

We Won't
Die For
Boss Profits

THE CHALLENGE OF YOUTH

Let Bankers
Fight Their
Own Wars

Vol. IV, No. 6 - JUNE, 1940

Monthly Organ of the Young People's Socialist League (Fourth International)

Price 2 Cents

AMERICAN YOUTH REFUSE TO DIE ON EUROPE'S BATTLEFIELDS

America trembles on the precipice of war. The fate of a whole generation—the generation of "depression babies"—hangs in the balance.

The answer to the question: "Must American youth be slaughtered on the battlefields of Europe?" is not being deter-

mined by youth itself. The answer is being determined by the Roosevelt government which is hell-bent for war, by the hysterical press which is whooping up a war spirit in the service of the American bankers and industrialists, whose interests lie with British and French imperialism.

In large measure, the question has already been answered. Financially, politically, morally—the Roosevelt government has taken its place with British and French imperialism.

The "last mile" drive towards active military participation has begun.

Washington, D.C. is jittery with war preparations. Arthur Krock, N.Y. Times chief correspondent, writes of American entry in a few months. The N.Y. Herald Tribune, organ of the Republican party, has urged immediate entry into the war.

Woodrow Wilson's slogans of 1917, though a bit moth-eaten, are being dusted off and fed to the American people once again: "Make the World Safe for Democracy!" scream the war jitterbugs.

And American youth? Nobody asks us if we want to have our guts spread out in a European ditch. We're just being "prepared"—to serve as cannonfodder to fight once again for the Morgans and DuPonts (not for "democracy") and their Allied partners. We are to be slaughtered in the name of the same filthy lies as in '17.

Let us tell them—the Morgans and DuPonts, the Coupon Clippers and Wall Street Magnets, the Tin-Hat Generals and Pot-Bellied Admirals—we, who will have to do the fighting and the dying, we say:

"NOTHING DOING!"

We, who never had a chance in this world, who were born into unemployment and misery—why should we sacrifice our lives for one gang of imperialist cut-throats against the other?

No, we have our own world to make. The world of peace and freedom, of security and plenty. For that world we shall be ready to give up our lives, that world we shall defend.

Ten years from now, men may point to us who were slaughtered on the battlefields and say: "Poor devils! They were fooled again into fighting the war for profits in the name of democracy!"

NOW,—WE, AMERICAN YOUTH, MUST SAY: WE REFUSE TO FIGHT YOUR WARS, MR. ROOSEVELT! OUR FIGHT IS NOT ON THE MAGINOT LINE OR THE SIEGFRIED LINE—OUR FIGHT IS ON THE PICKET LINE!

Youth Tells of Child Labor In Delaware

By BERT EDWARDS

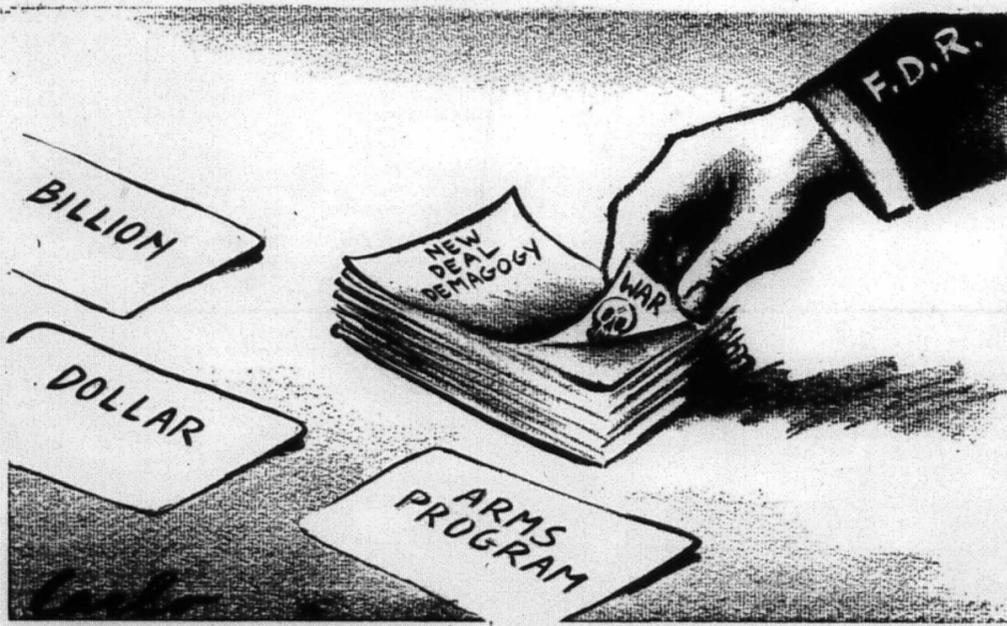
Now that I've been down here in Wilmington, Delaware for a month I feel entitled to write about my experiences.

When I first hit town, I was very anxious to know something about it, so the first thing that I did was to look up the phone book. First I looked under labor organizations. The only thing there was the bare classification and under it the notation to look under fraternal organizations. Well there wasn't one solitary one listed; not one! Not even a company union.

Recalling that this was the roosting ground of the Du Ponts, I looked them up too and to make a long story short, there seems to be someone by the name of Du Pont living here. A quarter of a page full of heirs and heiresses. They have listed all the estates, servants quarters, private air field, boat house, swimming pools, etc. The people here live in slightly less comfortable circumstances.

Kids without shoes that deserve being called shoes are a very common sight, particularly in the Negro section which exists in poverty

Showing The Last Card In His Deck



Neither War Camp Deserves Support of Young Workers

AN EDITORIAL

This story tells about the conditions of youth in Delaware. In Delaware, home of the famous Du Pont munitions factories, child labor continues to exist. Despite all the pompous and phony statements of President Roosevelt about abolishing it, child labor continues in America.

Here are presented some of the facts about child labor in America. The same thing is true about many other sections of the country: beet fields in Colorado, cotton fields in Arkansas, textile mills all over the country.

American youth is told that it will have to die in this war in order to "make the world safe for democracy." But right here at home, American children are driven to work years before they are old enough to do so. Is that American democracy?

Charity begins at home! Before Mr. Roosevelt talks about the battlefields of France, we'd like to see him do something about the mills of Delaware!

The increasingly feverish war hysteria in the American papers makes it necessary to ask once again: What is the character of the war in Europe? Is it in the interests of American youth and the American workers to support either of the two warring camps?

An examination of the events of recent weeks only strengthens the position which the "Challenge" has been continually putting forward: The war is reactionary and imperialist on both sides, and American youth have no reason to die in such a war.

The military victories which the German army has achieved during the month of May in the Low Countries and in France has resulted in a hysterical war fever in this country. The spectre of a Hitler victory is held up to the American people as a horrible prospect. To avoid that, we are told by Allied supporters, it is necessary to support the governments of Churchill and Reynaud.

Hitler Victory?

The prospect of a Hitler victory is of course horrible. The victory of Hitler means—tyranny, misery, hunger, war.

But can Hitlerism (the system of Fascism which arose as a result of the mess which the French and British "democratic" capitalists created in Europe after the last war) be ended by supporting the Allies? No, it cannot. Fascism, which arose out of the decay of capitalist society after the last war, would arise again if the Allies won the war.

HOW THE USSR FIGHTS AGAINST HITLERISM

"We have always (!) held that a strong Germany is an indispensable condition for a durable peace in Europe."—From speech of Molotov, Soviet Premier, quoted in Daily Worker, September 1, 1939.

If the Allies win, we will have a new Treaty of Versailles (only a thousand times worse.) New national oppression, new misery and hunger. We will see the continuation of the oppressive British and French empires. Is that the kind of world for which you are ready to give up your life?

Allied Victory?

The war, we are told, is a struggle for democracy. The British and French empires, oppressing half the world, gave precious little democracy to the Indian, African, and Syrian peoples. They are not the upholders of democracy in their own territories, and, as these lines are written, we learn that Britain itself is to be established as a military dictatorship in which the workers will be deprived of whatever rights they had left. In France, workers have been deprived of the right to strike, any discontent is punished by death.

Are these the representatives of democracy: Empire-builder Churchill, Labor-Hater Weygand, Financier Reynaud, Imperialist Cham-

berlain? Do you really think American youth should die for them?

It is not a question of choosing between the two warring camps. They must both be equally combated. The one hope in the world today is the Third Camp—the camp of the workers and oppressed colonial people who have nothing to gain from the war and who fight to overthrow all the warring governments in order to establish peace.

The governments of Europe seem very powerful today. Tomorrow, when the war discontent rises, when Europe is a shambles of destruction and death—the mighty empires, will crumble and the people will have their chance to build a new decent, society.

This is the goal we must work for.

College President Brave - When Students Fight

BERKELEY—Young workers, unemployed youth and students are being recruited into the army with promises, offers and warnings of the danger to "our country."

First, President Robert Gordon Sproul gave them a heart-warming story about the preservation of ideas, freedom and democracy. He added, of course, that if forced to fight "we shall be able to strike back, and we shall not strike softly."

Four Students Arrested At Anti-War Meeting

The four students arrested in the demonstration against war at CCNY were released last week after hundreds of students had rallied to their defense. Many students testified for them at their trial and crowded the courtroom to express their solidarity with the arrested students. (See story below)

NEW YORK, N.Y.—Four students were arrested, and three of them brutally slugged, when policemen attacked without provocation a group of City College students who were holding an anti-war demonstration.

Over 300 students were peacefully holding their annual anti-ROTC demonstration when a cop yelled "Stop shovin'" at one of the boys in front of the demonstration. In view of the fact that the student had his hands behind his back, it was rather impossible for him to have been "attacking" the cop. When the student told the cop he wasn't hitting anyone, the cop turned around and began to viciously and indiscriminately punch the student.

Another student who asked the cop to stop beating his victim, who had been battered down to the ground, was also severely punched

by the cops, who, it seems, had been inflamed against the students previously, since they kept shouting: "We'll get these reds!"

By this time the enraged students were shouting "Cops off the campus" and demanding that the cops cease their attack. Finally, four students were arrested and were threatened with renewed physical attack as they were taken to the station. Among those arrested was Milton Miller, New York organizer of the Young Peoples Socialist League (Fourth International).

The student body rallied to the defense of those arrested. Protest meetings were held and a defense committee set up. Only the Stalinist ASU refused to come to the defense of the arrested students. In typically yellow-bellied fashion, they put out a leaflet attacking . . . the arrested students as "a small group of Trotskyists and Socialists who ran a rump demonstration . . . calculated to antagonize the students . . ." This cheap piece of scabbery gained the disdain of the entire student body and of many rank and file ASUers as well.

As the Challenge goes to press, the arrested students are scheduled to appear in court.

of an extra rotten sort. Lousy houses, worse food and plenty of unemployed. Of course like all other towns, it attempts to mask all these things behind it's concern for the city's welfare. A huge.
(Continued on page 2)

Stalin... Hitler's Apprentice

In the Second World War

By PETER MANCHILD

When Stalin made his pact with Hitler last August, he initiated one of the most astounding political situations in modern history.

Yesterday depicted by the Stalinists as a marauding pirate whose hands were stained with the blood of thousands of workers, as the representative of a bestial system, today Hitler suddenly underwent a miraculous transformation—at least in the propaganda of Stalin and his stooges—into a benighted champion of peace whose soul had undergone a cleansing. So thorough has been Hitler's "reformation" that the Stalinists now deem him worthy of their practical and political support.

This is not a mere contention. It is a fact, admitted by the Stalinists themselves. In this article we shall give a brief outline of the sordid picture of Hitler acting as the accomplice and agent of Hitler.

"As I have said, our relations with Germany have radically improved. Here the development has proceeded along the line of strengthening our friendly relations, extending our practical co-operation and rendering Germany political support in her efforts for Peace." (Molotov's Speech—October 31, in **WORLD NEWS & VIEWS.**)

What a damning admission! Practical and political support says Molotov, to . . . Hitler. Germany, says Molotov, makes efforts . . . "for Peace!"

STALIN—EASTERN FLANK OF HITLER'S ARMY

The "practical co-operation" took the form of:

- 1) Trade treaty by which Stalin will give Hitler war materials, especially oil.
- 2) The invasion of Poland by the Red Army from the East was a mop-up job in the service of Hitler and permitted Hitler to send thousands of troops to the Westwall.
- 3) The invasion of Finland and reduction of the Baltic countries to colonies of Stalin. This served as the prelude to Hitler's subjugation of Scandinavia.

And what is the "political support" which Molotov (Stalin's mouthpiece) promises? Merely this: the Kremlin and the Stalinists throughout the world promise to rationalize and justify the acts of Hitler in the eyes of the workers in each country.

Let us see how this worked out in each instance:

1) Polish Invasion: Hitler's Peace Crusade

In the Polish campaign, the Stalinists made Hitler appear as crusader of peace and order. Said the **Moscow Izvestia**, and repeated the equally notorious **Daily Worker** of October 10:

"The government of the USSR and the government of Germany assumed the task of bringing peace and order to the territory of former Poland to secure for the people living in this territory a peaceful existence in accordance with their national characteristics."

What shameless cynicism! So Stalin and Hitler brought "peace and order" to Poland!

When Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia, the Stalinists protested unto heaven about how Czechoslovakia had been raped by Hitler. When Hitler invaded Poland, they served as his eastern flank. Why this change? In the first case, Stalin was allied with England and France and was acting as their agent. In the second case, Stalin had shifted to Hitler and was doing his bidding.

When was he right? In neither case! He was the agent of reactionary imperialist robbers in both cases; he did not and does not deserve the confidence of workers and youth in either case!

2) Hitler: Angel of Peace Without Wings.

The question of who is "guilty" of starting the war is a touchy one. Who fired the first shot, or dropped the first bomb is very unimportant. What is really important is that both sides fight a reactionary imperialist war for profits and that the workers should support neither side. That is what a real revolutionist should say.

But in the Protocol Statement attached to the German-Soviet agreement signed by Herr Ribbentrop and Tovarish Molotov, we read:

"But should the efforts for peace of both governments fail, then the fact would be established that England and France are responsible for continuation of the war . . ." (**N.Y. Times, Sept. 29**)

Again, the same Molotov wrote:

"Today, Germany is in the position of a state which is striving for the earliest termination of the war and for peace . . ." (**World Views and News, November 4**)

Do you see now how Stalin and his stooges play the roles of apologists for Hitler, just as they did before for Chamberlain. The role of bootlicker for imperialism fits Stalin well.

3) Hitler—and Stalin—Bring Peace to Norway

Stalin has played the same role in Norway. The Stalinists place the entire responsibility on the shoulders of the Allies (instead of the shoulders of both sides, where it belongs.) The **Daily Worker** of April 7 writes:

" . . . it was England's violation of Norwegian neutrality that brought about the present situation . . ." Of Hitler, not a word!

Hitler, it must be admitted, knows how to "award" his friends. In the **Daily Worker** we read, with regard to that section of Norway occupied by Hitler:

"The labor movement can legally continue its work and despite strict military censorship can publish its newspapers. Up to the present only the Communists continue publishing their paper."

We can well understand why the Norwegian Stalinists are a legal party in Hitler-occupied Norway while even ordinary capitalist papers have been suppressed. Hitler knows how to distinguish between friends and foes.

Drop A Tear For The Unhappy Rich

By LUCILLE BROWN

If some readers have found the conditions of American youth as depicted in various articles in the Challenge depressing, they should not take it too much to heart. While it cannot be denied that 10-12 million hands still lie idle, that 5 million sharecroppers and transient farm-laborers are hopelessly involved in poverty, that 6 million youth are locked out of industry—that shouldn't bother you too much.

For you can always think of America's Sixty Families, and the life they lead. And you can have the consolation of knowing that if you can't buy that new summer hat at \$1.98 or can't afford a new tie, why then at least the younger generation of the 60 Families—known as the Smart Set—is living—shall we say—comfortably.

Just to prove to the doubters and cynics that not everybody in America suffers from the depression, let me give you some facts:

In 1929, the total income of 513 Americans was \$1,212,099,000 while the gross price received by more than 2 million farmers for all wheat and cotton produced in that year was \$1,191,000,000. Again, during the year of 1929 cotton goods workers received \$753 each in wages while the 38 richest persons took \$9,494,600 each.

No Need For Cynicism

Now a cynic—in which class the reader undoubtedly falls—would shake his head and talk about inequality. But consider, if we ignore the wages of the millions and merely think of the 60 Ruling Families—isn't America a wonderful country after all?

You think, no doubt, that you have problems trying to find a job and making a living. But suppose you made 9 million smackers a year—just suppose!—what would you do with all the money? Isn't that a problem?

While the Forgotten Men were blissfully dining out of ash-cans, the poor, unfortunate Rich were trying to solve their problem of what to do with their money. Mr. and Mrs. Doherty gave a party for their daughter that cost a mere \$250,000. Barbara Hutton gave a party that cost \$100,000, at which 2,000 cases of champagne were distributed to 1,000 guests. But do you think that really solved the problem? No siree! The profits kept rolling in.

Cast of A Bath

If some of you cynics think that the Ruling 60 Families get their hands dirty in amassing their fortunes, then rest assured that they are personally addicted to cleanliness. In fact, the 60 Families have gone to extraordinary lengths to keep clean. They have payed as much as \$12,000 for gold and onyx marble bathtubs; as much as \$250,000 for swimming pools. Now just between us, do the poor people exert themselves so much, financially, to keep clean?

People have been making noise about housing. They talk about slums. But the 60 Families are doing their very best to prevent slums. They set an example by not living in slums. In fact, the Du Pont family lives in a 200-room mansion (running water with steam) which is valued at \$75,000,000; the residence of Morgan cost \$30,000,000. And the Du Pont family is doing its bit to ease unemployment. The number of servants employed by the Du Ponts exceeds that employed by the King of England.

So next time you talk about the Ruling 60 Families, just be careful. Remember what they are doing for humanity!



Robert Montgomery scores again with an extremely interesting performance in the "Earl of Chicago." He plays the role of a bigtime Chicago gangster who discovers that he is the heir to an English Earldom and goes abroad to claim his rich estate.

"Silky" Kilmount is not a run of the mill gangster. He got his nickname, Silky, because of his fondness for smooth, fine things, because he loved having things of silk about him—especially if they covered a shapely pair of legs. Also, out of the ordinary for a mobster, he hates guns. They deal out a mean and evil death. A man's life may ooze out from a ludicrously small hole. And fear of so snakelike a death makes him sicken and flinch at the sight of a gun.

There's the character—a smooth and strangely sensitive man, ruthless and cocky at the same time. And the twist to the story, of course, is making this man play the role of an English lord, against the background of tradition, the hallowed custom of the House of Peers.

GANGSTER IN ENGLAND

The gangster squirms and sweats in his unaccustomed surrounding. Add to this—Edward Arnold, as his attorney, out to avenge a frame-up Kilmount worked on him in the past. When Arnold has trapped Kilmount into being forced to stay in England, the gangster kills him. The weapon, of course, is a gun.

Montgomery does a smooth and clever job as the unusual gangster. The chief fault of the picture is that there isn't enough plot to maintain the picture at an even pace. Consequently it had to be drawn out and become very thin in the middle. Due to this lack, even Montgomery's performance seemed to drag in spots. Although it doesn't match up to "Night Must Fall" it packs a clever punch of its own.

MAGIC BULLET

Another actor proves his versatility in a current movie. Edward G. Robinson, famed for his gangster portrayals, reverses his field with a consistent and believable performance in "Dr. Ehrlich's Magic Bullet."

As the scientist who compounded a cure for syphilis, Robinson does a thoroughly warm and engaging job. The problem of syphilis is handled for the first time on the screen in a popularly distributed movie. It is presented in a sober and thoughtful fashion. It is surprising how much entertainment value can be found in the plodding, experimental work of a scientist.

Special praise is due to two grand old performers. Albert Basserman, a German exile, does a moving and heart-warming job as old Dr. Koch. And Maria Ouspenskaia makes movie magic in the few minutes she is on the screen.

Youth Tells of Child Labor In Delaware

(Continued from page 1)

beautiful sign, "Build Wilmington In Forty", hangs above the city hall. But the real tie-up between the Chamber of Commerce and the supposed representatives of the people, is more easily seen than in a city like New York. There's very little pretense as to who owns the state of Delaware. It's just as much a part of the Du Pont's estate as their servants quarters. (and serves the same function)

Child Labour

I've been working in a shirt mill down here, and the raw deal which we have to swallow really gets a guy. There are about six hundred people working here, mostly kids, about 100 boys and 500 girls. The average age of the girls is about 15 and they run from as low as twelve to 18. Most of them are under 16. It's really pathetic to see these kids at lunch hour pouring out into the streets for a little fresh air and a game of patsy.

Naturally enough, due to their attempt to do something with their lives, they are almost entirely pre-occupied with sex. It's conversation, recreation and a treat to the movies. It's rather strange to see the girls flirting with the boys rather than the other way around.

The pay down here is the same all over. They pay the minimum that they can under the wage hour law, and no one asks you to like it or not. You just work and shut up or get out. There are fellows who've worked here for as long as seven and eight years and received only the raise of the wage hour act. Talk about blind alley jobs, this takes the cake. Even the

cutters here get only 18 bucks a week.

The girls do the rottenest kind of work standing on their feet ironing or sewing shirts all day. The speed up system is really put on a technical basis. Each girl has a different part of the shirt to do, so that if one is slower than the rest the entire line is held up. It's obvious that the only way to beat this game is to get all the girls working together. There is unfortunately very little of this among the girls but down in the cutting room the fellows are quite a bit more militant.

You see, the boss wants to keep his factory running at least 5½ days a week. The wage hour law allows regular pay for a 42 hour week; after 42 hours he has to pay time and a half. So what he does is send the boys home whenever they get a little ahead of the work to be done for the day. Well you can bet your sweet life that these fellows aren't as dumb as the boss thinks. They just don't work fast. The manager of the cutting room finding himself behind schedule, but nevertheless necessary to show the boss that he isn't using too much help gets himself into all kinds of pickles by sending the boys home anyhow but the work has to come out so that it's pretty certain that the boys will win their silent strike.

Coming and Going

This boss isn't satisfied with mere exploitation by low pay, he also runs a store in the mill. It would be pretty decent if he'd at least sell stuff to his workers wholesale, but he charges retail to the very people who made the damn shirts. Besides selling back the shirts that they make to them he sells them their pepsi-colas and candy also at the regular retail price. Boy, he's got you coming and going.

I was afraid at first to inquire as to the fellows' attitude towards the war in Europe but I was very pleasantly surprised at the answers. They all agreed that we should

Cleveland Youth Arrested For Distributing Anti-War Leaflets

CLEVELAND, Ohio—The activity of the Roosevelt regime in preparing to clamp down on anti-war militants in preparation for the entrance of the United States into the war, was revealed here recently when the FBI questioned Henry Thurman, who had been arrested for protecting anti-war leaflet distributors.

The arrested youth was placed in the "investigation" cell at the Police Station when police found newspaper clippings concerning the war preparations on his person. After several hours he was brought before an FBI special investigator and questioned concerning his nationality, racial origin, lie history, and connection with anti-war labor groups.

Thurman was pl. on trial for "disturbance." He had been attacked at the Mother's Day Peace Parade by Stalinists who told the police to arrest him.

A girl testified that the defendant had been set upon and mauled because he was trying to protect her from Stalinists who had been trying to tear up her leaflets. The leaflets were issued by the Worker's Party and denounced both war camps. A young man who had been a witness to the assault testified that Thurman had not attacked anyone but had himself been the victim of a cowardly assault.

Two policemen testified for the prosecution. They claimed that the defendant who weighs only 109 pounds, had attacked a crowd of

stay out. One fellow said that "it was the rich bastards that made the wars and the poor suckers who died in them. The rich get richer and the poor get poorer." Another one said that "some day when the poor guys like us can't swallow anymore we'll all get together and shoot those fat pigs."

people, and that they had to take him away to protect the crowd! But they were forced to admit that they had not seen any such thing take place, but had come on the scene while the defendant was being manhandled. When the defense attorney asked the policeman why he hadn't also arrested those who had been fighting with Thurman, the reply was, "oh, we couldn't take in such a large number of people!" The cops were obviously embarrassed by their own phoney testimony.

The judge gave the defendant "costs suspended."

First Issue of YPSL Magazine

The National Bureau of the YPSL wishes to announce the publication of the first number of a new league discussion magazine, **Young Socialist Review.**

YSR will appear as a monthly magazine, the columns of which are open to all members of the league. It will contain organizational discussion articles, political informational articles, educational material etc. It will sell for 5 cents a copy.

The first issue has already appeared. It contains discussion articles on the united front, previously untranslated article by Leon Trotsky on the united front, a long and informative article on the role of the USSR in the first 2 months of the war, material on the government drive against trade unions etc.

The second issue of YSR, dated July, will appear on June 20.

In addition, special issues of pre-convention discussion material are scheduled to appear.

YPSL Prepares to Hold Convention

The Young Peoples Socialist League (Fourth International) will hold its national convention in New York City on July 4 weekend. This convention will concern itself mainly with the struggle against war.

Discussions will be held on how to increase the effectiveness of the League in its struggle for the Third Camp and against both of the warring imperialist camps. Reports

will be heard from the various sections of the organization on the work of the past period.

In addition to the national convention, elaborate plans are being made to welcome the delegates with a real display of Socialist comradeship. Plans are being made to take care of several hundred delegates and visitors who are expected to pour into the convention. As much as possible, efforts will be made to have every member who can do so, come to the convention.

Pre-convention discussion is being held in the columns of the **Young Socialist Review**, monthly discussion organ of the YPSL.

What IS the YCAW Position On the Imperialist War?

By IRVING HOWE

The Challenge has been informed that some members of the **Youth Committee Against War** were annoyed at the statement in my article on the student strikes last month that "the YCAW gravitates around the Allied axis." Their resentment is very strange.

The facts prove my statement beyond a shadow of doubt. It is unnecessary to go back to the public mass meetings of the YCAW and its adult organization, the KAOW, held in New York where Homer Martin, on March 6, 1938, declared that "the American workers should defend their country to the last drop of their blood"; or to their meeting on April 6, 1939, where Congressman Knutson declared from a KAOW-YCAW platform: "Neville Chamberlain is one of the greatest apostles of peace this century has known." These facts may annoy the "left-wing" supporters of the pacifist-isolationist YCAW—but they are facts.

Better yet—let me ask the YCAW: What is your position on the present war? Despite your formal denunciation of Allied imperialism, is it not a fact that the group exercising crucial political control nationally in the YCAW, the Thomas Socialists, supported Butcher Mannerheim, agent of Allied imperialism? If the YCAW would ever have said: We condemn not only Stalin, but Mannerheim as well, then my statement would have been false.

And again—Norman Thomas, speaking for the YCAW in New York at the student strike, declared that the victory of the Allies was pre-gravitating around the Allied axis! We, however, see the Third Choice of working class revolt.

But most recent of all—the Norman Thomas Socialists, who, realistically speaking, control the YCAW, have come out in support of Norway, silence can only mean . . . consent.

I challenge the YCAW to contradict any of the above statements. Until it can do so, my statement about their relations to the Allied axis, remains valid.

Dear Politicians—

JUST TO REMIND YOU OF SOMETHING YOU'D LIKE TO FORGET:

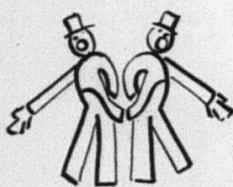
War, Jobs and Our Future

Messrs. Democrats and Republicans Convening at Chicago and Philadelphia

Dear Politicians:

We are approaching the most crucial year of our lives. When I use the word "we" I talk about our generation, born two or three years after the last war. We have lived our childhood through one of the worst depressions in American history and spent the last half-dozen years of our lives under your legislation, in a world torn by war and a country ravaged by unemployment.

Within the next five weeks you will hold your respective conventions in order to plan a ballyhoo campaign for the elections of 1940. For us the coming year crystallized a half-dozen years



of frustration. With jobs still one of your promises, with the right to a free education, and the means to learn a trade still the forgotten slogans of the last presidential campaign, we are faced with the prospect of having to lay down our lives in a new World War, one which your diplomats and statesmen admit will be longer and more bloody than the last.

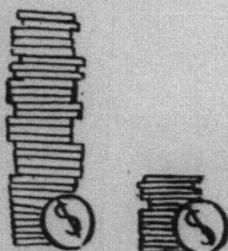
Nye Spills The Beans

This is indeed a bitter pill for us to swallow. It was only six or seven years ago when many of us had just entered high school that Senator Nye's investigation spilled the beans about the last war. It was then that most of us discovered for the first time that John P. Morgan, who was the purchasing agent for the Allies at a commission of some thirty million dollars, was the man influential in obtaining loans for the Allies from this country. We learned that some two billion dollars had been loaned to the Allies and that it was to save this investment for which America entered the war in 1917. That was why so many of our fathers and uncles were killed and wounded.

It was a shock to us, youth of thirteen, fourteen and fifteen, to learn that all we had been told about a war to make the world safe for "democracy" was "bunk" and that patriotism meant fighting for Morgan's investments. Most of us have not forgotten the accounts of the Nye investigation which we discussed in school. But some of you politicians apparently think we have.

Your Budgets and Our Needs

For six years now you have been debating in Congress ways of spending the money you get from our parents, six years when we have been growing into young men and women, when we have so urgently needed the opportunities to educate and train ourselves for trades and professions, when these opportunities have been persistently denied us. Every year we have graduated two million strong, into unemployment and hopelessness while you have spent millions for battleships and bombers.



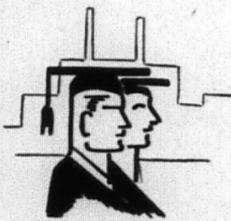
Your Congress took over a broken down economic machine, a machine which denied seven million unemployed young people the right to work. What have you done for us? You gave us the CCC which pays the miserable wage of \$30 a month of which you turn over \$25 to our families so that you should be able to give them less money for relief. You feed one of us in these

camp on the tremendous sum of 37½¢ per day and you put the camp under the supervision of four army reserve officers. The army has been agitating consistently to provide rifles and military training to the CCC boys and by your silence and tacit consent you warn us that in the near future Congress will urge such a plan which will turn the CCC into an army barracks and make soldiers of those of us who were unfortunate enough to be inveigled or forced into enlisting.

The N. Y. A.

Hundreds of thousands of us cannot attend high school because our families cannot provide us with carfare, clothes and lunch money. You have met this situation with a miserable pittance of five or six dollars a-month from NYA. You pay unemployed youth the tremendous wage of twenty dollars a month from this same agency. The American Youth Act, emasculated though it has been during the last few years does not pass Congress.

All over the country there are factories standing idle with machinery rusting. Many of us have been desperate in our attempts to learn how to operate some of those machines, to get a chance to learn some kind of trade, to get some mechanical training so that we do not have to work at "dead end" jobs for the rest of our lives, earning twelve or thirteen dollars a week. The opportunity to learn a trade, however, is as scarce today as it was six years ago.



Right To Vote

At the age of eighteen our families send us out to look for jobs. You expect us to contribute to their support, to assume all the responsibilities of grown-ups. You do not give us the right to decide who shall represent us in the Congress where our money is spent, who shall sit in the White House and decree whether we stay at home and get jobs or go abroad to fight for "democracy". We can work, we can die in your wars, but we cannot vote.

Of course you have good reason for this. Wasn't it Mrs. Roosevelt who said in a speech against the Ludlow Amendment last year that she was opposed to giving the American people the right to vote on whether or not America should send troops to fight abroad? Didn't she give, as one of her reasons, that if this right were conceded it would be only logical for youth of eighteen to demand the right to vote on this question and that once such a right were granted there was a danger that American "unity" might be disrupted in war time?

Goose-Step Plans

Mrs. Roosevelt knows that our vote would be against American entrance into the war. We have good reason for that. You have plans for American entrance into this war. You say of course that your purpose is really to prepare so that we can stay out. You are quite well-equipped for the day we enter, however. Mobilization-Day, you call it. On that fateful day, according to a set of blue prints in a steel box in Washington, three million of us will be put into uniform—the first draft. In our country there are about five million males between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-five. Out of these five million you will select three million who are not working in some vital industry connected with the furtherance of the war.

In the second draft, however, you will send almost all of the three million males in our court-

try between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one because most of these are untrained in any vital war production. They have not had the time or the opportunity to become skilled craftsmen. Most of them, as a matter of fact are not working. They are least important to you.



We know how soon you will reach this stage. Look at England. The war started only last September. It moved very slowly all during the fall and winter. This May, (the war was only eight months old) the Government announced a second draft of two million soldiers, lowering the age level to nineteen. It is safe to predict that by this fall, the flower of England's nineteen year-olds will be dying on a field in Europe.

You are planning the same fate for American youth. In the last six years you have taken a group of three million young men and denied them the right to learn a trade and get a job. You have graduated them into a country of unemployment and refused them the opportunity to work. Now you are planning to enter a war which will result in their extermination.

These, Mr. Politicians, are more than *Industrial Mobilization plans*, the polite name by which you call them. They are goose-step plans. They will bring a denial of freedom of speech and organization. The right of assemblage will disappear. These plans will bring us closer to fascism in America. They cap the climax of six years of unemployment and misery for our generation.

Your Aim and Ours

What are you fighting with all your diplomatic gestures in the world struggle between the Allies and the Moscow-Berlin axis? You say you are fighting totalitarian dictatorship, a system in which a man doesn't have the right to speak as he thinks, to work at the occupation he desires, to earn enough for feeding and clothing his family. Most of these are to be found within the confines of our own country. For six years you have failed to fight it at home and now you plan to put us into uniform, give us rifles and send us to fight for Morgan and DuPont abroad.

We have nothing against the young people of any of the warring camps—neither in England nor Germany; France nor Italy; Russia nor Finland; nor in any of the countries of the world. They were fooled into putting on uniforms and supporting their officers in a war of destruction by the same smooth tongues and political trickery which will receive so much exercise at Philadelphia and Chicago where you are holding jamborees next month.

We will fight together with the youth of Germany, England, France, Italy, and Russia, but not under your leadership or the leadership of their own tricksters and boss politicians. They don't want this war any more than we do and they show it by their lack of enthusiasm and quiet acceptance of the inevitable, as your papers describe it every day. And some of them do not accept it as quietly as you would like. In Ireland and India they are already beginning to march in the uniforms of rebel armies, against the war and British rule. In Germany and vassal Czechoslovakia, in serf Poland already there are rumbles of revolt. Every day the young revolutionists of

these countries become bolder and bolder even while their own politicians jail them and kill them.

The Third Camp

You would have us believe that there are only two sides in this war, the side of the "democracies" and the side of the "dictatorships". There are three sides, Messrs. Politicians. You have forgotten *our side*, the side which demands jobs and not guns, the right to live and not the order to die, the privilege of learning and not the duty of destroying all that the world has learned and created in many years of study and labor.

When you read this letter and the many other like it which you receive every day, when you see picket lines of young people with these demands, when you are alarmed by demonstrations and strikes, you will know that our side is expressing itself.

When you read the confidential reports of young Irishmen marching against English rule, young Indians preparing for revolt under iron British rule, young Russians and young Germans who are caught inciting to disloyalty against Stalin and Hitler, be reminded of the *third side*. It is this third camp which has prevented you from being more openly pro-war than you are these many months since last fateful September. It is this feeling that some of you would like to take advantage of in your speeches, when you claim opposition to any plans for sending "our boys" overseas. Already, however, your Party, leaders have warned you against going too far, some of them calling it "near treason".

We Are The Future

You have already placed this country in the war with both feet financially. American industry is rapidly gearing itself to meet the orders of the Allied purchasing commissions. But remember when you convene your convention that this hasn't solved any of our problems.



We want jobs. We want trade schools, We want education. We want the right to vote on war at the age of eighteen. For years your Parties, your government, your system of society has failed to provide these rights.

We will fight for and create a government and a society that will be *our own*, that will give us jobs, security and peace. Such a government is a government of the workers and farmers. Such a society is Socialism.

For years you, together with the capitalist politicians of Europe have acted a play on the stage of world politics, while behind the scenes Morgan and DuPont, Krupp and Creusot have been running the show, making us fight for what they won and lost in the last war. We, together with the youth of England, France, Germany and Russia will put an end to this mockery. *With this war you begin your last performance!*

Sincerely,
Eugene Victor

I Am Interested

Please send me more information on the aims and activities of the

Y. P. S. L.
114 West 14th Street
New York City

Name _____
Address _____
City _____

NEGRO YOUTH WON'T DIE TO DEFEND LYNCH "DEMOCRACY"!

Baseball Is All-American Sport—But Not For Colored Athletes

The baseball season is well under way now. But underneath the fanfare of the opening day and the excitement and anticipation of the new pennant race, America's national pastime operates on the same old Jim Crow principle—the iron ban against Negro players in the major leagues.

In our last article we reviewed the record of Negro athletes in the sports life of this country. No one dares challenge the equal ability and spirit of Negro youth. If they have not been banned from baseball on grounds of inability, then we have the right to ask the reason for this totally reactionary and undemocratic practise.

No official explanation is ever forthcoming. But it is whispered, apologetically, that since many ball players hail from the south, they will refuse to have Negroes as teammates. By and large, this particular lament is strictly the malarkey. Last summer many major leaguers were quizzed on this very problem.

Gabby Hartnett, manager of the Chicago Cubs said, "... if managers were given permission, there'd be a mad rush to sign up Negroes." Bill McKechnie, manager of the Cincinnati Reds: "... if permitted, I'd be glad to sign some on the Reds." Leo Durocher, pilot of "them amazing bums" the Brooklyn Dodgers: "I would certainly use those great Negro stars on the Brooklyn Dodgers. If the big bosses said okay, I would not hesitate for a single minute."

Ford Frick, President of the National League declared that there was no rule which prohibited the signing up of Negro players in his League. Then who is that permission to be won from to break the Jim Crow rule? But first let us deal with another of the unofficial, hinted explanations offered by the clique that runs big league baseball.

This other sob story is that fans will boycott the game if Negro stars play. I remember that several years ago the New York Yankees had Ben Chapman, a flashy outfielder from Georgia, patrolling left field. When the fans "needed" him for an error as fans have a way of doing, Chapman would single out Negro and Jewish spectators for his snappy retorts. When the debate with this Georgia Peach (who had too much fuzz on to suit the fans) reached the pop bottle and fist fight stage, the Yankee front office traded Chapman to Washington. (We can't help wondering why this nasty lad was more comfortable in the nation's capital.)

Recently, Jake Powell, another Yankee outfielder, has been given the "pop bottle cure" for Jim Crow remarks he made. Many incidents similar to these indicate that the fans will not boycott Negro players but tend to lean in the opposite direction.

But even if it is true that there are a few "lily-white" ball players who will raise a rumpus, and even if it is true that in some Southern cities many fans will react in the prejudiced fashion to which they have been trained by the "mint-julep" aristocracy of the south and the big industrial owners who employ race prejudice as a scheme to divide and rule—consider this:

No other explanations than these half-baked, shame-faced explanations are offered. The arguments for Negro exclusion boil down to the reactionary Jim Crow wishes of this handful who run baseball and the minority they influence. Who constitute this clique? A handful of aristocratic team owners who dabble in baseball or who use it to advertise their gum and radios. A number of southern publishers who use the press for the maintenance of prejudice. This clique is perpetrating the evil theory of race inferiority and race discrimination.

We have a choice to make. On one hand the blackmail threat of the Jim Crow clique to sabotage the game and bring their weight to bear. On the other hand, a vigorous fight against race prejudice, for the extension of democratic decency in the field of organized sport to a large section of the American people.

The war-drums which are being beaten today in America by the spokesmen of the Roosevelt government, are being used to entice Negro youth as well as white youth. The slogans being used—A Holy War for Democracy, Stop Fascism, Smash the Countries Which Practise Racial Discrimination—are very attractive for Negro youth.

Is it any wonder? These are the things which every young Negro believes in.

But they are lies, vile, hypocritical lies. The war of England, France, Belgium and tomorrow America will not be fought for any of these things. They are wars for profits, for the right to exploit the backward sections of the world, including the sections where Negroes are oppressed and enslaved.

There is no reason why any Negro should support Hitler, of course. But there is no reason why a Negro youth should support the Allies either.

Support England which oppresses and enslaves the Negro people of Rhodesia, Southwest Africa, Union of South Africa etc.? Support France which oppresses the Negroes of Equatorial Africa? Support "poor, little Belgium" the murderer of thousands of Negroes in the Congo?

Not on your life! That's not the kind of "democracy" we are willing to give up our lives for!

Negro youth have no stake in either of the 2 warring imperialist camps! Negro youth must take their place side by side with white youth in the 3rd camp—the camp of the workers of every country.

NAACP Youth Conference Calls For Militant Struggle For Negro Youth Rights

The first annual conference held by the College Section of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on March 29-31 was unfortunately not reported at the time in our press, but it nevertheless deserves comment.

Over 100 delegates were present, of whom less than 10 were from non-colored organizations. Most delegates were from the Va.—West Va. area and not the deep south, and represented Negro college groups.

The delegates expressed a tremendous interest in militant mass activities for Negro youth rights. There was little lie-down-and-take-it mood; this was a group of Negro youth genuinely interested in finding a way to real freedom. For example, the hero of the conference was William Anderson of Greenville, South Carolina. His NAACP Youth Council of 45 in a town with a Negro population of 14,000, campaigned to get out the Negro vote. For the first time in 70 years, Negroes turned out to vote. During the campaign, Anderson was kidnapped and beaten up, his friends were threatened; but despite this, over 250 Negroes registered and over 50 voted, more than in the previous 70 years combined. This was the kind of fight that typified the spirit of the delegates.

The panel discussions were excellent. The panels on Politics and Government and on Security and Opportunity showed a militant interest in the fight for jobs and peace. (In the latter panel, Frank Brill, delegate from the YPSL (4th Int.) was chairman.) Resolutions supporting labor organization in the South, attacking FDR's foreign policy, calling for "Jobs not Guns" were passed. A resolution demanding that the people be allowed to vote on war was passed.

A resolution condemning Chamberlain-Reynaud; Hitler-Stalin in the war was tabled by the narrow vote of 24-19. The few Stalinists present were among those voting to table since the resolution correctly labeled Stalin as a stooge of Hitler.

Role of Stalinists

The conference was, on the whole, successful precisely because the Stalinist played a minor role. They were present, but only as a small, well-organized minority. They could not sabotage really popular ideas such as the war-referendum, but where the issue was a doubtful one in the eyes of the delegates, such as affiliation to the Stalinist-controlled American Youth Congress, they were in a position to influence the decision.

The conference showed the raw material from which Negro youth will find leadership in its struggle for emancipation. That this can be done only by black and white youth fighting together with the working people for Socialism was the message which the YPSL representatives brought to their fellow delegates. That message was well received.

Negro Discrimination At World's Fair

The World's Fair this year is trying to attract more Negro patrons by a series of stunts. In particular, they announced last week that they would feature a Negro beauty contest during one week of the fair.

But the job discrimination is no less than last year. The discrimination against Negroes at the 1939 Fair is well known. This year more than 80% of the jobs have been filled by the people who had them last year—and got them on the basis of this race discrimination. The democracy and freedom the Fair says it sponsors are true capitalist democracy and freedom—with an inner lining of Jim Crow.

TRANSPORTATION NOTICE

The following notice appeared in the N.Y. Times of May 2:

"For Hire—Young Man, Series 1914, slightly used, excellent running condition; college finish, convertible; much mileage on little fuel; will demonstrate."

Democracy, Southern Style--1 Negro School in Two Hundred Counties

America—land of opportunity and equality. Not like other countries where Jewish students have to sit on Ghetto benches... No discrimination in America. OR IS THERE? DOES AMERICA ALSO HAVE GHETTO BENCHES?

In 19 southern states and the District of Columbia—where the government of freedom and equality resides!—Negro children are prevented, by law, from attending "white schools." Not only segregation—but discrimination on funds for the segregated Negro schools.

In South Carolina for every \$8 spent on white schools, the Negro schools get \$1; in Mississippi \$9 is spent for white pupils where \$1 is spent for Negro youth.

A mere glance at the following table shows the wide difference between the funds given to Negro schools and the already inadequate funds for white schools:

State	Expenditure Per Pupil Enrolled	Per Cent White Is More Than Negro	
	White	Negro	
Ala.	\$36.43	\$10.09	261.0
Ark.	38.15	13.02	193.0
Fla.	57.16	14.45	294.9
Ga.	35.42	6.38	453.6
La.	67.37	16.54	313.9
Md.	64.86	43.16	50.3
Miss.	45.34	5.45	731.9
N.C.	40.07	15.71	155.1
Okla.	43.86	34.25	28.5
S.C.	60.06	7.84	666.1
Tex.	38.76	16.02	141.9
TOTAL	\$44.31	\$12.50	252.5%

Conditions have been getting worse, not better. In 1900 the Negro schools got 81% of what the white schools got; in 1930, they got 36% of what the white schools did. That is how democracy marches forward in "democratic America."

But this isn't all. Not only do the states discriminate against the Negroes, but the local counties cut further into Negro school appropriations. Thus in 1933, 120 of the 159 counties in Georgia diverted \$1,150,000 from Negro schools to other purposes. It is such crooked political dealing which led to 230 southern counties in which there are 158,939 colored boys of high school age, having only 1 colored high school!

Nor have Federal appropriations been any better. In the 1935-1939 period, Negroes in 17 Southern states, comprising 23% of the population, got only 14% of Federal aid to education.

But not only are the funds received by Negro schools less than in white schools; their needs are much greater. Negro schools are often housed in dilapidated shacks. Thus, the value of the school plant for each southern white student is \$157 while that for each Negro student is \$37.

It is obvious that in Southern agricultural districts, adequate transportation for students is almost as necessary as adequate educational facilities. Yet in all the southern states, despite the fact that the Negro youth are one-third of the population they received only 2% of the total funds allotted for transportation to schools!

The picture is a grim, depressing one. Negro youth, through no fault of their, deprived of a chance to get even an elementary education, doomed to ignorance by a social system which dreads the consequences of giving its slaves (in fact, if not in name) a little knowledge. Next time you hear a pot-bellied politician bellowing about democracy, remind him of these facts.

Bigger Thomas

CRUCIFIED BY A SYSTEM THAT HE NEVER UNDERSTOOD

By TED LYONS

Bigger Thomas was brought up in the "normal" way in which any Negro youth is in the big Northern cities. Condemned to the Negro ghetto of Chicago's South Side, he lived his whole life in this overcrowded, poverty stricken, tenement-ridden South Side. From the short while he attended school, from the cheap pulp magazines he read, from the second-rate movie-houses he attended—Bigger was allowed a glimpse at the outer world: the sleek shiny cars, the beautiful homes with rich carpets, the wealth and riches, the comfort and security that was America.

Bigger saw and heard all of this and thought: any white has the opportunity to gain these riches—the field was open to the white—if there were poor whites, it was due to their own stupidity—why, any guy with brains could get up in the world, if he weren't Negro—If only he, Bigger, had the chance.

But Bigger had no chance and he knew it. He knew he was doomed to stay and rot where he was because his skin was black. He knew he had no chance.

So like the rest of the gang he hung around with, Bigger drifted into the life of a poolroom loafer and from there to a petty thief. It is at this point that Richard Wright begins his novel *Native Son*.

Bigger at 20, because of the feeling of injustice burning within him and his inability to cope with

it, has become a sulking moody fellow, bullying his gang, and easing the hate within him by committing such acts as cutting up a pool table with his knife and robbing the cash register of the local merchants.

A Chicago real estate king, who also doubles as a great philanthropist and who makes a good deal of his money by having the Negro masses walled into their South Side ghetto where he squeezes high rents out of them, hires Bigger as a chauffeur.

Bigger is afraid and bewildered at this new white world. That night, Bigger drives his boss' frivolous and parlor pink daughter to a secret rendezvous with her Stalinist boy friend, both of whom further mystify Bigger by acting toward him in a comradely manner. They sit in the front seat with him, drink together with him... and give him Stalinist literature to read. Bigger, almost out of his senses from his reaction to these queer whites, grows more alarmed when the daughter passes into a drunken stupor on their return home. Bigger carries the girl up to her room, and while there he hears her blind mother coming in to talk to the girl.

Bigger's mind grows wild. He remembers the lynching stories he had been told of. He knew what would happen if he were found in a white woman's bedroom... Negroes were killed for less than that. To save himself from being discovered, Bigger holds a pillow over

the girls mouth, until the blind mother leaves. But the girl has been choked! Desperately, Bigger drags her body down into the basement and stuffs it into a blazing furnace.

An Equal?

Bigger is happy now. He has revenged himself; he is an equal. Now Bigger would revenge himself on the whole goddamned pack—he sends a ransom note to his boss' home with the hammer and sickle singed on it. Thus the blame is placed on the Communist Party and the murdered girl's Stalinist boy friend.

Through his own nervousness, while being questioned by reporters in the basement where he had hidden the body, the charred bones of the girl were found. Bigger's running off gave him away. Tracked down and captured by a howling mob of indignant white citizens, Bigger was taken to prison and shortly thereafter sentenced to the chair.

This is the story of Bigger Thomas, a bewildered, despised, outcast Negro youth. Hounded and tortured by laws his people never made and by a society in which his people never had a chance, trapped and surrounded by a vicious profit-hungry capitalist system, Bigger Thomas—a member of America's "locked out generation"—lived and died: Guilty because he was black!

Guilty? According to the boss class—Yes! But not in our eyes! He was driven, doomed to crime.

ROOSEVELT AND LYNCHING

"This new generation... is not contented with preachings against that vile form of collective murder—lynch law... We do not excuse those in high places or low who condone lynch law... The judicial function of government is the protection of the individual and of the community through quick and certain justice. That function in many places has fallen into a state of disrepair. It must be a part of our program to re-establish it."—Franklin D. Roosevelt, December 6, 1933.

This is FDR in the abstract. In the concrete, now, in 1940, both he and his Senate stooge, Majority Leader Barkley, have replied to repeated requests for their stand on the anti-lynch bill with—silence. That bill remains buried in the pigeon hole of a Senate subcommittee, and the only Senator that does much talking about it lately is that vicious Negro-hater, Connally of Texas.

The CHALLENGE OF YOUTH

Subscription: 25c a year
Published monthly
Vol. I, No. 1 (New Series)
June, 1940

Organ of the
YOUNG PEOPLES
SOCIALIST LEAGUE
(Fourth International)

114 W. 14th St. (3rd Floor)
New York, N. Y.

Editor: Irving Howe
Business Manager: Ely Killen