

# Homeless Youth to be Militarised

**\$20,000,000 APPROPRIATED TO SEND YOUNG WORKERS INTO MILITARY TRAINING CAMPS**

The U. S. Senate has decided to militarize the homeless youth of the nation. By its bill, passed Monday by a unanimous vote, it has placed the destitute and hungry youth, who total more than 400,000, on the basis of forced conscription to military training camps. The minimum service required in these camps is six months.

Thus the impotent Senate has reacted to one of the most vital and desperate problems created by American capitalism. These young workers, whose life is one of hunted wandering, whose bed is a box car and whose food consists of the miserable slop handed out in salvation army joints, and who are a prey to sexual degeneracy and petty thievery of all description—they are the grist of the mill of capitalist civilization. Thrown to the surface by four years of capitalist crisis, they reflect the profound derangement, the wretched conditions thrust upon the proletariat home by continued unemployment and dependence upon the handouts of charity institutions. The bourgeois sycophants are

caught in their own mesh. They howled about Communism "breaking up the family" and never before has such a wholesale disruption of family life been evident as in the "paradise" of American capitalism. They gloated over the "lesprizorni" in Soviet Russia. But the workers state has eradicated this left-over of the civil war, by absorbing them into the industry and life of the nation. In America, where there has been no civil war they swarm the countryside in hundreds of thousands.

And what do the solons of bourgeois law and order propose to do about the problem? Do they intend to give these young workers jobs, to give them unemployment insurance, to place them in trade schools so they can later be absorbed in industry? It could hardly be expected. The boss class wants these jobless youth for its industrial reserve army. It wants these unemployed youth to constitute a threat at the factory gates so that wages may be constantly dragged down. It wants them to serve as scabs in the great strike battles that are yet to come. It wants these outcasts to augment its militia for use against the internal enemy—the starving working class and to provide cannon fodder for its "foreign" wars that impend. Above all it fears the danger these discontented youths constitute to their personal pocketbooks, in the way of petty larceny on a wholesale scale and the organization of a section of them into a militant youth movement which will strike not at the pocketbooks but at the source of capitalist income—the expropriation of the mines the mills, and the factories.

# THE GREAT BETRAYAL

**FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC TREACHERY IN GERMANY TAKEN FROM ITS OWN AUTHENTIC RECORDS, WRITINGS, SPEECHES, NEWSPAPERS, WHICH SHOW HOW IT SOLD PROLETARIAT TO BOURGEOISIE**

## THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND THE WAR

"On July 31, at 8 p. m., the War Ministry issued in No. 64 gSAI the following communication to the General Command, etc.: According to a reliable report the Social Democratic Party has the firm intention of conducting itself in a manner as befits every German under the present conditions. I consider it my duty to call attention to this so that the military commanders may take it into consideration when adopting measures."

**Report of Count Montgelas in the First Investigation Committee. Volume 2, page 74.**

## ALL FOR THE FATHERLAND

"For our people and its free future, much if not everything is at stake in a victory of Russian despotism which is stained with the blood of the best among its own people. It is necessary to ward off this danger, to guarantee the culture and the independence of our country... In the hour of danger we do not leave our own fatherland in the lurch. In this we feel ourselves to be in harmony with the international which has at all times recognized the right of every people to national independence and self defense, just as we condemn in agreement with it every war of conquest... Guided by these principles, we approve the required war credits."

**Declaration of the Social Democratic Reichstag Fraction on August 4, 1914.**

## SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND MONARCHY

"As soon as the monarchy fulfills the wishes of the people, the ground is removed from under all Republican agitation. The question: monarchy or republic? would then be much less of a theme for discussion than it is at present. And every probability indicates that this is what is coming. Even if there are still difficulties to overcome, they will be—presumably in the shortest period of time—overcome without a trace of a violent upheaval and without the overthrow of the monarchy."

**—Vorwarts, April 3, 1917.**

## NEVER AGAINST THE MONARCHY

"An anti-monarchist propaganda, a positive republican activity, was never conducted by the social democracy, because this question appeared to us up to a certain time to be secondary... The imputation that the social democracy wanted or prepared the November revolutionary social democratic leaders. Those who stand in the road of the German proletariat's struggle to smash Fascism—must be swept aside!"

**Thursday, Feb. 16, 1933. —M. S.**

## 100 at B'klyn Meet

The third meeting in its campaign on the German situation was held by the N. Y. branch of the Left Opposition in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Williamsburg. About 100 workers came for the first time to listen to the call to action of the Left Opposition in the face of the Hitlerism in Germany. The speakers of the evening, comrades Shahtman and Cannon gave a lucid explanation of the situation in Germany and the grave dangers that threaten the Communist movement of the whole world. This rally in Williamsburg marks the first meeting the Left Opposition has held in that district.

## The Relief March in Minneapolis

**MINNEAPOLIS.**—The leadership of the Communist party in Dist. 9 is carrying out the "circular" instructions for "state relief marches". Cripple as it is with the Stalin line and its consequences in the past struggles the party stumbles and falls into creating a movement that resembles Lovestone's and Pat Devine's "genuine labor Party". Rather than come out in its own name and call upon the trade unions, the Socialist party, the Farmer-Labor party, the cooperatives for a minimum class program, the party crawls into the shelter of its own "third period" auxiliaries, and through them calls a state relief march for the demands of the former Minneapolis Building Trades "Left wing" with a few innovations of the program of its own unemployed and farmers' organization. A real movement for a Leninist united front to meet the dire need of the unemployed in the bankrupt cities and counties would get a popular response from the masses regardless of the attitude of the reformist leaders.

The movement is called the Workers and Farmers Relief Committee. No pretense is made to define its united front character. The Left Opposition delegates to the Minneapolis conference for this movement were not seated because they are "counter-revolutionary". A typical A. F. of L. bureaucrat, "ag ruling" was administered by a laughing workers chairman to prevent discussion on the motion to unseat the Communist League delegation. The narrow basis for the march is supplemented by the widest, loosest and most meaning-

less form of representation of the workers. The appeal says "call mass meetings in your towns and elect delegates". In the Minneapolis conference there was one trade union and the party membership and its closest sympathizers represented eleven times over (through auxiliaries). The name, the structure, the content of the movement is nothing but the forces of the official Party, with its own workers' and farmers' organization. The party, the leader of the working class, should boldly carry out its task of discrediting and unmasking the whole fallacy of the theory of two-class parties instead of competing with the F. L. P. with its own two-class party. Behind the sham of the Farmer Labor Party lurk a multitude of opportunist misleaders of the working class. We must expose and not compete with them.

Despite the crudity of organization and shortcomings in policy, the movement and march will have a considerable following on the day of the march. The workers will come, look on and go away. It is the only action of a militant class character for the unemployed this winter. The Left Opposition supports the movement and shall participate in it. It will criticize its errors and wrong orientation as we do in this article. We sound the call for the worker Communists to take stock of the wrong policy of their leadership and organize with the Left Opposition to correct it.

**—CLEM FORSEN.**

tion, is a ridiculous, stupid life of our opponents for agitational purposes."

**—Philip Scheidemann, Berlin, June 1922.**

(On December 5, 1922, in the trial against his assassins, Scheidemann declared that he requested from Prince Max von Baden the retirement of Wilhelm II "in order to save the monarchy".)

**WAR TO THE LAST MINUTE**  
"So long as the peace negotiations have not yet begun and hostilities continue, the defense force of the German people must be unfolded to the highest conceivable degree. The transition from a war to a peace footing is also from a military standpoint a psychologically dangerous moment. We, to the people which stacks its arms five minutes too early! The unfolding of the national defense force also demands, however, the preservation of order in the interior."

**—Vorwarts, October 3, 1918.**

**THE MONARCHY MUST REMAIN**  
"Had we at that time seen the possibility of transforming Germany into a republic, we should not have delayed for an instant to unfurl the republican banner and to enter into struggle for it. But up to this time we have not seen this possibility and we do not see it today. But this demands first of all the preservation of the present state form, the monarchy."

**—Mannheimer Volksstimme, Nov. 8, 1918.**

**THE PACT WITH THE CAPITALISTS**  
"In the Right socialist trade union leaders, the Legiens, Lelparta, Schlickes, and consorts, the employed found allies to save capital from the threatening revolution."

After the day of the revolution, the labor collaboration between the employers and the Right socialist trade union leaders was concluded... Thus the Christian leaders once allied themselves with the mighty in Rome jointly to suppress the betrayed people."

**—Arthur Crisbien, Chairman of the Independent S. D. P., July 29, 1919.**

**KAUTSKY AND HAASE ON RUSSIA**  
"Continuation of the discussion on Germany's attitude to the Soviet Republic: Haase advises to proceed dilatorily... Kautsky joins in with Haase; the decision must

be postponed. The Soviet government will not last very much longer but will be liquidated in a few weeks."

**—Minutes of Session of Council of People's Commissioners, Nov. 19, 1918.**

**THE JUDAS ROLE OF THE SOCIALISTS**  
"The massacres of revolutionary workers in Berlin, Munich, Bremen, the Ruhr district and Upper Silesia, in hundreds of other German cities will be an everlasting monument of shame to the Right wing socialist-bourgeois overlords."

**—Arthur Crisbien, Freiberg, November 1919.**

**NOSKE THE BLOODHOUND**  
"I attacked even though I knew that I would be dragged through the revolutionary history of Germany as a bloodhound. I carried out this bloody work out of serious consciousness of duty. At that time I said to myself: somebody must do the job, and it is clear to me that this means for me that I shall have to run through the German revolution like a bloodhound."

**—Gustav Noske, Weimar Congress of S. D. P., Minutes, page 202.**

**INCITEMENT TO MURDER ROSA AND KARL**  
"Hundreds of corpses in a row. 'Proletarians! 'Karl, Rosa, Redek and Co., 'Not one of them is there! 'Proletarians!'"

**—Ziekler in the Vorwarts, January 13, 1919.**  
(The next day, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg was murdered.)

**NOSKE'S TWO GREAT DEEDS**  
"I have accomplished two great deeds about which history will yet speak when I am dead, and they are the liberation of the country from Bolshevism and the keeping of Hanover in Prussia."

**—Noske, Hanover Parliament, May 1924.**

**FRENCH SOCIALISTS ON NOSKE-GALLIFET**  
"Noske directed the bloody suppression in Berlin and Bernhard carried it out; Theris and Gallifet, or still better: two Gallifets. Noske remains to this day a member of the Second International. To restore the unity of the great family of labor the violator of its name must be driven out."

**—Populaire, central organ of the S. P. of France, Sept. 25, 1919.**

attack in West Frankfurt went to see Go. Horner. The Governor at first refused to see the woman that were beaten and who came to ask the Governor if his statement; two weeks ago assuring the miners their constitutional rights were to be enforced. In this West Frankfurt affair capitalist "justice" comes out in all its nakedness. On Wed., February 1, Mrs. Weick notified Gov. Horner that the women of the Progressive Miners of America would hold a meeting in West Frankfurt on Sunday, Feb. 5 and asked Horner to see that the miners got their constitutional rights. Nothing of course, came out of all this and the P. M. A. was prevented from holding their meeting by a bunch of gangsters. Not only did State's Attorney Hart and Chief of Police of West Frankfurt refuse to protect the meeting but openly told the committee that the meeting would be attacked by Ray Edmondson and the rest of the gang. That "law and order" under capitalism is a farce is seen in the action of the courts in the case of Moulton, Lipe and Whitlow who in the earlier part of the week were sentenced to six months imprisonment by one judge and are released by another judge in another county in time to help Ray Edmondson and the rest of the gang to club and beat the women of the Progressive Miners.

The whole Southern Illinois, the West Frankfort section, the Harrisburg section, the Duquoin section are all swinging toward the Progressive Miners of America. The new union is growing fast. The Lewis-Walker union is losing. So Gov. Horner instead of giving the P. M. A. a referendum vote that they asked for is going to have a State Legislature commission from the house and senate investigate the conditions in Franklin county. In the language of the miners, Horner is going to put on a "white-wash-squad" to whitewash everything and make everything rosy for the Lewis-Walker-Peabody machine. But the miners, too, are realizing that real progress can be made only in a struggle against the whole capitalist system. —JOS. ANGELO.

## THE MILITANT

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# BUILD THE MILITANT

This is the time to do it, comrades! Every shoulder to the wheel! The Militant plays a great historical role. It was never needed more than now, in these fateful days. Now is the time to spread it, to build up its circulation.

We are glad to record gratifying results for the last couple of weeks. Since the drive started we received about two hundred new subs through the Club Plan and the prepaid sub-card. At the same time new subscriptions are on the increase at the regular subscription rate.

Looking over the record by cities we see Pittsburgh, Montreal and Toronto pushing to the front. Of course, New York stands at the head of the list but at the rate some of our branches are progressing, its place of honor will be seriously contested in the near future. Toronto just made its immediate goal fifty new subs. And the way it is rushing ahead, that goal will be reached soon.

As to the individual record, comrade Capelis felt quite sure to remain in first place. Well, comrade Capelis, look at the column and better get busy with renewed vigor. A number of comrades begin to press you.

Philadelphia	15
Youngstown	10
Boston	10
New Castle	8
Lynn, Mass.	6
South Bend	6
Davenport	4
St. Louis	4
Des Moines	4
<b>THE BUILDERS:</b>	
H. Capelis	16
H. Nash	13
P. Vomvas	12
M. Koehler	8
B. Morgenshtern	8
V. R. Dunne	8
A. Joss	7
J. Weber	7
W. Krehm	6
A. Joel	6
P. Shulman	6
C. Ingram	6
A. Friend	5
L. Basky	5
B. Borsook	4
Toronto Group	4
J. Hamilton	4
J. Hnich	4
H. Milton	4
R. Spiegel	4
H. A.	4
M. Hudson	4
F. Kayburn	4
M. Gottlieb	4
J. Hamilton	4
W. Konikow	4
O. Goover	4
S. Lessin	4
J. Sifakis	4
E. Mc Millen	4
A. Miller	4
G. Drucker	4
J. Ritz	4
J. Ruby	4

## THE RECORD BY CITIES:

New York	84
Chicago	40
Minneapolis	22
Pittsburgh	20
Toronto	18
Montreal	16

## Super-Exploitation in So. Illinois Drives Miners to A Militant Revolt

Why did the revolt of the militants among the soft coal miners take on clear-cut organizational features in Illinois, and particularly in Southern Illinois? What are the objective features of the situation in that territory, with which revolutionary labor policy will have to reckon?

Analysis of the statistics published by the government leads to the following conclusions:

1. In Illinois, capitalist exploitation of the coal miner has gone further in many respects than in any other state in the union, and this is particularly true of the Southern Illinois field.
2. The concentration of capital is proportionately greater in Illinois, and the necessity of concentration of the workers' forces is correspondingly most urgent.
3. The increased efficiency of exploitation in Illinois has led to shorter working time and lower earning power for the miners. The effect on wages will be discussed separately.

## Man Production High

We use as the index of exploitation of mine labor, the production of coal in tons per man per day. For the United States as a whole this averages about 5 tons; for the State of Illinois, 6.42 tons. The Southern Illinois counties run above the average for the state—Macoupin County (in which Gillespie is located) reported 7.04 tons, Montgomery County 6.73, Christian County 7.74 (in which the fighting centering around Taylorville took place).

These figures represent not only super-exploitation of labor but also the presence of large aggregations of capital able to conduct a powerful and vicious attack against the miners. Class 1A mines, (producing over half a billion tons a year each), produce a larger part of the total output in Illinois than in any other state—53.3 percent against an average for the United States of 27.7 percent.

Within the state of Illinois, the concentration is shown by the following comparison: The whole state has 506 mines, of which 113 are in the southern district. The total production of the state in 1930 was 53,000,000 tons, of which 24,000,000 were produced in the Southern district. In other words, 22 percent of the state's mines produced 45 percent of the state's coal.

That the process of concentration of capital and mechanization has gone further in Illinois than anywhere else in the country is shown by the fact that in 1930, a total of 22,803,000 tons of coal was produced in Illinois by loading machines, or handled on pit-car loaders and conveyors. The nearest state to it in mechanization, Pennsylvania, produced only 7,035,000 tons by these methods, and the entire mechanized output of the country amounted to 46,824,000 tons.

In Illinois, 48 percent of the coal mined is loaded mechanically, against 10 percent for the entire country.

## Modern Machinery Used

Illinois also leads the country in strip-coal mining, that is, the extraction of coal by steam or electric shovels from an open cut after stripping off the overlying earth. This method of mining, using shovels that cost half-a-million dollars apiece, leads to the greatest concentration of capital, as in the United Electric Coal Co.'s operation in Duquoin County in Southern Illinois, and at the same time to the most intense exploitation of labor with production running 34 tons per man per day.

Strip-mined coal in Illinois in 1930 amounted to 6,116,415 tons, or 31 percent of all the strip-mined coal of the United States. In Illinois each shovel averaged 165,000 tons a year, against 58,000 for the whole country.

But all this concentration of capital, mechanization, and rationalization has improved the efficiency of utilization of capital, not of labor. On the contrary, the coal miner in Illinois has had more irregular employment than the miner in any of the other big coal-mining states.

West Virginia, Kentucky, Pennsylvania and Illinois produce among them 80 percent of the country's total soft coal output in West Virginia, the average number of days worked in 1930 per mine was 204, in Kentucky 187, in Pennsylvania (soft coal) 198—in Illinois it was 155 days in the year.

In Illinois, 97 percent of the miners work eight hours a day; the average for the whole country is less than 90 percent.

Yet in spite of this fact, the production per man per day in Illinois is among the highest in the whole country.

Evidently the tactics of the mine operators are to drive the men as hard as possible for the day's pay, while giving them fewer days of work in the year than any other big coal producing state.

No wonder one of the major grievances of the Illinois miners has been the killing pace of mechanization, as carried out by the capitalists for the benefit of the big corporations who control coal mining in the State of Illinois.

The struggle of the coal miners for a decent living wage and decent working conditions is carried on in Illinois on a higher plane of technical and economic exploitation, and against a more concentrated and powerful class opponent than in the rest of the United States.

The class organizations of the workers on the economic front, the trade unions, face the problems of organization and struggle on a higher plane and with greater sharpness, and their mass basis must become both broader and deeper to enable them to fulfill their urgent tasks.

**—B. J. FIELD.**

## Strike at Foltis Fisher

The workers in three of the Foltis-Fischer cafeterias have been locked out by the slave-driving bosses for refusing to invest a part of their meager, slashed-to-the-bone wages in shares of the company's stock. This is just another trick to cut wages by disguising it under another name. The workers have responded by militant picketing of these cafeterias under the leadership of the Food Workers Industrial Union. The lock-out, which has been converted into a strike, is meeting with warm sympathy among the workers of the other Foltis-Fischer cafeterias. There is a great probability that the strike will extend its scope. More power to the movement! The Left Opposition will stand solidly behind it.

Our comrade, James Gordon is chairman of the strike committee and is taking a very active part in all the work of the strike. But we can say at the outset that the strike will be hampered if it limits its supporters to those who stand in the good graces of the Stalinist faction. We refer to the case of comrade Petras, a well known food worker militant, who was barred from participation in the strike because he is a "Trotskyite". Such methods, copied from the A. F. of L. fakery, will not help the strike. On the contrary, the road to victory for the strike lies in broadening its basis to all workers regardless of political affiliation.

## TOM MANN FRED

Tom Mann, veteran leader of the British revolutionary movement has been released from prison. He was jailed by the MacDonald government for his activities in leading the unemployed movement against the cut in the dole.