy strategists, and must stand ready if need be to enforce neutrality through its own collective refusal to manufacture or transport materials for use in the war. If America remains neutral, it will only be the vigilance of the workers and lovers of peace.

GENERAL STRIKE If the anti-war struggle breaks down and the involvement of the United States in war becomes imminent, nothing can finally prevent the waste and slaughter of another conflict save THE COMBINATION OF COURAGEOUS WAR RESISTANCE BY AMERICAN YOUTH, AND A UNITED STRIKE AGAINST WAR BY ORGANIZED LABOR, technicians and professional workers generally. For this eventuality, Socialist trade unionists and party members should be studying, educating and preparing in every way possible with energy and purpose.

II. AN APPLICATION OF SECTION I TO THE DISEASE ITALY'S ATTACK ON ETHIOPIA

DIAGNOSIS
ITALY'S WAR AIMS Italy, in the great effort to drown the misery of her own exploited workers in a wave of patriotic fervor, and to provide her capitalists with the raw materials and markets which are the basis of their exploitation, has launched a piratical raid on Ethiopia.

FALSE REMEDIES
LEAGUE ACTION In common with all civilized men, we despise and abhor her (Italy's) action, and our sympathies are definitely with her victims. BUT WE MUST NOT BE SEDUCED INTO THE BELIEF THAT THE SUDDEN ZEAL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS TO RESTRAIN ITALY, IN THE NAME OF PROTECTING ETHIOPIA, IS FOUNDED UPON ANY LOFTY DEVOTION TO WORLD PEACE, OR CAN BE RELIED UPON BY THE WORKERS TO MAKE WORLD PEACE SECURE.

SANCTIONS In all lands, the workers long for peace, and recognize as their enemy the warmaker, Mussolini. By an accident of imperialistic rivalry, England also sees an enemy in Mussolini, and grasps the opportunity to throttle Italy by a ring of steel and gold, forged in the name of peace. The workers must not be caught in such a trap.

CURE
LABOR ACTION This does not mean that Socialists abandon the idea of organized world peace or the application of collective economic pressure to prevent war. But at the present stage of political and economic development, THE WORKERS THEMSELVES MUST ASSUME THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EMPLOYING THEIR OWN ECONOMIC POWER FOR THE DEFENSE OF COLONIAL PEOPLES, and in no case be maneuvered into a position where their action against one imperialist aggressor weakens their struggle against the imperialism of their own countries. Labor must maintain its own independent judgment and not leave to capitalist governments any decisions affecting labor's foreign policy.

BOYCOTT OF ITALY We do not advocate any blockade which would cut off food intended for the Italian civilian population, but would urge the limiting of such exports to an amount shipped to Italy on an average during the last five years. Emphatically, however, we favor vigorous working class action against the Fascist invaders, through a wholesale boycott of Italian goods, organized and disciplined by the labor movement and not merely left to the chance result of temporary resentments.

ANTI-IMPERIALISM We re-affirm our sympathy with all oppressed races and nationalities, including the victims of the Ethiopian ruling class, the subject peoples throughout Africa and Asia, and the Italian masses bowed beneath the yoke of Fascist despotism. We will do all in our power to help them throw off the bonds of their imperialist oppressors everywhere. As Americans, nevertheless, we recognize our particular duty towards our own government's finance imperialism in Latin America, and our own oppressed race—THE MILLIONS OF NEGROES DENIED THE FRANCHISE, BARRED FROM EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES OF RELIEF AND EMPLOYMENT, AND HELD BACK FROM FREE CULTURAL EXPRESSION. To them, we promise unremitting efforts for genuine freedom and for the conquest of race prejudice. It is not necessary for Americans to go to war over Ethiopia in order to defend the rights of colored peoples.

III. THE DISEASE WAR

DIAGNOSIS
ROOTS OF WAR The root of the war danger lies, not in any single act of imperialist aggression, no matter how deserving of condemnation, but in the capitalist organization of society. While rich territorial possessions, markets and raw materials are held by certain powers in defiance of colonial popu-

(Continued on page 11)

NEC Discusses War Question, YPSL Headway

CHICAGO—The question of war and numerous organization problems occupied the attention of the National Executive Committee of the Young People's Socialist League at its quarterly meeting held in Chicago, early in October.

More than fifteen hours of debate and discussion marked the consideration of the problem of war, specifically the YPSL position on so-called democratic wars against Fascism, wars in defense of the Soviet Union and the defense of colonial peoples.

The functions and duties of the National Organization Committee were laid down by the National Executive. The committee will meet monthly. Hy Fish, Melos Most and Harold Goldstein were added to it.

All energies of Yipsels in the cultural field will be devoted to building Rebel Arts and similar cultural groups in the future. In the sports field, emphasis will be given to building the Workers Sports League.

Educational seminars in key centers throughout the country will be held over the Thanksgiving weekend, with Walter Storey, national educational secretary, in charge.

A national Student Office was set up with offices at 21 East 17 Street, New York City. Albert W. Hamilton, chairman of the Student League for Industrial Democracy and a leader of the Methodist youth movement, heads the student department. Immediately after the meeting of the National Executive, he left for a tour through the middle west and the west coast.

Three district YPSL organizers have been placed, as the first stride forward in the campaign to have ten district organizers by the Spring. Sam Verne, veteran organizer formerly working in New Jersey, John Van Hazinga, former Wisconsin state organizer, is at work in the Toledo-Detroit-Flint district. A district committee has been formed with representation from the circles in that area. A membership bulletin is being issued and joint projects have been mapped out.

Robert Kantor, Detroit Yipsel, has started work in the important Indianapolis-Terre Haute district. His work includes special attention to the many sympathizers won to the Socialist movement by the militant action against martial rule led by the Socialists. He reports tremendous interest among young people in Socialist ideas and special interest in organization into an active and militant Young Socialist organization.

At the same time, Ernest Erber, national chairman is touring New England, checking up on the YPSL organization there and seeking new opportunities for the League. Several debates and mass meetings have been scheduled for Comrade Erber. He is spending time in New York and other Eastern centers arranging for a substantial increase in the League organizers force.

Ben Fischer, national secretary, is making trips to mid-western areas in an effort to help prepare the organization for a large-scale anti-war campaign to be launched in the near future.

NEW YORK—Circle 11 Jrs. Bronx takes honors in street meetings during the past month with a steady record of four street corner meetings a week. To round out a rather busy month the membership participated in several hikes as well as a general membership dance-social.

YOUTH GETS - A HANDOUT

BY LARRY BROWN

From a Pamphlet to be published by the
LABOR YOUTH PUBLISHERS

What lies ahead? We used to paint rosy pictures of our future success in our chosen profession or security in some trade. We used to look forward to a happily married family life, participation in social and recreational activities, enjoying the comfort of our own homes and cars and the joy of passing on to our children a world of equal opportunity for happiness. But things don't seem quite as promising now. Something has gone wrong somewhere. And still, though society may have no use for us, we have got to live. If we can't do it by legal and social ways, lots of us drift into rackets. Nasty way out—isn't it?

But what else could naturally result among young people who have been spending years to prepare themselves for life, years of hard work, brightened only by the dream of reaping the rewards in later years, only to find frustration awaiting them? We have to put off marriage indefinitely, we go about undernourished, poorly clothed, with no zest for recreation. Life goes flat and sour and we go about in perpetual gloom. Disease keeps pace with crime and the demoralization of crushing defeat.

The National Youth Administration

Then along comes the National Youth Administration (in June 1935). Thousands of youngsters felt hope reviving after this long delay of the government to do something substantial for them. Perhaps Roosevelt had not really forgotten his Forgotten Man! Perhaps he had been delayed by the press of many other things all this time. Now he was proclaiming to the world that he proposed through the NYA to "train youth for employment opportunities," and therefore the government was to "provide for continuing attendance at high school and college," and they were going to "provide work relief" and to "find jobs in private industries."

But the ray was only a flash in the pan. For one thing, the \$15 a month of the NYA is far too little to be of appreciable help. And, mind you, high school students get only \$6 a month and in most places outside of New York the college fellows don't get the \$15 either. It ranges from \$6 to \$15. Of course, the specific circumstances of young fellows varies considerably. I know a couple of chaps who roll around in a car and don't think twice about spending \$5 on a Saturday night. But they're the exceptions, the upper class. We're talking about the other 95% of us who are just trying to keep our heads above the water.

Who Runs the Show?

No detailed proof is necessary when we state flatly that \$15 a month is a coolie wage and not enough to keep body and soul together.

I might say in passing that when Commissioner of Education Studebaker asked for 300 million dollars for 2 million young workers, he got 50 million dollars for 6 million of them.

Then there's the question of administration. How is the whole shebang run? Look here, don't you think we ought to have young people in control who are closer to our problems than older men? Sure, and they are—but just see how they're chosen. Talking about

the works? Not by a long shot. It's too obvious to the politicians that if the victims were given a chance to express themselves, they would say plenty. The less about the nature of their remarks, the less profane this discussion, so let's skip that. We're supposed to say nothing, and not bite the hand that feeds us.

Youth Aid-For Bosses

And, oh boy, if the young men of our age were aware of some

have a sense of impending and utter failure."

Of course, if you're not man enough to try to do something about the whole mess, there's no use going any further. But I have faith in the majority of the young people of America and so I'm going right on ahead with what I have in mind.

THE AMERICAN YOUTH ACT

As an immediate program of action I propose that we get a real youth bill drafted which when made law, will really accomplish something. Let's not bother with the whereases and aforesaid. We'll speak English and leave it to the lawyers to dress it up properly. We'll call it the American Youth Act and we propose:

We want to work on jobs where we'll be accomplishing something useful for the people of the nation. We'd like a whole flock of community centers with libraries, playgrounds, gymnasias, swimming pools, public health

wouldn't have to worry as much about wasting time studying a vocation only to find there are no jobs for us.

Then again, we don't want any more of this putting our elders out of work. We want the prevailing rate of wages as fixed by union scales. If there are none in that industry, the wages should not be less than \$15 per week. And even that is darned low.

We think young people should stay in school as long as possible, not only because it would mean more jobs at higher pay for workers but because every person is entitled to an intellectual preparation for life. There should be a flat minimum of \$25 a month for college students and \$15 for high school students. In relation to student's and workers' compensation, these figures should not be regarded as fixed but should be adjusted according to the rise in the cost of living.

We want the thing run more democratically so that we may express ourselves on the functioning of works and on how to improve them. The administrative bodies should consist of leaders of labor organizations, youth organizations, social service agencies, consumers' organizations, educational institutions, etc.

No Share-the-Poverty

We're against discrimination because of age, nativity, sex, race, color, religion or political opinion or affiliation. We're going to tell our lawyer to be especially careful that strikers are safeguarded. We don't want any discrimination against those of us who have to strike to try to get decent conditions.

We don't want this money to come from the poor and we're putting into the Act that it shall be gotten out of the Treasury. But since this money is gotten by taxation, we'll have to fight for increased taxes on corporation and private incomes, inheritance, gifts, etc. and for the abolition of such taxes as the sales tax which soaks the poor. You get the idea—soak the rich and get a more equitable distribution of wealth.

There! Look it over! Well worth fighting for, isn't it? Or don't you think we'll have to fight to get it? Maybe you think it's so good everybody will want it? How about those who are going to foot the bill? Do you think they're shouting huzzahs for our swell bill?

Yes, old bean, we've got a scrap on our hands. Our enemies have squashed measures which didn't go anywhere near as far. Look what happened to the Child Labor Amendment.

This means a fight. Not a fist fight, but a kind of fight that the Wall Street crowd has learned to wage long ago and that we underdogs have got to learn. Pass the word around, drum up sentiment for the American Youth Act; you'll be surprised how it spreads. The government keeps its ears to the ground; give it a good scare.

The Co-Operative Commonwealth

But the important thing to remember is that our American Youth Act, good as it is, is only an emergency measure and has temporary application only. It doesn't strike at the heart of our troubles. It's like bailing out the boat without stopping the leak.

For lasting soundness we have got to get at the root of the problem because when we do away with the causes of our social evils, the effects won't have a ghost of a chance to hang around. The cause is capitalism, where industry produces goods only for sale at a profit, giving as little in wages as it can get away with and charging as high a price as the traffic will bear.



hand-picked crews! Albert Hamilton, Chairman of the Social Action Committee of the National Council of Methodist Youth, Frank J. Palm of the Civic Youth League of Philadelphia and Marvin Halverson, of the New York State Youth Committee interviewed Corson, secretary to Aubrey Williams, the executive director of the NYA and were told that "no youth leaders really representing an organized body of young people have been selected"—they were not even consulted!

Hand-Picked Crew

The President selected Williams and told him to go ahead and fix himself up with the rest of the help. He finds himself some State Directors after his own image and they in turn go a-pickin' for the various local councils. Now, a good portion of the youth of the nation are organized in political groups, student bodies, church groups, etc. Do you think their leaders would be called in to help administer

other not so obvious effects of this whole business, wouldn't they let up a howl to beat Old Glory. The government's got an apprenticeship system where they let employers put young men to work at apprentice wages—paid by the government!

It's bad enough the government has to waste money giving subsidies to industry, but in this case something worse than that is happening. The bosses get their labor free and go ahead to fire the older salaried workers. So the family of these young workers get a couple of dollars added and the mainstay wage decreased to nothing. That's a fine way to find more jobs in private industry!

Back Where We Started

So right off the bat we can take a look at the whole works and say "Nix, it's lousy." In case anybody may think I'm unfair or speaking too soon, look what Aubrey Williams, national

director of the NYA thinks: "I centers, adequate school facilities, public camp sites and public forest shelters. We want to clear away the slums and build municipal dwelling houses, rent at cost of building and operation. Well, that's enough for a sample—we'll think of other things later."

Now, taking a tip from past experience, we know one thing we don't want. I'm referring to the use the C.C.C. camps have been put to—they're under military control and are the stamping grounds for military training of the young men of the country. We're going to have it put in the bill so that there'll be no mistake about it—we aren't going to help the War Department prepare us for cannon fodder. None of our projects will be under military control.

We should have vocational training for all kinds of jobs. If we get all these public projects under way, the problem of unemployment would be considerably lightened and we

William Randolph Hearst

By the Labor Research Front

"There is not a cesspool of vice and crime which Hearst has not exploited for money-making purposes. No person with intellectual honesty or moral integrity will touch him with a ten foot pole for any purpose to gain any end . . ."

Nor will those acquainted with Hearst's past associations disagree with the above characterization of the man and his work, delivered before the National Educational Association last March by the author of "The Rise of American Civilization," Charles E. Beard.

When we begin to examine Hearst's career we find an explanation of his character. Born in 1863, the son of Senator George Hearst he was accustomed to wealth and power from his boyhood. But the shadow of power would never satisfy him: he craved the possession of the reality. In 1887 he induced his father to turn over to him the San Francisco Examiner, then a minor daily, which he immediately proceeded to make the liveliest paper on the Pacific Coast. In quest of circulation, he turned champion of the common man, identifying himself with the early battles against the trusts, and parading, even, as the champion of union labor!

With the success of the Examiner as a starter, his holdings in the newspaper and magazine field expanded thruout the country. Always alert to catch public interest thru espousing what he considered the latest fad, he even opened some of his paper's pages to radical and Socialist thought, and enlisted as the chief of his private 'brain trust' Arthur Brisbane, then noted as a liberal, and son of the man who first popularized Fourier's semi-socialist doctrines in the United States in the 19th century.

Before the war, Hearst even expressed opinions which had a liberal hue. Among his writing may be found such phrases as 'The demand of the less favored classes for a proper propor-

tion of the advantages of the progress and development which is created by all and belongs to all must be met and satisfied." And on another occasion, the present arch-enemy of every progressive ideal declared: "Unrest is but a recognition of injustice. And the way to allay unrest is to remedy injustice." Such were the sentiments once mouthed by the high priest of American reaction!

Hearst's Labor Record

Lest the readers of the Challenge fear that Hearst's present day some day condemn his past to perdition, it must be added at once, that Hearst's liberal sentiments never got further than the pages of some rare writings: despite his occasional lip service to labor's cause, his own labor record is thoroely in keeping with his present reactionary stand. Even before the war, Hearst's actions belied his liberal phrases.

When his newsboys struck against his decision not to accept return copies of the papers which remained unsold, Hearst turned to conventional capitalist tactics, and broke the strike, rather than accept the newsboys' modest demands for minimum working conditions.

Again, shortly after the close of the war, he crushed an early attempt to unionize editorial writers on his Boston daily by importing strike-breakers from Chicago and the Pacific Coast.

Recently in "defiance" of the NRA, he had one of his employees, Dean Jennings of the San Francisco Call-Bulletin dismissed from his post for activity in establishing a local unit of the Newspaper Guild. So flagrant was Hearst's violation of the labor section of the law, that the National Labor Relations Board could find no excuse to uphold Hearst's stand. Jennings' reinstatement was ordered; and it was only through the personal intervention of that great "liberal," President Roosevelt, that Hearst and the Newspaper Publishers' Association was able to escape the clear "intent" of the law: — and Jennings was out of his job!

Hearst's most outstanding attack on Organized Labor was undoubtedly his part in breaking the San Francisco General Strike. Hearst was in the forefront of the attempt made by concerted capital in the Coast city to crush union labor—the city's newspapers were organized into an anti-strike front largely thru the efforts of John Francis Neyland, Hearst's general counsel, a representative of the National City Bank and, interestingly enough, regent of the University of California. A statement in the Hearst press of July 27, 1935, not only hailed the strikers' defeat, but waxed jubilant over the methods whereby the victory was won, declaring: "It is particularly gratifying not only that the San Francisco strike was won by the community (i. e. by the bosses) but that it was WON IN THE RIGHT WAY—ON THE TRUE PRINCIPLES."

Where He Gets His Money

That the Hearst press should be the constant defender of capitalism's principles is not strange, when we study the sources of Hearst's own income. Mr. Hearst's properties are spread thruout the United States and neighboring lands. Widely interested in mining industries, Hearst's holdings include shares in the Homestake mine in South Dakota, now the battleground of a struggle in which impoverished farmers are trying to get the mine to pay a fair share of the state's taxes in view of its great wealth and their poverty; in the Anaconda mine in Nevada, in the American Metals Co., the Santa Eulalia Mining Co. and more. Outside of the continental United States, his holdings include shares in the San Luis mine in San Dimas, Mexico—furnishing a clue to Hearst's constant championing of the United States' duty to go into the territory of our southern neighbor in order to furnish it the beauties of 'civilization'; while in the Republic of Peru, the peons in the Cerro de Pasco copper mine, in which Hearst has an interest, worked to the point of ex-



haustion for a miserable pittance in order to increase the profits of the man who claims that he alone is a true supporter and interpreter of Americanism!

His agricultural holdings include his extensive estate at San Simeon, California, and his large Babicora Ranch in Mexico, while he is likewise a large investor in New York Real Estate.

His newspaper and magazine properties are immense: two out of every five newspaper readers in America read one or more of his daily papers, scattered thru seventeen cities in the United States, while countless more are readers of his widely circulated magazines, including Good Housekeeping, Hearst's International Cosmopolitan, Harper's Bazaar and others.

In addition to these properties, Hearst likewise is able to influence public opinion thru his control of news sources of importance such as Hearst News Service, Inc., International Film Co. and News Reel Corp., International News Service, Inc. King Features Syndicate, Universal Service Inc., and many others.

Hearst and Workers' Rights

Thru his control of so large and varied an assortment of sources of information and opinion thruout the country, Hearst could well do much to advance the Americanism of which he is always prating. But his activities in behalf of "American liberties" are peculiarly his own. In these days of constantly increasing threats against the liberties of speech and press, Mr. Hearst has shown his solicitude for civil rights by actively sponsoring and supporting the Kraemer Bill, H.R. 6427, a federal sedition bill which opens the way to such violations of free speech as were the consequence of the passage of the vicious Espionage Act during the last war, when freedom of speech was trampled on by federal officials in the Post Office, and the Attorney General's office. He also supported the Incitement to Disaffection Bill S. 2252 which would have made liable to imprisonment any one protesting against the employment of militia men in a strike situation.

He was in favor of the Dickstein Bill, H.R. 5839 to deport aliens engaged in propaganda, aimed at strike leaders, and the equally vicious Dies Bill, H. R. 7120, providing for the exclusion of aliens who expressed communist views, a direct violation of America's cherished tradition of an asylum for the oppressed in other lands.

Among other measures which received his approbation were state loyalty oath bills for

teachers, and laws which would forbid radical parties to make use of the ballot to advocate a change of government in America. Such were the favored proposals of the owner of a journal for "People who Think!"

Against Academic Freedom

From a perusal of Hearst's record of favored legislation, it is apparent that the principle of academic freedom is one to which he is vigorously opposed. In fact, he is quite open and frank about his opposition, since to him the right of academic freedom is "a phrase taken over by radical groups as a new camouflage for the teaching of alien doctrines." In his zeal to rid America's institution of these perilous tendencies, Mr. Hearst has not been over-scrupulous in his means.

His fervor has never stopped at falsehood, as witness his attempt to unearth communistic doctrines at Syracuse University. At that institution, a reporter of the Syracuse Journal went to see Prof. John N. Washburne of the University of Syracuse in quest of radical doctrines. In order to gain admittance to the Professor's study he posed as a student desirous of learning about the content of a course in sociology and economics—apparently Mr. Hearst's idea of ethics sees no difficulty in countenancing dishonesty and deception, when it is a question of preserving the purity of American youth. After vainly attempting to catch the Professor in some heretical and revolutionary utterances, the Journal published a garbled version of the interview under a heading which claimed that thru its vigilance the paper had uncovered the fact that the entire university was infected with Communism. So misleading and false were the newspaper's reports that the editor dared not claim that they were Professor Washburne's words, the article purporting to give the "gist" of the conversations held with Professor Washburne.

Despite a full repudiation of the reputed "interview," Mr. Hearst's editors decided to give the scheme another trial, this time with Professors George S. Counts and William Kirkpatrick of Teachers' College as the victims. But Mr. Hearst's enterprising young newsgatherers bargained without their hosts: the Professors having taken the precaution to have a stenographer take notes of the entire conversation. In the face of the impossibility of "doctoring" the interview because of the stenographic record, the Hearst papers decided not to proceed further with the matter.

(Continued on page 10)



"THE SNAKE WRAPPED IN THE COILS OF THE FLAG"

IF ANY ONE MAN CAN BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR— THAT MAN IS HEARST!

HE HAS STAKES IN MEXICO, THE PHILIPPINES, CUBA, AFRICA, SOUTH AMERICA, AND ALMOST EVERY COUNTRY IN EUROPE!

HE OWNS RADIO, NEWSREELS, NEWS AND PHOTOGRAPH SERVICES, AND 28 NEWSPAPERS IN 18 CITIES.....

DON'T READ HEARST!

PHIL



Behind Mussolini's War Venture

By Vincenzo Vacirca

Former Socialist Deputy to the Italian Parliament

Since the day Mussolini, through an act of perjury of the King of Italy, became master of the Italian official destiny, every intelligent man who had a little knowledge of history, who was acquainted with the social condition of Italy and who had an inside perception of the former revolutionist now become an arch-reactionary knew in advance that the ultimate outcome of the fascist adventure would have been war.

What should be surprising is not this mad Ethiopian venture but rather the fact that Mussolini has lost thirteen precious years before resorting to a war of conquest.

For at least ten years, we, a group of exiles, scattered almost in every part of the civilized world, have tirelessly denounced the Italian government as willfully and coldly preparing for war. Of course, nobody gave heed to our warning. Our voice has been like that of the prophet clamant in the desert. The wise men who rule the world and their hirelings of the kept press knew better. They laughed when someone was so stupid as to think that Mussolini wanted war. His inflammatory speeches to the youth of Italy, his bombastic gestures, his militaristic parades, his love nationalistic uniforms, his continuous threat of "expanding or exploding" were not to be taken seriously. It was all for home consumption: a picturesque joke by a master showman to keep his audience pleasantly entertained. War was not possible. Italy was too poor and, as long as England and France had a dominating position in the European affairs, they would see to it that Mussolini stayed inside the fence.

Aid From Abroad

On this belief foreign capitalists based their complacency. And to better show their confidence in the man who had saved Western civilization from a Bolshevik catastrophe, they helped him in the best way they could. England and the United States were those who gave the most efficient moral help. England had been for a dozen years the diplomatic protector of Fascist Italy; the United States were prodigal with financial assistance especially at the end of 1925 when, after the murder of Matteotti, the regime was tottering.

And now all these gentlemen who were such good friends of Mussolini are astonished at see-

ing their beloved ward turning into a hooligan, who, without any respect for all the rules of their society, upsets the tables, tears up all treaties, pledges and covenants and frankly proclaims the right of force as the only right that has sense in a world founded primarily on brute force.

Dreams vs. Bread

As I have said, we exiles, most of us Socialist, knew long ago that the hastening of war would have been the logical conclusion of the Fascist experiment. An that was not because we are or were gifted with some supernatural prophetic sense. It was sufficient to look and see around us and to remember the lessons of history.

Since the day Mussolini seized power he has lived on promises. Sheer force is not enough to keep oneself in power for a great length of time. Even a dictator needs a certain amount of consent, of sympathy, of spontaneous support. This can be achieved in two ways: giving the people actual benefits, or feeding them on promises for

the morrow. Bread or dreams. Capitalist dictators usually prefer the latter fodder to nourish the famished Demos.

Mussolini, unable to give the people food for the stomach has been lavish in feeding their imagination with visions of glory, of empire, of new conquered land, of power. Yet he could not content them with empty words. He made it his most important job to gather the necessary instruments and tools to make good his promises. In other words while he was talking of war he prepared the nation—the most peaceful and peace-loving in the whole world—to become fit for a war of aggression.

The Youth

He knew that he could not depend on the old generation, his generation, which had a distaste for war and a deep contempt for the stalwart in the garb of a dictator. Thus he concentrated his attention on the more innocent youth.

Having suppressed liberty of thought under any form, his class and its allies being the only ones who had a right to utter a thought, he found it easy to inject into the empty brains of youth all the ideas that flashed in his own mind. He didn't take any chances. He started with babies 6 years old of whom it is said that they learn to march at the same



Mussolini fiddles while eighteen thousand Italian youth die of dysentery on the battlefield of Africa.

time that they learn to walk, and followed them up to the age of 20, when they become soldiers of the regular army. During these 14 years, first the child, then the boy undergoes a physical and spiritual training with the single object of making him a walking, or, better, marching machine, unable to think, to have an independent opinion, to exercise an autonomous will.

The Capitalist State

The spiritual basis of this "education" can be thus epitomized:—the citizen has no rights at all—he belongs to the State—it is the new divinity to which all and everything must be sacrificed—its mission is to preserve and perpetuate the nation—war is the supreme test of the virility of a nation, of its right to dominate other inferior peo-

ples—Mussolini is the supreme head of the State, the savior of the nation, to whom each and every Italian owes obedience absolutely and blindly—Mussolini can never be wrong.

Militarism

And then marching, marching on to the point of exhaustion. The marching in nationalist parades is not only a physical exercise, it has a pedagogical effect. Men on the march for capitalism forget how to think. Their brain is displaced from the skull to the foot.

All this has been going on for 13 years—openly, before an admiring world of nice ladies, of ace reporters of the international press, of bankers and college professors and even ministers of religion, all enthusiastic about this wonderful he-man who had succeeded in re-making a nation.

But it would have been silly to think that such a tremendous preparation for war should have been simply a holiday parade. The organ makes the function. The function of a militarized nation can be nothing but war.

And war it has been. A war above all for love of grandeur to give Mussolini an avenue of escape.

But will it be really an escape? I hope and believe that the Italian people, and the youth, will soon realize under what tragic delusion they have been living for more than a decade. The enormous sufferings that the war will cause will bring home more than any antifascist propaganda the necessity of overthrowing capitalism and Fascism to save the honor of Italy and her future.

The savior this time will not be a super-man. It will be the workers of Italy who more than anyone else have carried on their shoulder the crushing burden of the dictatorship.

Believe It Or Not About Hearst

To Mr. Ripley, who has had to search the world over for curious facts to put in his daily feature for Mr. Hearst, the Challenge offers the following samples of unbelievable truths that he could gather simply by investigating his boss's life.

Hearst's personal expenses come to fifteen million dollars a year.

Hearst, the "Buy American" campaigner, has no interest in any American art, while his European artistic collections rate among the finest in the world.

Hearst's agricultural holdings cover more than two million acres in the United States and Mexico, while his New York City real estate is worth forty-one million dollars.

Hearst, the War-Monger, for-

bids his household to mention the word Death in his presence.

Hearst, during his recent goodwill visit to Hitler, gained the monopoly of all American news shipped to and published by the government-controlled newspapers of Germany. (For People Who Think?).

Hearst is surrounded in his apartments by statues of Napoleon, Caesar, and St. George with his foot on the dragon.

Hearst's father was a lucky prospector in the gold rush of '49, and left William Randolph a mere thirty million dollars to start with.

Hearst, after spending \$600,000 dollars, failed to get himself nominated on the Democratic ticket in 1904, and in

1908 he tried to start a "Third Party," by forming "Hearst-for-President" clubs, but they didn't make the grade. He never got further in his political career than one term in congress.

Hearst lost eight million dollars in the NEW YORK JOURNAL before he got the jump on his competitor, Pulitzer of the WORLD.

Hearst' chief man for underworld work in southern California did some free-lance jobs and was convicted of taken a \$375,000 bribe.

It is said that Marian Davies helped Hearst write his eloquent editorial signed "An American Husband," pleading for the old sanctity of the home now being threatened by these licentious movies.

Two Ways to Defend the Soviet Union

by HAROLD DRAPER

You may have noticed how closely the present pre-war situation is following the lines of the beginning of the World War. But there is at least one difference. Today we have behind us the experiences of four years of war, and the lessons of the post-war period. The problems that have arisen recently are not new.

The Communists claim that there is a totally new factor—the existence of a Socialist State, the Soviet Union; and that this fact should lead us to support war by the U. S. Government if the government finds itself on the same side as that Socialist State. They say that if, say, Germany attacks Russia, we must "Defend the Soviet Union" even by means of the American military machine.

They are wrong. There is nothing new here. The question of the defense of Soviet Russia came up many times during and immediately after the World War.

Let us take two particularly illuminating examples.

I. RELYING ON CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT

It is 1917. Wilson, the pacifist, has declared war against Germany.

The *Nation* is saying editorially: "War has come, and we must all face it steadfastly and cheerfully." The *New Republic*, not to be outdone, claims part of the credit for shaping the American policy. Sam Gompers is proclaiming himself "a fighting man" (surely news to the bosses). William Z. Foster is selling Liberty Bonds. George Bellows, of the *Masses*, is turning out the best atrocity posters. The "pacifists" have turned war-mongers.

The Socialist Party meets in emergency convention in St. Louis, and by an overwhelming majority, brands the war a crime, and declares that it will fight the war and the government to the last. Party offices in large cities are sacked, driven underground in small towns.

Seven months later in November—the Bolshevik Revolution. Can you imagine its effect? For decades, Socialists had been signing themselves "Yours for the Revolution," for decades they had been working towards a distant goal which was in their hearts but nowhere else. Now—it has been done! The first Socialist revolution, the first country where the working class was in power, existed on earth! All Socialists from Abe Cahan to Big Bill Haywood thrilled to its call with the deepest enthusiasm. No need to "agitate" for the "slogan": "Defend Soviet Russia; it was in their hearts.

Then came the news that the German troops were advancing into Russia. The Russian peasants and workers ran out of the villages to meet them crying: "Brothers! We are your comrades! The czar is overthrown!" They were shot down while still waving the white flag.

Lillian Symes, in *Rebel America*, tells the rest of the story:

"...Germany's continued assaults upon the New Russia... turned a number of radicals, particularly the Slavic ones, violently pro-Ally... Eastman and Dell, burning with enthusiasm for the Soviets and disarmed by Wilson's peace proposals, announced their endorsement of the war aims outlined by President Wilson and by the Russian People. ... Then seven Socialist aldermen in New York voted to support the third Liberty Loan, justifying their vote on the ground of Germany's attacks on Russia and the nature of Wilson's peace terms.

"... There were rumors that Debs, whose emotions had been deeply stirred by the Russian upheaval, was wavering. But the now rapidly aging man soon put an end to all speculations. Taking the platform at a Socialist state convention in Canton, Ohio, he delivered a scathing two-hour denunciation of 'the Junkers of the United States' as well as in Germany, praised the courage and loyalty of his imprisoned comrades, spoke warmly of the I.W.W. and the Bolsheviks and referred to patriotism as 'the last refuge of a scoundrel.'"

At the trial of the *Masses* staff, Max Eastman testified, apropos of the St. Louis declaration: "...I have no hesitation in telling you that

I endorse that resolution. And although subsequently, during the last winter and spring when Germany was invading Russia, I passed through a period of extreme doubt and was almost ready to lay that resolution aside as an expression of abstract principles... that period of doubt has passed...."

TWO YEARS LATER, WILSON WAS SEND- ING TROOPS TO SIBERIA....

This ended the first episode in which the cry of "Defend Soviet Russia" was raised to rally the workers for an imperialist slaughter. This was the first time the policy was put forth of "defending the Soviet Union" through governmental action against the Soviet Union's enemies.

II. INDEPENDANT WORKING-CLASS ACTION

It is 1920. The Allies, in whose name we have seen raised the banner of "Defend Soviet Russia, and now... attacking Soviet Russia.

The White armies of counter-revolution and intervention, backed by Allies money and supplies, officered and manned by Allied men, are pressing toward Moscow and St. Petersburg from every point of the compass—Kolchak from

Revolutionary Hero



Courtesy the Young Worker
Lenin, leader of the Russian Revolution

the East, Wrangel and Denikin from the South, Yudenitch from the West, the Archangel expedition from the North.

The army of the Tsar has disintegrated three years before, from exhaustion, defeat, agitation and corruption. In its place has been raised a totally new force, the Red Army. Thrown together in haste, armed mainly with enthusiasm, led by men inexperienced in military operations—it is this Red Army of the workers and peasants of trouble-torn Russia that stands between the first Workers' State and the White terror. Against it are united all the imperialist states of Europe, America, and Asia!

On the Polish border, war rages fiercely. Behind Poland is ENGLAND.... In this dark hour, what force is there that can come to the aid of the Russian Revolution? Who will "defend Soviet Russia" now?

Just as the threat came from England, so the answer came from within England too.

A year previously, in June 1919, the Southport Conference of the British Labor Party had given a majority of near a million card votes in favor of "direct action" on British intervention in Russia, against

the pleas of conservative leaders like Clynes. In the following month, the Triple Alliance (the powerful unions of the Miners, Railroadmen and Transport Workers) met and recommended a strike ballot of its two million members. Within a week of this meeting Secretary of War Churchill announced that all British troops would be withdrawn from Russia by the end of the summer.

September-October 1919 saw the great railroad strike, indicative of labor's growing unrest. It ended in a distinct victory. "The issue," declared the *London Times*, "...is perfectly clear. It is whether we are to be governed by the Government and by Parliament or by the executive of a trade union... If successful it (the strike) would mean the end of representative government and the power of Parliament." But Parliament and the *Times* survived the shock of foregoing a wage-cut.

August 1920 saw Britain making preparations for open warfare against Soviet Russia in support of Poland. An intense wave of indignation swept through the British working class. Two tremendous demonstrations were held in London. The London dockers refused to load the *Jolly George* with munitions for Poland, and in addition distributed her cargo in such a way as to make it impossible to take her out of dock.

On August 4, Lloyd George informed Kamenev that unless the Red Army immediately withdrew from Poland, the British fleet would sail for the Baltic. Labor's answer came the same week—a joint conference of the Labor Party, Trade Union Congress, and the Labor M.P.'s, which decided to set up a central Council of Action to organize a general strike for the defense of Soviet Russia, and to call a National Conference of affiliated organizations.

Nine days after Lloyd George's ultimatum, local Councils of Action had sprung up all over England, contact had been established with the French and Italian Socialists and with Russia, and the National Conference was meeting in London. Here Clynes himself made the following declaration, which should be published by itself as a pamphlet on the Ethiopian situation and the question of sanctions:

"No Parliamentary or political measures, we felt, could be effective in themselves to save the country from being committed to war against its will. We felt that, as statesmen, contrary to their promises, had failed to establish an effective League of Nations to save us from war, we must be saved from war by an effective League of Labor action working upon lines to make it impossible to send a ship, a gun, a man, to send material or money for this nefarious purpose."

J. H. Thomas moved to endorse and support the Council of Action, declaring "If this resolution is to be given effect to, it means a challenge to the whole Constitution of the country." The motion was passed unanimously. The Council of Action was authorized to call a general strike against intervention and for recognition of Russia.

The Labor press carried headlines "All power to the Council of Action," while the reactionary *Morning Post* declared that "The dreaded Soviet has come at last." Then:

On August 16, Lloyd George himself stated in Parliament that the government's policy on Poland and Russia agreed completely with that of the Labor Conference! The proposed Conscription Bill was withdrawn; the government retreated unconditionally, asking the Poles to conclude a compromise at once and cease the war. The League of Labor had won.

And this is one of the first large-scale episodes in which Soviet Russia was defended through independent working-class action.

Two ways of "defending the Soviet Union": support of government action against the aggressor—or independent working-class action; League of Nations sanction or League of Labor action... history has tested both. The first is the path of betrayal—the present path of the whole Communist International, and of the reformists including the British Labor Party. The second is the path of the revolutionary class struggle, which only the revolutionary socialist movement is taking.

On with the Challengers

By SUB CHASER

The twelve page Challenge was greeted by a flock of congratulations from New York. This we consider a great honor; to think that New Yorkers actually sat down to write letters of congratulations to us! They didn't send in many subs, of course, but after all one cannot expect them to unbend that far.

A couple of states got to work and brought in subscriptions. This is a great pity; think of all the energy they could save by following the New York example and sending in congratulations instead!

Due to their work of these states, and particularly of the Johnsons in Flint and Karl Shier of Chicago, who have been disturbing Sub Chaser's sleep by repeatedly sending in subs, the twelve page Challenge will continue to annoy the peace by coming out every month (sooner or later) for a while at least.

Going over this month's rostrum, Sub Chaser finds he has received 246 subscriptions during October, as against the complete September total of 99. But it is important to realize that this record has been beaten three times previously, in March, May, and June, 1934, when a twelve-pager was not even dreamt of.

MICHIGAN, 67 (I told you to "watch them grow!") mostly from

Flint. Eugene Johnson joins the Challengers with 27 subs, 20 of which he got as Challenge agent of his circle, but they are credited to him nonetheless (that's the advantage of being a Challenge agent.) Genora Johnson sends in 15, Kermit Johnson 10 and Jarvis Albro 8, all as starters! They certainly make the grade.

Ruth Moore of Detroit, sends in 5 (making her total to date 55).

ILLINOIS, 47, almost all of them from

Karl Marx Shier, who sent in 45 and a letter telling how he does it. We bet his distinguished name has something to do with it. Karl has become director of the Chicago Challenge Bureau, and this month he's tearing after greetings in the good old Marxian-Shierist manner.

NEW YORK, 32. Oh, here you are! We were wondering what had become of you. But the low score was no fault of

Mannie Goldberg, who sent in 6 (total 13), or Winnie Dancis, who came across with 4 (total 94), or Arthur Berkowitz, who starts off with 6, or Irving Shapiro, who hooked a club of 4 (total 8), or good old Harry Fleishman, who repeats with 4 (total 57).

CALIFORNIA, 24, which is quite an improvement.

Lillian Lasner joins the Challengers with a lucky 13, Julian Reibert brings in his third club of 4, while Harry Berker sends in another sub (total 9).

PENNSYLVANIA, 23, maybe because they think Sub Chaser is a Cornell man?

Sylvia Fox, Philadelphia agent, sends in 16 to start with. Clayton Mengel, from whom you'll hear a lot in the next few months, sends in 5 (total 57) and Challenger Stroll adds 1 to round out his former 49.

NEW JERSEY, 15, but you'll see them go up the list.

Sam Verne, whose total had reached a mere 136 by the end of October, sends in 8 more, while Irving Alperin, a newcomer, begins at 8.

WISCONSIN, 11. That booby prize last month woke them up.

4 were from Olive Ford (no relation to Henry) of Oshkosh, 2 from Andy Van Hazinga (total 36), and 3 from Walter Benson (total 7), both of Kenosha. What about Milwaukee?

A scattering from other states, and

CONNECTICUT, 1, which wins the booby prize.

The Story Of A Revolution

October Revolt in Spain

By
Melos Most
Editor, The Challenge

II.

Despite the capitalist terror and dictatorial government, Fascism was never actually established in Spain for want of a sufficiently large Fascist movement. It is important to realize this if one is to understand the ensuing course of events.

Fascism is distinguished from non-Fascist capitalist dictatorships, such as in Poland and Spain where the labor movement continues in legal existence, by a significant characteristic: highly organized mass support. When capitalism must crush the worker's living standards—and hence his organizations—in order to survive, it cannot do so entirely by the very state machinery against whose efforts the workers has won these standards and built these organizations.

Capitalism therefore tries to organize a Fascist movement which will act as an auxiliary to the state machinery and meet the working class on its own ground: organized numbers. If they are successful they then pretend to "transfer power" to the Fascists, and establish Fascism. But the "organized numbers" cannot be supplied from the ranks of the capitalists themselves. Instead they try to bribe the peasantry, the middle classes, the slum proletariat, and the youth with promises in the hope that they will become the Fascist storm troops.

In Spain this could not be done because the peasants had been lined up too solidly against the landowners—who were part of the Fascist alliance; the mid-

dle class farmer did not exist; the urban middle class consisted largely of artisans too economically independent to be organized; and the living standards of the workers were already so low that the slum proletariat did not emerge as a distinct group. The "extra-governmental" Fascist movement was small, and had to rely mainly on students for recruiting.

The Socialist Movement

Meanwhile the Socialist movement was rapidly placing itself at the head of the leftward swing of the masses, caused by disappointment in the 1931 revolution. It could do this because of that peculiarity of most Socialist movements: adaptability to the times. Based on the principle of freedom of internal discussion, Socialist movements are apt to have their ideology determined from below, rather than by a static or opportunistic bureaucracy, and hence are more sensitive to new developments and experiences.

The Socialist movement was sensitive to a number of experiences. It learned from the 1931 revolution that capitalist elements, no matter how liberal, cannot be relied on to usher in Socialism. It learned from the capitalist-worker government following the revolution that coalition administrations lead to working class defeat.

It was not until November 1933, however, that the Socialist Party learned that elections are not a means to working class power. Faced with the possibility of being ousted in the 1933 election, the ruling

classes used everything from pulpit-electioneering to terrorism, ballot stealing, and miscounting of votes in order to win. The left parties did, in spite of this, gain a majority of the popular vote, but this had been "conceded" to them in such a manner that they won a minority of seats in parliament! This final revelation of the character of capitalism made it clear that revolution alone can place the working class in power.

Two more lessons the Socialists learned. One was from the belated February revolt in Austria, which left a deep impression on the Socialist movements in Europe: that was that the workers must not wait for the capitalists to determine the date and character of the working class revolution. The other lesson was learned not from the Socialist movement but from the anarcho-syndicalists.

The Anarcho-Syndicalists

The Anarchist and Syndicalist movement was the only other large radical force in Spain. From the time of the split between Bakunin and Marx, it had been bigger than the Socialist movement in its trade unions and as a social force. It supported the 1931 revolution but refused to compromise by entering the government. In the early days of the republican betrayal it capitalized on the fact that the Socialists were part of the government, and expanded very rapidly. But it subsided just as quickly and was replaced by the Socialists everywhere outside of Catalonia.

The anarcho-syndicalists did not believe in "diverting the

mind" from the task of revolution by participation in elections, and in 1933 they were probably responsible for half a million working class abstentions from voting. Yet they never ceased diverting working class energy by concentrating their attack on superficial phenomena such as backward sexual morality, religious bigotry, meat-eating, alcohol drinking, tobacco smoking, and what not. But this was not the main cause of the decline of this decadent crank-movement.

A more important factor was its fallacious concept of revolution. Due to ignorance of the nature of the state, the anarcho-syndicalists did not think it was necessary to have centralized organization and careful planning in order to carry out a social uprising. They could not understand that a capitalist state is itself centrally organized, that capitalism has learned the lessons of the post-war wave of revolutions; they thought they could repeat the German and Russian revolutions even though their government had not collapsed of itself. With this ignorance they attempted a series of badly organized, abortive revolts, on the theory that they would spread of themselves, and succeeded only in disgusting all except the worst elements of the working class, and in teaching the Socialists more than ever the need of organization.

The Workers' Alliances

The Socialists won over the formerly anarchist peasants of Andalusia, and won over the anarchists of Asturias indirectly by taking them piece-meal into local "workers' alliances." They knew the limitations of these alliances, and did not make them the instrument of the revolution which they recognized as their one way ahead. They had learned enough about the necessity for organization against an organized state to know that a united front of groups not bound in all things by a common loyalty could not be trusted with all-important secret arrangements. They regarded the workers alliances as an aid, not a mainstay.

Trotskyists and other communist sects entered the workers' alliances and, with their "purist" splinter philosophy, naturally wanted the workers' alliances to become the main-spring of the coming revolution since they could never hope to win over any sizeable section of the working class themselves. Remembering the workers' councils which sprang up in Germany and Russia when the state machinery was collapsing because of the war, they asked the Socialists to turn over their contacts in the army, their plans, their material preparations to the alliances. The Socialists refused.

They did not, unfortunately, apply the same reasoning to the anarchist movement which dominated radicalism in Catalonia. Although the Catalanian anarchists, far from being connected to the Socialist movement would not even join the alliances, the Socialists sincerely believed that if a revolution got under way the anarchists would join in. Catalonia was the one place where the Socialists did not rely mainly on their own strength and influence, and they lived to regret it.

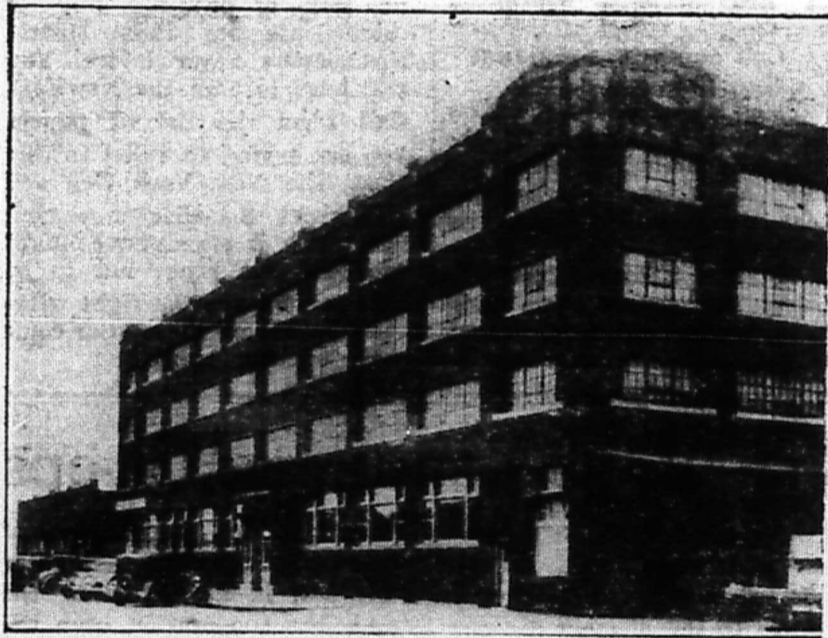
The workers' alliances remained as local united fronts, and as such they grew in importance until even the official Communist Party, which had some rather slight influence in the North, was forced to join them two weeks before the revolution.

This is considerably ahead of our story. In our next and final instalment we shall examine the planning of the Spanish revolution, how it was and how it was not carried out, and the reasons for its failure.

Rise of Consumers Co-ops

By Sid Devin

In the first article of this series on Consumers' Cooperation, we set out to do two things. Firstly, we endeavored to indicate the importance of this movement from the point of view of numbers involved and the scope of cooperative enterprise. Secondly, we outlined the basic principles that are to be



Two recent additions to the co-operative movement

grubby squabbling over a few pennies more or less per hour"—so does the cooperatives concern with saving the pennies of its members lead to a general attack which challenges the very foundations of private capital.

Higher Organization

As cooperative stores grow in number and size, the process which led to the organization of each individual store is repeated on a higher plane. Now it is the cooperative stores which organize their own super-store (wholesale) using the identical Rockdale principles we previously enumerated as being the essence of cooperative enterprise.

We find that each member society of a wholesale usually has only one vote (though sometimes with such modifications as allocating voting power according to patronage). Again we find the subservience of capital being insured by limiting the rate of interest to a fixed minimum. And again we find that

(Continued on page 10)

found in all true cooperatives as contrasted with the principles underlying ordinary capitalist business.

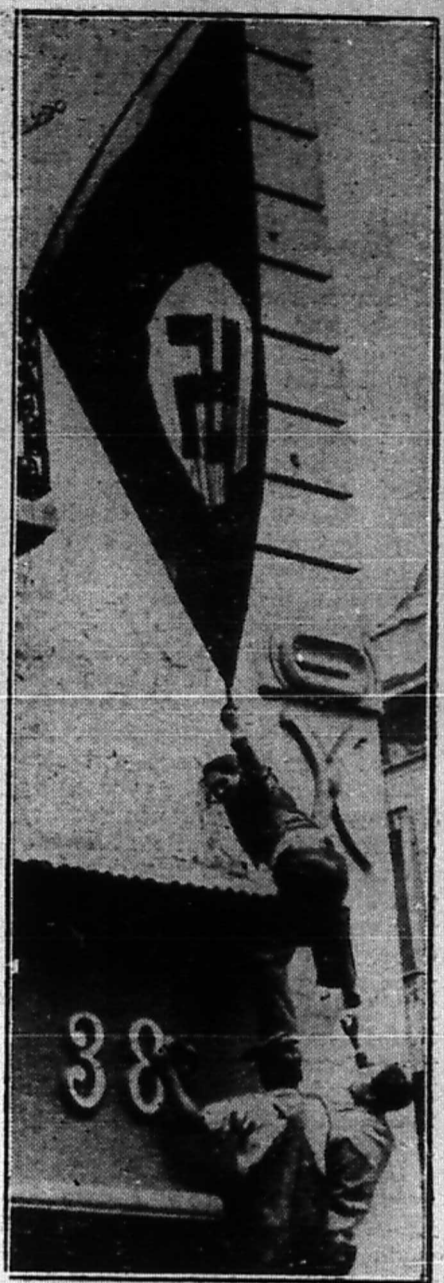
In this article we shall describe the operation of what we shall call the "Cooperative Process," pointing out the inherent revolutionary nature of Consumers' Cooperation.

The basic attractiveness of the Cooperative store to the workingman is that it enables him to (1) make an immediate savings on his purchases, and (2) insure that what he buys is of good quality. The first is accomplished by rebating to the

workingman, in proportion to his purchases, that part of what he pays which otherwise is the profit of private business; the second is made certain by the fact that the workingman-consumer and his associates in the cooperative enterprise own and control the store and therefore take care that it handles only quality merchandise.

Stretch our imaginations as we will, on this basis alone we see little that is of revolutionary significance in cooperation. But just as the trade union's concern over the immediate economic interests of its members—"the

Why Mexican Capital Wants to Leave Home



William Randolph Hearst

(Continued from page 6)

Hearst the War-Monger

In view of Hearst's record as an enemy of the working class, we need not be surprised at his active championing of jingoism and militarism. He openly boasted of having been the prime cause of the Spanish-American War. Desirous of outstripping Joseph Pulitzer's *World* with his *New York Journal*, Hearst resorted to every kind of sensationalism. The pages of the *Journal* were daily filled with tales of the Spaniards' atrocities to bolster its falling circulation. Richard Harding Davis was despatched to Cuba to write up the battles between insurgents and Spaniards in the most sensational manner. The noted painter, Remington was ordered to supply pictures of the war. When Remington telegraphed to Hearst that he could not supply the desired canvases because no war was going on, Hearst replied in his famous message: "You supply the pictures, and I'll supply the war."

But Hearst's campaign received its greatest boost when the sinking of the U.S.S. *Maine* in Havana harbor was reported. Altho the cause of the explosion remains a mystery even to this day, Hearst's papers immediately accused the Spaniards of the deed, and whipped up jingoistic frenzy to the point that the weak and vacillating McKinley, after duly seeking divine counsel, pushed this country into war.

Bred International Hatred

During the years between the end of the Spanish War and the outbreak of the World War, Hearst was active as a fomenter of international hatred and distrust. His chief target was Mexico, then passing thru the first phases of its revolutionary attempt to throw off the foreign yoke and to give the long exploited peon a fair share of the land which he had tilled and the minerals which he had mined so many centuries for the benefit of foreign exploiters. In Hearst's eyes this threat to his wealth and properties below the Rio Grande was a sufficient cause for a long and bitter campaign in his papers' editorials urging the United States to use military force against Mexico, to bring to the peons the benefits of American civilization—and incidentally secure to Mr. Hearst the untouched profits of his mines and farms. Mr. Hearst's other favorite target at this time was Japan. "The Yellow Peril!" provided an excellent theme for fiery editorials which made his papers' circulation rise continuously, especially on the Pacific Coast, where suspicions of Japan were rife.

A Socialist Reply

At the outbreak of the World War, Mr. Hearst at first supported Mr. Wilson's neutrality policy, in order to curry favor with the Irish and German elements, rather than from any real opposition to war itself, as his subsequent jingoist course after America's declaration of war proves. Immediately previous to America's entrance into the war, Mr. Hearst sought to win publicity for his papers thru initiating a peace campaign among newspapers thruout the country, including in his letters one to the *Socialist New York Call*. To this hypocritical request, Chester M. Wright, prominent labor and Socialist journalist, then managing editor of the *New York Call* replied as follows:

"Dear Sir:

"Your invitation to the *New York Call* to join with the *Chicago Examiner* in what you term a great international peace movement is highly interesting.

"It is not long since the Hearst newspapers were lashing themselves into a frenzy of 'patriotism' in an effort to

embroil the United States and Mexico in war. Every person who follows the newspapers closely remembers the pro-war attitude of the Hearst newspapers in connection with the California anti-alien law. The Hearst newspapers have left no line of type unset that might drive the United States into war with Mexico and Japan. And now you talk peace.... Your plea is too ridiculous. It is too obviously what is known as a Hearst play for circulation. It is one of those situations in which you can prattle to your heart's content to the working class, knowing while you do it that you run no risk of injuring any of those interests that Hearst Newspapers never injure. You will have to omit the *New York Call* from the list of papers you are trying to enlist in this case. The *New York Call* and the great Socialist movement for which it stands have fought too long for peace not to be able to continue the fight without the aid of those who come with unclean hands."

Rise of the Consumers Co-ops

(Continued from page 9)

what otherwise would be the profit of a private wholesaler returned to the member societies in proportion to their purchases.

Notice the parallel motives prompting the Cooperative organization of these two stages. Individual consumers organize together to own and control a retail store that provides them commodities of good quality yet eliminates the toll of private profit that would be otherwise taken by individual merchants. Now these cooperative stores organize together to own and control a wholesale that provides them with quality merchandise without the tax of private profit.

"Well, now we're getting some place!" You may remark. "Why, if this process is carried on in a large scale, private retailers will be gradually eliminated; all wholesale will be owned and controlled by the retail cooperatives." And the significant thing is that the cooperative method is continually gaining at the expense of private enterprise.

Lest their be a misunderstanding, we shall make clear at this point that there is that in the nature of modern capitalist society which makes impossible the extension of the cooperative process, of itself, to the entire

production and distribution of any country. As we shall later point out, in no nation of the world, has cooperation been enabled to make the process it has without the assistance of working class forces on the political and on the industrial field.

Cooperative Production

But cooperation goes yet further. Many wholesale societies, when the volume of any particular commodity handled gets large enough, go into the production of that commodity. Sometimes several wholesale societies combine for purposes of production. Thus the Scotch Cooperative Wholesale Society and the British Cooperative Wholesale Society have joined together to run their own tea plantations and tea-packing plants on a scale that makes the late Sir Thomas Lipton's company take a very poor second place. The cooperative wholesales of Sweden, Norway, Finland and Denmark recently went into the joint production of electric light bulbs breaking the Scandinavian bulb trust monopoly. The British CWS alone manufactures commodities ranging from pianos to pinafores and from automobiles to corsets!

So we find, in the working of this "cooperative process," the

The "Red Shirts" are an agrarian-revolutionary youth movement of our neighbors South of the Rio Grande. Above we see a group of them holding drill. At right are Red Shirts in action: tearing down a swastika banner from a German consulate.

gradual displacement of capitalist business from the distribution and manufacture of commodities by cooperative enterprise in which the ordinary business of mankind is carried on entirely without the profit motive. Spring that fact on your friends who say Socialism won't work because people only work for profits!"

Cooperation and Socialism

Let us pause, now, and compare what has happened during this cooperative process with the idea of Socialism. The Socialist ideal is a society where production is carried on for use and not for profit. This is made possible by the social (community) ownership of the means of production and their democratic control by the producers and users of the resultant commodities.

We know that the profit on a commodity—say a loaf of bread—as it finally reaches the ultimate consumer, is a summation of the profit taken by the wheat grower, the miller, the railroaders and ship-owner, the baker, the retailer, the manufacturers of the machines and materials which went into the making of the plow that prepared the soil for the wheat seed, the milling machinery, and so on ad infinitum through the inexhaustible list of things that go into the making of the brown-crusted commodity that is our chief food staple.

Insofar as cooperative enterprise has reached back and gone into the business in the evolution of a loaf of bread, to that extent can we state, quite accurately that the socialization of the bread industry is accomplished. First of all, profit is removed from bread making and selling. Secondly, insofar as the consumers of the bread are members of the owning societies, to that extent is their ownership and control of the bread industry by the bread-consuming community.

But producer participation in control a fundamental concept of Socialism has not been realized, although cooperatives al-

most universally require their employees to belong to unions and collective bargaining on all matters affecting the employees between their representatives and those of the consumer-owners, is almost a matter of course.

It should now be clear that this cooperative process is an essentially revolutionary one. It substitutes the interest of the consumer—use, for the interest of the private merchant-capitalist—profit. It replaces the autocratic control of the private business man by the democratic control of consumers. And because the overwhelming bulk of its participants are workers, it strengthens them, their organization and their resources at the expense of the owning class. It aids the transfer of power from the owning class to the working class and therefore meets the definition of being revolutionary—for is not a revolution the transfer of power from one social class to another?

Workers' Management

There is yet another element in cooperation which makes it unmistakably revolutionary. It teaches the average workingman how to run his business and makes him aware of the fact that he and his kind is fully capable of running even the largest enterprise. No longer can capitalists use the old chestnut—"Profits are legitimate because they represent the return to us for our unique ability to organize and manage business."

Finally, the association of workingmen and women, fostered by their mutual interest in cooperation, leads them to associate more in other fields, and to strengthen their existing union and political organizations. The very life of the community becomes socialized, even to recreation and sports—all because men find themselves actively associated as consumers.

BOOKS

INSURGENT AMERICA, the Revolt of the Middle Classes. By Alfred M. Bingham. Harper & Bros. \$2.50

During my first and only year at college I sat in on a conversation between a medical student and one of the campus Socialists who was largely responsible for my later conversion. "What the hell do I care about the working class?" asked the med student with a frankness that was very much in vogue at the time. "The reason I'm studying medicine is to escape from the working class."

"Escape from the working class now," was the inconsiderate reply, "and you'll have to escape from the bullets of the working class later."

This was deeply shocking to my social-pacifist self, but it made me think. I wish Alfred Bingham had been there.

Bingham's thesis is simple. By statistics (based, incidentally, on pre-depression and early depression figures) he posits that the middle classes are growing rather than declining; that they are, for this and other reasons, best suited to the task of building a new social order; and that Marxism has "failed" because it has a working class orientation.

His first contention is based on his own definition of "middle classes," which classifies them not as classes of people who work for themselves, but as occupational groupings whose members do not identify themselves psychologically with labor, and are not organizable into labor unions.

Accepting this definition, the decline of the middle classes has been nothing short of terrific. For not so long ago the entire working class, in the every-newsboy-can-become-a-Rockefeller period, was "middle class" according to Bingham's definition. Not only have the manual workers walked out on Bingham's definition. Not only have the manual workers walked out on Bingham's middle classes, but since the depression they are being followed by those sections of the working class who do not conspicuously live by selling their labor power to an employer; the students, housewives, white collar workers, intellectuals, and semi-professionals—all psychologically identifying themselves with labor. They are even being joined by an important section of what old man Marx himself called the middle classes, namely the farmers, who have clearly demonstrated their organizable into unions!

This leaves the new-fashioned

middle classes with a very precarious future indeed. It does not in itself, however, demolish the second contention that they are the group best suited to build a new social order. They are—with apologies to our sixteen million unemployed—a group with more or less leisure and material and educational opportunities to make use of that leisure. They have a social advantage; they enjoy greater prestige in society today.

But is this accidental? Of course not. Capitalist society does not make them socially superior because they have a real stake in capitalism,—Bingham takes pains to show that they have not;—capitalism bribes and "pets" these groups to make them think they have such a stake. They are naturally inclined to accept a system which does give them a measure of prestige over the lower-downs. That is why movements originating as "middle class" revolts—fascism, for instance—quickly fall under capitalist control, or collapse.

The middle class elements which become genuinely anti-capitalist and stay that way invariably identify themselves with the working class, the successor to the capitalist class, and thereby fall out of Bingham's definition of middle class.

Finally, the question of the "failure" of Marxism in America because of its working class orientation interests us. Marxism, it is true, is only gaining a foothold today because until recently, as we have pointed out, the working class itself did not have a "working class orientation." But what about movements with a middle class orientation? If we are to accept as examples the ephemeral Granger, Populist, Greenback, and Technocratic fads which Bingham so proudly points to, we have nothing to be proud of from the viewpoint of concrete success, let alone ideological realism. Taking Bingham's own years of agitation for a "people's" third party, we find very little by way of results.

The only kind of movement based on a middle class orientation which will meet with success will be one which will also meet with the approval of the capitalists who have made the middle groups the "superior class" they consider themselves; it will be a movement like the movement of Huey Long—whom Bingham grudgingly admits into his company;—a movement which will rapidly turn fascist, and ultimately defeat its own ends.

MELOS MOST.

WAR RESOLUTION

(Continued from page 4)

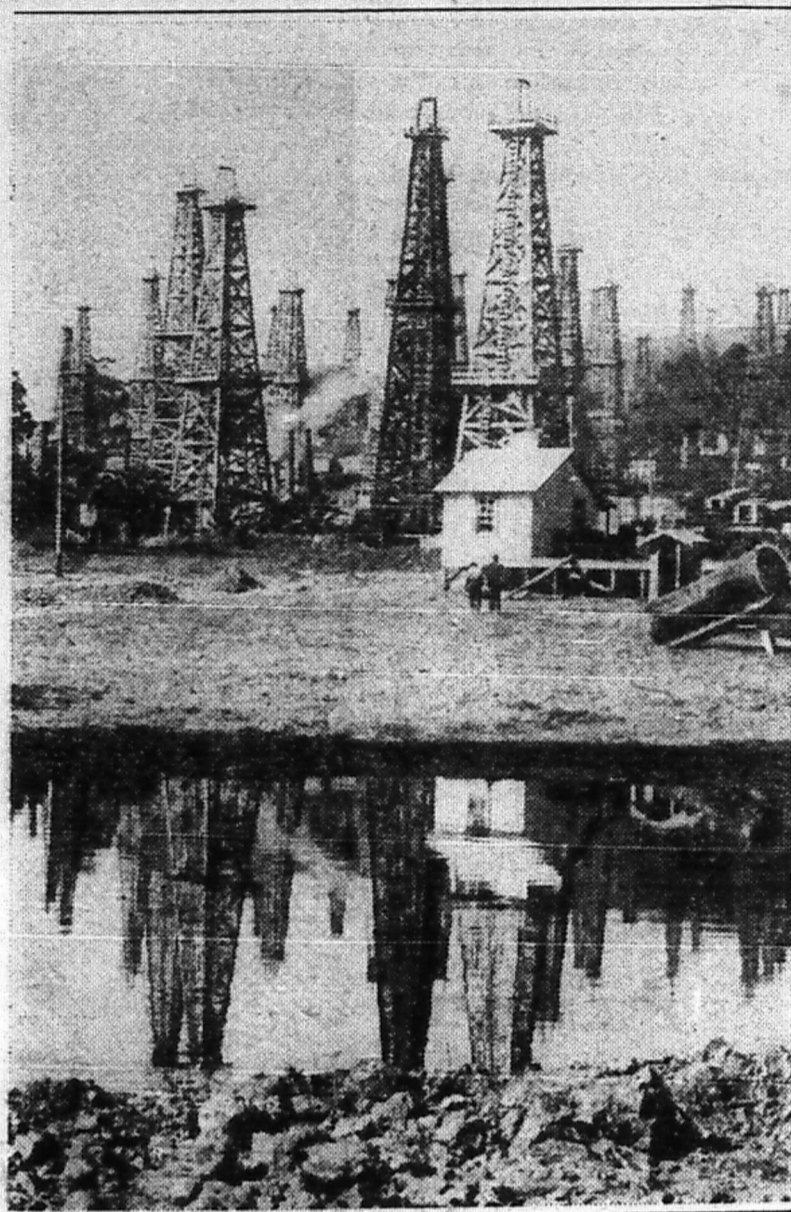
lations, these will inevitably be the objects of jealousy, and, in the last analysis, of war for commercial advantage.

CURE

SOCIALISM

Ultimately, war will never cease until the treasures of nature, distributed inequitably over the earth, are re-allocated on the basis of human need and economic well-being for all. But this change from capitalist exploitation to cooperative internationalism, can never be expected from governments and parties founded upon capitalist ethics and the profit system. Only in a drastic transformation to Socialist control can the world's peace movements find the realization of their hopes. We ask their support in the critical days to come, and to them as to the American working class, WE GIVE ASSURANCE THAT THE SOCIALIST PARTY WILL MEET THE WAR CRISIS WITH LOYALTY TO PEACE AND WITH A PROGRAM TO PREVENT WAR AND REMOVE THE CAUSES OF CONFLICT IN MODERN CIVILIZATION. WORK FOR SOCIALISM, NOW MORE THAN EVER, IS THE MOST CONSTRUCTIVE WORK FOR PEACE.

Capitalist Waste



The small lake in the foreground is not water but oil, 12,000 gallons of it, wasted because the capitalists who are profiting from our natural resources had no time for precautions in their mad competitive scramble.

BUILDING THE YPSL

By BEN FISCHER, National YPSL Secretary

We are nearing a war. The Young People's Socialist League of America has adopted a position on imperialist war which makes it worthy of the tradition of Gene Debs and the anti-war record of the Socialist Party in America. While other groups scatter before the pounding of the war propaganda machine, the Young Socialists of America remain firm in their convictions and their determination to fight against war and against the war system.

First, our program!

We declare our solidarity with the struggles of all colonial peoples, including the Ethiopians.

We hope for the overthrow of Italian Fascism and Capitalism, not by so-called democratic nations waging war against Italy but by the masses of Italy rebelling and establishing a Socialist Italy.

We vigorously oppose League of Nations sanctions. Sanctions by the League of Nations are not levelled against Italy in the interests of Ethiopia but in the interests of British imperialism. Sanctions by the League of Nations will not produce peace but will lead to an international war between Italy and her allies against England and her allies. The same forces which call for economic action by capitalist governments against Italy will call for a war to back up those sanctions. They will call that war "the use of the International Police Force," a very refined name for Great Britain and her friends.

We oppose democratic wars against Fascism. These wars can lead only to an extension and strengthening of Fascism, not to its defeat. The only war which can defeat Fascism is the war for Socialism, against Capitalism.

We see as the primary enemy of American Youth and the masses of this country, not Italy or Great Britain or Germany, but the warmakers of the United

States.

That leads us to the second point, our tasks!

American youth must be warned not to support slogans enshrouded in peace talk but aimed to draw us into support of a new world slaughter in which workers will fight against workers, youth against youth, and in which the only real conflict will be between one set of imperialists against another set of imperialists.

But as long as the U. S. government is a capitalist government controlled by financiers and industrialists, munition makers and bankers, imperialists and loan sharks—just so long will our job of organizing against war be organization against the government.

To much of the anti-war work in this country is being carried on, against Mussolini, against Germany, for the Defense of the Soviet Union. Not enough stress is laid on the fact that opposition to war must, to be effective, take the form of definite opposition to the war makers of the government of the United States.

With this in mind, the task of the YPSL becomes the task of organizing and activating young people along correct lines. Our slogans must be anti-government slogans; else they are largely meaningless. Other slogans, explaining the Socialist position on Fascism, on sanctions, on colonial independence, are necessary. But they must be raised side by side with slogans of opposition to Hearst, to the capitalist government, to American imperialism.

To merely adopt these slogans is not enough. Young Socialists take their slogans to the youth. In factory and mine, on farm and in school, in all organizations and gathering places of youth, meetings, demonstrations, and literature, we must try to rally young people to the support of our program.

THE NEW LINE

To the Challenge:

Was just thinking over some of the results that will spring from the new Communist policy of forming "anti-fascist people's front governments" together with liberal capitalist parties.

The idea is that of "encouraging" some of the capitalists who are against fascism. Now the Communists know darned well that capitalists don't go fascist out of sheer cussedness. They go fascist because their profits are diminishing and they want a way to cut down the workman's standard of living while preventing all resistance.

As the profits go down more and more capitalists go fascist until the whole bunch of them are. That's why Hindenberg's party in Germany, which was elected against Hitler, finally came around to his "way of thinking" even though they had been "encouraged" in the opposite direction by getting the social-democratic vote.

A while earlier the social-democrats also tried to "encourage" the liberal capitalists. They saw that profits were going down, and so, to stall off fascism, they had to cut the amount workers were getting through social legislation in unemployment relief, old age and sick benefits, etc. It was minister Hilferding, social-democrat, who did this, not a capitalist.

So just picture a "people's front" government in France. The Communists in the government are running around trying to prevent the capitalists from going fascist. They go to the workers. "Boys," they say, "we mustn't antagonize the bosses. No more strikes for higher wages, no more unemployment relief. Temporary measure, you know. And no hooliganism, please!"

J. F.

Chicago.

THANKS, SAM

To the Challenge:

Swell Work!

SAM ROMER.

Protest 'Red Salute'

LOUISVILLE, KY.—The SLID here persuaded the manager of a local theater to run the following streamer after the movie "Red Salute":

"To Our Patrons: Students of the University of Louisville have requested that a statement be made that certain characterizations in "Red Salute" do not truthfully portray the ideals of true Americanism, or the beliefs and actions of liberal students who are constructively attempting to exercise the right of every American citizen to free speech and assemblage... this announcement is made in their behalf... The Management."

These students of the SLID also distributed printed statements and excerpts of the critical reviews of the picture.

YSR to be Printed

CHICAGO—The Young Socialist Review, monthly membership magazine of the Young People's Socialist League, will be out in printed form for December. It will contain articles on the proposed student union—criticizing and defending the position of the National Executive Committee of the League.

Other articles include "Propaganda Thru the College Press," "District Organization," "The YPSL and Workers Sports," a discussion of the relations between the New York Party and League, and a discussion of recent events in the Socialist Youth International.

The price is five cents per copy. It is available for members of the YPSL and Socialist Party only.

A RED SALUTE TO "RED SALUTE"

"Red Salute" is a film with a message, and a very plain and clear message. It tells of how to clear a campus of reds—by organized mob action. Its message is a call to action for the stooges of those who control our country and our schools and who want to control our minds.

"Red Salute" does not surprise us. We expect many films of its kind. The prostitution of the movies—long conspicuous for their snobbish disregard of our class—to militarism and reaction is becoming increasingly obvious everyday.

But this much we have to say to the rulers of this country. If that is how you intend to settle differences on the campus and elsewhere, we are prepared. We do not expect the parasites who take what we produce and do not give us enough to provide for our young, our aged, our jobless, and our sick and maimed, to yield gracefully.

We do not expect those who have shot us down and clubbed us like mad dogs when we strike for a greater share of what we make with our own hands, who send us off to war to maim and disembowel each other for their profits, to allow us the right of building a force which will wipe them out.

We repeat the word of Fernand Codefroid, leader of the International Socialist Youth Movement:

WE WARN THOSE WHO ARE STIRRING UP MOB HYSTERIA AGAINST US, THAT THEY MAY EXPECT IMPLACABLE REPRISALS.

A powerful Socialist Youth Movement, a united student movement, will know how to defend themselves from terrorism and guerrilla attacks.

DRIVE HEARST OUT OF THE MOVIES

It is a year since the slogan "Don't Read Hearst" was raised effectively. It was not pushed or emphasized correctly but it received such an immediate response and the Hearst papers have suffered such increasing unpopularity that capitalist concerns are wisely withdrawing their advertising from them. The Hearst press lost more advertising space this year than any other newspaper chain, or any individual large newspapers.

Hearst has openly attacked the working class, or the "proletariat" as he calls it, in the hope that his working class readers will not understand him. His press has attacked the organized labor movement, insulted the Socialist Party and Norman Thomas, libeled the Soviet Union, incited against the radical youth movement, particularly the Student League for Industrial Democracy.

He has defended Fascism abroad and reaction at home.

He has used his power to breed a spirit of international hatred and jingoism.

To allow him to continue is to help pave the way for a repetition of the murder of 13,000,000 young men in 1914-1918, for an American duplication of the violence unleashed against the working class in Italy and Germany.

Hearst's Metrotone Newsreels repeat on the screen what he says in his press.

It is time for us to strike back.

WORKING CLASS NEUTRALITY

There are few questions on which the working class can remain "neutral." The working class must take sides, decisively, on issues which effect it.

Unlike pure-and-simple pacifists, Socialists are not "neutral" in a conflict between an imperialist power and an actual or prospective colony; they are not "neutral" on the question of defending the Soviet Union; they are not even "neutral" in a conflict between democratic and fascist capitalism.

But unlike the communists today, when taking sides on any of these questions Socialists see to it that they do not defeat the reason for their taking that side by their immediate acts.

The reason for supporting the struggles of colonial and semi-colonial peoples is to weaken imperialism. For this reason **SOCIALISTS DO NOT SUPPORT THEIR OWN GOVERNMENTS IN SANCTIONS OR ANY OTHER WAR OR "PEACE" MEASURE EVEN AGAINST ANOTHER IMPERIALIST AGGRESSORS;**—to do so would be strengthening their own imperialism, which it is their particular task to defeat.

Socialists support the Soviet Union because they want it to be a beacon which can lead the workers of other countries to follow the Soviet example. For this very reason **SOCIALISTS STRUGGLE AGAINST THEIR OWN GOVERNMENTS EVEN WHEN THE LATTER ARE ALLIED TO RUSSIA**—otherwise the Soviet Union would become a substitute rather than an example for world Socialism.

Socialists fight for democracy under capitalism only because that is a form under which they can best struggle for workers' rights and for a new social order. And for the same reason **SOCIALISTS DO NOT COMPROMISE THEIR FIGHT AGAINST CAPITALISM, IMPERIALISM, AND WAR SIMPLY TO SAVE DEMOCRACY**—for that would be defeating the very purpose for which they want democracy.

By "working class neutrality" Socialists do not mean working class **INACTION**, but neutrality in the fights of the capitalists, among themselves; they mean **WORKING CLASS INDEPENDENCE** of capitalists and their governments, and working-class **ACTION INDEPENDENTLY** of these governments.

Something Smells Wrong Here



Dealers In Death Prosper

To the Challenge:

In so much as the preservation of American neutrality is of utmost concern to us all, the following facts may have some general interest for Challenge readers:

...It has been reported that the Le Blond Machine Tool Company in Cincinnati is making twenty-eight giant lathes for use in manufacturing shells; that these lathes are being manufactured for the Fiat Motor Company in Italy, at a cost varying from \$30,000 to \$50,000 apiece.

With marked consideration, the president has excluded machine tools from his list of unsaleables to countries at war. Nevertheless, persons interested in supporting our government in its claim of neutrality might wish to keep posted on American economic interests in European war situations—figuring that, after all, a nation's foreign policy inclines toward its economic treasures.

But apparently there are persons lacking in such an interest. Three weeks ago, following a broadcast by the "Washington Merry-Go-Rounders" in which a reference to local manufacture of lathes was made, the Cincinnati station relaying the broadcast disregarded a written contract and cancelled the program.

Protest Effective

Cancellation of the program brought numerous telegrams of protest. Protesters included Senator Fletcher of Florida, Senator Norris of Nebraska and Congressman Maverick of Texas.

In a telegram to Chairman Prall of the Federal Communications Commission, Congress-

From Our Mail Bag

man Maverick demanded that the radio corporation (WLW) "have its license and wave length taken away unless it allows free discussion over its station."

As a result of influential protest, together with pleading by the Mutual Broadcasting System, a chain of which Cincinnati's and America's largest radio station is a part, the program was continued, only to be cancelled a week later.

Up to the early part of this week, the status of the contract involved continued uncertain. Nevertheless, friends of civil liberties will be pleased to learn that the radio station has decided to continue the program for the time being...

The above is an accurate statement of fact. However, I got my information from someone intimately concerned in the affair, and so am not now at liberty to reveal sources.

HELEN SEYMOUR
U. of Cincinnati.

SUB CHASING

To the Challenge:

Having achieved the quota I set for myself, that is, 100 Challenge subscriptions in 1935, I have been asked for my secret formula.

Well, it's just this:

I am a member of the Young Circle League, the Student League for Industrial Democracy, and the I.T.S.L. I got my first twenty five subs in the first capacity, speaking to Workmen's

Circle members, explaining that their children had better receive the Challenge or they were liable to end up exactly opposite of their parents' ideal. In talking to them individually or in a group I always used this argument.

It seems my pet peeve while in high school was history. I had read all viewpoints disagreeing with the old line historians, and I was always voicing my opinion in the classroom. One day while walking upstairs, one smart fellow casually remarked to me, "Say, you know I agree with the fellas that say send the Reds back where they belong."

I smiled at the fellow and came back at him: "Isn't your name Goldberg and isn't your father secretary of Branch 137 of the Workmen's Circle?" I had hit the nail on the head; his father was, and he unknowingly had given me my best argument for all Workmen's Circle members.

Some time before I had picked up 40 subs on my trip to Minneapolis, where I spoke at three Workmen's Circle branches, and at St. Paul Socialist Party branch—I took 23 subs out of the three WC branches, meeting all in one night.

There you have more or less a report of the first sixty-five. This month I picked up 16 at Cook County Socialist Party membership meeting. Then I started my work on renewal from the files, and came back with 12 renewals just checking up on the renewals I knew.

KARL M. SHIER,
Chicago Challenge Bureau.