

We Won't
Die For
Boss Profits

Let Bankers
Fight Their
Own Wars

YOUTH DRAFTED WHILE BOSSES MAKE WAR PROFIT MILLIONS

Youth Campaign for Shachtman Gives Program

The Campaign Committee for Max Shachtman, Workers Party candidate for Congressman in the Bronx, has announced its youth platform. Condemning the passage of the Conscription Bill, it demands the right of youth to vote against war, a job for every youth, and equal pay for equal work for young workers.

"After the shameful exhibition which took place in the House of Representatives last week it becomes more obvious every day that American youth need some one to speak for them in Congress. Greater than their fear of being defeated in the elections is the Congressmen's fear of disobeying the orders of America's sixty families," the Campaign Committee states. "Only the boldness of Workers Party candidate can recall to the gentlemen of the House and Senate that the American youth want employment rather than concentration camps."

"Our program for America's youth is as follows:

1. **Against Conscription.** We condemn the militarization of youth by the Roosevelt government for the purpose of preparing youth for another imperialist war.

2. **Let Youth Vote Against War.** We demand the right of youth, beginning at the age of eighteen, as well as the entire population, to vote on the question of American entry into the war through a popular referendum.

Beans Spilled

If you wonder why the war is being fought read the following from the *Herald Tribune* of June 10.

"The Allies are fighting to preserve the only type of social system in which private banking as developed in the United States can exist, and how to aid the Allies in this struggle is the most vital problem facing leaders in this country, particularly bankers, according to speakers before a luncheon meeting here today of the New York State Bankers' Association in convention at the Hotel Syracuse."

3. **For a 100% Profit Tax on War Industries, to be Used for Youth Needs.** We demand that all industries now preparing to supply government war orders be immediately subjected to a 100% profit tax of which a substantial portion shall be used for the following youth needs.

4. **A Job for Every Youth.** We demand that all war industries be required to hire at least 10% of its additional employees for war production from the ranks of unemployed youth between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four.

5. **Equal Pay for Equal Work.** We oppose the cutting of wages because of apprentice status or because of sex.

6. **For the Right to Learn a Trade.** We demand that all present trade school facilities shall be opened for use by American youth.

Roughing It

Walter Winchell, who is not a Challenge correspondent, made these observations on the sad plight of the millionaire play boys and sportsmen who recently spent two weeks at the Plattsburg Military Training Camps:

The reams of publicity glorifying the "Business Men's Training Camp" at Plattsburg are a little misleading. They say nothing about the elegant private parking place for the "gentlemen warriors" cars and the million \$\$ worth of expensive chariots on display there. Nor do they mention the goings-on at the tony Hotel Champlain where from 5 p.m. on—these buck-privates (who are supposed to be roughing it) order an army of waiters about to bring drinks and fancy chow. (The army grub isn't good enough for them, eh?) You should've seen these "soldiers" lolling in the garden bar.

A great conspiracy has been organized against the American people.

It is a conspiracy to roll millions of dollars into the coffers of the bankers, Wall Street interests and industrialists who are in control of the war industries of the country. It is a conspiracy to stack up unprecedented war profits for the "Merchants of Death" while the youth of the country are dragged into army camps for the wage of 30 or 21 dollars a month.

It is a conspiracy organized and supported by leaders of Wall Street, army officials, reactionary politicians in control of both old boss parties—Republican and Democratic.

It is a conspiracy which has the support of both Presidential candidates: Roosevelt and Willkie.

It is a conspiracy which can lead the country in but one direction: Dictatorship and War.

The facts prove that despite all the ballyhoo speeches about the necessity of the people sacrificing for "national defense" the capitalist class of America is slobbering in gigantic profits, often negotiated with the direct consent of the government. The facts also show that the so-called "excess profits tax" legislation being passed in Congress is a camouflage which does not crucially affect the profiteering of the "Merchants of Death."

The facts prove that Wall Street and its associates are playing the American people for the biggest suckers in the history of the country.

LISTEN:

A bill has just been passed conscripting American youth and younger adults into the army. They are to be paid from \$21 to \$30 a month. The hardships which this will strike at the poor people of the country, often deprived of a bread winner by the draft, will be incalculable. (That is why the trade union movement opposed the draft.) The people are told by Roosevelt and Willkie that such sacrifices are necessary to "defend democracy."

But Wall Street is getting something more substantial than \$30 a month and pep talks. Their patriotism pays.

During the first half of 1940 profits of war industries and related Big Business skyrocketed. Profits of BETHLEHEM STEEL totalled \$21,698,457—an increase of a mere 247% over the corresponding period for 1939.

Profits of REPUBLIC STEEL hit \$6,449,453 for the first half of 1940—a jump of 495% over the corresponding period for 1939.

Profiteers Robbed People During the Last War Too

The present wave of war profiteering by the industrialists becomes clearer if it is seen against the background of profiteering during the last war. It was during the last war, as the Nye Senatorial Investigating Committee proved, that hundreds of millionaires raked in millions while American youth bled on the battlefields.

The corporations were very patriotic (it was their war!) but only at a price. As industrialist George D. Baldwin put it: "A corporation cannot live on patriotism. Our stockholders must have dividends."

The steel magnates were so patriotic that as early as 1915 the Morgan interests had organized and financed a huge propaganda machine including 197 newspapers in order to persuade the American public to get into the war.

The reason U.S. Steel, DuPont and Bethlehem waxed so patriotic is simple. From 1914-1918 the Allies bought 4 billion dollars worth of munitions from the Merchants of

Death. This meant colossal profits for the munitions makers. In 1916 alone U.S. Steel reported earnings greater by \$70,000,000 than the combined earnings of 1911, 1912, 1913. Dividends on stocks ranged from 100% for 1916 DuPont stock to 200% for 1917 Bethlehem Steel stock.

The war paid the arms merchants well. Nor did the other sections of the 60 Families do so badly. The average yearly profit of DuPont during the war was 9 times greater than before the war. Bethlehem Steel increased its profits 7 times and Hercules Powder Co. 6 times. Profits of Republic Steel jumped from \$4 million to \$17½ million, of Utah Copper from \$5½ million to \$20½ million.

Our Merchants of Death did pretty well for themselves during the last war. When all the smoke had cleared away America found that it had, among other things, two new acquisitions. They were 21,000 new war millionaires . . . and 250,000 Gold Star Mothers.

Profits for REMINGTON ARMS hit \$1,219,000—a jump of 746%.

Profits of GENERAL MOTORS totaled \$115,575,460 for the first half of 1940—an increase of 12½ million over the corresponding period of 1939.

AND UNITED STATES STEEL TOPPED THEM ALL WITH PROFITS OF \$3,315,003—AN INCREASE OF 1743%!

THINK OF IT—1743%! (Just in case you forgot, amid the confusion of these big figures, your wages in the army will be \$30 per month tops.)

President Roosevelt has announced that he intends to limit war profits to . . . the same level as the last war, that is, to the level of the greatest profiteering period until the present.

But let us just take a glance at the so-called excess profits tax bill and we will see what a gigantic swindle the whole business is.

No detailed technical analysis is necessary. The whole show is given away when the authors of the bill predict a maximum revenue on it of \$300,000,000. At the present time, this is no tax; it's peanuts.

Consider that \$15,000,000,000 is being spent directly on war preparations alone. Add additional indirect millions of expenses resultant from the "preparedness" program. You can now see that an insignificant, tiny, minute, piddling, ridiculous fraction of it will be raised from the tax on the war profiteers. The money for their war will come from OUR pockets.

This is the phoney measure which President Roosevelt supports. This is the phoney measure which Willkie supports.

The so-called excess profits tax in reality guarantees the gigantic profits for the corporations. It says that all profits equal to those of the average of profits of the years of 1936-1939 are tax exempt. This guarantees 8-10% profits to at least the large companies like General Motors and U. S. Steel who did pretty well in these years and who can be expected to get a lion's share of the war contracts. In addition, 8% of all profits on new investments are tax-free. So, the Merchants of Death are guaranteed a cool 8%.

Only profits above that figure are to be taxed, and not too steeply either.

But there is still another loop-hole for the war profiteers. That is hidden in the word "amortization." According to this provision of the excess profits tax, profits used to re-invest in

(Continued on page 2)

Heroism of Suffering Europe Must Be Turned to Anti-War Struggle!

The Tragedy of Europe. That is the thought in the mind of every one.

It is brought home to us every time another city is bombed, every time a few hundred innocent women and children are blown out of existence. Amidst all this horror, however, two facts stand out.

First, the heroism of the people. Not the politicians and capitalists and Lords. But the rank and file: the workers and farmers and women and children. The heroism of the people in a city bombed by enemy planes is awe-inspiring; it renews one's faith in humanity. But even more important and

tragic is the realization that this heroism of the European people is being wasted and misused—on both sides. For the war is a reactionary imperialist struggle on both sides.

The German people, tricked and enslaved, living under conditions of terrible slavery—is not their heroism useless, wasted?

The British people, still wage slaves in the factories of the British Ruling Class, now forced to work 60 hours a week while the Ruling Class lives in luxurious conditions—is not their heroism useless, wasted? They fight for democracy? A lie, a deception! The British Empire

and its leader Winston Churchill fight to retain their imperialist booty, now threatened by a new rival, Hitler. This Empire babbles about democracy and enslaves half the world.

Today, it is necessary to hammer home one fact. Hitler and all his horrors are the product of the decay of European capitalism. Those who support the British Empire, whatever their intentions are preparing the foundation for another Hitler.

Hitlerism, Fascism is the capitalist system gone desperado in order to save itself. Only by tearing out the roots—capitalism—can the Fascist weed be eliminated.

Imagine, then, if the heroism of the British and German workers were expended on building their own free society; imagine if, for example, the British workers were conducting a revolutionary war against Hitlerism. What potentialities of sacrifice still remain in the workers of Europe for the cause of Socialist freedom, if they sacrifice so much for capitalist slavery!

The people will learn from their own bitter experience. Only the struggle for Socialism offers any hope. That is the way out from the Tragedy of Europe.

Movies

By KARL KRAMER

THE GREAT McGINTY—starring Brian Donlevy and Akim Tamiroff—is recommended without reservations. It is a rich, earthy comedy of the rise and fall of a grafting politician, who ended his days in a banana republic. The atmosphere of machine politics is skillfully re-created. And Akim Tamiroff gives a nifty performance as a political king-maker, which is one of the characterization gems of the year's movie crop. Don't miss it.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT—with a couple of actors and directed by Alfred Hitchcock. If you like your hokum straight and skillfully thrilling, this is the picture for you. Hitchcock, the British director, is the most accomplished master of suspense on the screen. He conceives of a movie as an exercise in suspense in which the actors are merely the robots to achieve the effects he desires. As a result, his pictures are utterly devoid of human interest. This one, for example, which relates the incredible adventures of a foreign correspondent in warring Europe, keeps you on the edge of your seat throughout—but you know it has nothing to do with human beings. Joel McCrea, who plays the lead, keeps a steadily unexpressive face throughout the picture, as if he were having a tough enough time following director Hitchcock's orders without being obligated to act. Despite all these reservations, it's still pretty exciting stuff.

WHEN THE DALTONS RODE—with Randolph Scott and Kay Francis is a tootin', rootin', shootin' fast ridin' drammer of the West of by-gone times. Guns blaze as the Daltons take to the road in a wild and thrilling saga of justice on the plains (to the strains of the Lone Ranger Overture and miles of hilly background for eye-relief.)

Not only is this a neat Western but it also has **SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE**. It comes out flatly against land speculators who drive the poor folks off the old homestead. It preaches truth, nobility and other rugged virtues.

Books

By HAROLD ANDERSON

In these days when America prepares to get into the war, and publishers are intent upon dinning the minds of American youth with patriotism, it is expected that a book entitled **A Man Named Grant** by Helen Todd should go through many printings. Those American youth who find in Grant a hero and a yardstick for today's generals will be disappointed, however.

Six years before the civil war a lieutenant was discharged from the army for intoxication. It was the failure of a young soldier with a quiet personality who didn't get along well at West Point and showed no promise in anything he undertook.

The drunken engineer from St. Louis became the best general in the Union Army where for the first time was discovered his unity of purpose, his resourcefulness, and his methodical approach to military tasks.

Here in the army his simplicity of character found its best medium of expression. He was placed over the other generals and given charge of campaigns. He was resourceful as a small strategist. The day to day movements of his army were well planned and his persistency was marked.

Grant as President presented another picture. The problems of the reconstruction period proved too complex for him. He permitted the northern industrialists to take advantage of the defeat of the South for their own ends.

Less than six months after his election Grant was dominated by spokesmen for the railroads and other vested interests of the country.

Listen, Girls

By JUDY STONE

"So they were forced to get married, and took a chance on living happily for a little while after . . ." Something doesn't sound quite right. The fairy tales and sugary love stories we were brought up on didn't end at all like that.

But then the draft bill is changing a lot of things in our lives. I'm sure that the Congressmen who pushed it through didn't worry too much about the personal lives of a few million young people.

But here, as on so many other things, American youth seems to have different ideas than the men who tomorrow will conscript them. The proof of it is the daily long waiting lines outside the marriage license bureaus all through the country.

Young men and women are standing on these lines, almost all under 25. Most of them wanted to wait a little longer, until they saw some semblance of economic security ahead, until they thought they had some chance of establishing a home and raising a family. But today these things are forgotten. The draft bill has tossed any ideas about immediate security out of the window and as for the future . . . who knows? War, death? Will the conscripted boys ever return to civilian life or will they be dragged straight to war? No, the youth standing on these lines prefer to take a chance now.

Some of them realize, and some don't, how little difference their marriage will make in the probability of being conscripted. But all of them are determined to grab whatever immediate joys they can out of a life that offers them nothing at all.

And many of them realize, but cannot laugh very heartily, at the irony of the situation. They know that the marriages conscription and war are forcing today will be broken up by those same forces in a few months or years.

"A war for democracy" will be the siren-call of the plutocratic war-profiteers in whose interests the war will be fought. But we who will suffer the torments and agony of the war will know differently. And one of these days, not so far off, we'll drive out the war-making capitalist governments and build ourselves a peaceful and free Socialist society where we can lead a decent, happy life.

Capitol Cutups

By MARTIN HARVEY

WASHINGTON, D.C.—I received a letter a few days ago from the editor of the *Challenge of Youth*. He was looking for someone to write a humor column. I wrote back saying I'd cover Washington for the *Challenge*—which amounts to the same thing.

What with the conscription debate, naval appropriations, etc. most of the tourist trade is hanging around Capitol Hill instead of looking at the architecture. But they've been disappointed because even in Congress in these troublous times there's little more than architecture. It's a rare Senator who bothers to attend debates. Most of them are just rounded up in time for the votes.

But there's one thing the tourists can't miss. No matter what angle of how to fleece the people the Senators are debating, the spectator in the Senate gallery is sure to hear a speech on cheese—Wisconsin cheese—if Senator Wiley of Wisconsin is around (which, fortunately, isn't too often.) At the height of the Senate debate last spring Wiley rose in all his glory and held forth on the wonders and delights of Wisconsin cheese. It's wonderful how these Senators worry about the welfare of their constituents. Wiley knows its the rich boss farmers who run Wisconsin politics that put him where he is—and he's, always ready with a little free soundoff for his bosses.

In the conscription debate Senator Holt hinted that Minton of Indiana, the New Deal whip, was—shall we say—inebriated when he made a speech for conscription. Holt was telling the truth—about this, at least.

What Future for American Students?

Stand-Pat Sam, The Bosses' Man, Sez:

I often worry about the troubles my boss has, what with having to fill out income tax returns and union troubles and everything.

My boss deserves more money than I do 'cause he spends more on luxuries. If everybody did that there wouldn't be no over-production.

We made my boss head of our union—'CAUSE HE SEES BOTH SIDES.

My boss says we gotta have a good dictator like Mussolini to teach these troublemakers in the unions to appreciate democracy. He says for us workin' stiffs to trust him and beware of reds. Especially to keep clear of a guy named Marx, who's some kind of troublemaker.

This guy Marx oughta be arrested, anyway.

Ted Lyons Writes a Letter on Chicago White Sox, Democrats, The Draft and Carmen Miranda

Hello Jimmy,

How're all the boys? Still holdin' up the corner and watchin' the gals go by? I hear it's pretty hot in Chicago—but the Sox are hotter! Going great aren't they? How'd you like the Zale-Hostak fight (?) and that upset by Soose over Ken Overlin? Must of been pretty good!

Say, that Democratic Convention must have been a real circus. Yes sir, I can just see those nation's stalwarts raisin' hell all over the loop. How'd you like Mayor Ed Kelly's politician's fashion parade? We always said Chicago had the best politicians 'money could buy! And our own neighborhood "fuehrer," our old pal Jake Arvey had all the boys from the ward down at the Stadium yelling their heads off "For Roosevelt and Humanity" and twenty-a-week plus time and a half. Yeah, it must of been great fun!

LIGHT SUMMER READING

What'd you think of that "anti-war" plank? Makes good light summer reading on a hot afternoon, huh? Wheeler, the isolationist's white hope put up enough of an "anti-war" fight to re-assure his re-election and then hopped on the Roosevelt war-bent band wagon. Too bad Hull wasn't around to tell the gang how we've been putting the squeeze on our South American neighbors. We always said we didn't like this putting the squeeze on the South Americans; except for Lefty who always wanted to squeeze Carmen Miranda (but that don't count). It looks like Farley did a good job and the elections are in the bag for the F. D. forces. But Farley won't do so good with the Yanks. After all—the Sox aren't a bunch of Republicans.

All kiddin' aside though, the convention nor the presidential race hasn't stopped F. D. R.'s war drive. Boy, these guys are really going to town—blitzkrieg fashion. They don't seem to give a damn about what the people think—or has the cabinet consulted you on their latest war step yet? No? I guessed not. They boys aren't even letting us in about where they want us to get killed fighting for "America's womanhood" and foreign markets!

Any one of these days we might find ourselves in China slugging it out with Japan so that we

can sell the Chinese nothing but the best stuff—American made of course. The Chinese don't relish this—but what the hell it's only their country! Or else we'll discover that one of those South American countries needs protection" Haw! Remember the "protection" the Capone's Better Business Boys used to give free of charge to our Chicago merchants?

Geez, the way they're rushin' this conscription drive through you'd think it was the old Notre Dame Four Horsemen pulling the hidden ball play. This "voluntary-compulsory-universal" conscription razzle-dazzle is the real thing. If the army board's plans work out they'll have the whole corner gang down in Camp Grant before that new maid in the corner apartment gets her night off. It seems like the war board's figurin' to at least get us into uniform by Christmas!

FLAT FEET AND KELLEY'S FIXERS

At the same time all the politicians are feeding us a line of hocus-pocus. "The war will give you good jobs" . . . they should run their feet off trying to find those good jobs. "There won't be a war for a long time" . . . yeah, even six months is a long time to these birds who've got their flat-foot cases filed with Kelly's fixers.

But these birds are figuring that they've got easy pickin's in you, me and the rest of the boys on the corner and all over the country. It's about time we told the bums where to get off. This isn't our war—no sir! What have we got to fight for? For the right of being conscripted? For the right of standing on the corner and loafing? Hell! they've got those rights in Germany—and we'll be switched if we'll tell those German fellows to fight for that. That colored fellow who works like all hell for his ten-a-week with Paul what's he gotta fight for? The guy's a college graduate and look at the work he's forced to do! Heck no there's no use telling you, Jim, that this isn't our war.

I guess I've been sounding off too much. But I'll write again soon and you do the same. Say hello to all the boys on the corner for me—and quit makin' eyes at so many girls or you'll be wearing glasses soon.

So long,

TED.

WAR PROFITEERING—

(Continued from page 1)

new factories are tax free. In view of the fact, that even in normal conditions a large part of profits are used for capital investments (new machinery, plants, etc.) this provision allows the war profiteers to increase their holdings under tax free provisions and then increase their profits on the basis of expanded facilities.

This whole tax is a swindle from beginning to end, from A to Z. It is dust in the eyes of the people to try to persuade them that the capitalists, too, are sacrificing for the war. Sure, the capitalists are sacrificing: they're kept so busy clipping profit coupons, they have to sacrifice some of their leisure time.

The whole set-up is given away when it is seen that all the War Boards have leading Capitalists on them, like Knudsen and Stettinius, who smooth the way for their buddies. All the talk about a war to "defend democracy" is shown to be a lot of hot air.

They're conscripting us for a war of profits, of imperialism. They prepare for war to defend their interests throughout the world—their oil wells and plantations and mines and colonies. They know we'd never fight for them if it were clearly understood that that was the real issue. That's why they retail this eyewash about "defending democracy."

The way to defend democracy, the way to really fight Hitlerism is to begin now at home; for the workers to fight for the preservation and improvement of their living standards; for the workers and youth to fight for their own society, Socialism, which will abolish inequality and profiteering of all kinds.

Our future is in grasping and building our own society here; not in dying on a European battlefield so that U. S. Steel can register another increase in profit percentage. American youth were made for better things than coffins.

The Crisis on the Campus

By WILLIAM HOLDEN

The effect of the war crisis will undoubtedly be felt this term in even the most cloistered and secluded of American colleges. The idea that it is impossible for the student to divorce himself from the environment of the society in which he lives, no matter how quiet and peaceful his campus may seem to be—this idea will be brought home in the form of an unprecedented wave of reaction over the American campus. Conscription, suppression of academic liberties, persecution of anti-war students and teachers—these are the "lessons" that American capitalism has in store for the American campus.

Already, a fortaste has been granted to us. In City College, alien students have been barred. In the University of Michigan, four Negro students have been expelled for struggling publicly against Jim-Crowism. In Brooklyn College, a new drive for the militarization of the campus has been started.

But this is only the beginning. The process of totalitarianizing American life in preparation for an imperialist war will take sharp physical and psychological form on the campus. We can expect attempts to drive out student liberal and radical groups in the name of fighting the "Fifth Column." The atmosphere of free, rich and independent discussion which has characterized a few of the classrooms—never very many!—will be abandoned for the goosestep jingoism of the barracks.

Vague Mysticism

This is the program of American capitalism and its educational representatives. This is what is meant by the vague and mystical phrases about "reinvigorating our American education" and "the creation of a spirit of national unity" which have filled the sessions of education congresses this summer. The forces of progress have never had to resort to such vague verbiage.

It will be a test for the American students. To knuckle under to war repression or to boldly struggle for their liberties. To become docile intellectual cogs in a bloody war machine or to stand up and fight for intellectual freedom and against war hysteria. That is our choice.

There is at present no real mechanism on the campus to lead such a struggle. The old student organizations are bankrupt. The American Student Union, leaving aside its complete servility to the politics of the Hitler-Stalin axis (enough to disqualify it in the eyes of progressive students), retains the psychology of compromise and collaboration with capitalism and its educational representatives. This is the heritage of the time when the Stalinists, braying about collective security and peoples front, were serving as the lickspittles of the capitalist government.

It will therefore be necessary to organize broad student committees of action around each issue that arises on the campus, whose function, it will be to unite all student tendencies in defense of academic liberties. And it will be the even more important function of the Young Peoples Socialist League (4th Int'l) to point out the political lessons from such struggles, to lead the students into the only real camp of progress: the working class struggle for Socialism.

through the crowd, muttered "draft-dodgers!" The resentment of the young people knew no bounds, and he beat a hasty retreat.

A youth, smiling ironically, remarked: "Ever since I got out of high school I've spent my time waiting in line at employment offices. No matter where I go I have to wait in line. It seems that the only place where you don't have to wait in line is the army recruiting office."

The CHALLENGE OF YOUTH

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LEON TROTSKY

To Our Martyred Comrade, Leader and Teacher, Revolutionary Youth Cry Out: Socialism Will Be Your Monument!

With the murder of Leon Trotsky by an agent of Stalin's GPU, the world has lost the greatest revolutionist of our times.

It is a loss which the working class movement can ill afford. It comes at a time when the forces of reaction are at their apex, when the clear voice of Trotsky is needed to aid the workers out of the wilderness.

But if the murder of Trotsky is a profound, irretrievable loss to the revolutionary movement—one which each of us has felt deeply and sharply—it is not with any attitude of cringing despair and hopelessness that we mourn comrade Trotsky.

Trotsky gave every moment of his conscious life to the cause of working class liberation. He sacrificed himself wholly to the revolutionary movement. He lived and died as a revolutionist. That such a considerable number of his years were cut off by the Stalinist murderers is a cruel blow. But even this blow—the most fearful and horrible—must not prevent us from taking new courage from the shining example of Trotsky's life, must not prevent us from dedicating ourselves anew to the cause of freedom which Trotsky led.

THE LIFE OF LEON TROTSKY

Leon Trotsky began his revolutionary activity in a tiny town in Southern Russia at the age of 18. Together with a group of young students, he began an attempt to organize some of the neighborhood workers. The young conspirators were caught by the Tzarist police. Trotsky was sentenced to a prison term where he remained for two years before being sent away to exile in Siberia.

Trotsky Writes To The Youth

The following lines are excerpts from a letter which Leon Trotsky wrote to the French Fourth Internationalist youth 3 years ago. They are of interest and importance to all working class youth:

Your organization is weak, but you have an idea. Your program corresponds to the character of the present epoch. It expresses correctly the fundamental historical interests of the proletariat. Every great event will confirm your program. With the help of pitiless criticism, of constant propaganda, of bold agitation you will destroy the old organizations, internally rotten, which have become the principle obstacles on the road of the revolutionary movement. That is why, dear comrades, your small congress has a great importance. You must become fully conscious of the great mission which history has placed on your young shoulders.

The pseudo-socialists expel you, the pseudo-communists submit you to a dishonest repression, the Bonapartist clique of Moscow organizes persecutions without precedent in history against your ideological companions, heaping upon them monstrous judicial falsifications. At first glance, there is an obvious disproportion between the modest size of your organization, as in general with all the sections of the Fourth International, and the gigantic scope of the persecutions, the repressions and calumny. However, this contradiction is only apparent. The parasitic bureaucracy possesses a strong instinct of self-preservation, and it takes clearly into account the danger which your small vanguard, united by a scientific program, welded by an internal solidarity and capable of the highest sacrifices, represents for it. You project your shadow before you, into the future, and this shadow from today on is ten times, one hundred times taller than your organization. The persecutions and calumnies of enemies give you the necessary strength and prepare you for the great tasks and battles which lie ahead.

I trust that the congress of your organization will be held under the banner of faith in your future, while at the same time criticizing without pity all the faults and weaknesses of your present condition. What the revolutionary organizations in France have most often lacked, is attention to details, system, a well-regulated organization—which must be begun by exact financial accounts and by careful scrutiny of publications. The great quality of the French working class is its spirit of initiative and improvisation, which has more than once left its mark on history. The proletariat must be given a scientific program and a strict and all-conquering fighting organization.

The weak will perhaps say that it is difficult. Obviously, it is difficult! The socialist emancipation of the proletariat is, in general, a difficult thing. But there is not amongst us, I hope, weak ones. Through this letter, I address myself to courageous and audacious revolutionaries, ready to see this struggle through to the end. There is no other way outside of the Fourth International. Follow in this direction without hesitation. Victory is assured you.

Coyoacan, Mexico, D.F., May 2, 1937.

L. TROTSKY

As with all his subsequent exiles, Trotsky utilized this one for the purpose of studying. He began his Marxist education. Here he got his first contact with some of the great writings of the working class movement and he eagerly set about to absorb them.

Trotsky escaped from Siberia and fled to Western Europe. In London he met Lenin for the first time, and there developed the firm, historic friendship which was to last, despite subordinate difference of political opinion, to the very end. Lenin saw in Trotsky a brilliant young student who tended to support his consistently revolutionary point of view in the working class movement.

THE DEVELOPING REVOLUTIONIST

Trotsky travelled throughout Europe, lecturing before workers audiences, continuing his own education and meeting the great figures of pre-war Socialism—Luxemburg, Martov, Plekhanov and others. He observed the growing division in the movement between the left-wing revolutionists who remained implacable enemies of the rotten capitalist system and the right-wing reformists who were in favor of making a truce with sections of the capitalist class. He took the general position of the former group.

In 1905, Trotsky rose to his first peak of world prominence. A great revolution had broken out in Russia and Trotsky rose to the height of it. At the mere age of 26, he became president of the Workers Council (Soviet) of St. Petersburg, then capital of Russia. This first revolution of the Russian workers failed and Trotsky again found himself in Siberian exile. He again escaped and went to Western Europe.

Now begins a long period of exile—from country to country. These are the years of reaction, when the hopes of the movement are at their lowest ebb. It is in these years that Trotsky contributes some of his most important writings on Socialism, that he matures into a first rank theoretician of the Socialist movement.

At the outbreak of the first World War, Trotsky was in France. He systematically conducted revolutionary agitation against the imperialist war—just as his comrade Karl Liebknecht was

doing so across the border in Germany. The "democratic" government of France expelled him and, after a short arrest in Spain, he found his way to America. Here he worked as a revolutionary writer (not as a tailor or movie actor.) When the Russian Revolution first broke and the Czar was overthrown, Trotsky immediately left for Russia.

AT THE PEAK OF HISTORY

It is in this period that Trotsky rises to the heights as a man of action who could carry out his theory into life. He became one of the leading spokesmen of the Bolsheviks and played a leading role in the actual insurrection which established the first workers government in history. As Stalin admitted at that time, the major portion of the work of the insurrection was led by Trotsky.

Trotsky took charge of Foreign Affairs for a while, in which capacity he signed the Brest-Litovsk pact that ended the war. It was characteristic of the freedom of the Soviet Republic at that time, that although Lenin and Trotsky had sharp differences of opinion about this pact, they settled them in democratic discussion without "needing" to resort to the tyrannical methods of Stalin who was to shoot all revolutionists who disagreed with his opinion.

Trotsky was then delegated by the workers government to another pressing problem: organizing its defense from capitalist armies of intervention and White Russian armies. Out of groups of straggling workers and remnants of the old army, Trotsky led the organization of a new, model, victorious Red Army—an army which had such morale and outstanding victory because it was an army of the people, an army of liberation.

THE CURVE OF HISTORY TURNS

But soon the curve of history began to turn. The revolution had triumphed in an economically primitive country. It was, furthermore, bled white by long years of war and capitalist intervention. The aid of a successful workers revolution in Western Europe had not come. As a re-

sult of these factors, a reaction in the form of a vast bureaucracy arose. This bureaucracy, personified in Stalin, represented all the non-revolutionary elements of the country who were trying to win more comfortable positions for themselves, both politically and economically. It is a very superficial and false analysis to speak of the Trotsky-Stalin struggle as a personal feud. It was rather a struggle between the victorious revolution and the reaction of counter-revolution.

Trotsky lost. Again exile, wandering. The Man on the Planet Without a Visa. But still firm in his ideas, still passionately a revolutionist. Now the additional torment of the murderous GPU which gradually killed off seven of his secretaries and his four children. But Trotsky remained firm. He was a revolutionist to the end, brilliantly attacking the Stalinist reaction in Russia, organizing a new Fourth International which would not be corrupted by Stalinism.

Finally the murderer of Stalin struck him down. There was rejoicing in the Kremlin, just as there was rejoicing in the leading circles of capitalism. Their most dangerous enemy, Trotsky—the symbol of revolution, gone!

Only the revolutionary workers throughout the world mourned for him. Only those who had dedicated their lives to freedom, only the fighters for Socialism had the right to mourn for him. Trotsky was above all a revolutionist, a complete revolutionist. It was for the workers that he lived; it was for the workers that he died.

He lived the fullest, most vital, most beautiful life of our generation. It must be the goal of every young revolutionist to model himself after him, at least in devotion to our cause. Only if we do so, will we be able to survive the dark days of reaction still ahead of us.

The name of Leon Trotsky, comrade, leader, teacher, REVOLUTIONIST will live as long as men dream of liberty. When the workers march to the final conflict for Socialism, they will do so with the name of Trotsky on their lips.

A Letter From Trotsky To The Challenge

The following lines are an excerpt from a letter which Leon Trotsky sent to the Challenge of Youth some time ago on the struggle against war:

Coyoacan D. F.

November 17, 1937

To the Editors of THE CHALLENGE

Dear Friends:

You are asking me to participate in your campaign against war. Permit me to limit my answer to a few words.

In order to fight against war, it is necessary to understand clearly the reasons which cause war. It is necessary to know the laws of the development of the present, i.e. imperialist society. The Marxist appraisal of war and the methods of fighting it have been expressed in the programmatic brochure of our International Secretariat, "War and the Fourth International". It is necessary to make this pamphlet the subject of attentive and serious study in youth circles.

The fight against war is inseparable from the class struggle of the proletariat. Irreconcilable class consciousness is the first condition for a successful fight against war.

To fight against war, means, first of all, to build a new International, to strengthen its ranks, to temper its cadres.

I warmly wish you success in this work!

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 _____

Trotsky: Thinker, Writer, Revolutionist

Despite the fact that Leon Trotsky is with the working class movement no longer in body, we have the essential ideas of Trotsky in the permanent form of books. Trotsky's books form an invaluable treasure of Socialist theory which should be eagerly consulted and studied by every young Socialist.

Trotsky's great contribution to the revolutionary movement was his theory of *The Permanent Revolution*, first expressed in a work by that name in 1905. It was this concept of world politics which served as a basis for all of his following work.

His three volume *History of the Russian Revolution*, written shortly after he was exiled, describes the Bolshevik Revolution as the logical continuation of the February overturn of Czarism.

In *Whither England*, published at the time of the great general strike, he predicted the slough of reaction for the British workers unless they freed themselves from the bridle of the Labor parliamentarians.

China, Germany, France Problems of the Chinese Revolution pointed out that the national revolution in China could only be based upon a successful Socialist revolution.

When Germany was faced with fascism in the 1930's, article after article poured from his pen, heaping virulent criticism on the German Communists and Social Democrats for failure to organize united defense against the fascists. *Germany, What Next?* thundered this demand for a united front of action.

When the Communists in Germany became more and more hesitant on the eve of the Nazi coup, Trotsky warned that only decisive action would stop the impending blow, that only a Communist revolution could prevent a Nazi victory.

As France stood on the eve of its Popular Front government, the ex-

iled revolutionist warned that unless the French people freed themselves from their alliance with the Radical Socialist, a capitalist party, and expropriated their two hundred families, all of their social gains would be wiped out and the Peoples front with it. The French people did not take the road of action as expressed in *Whither France*. They did not go forward with their revolution. The world knows the rest.

To Spain he applied the same principle. He predicted the defeat of the Peoples Front and the vic-

tory of Franco unless Spain went Socialist.

Reaching a grand climax in *The Revolution Betrayed* he showed the development which took place in Russia after twenty years of isolation and encirclement by capitalist enemies. Unable to go forward, the Soviet Union degenerated with a vile bureaucracy at its head.

Thus have Leon Trotsky's numerous contributions been linked by one central theme; no society can mark time in history. It must move ahead to Socialism or back to blackest degeneration.

To Leon Sedoff—

The following lines are the ending of the pamphlet which Leon Trotsky wrote on the occasion of the murder of his son, Leon Sedoff, by the GPU. They are among the most warmly moving and touching lines which this great revolutionist ever wrote:

His mother—who was closer to him than any other person in the world—and I are living through these terrible hours recalling his image, feature by feature, unable to believe that he is no more and weeping because it is impossible not to believe. How can we accustom ourselves to the idea that upon this earth there no longer exists the warm, human entity bound to us by such indissoluble threads of common memories, mutual understanding, and tender attachment. No one knew us and no one knows us, our strong and our weak sides, so well as he did. He was part of both of us, our young part. By hundreds of channels our thoughts and feelings daily reached out to him in Paris. Together with our boy has died everything that still remained young within us.

Good-by, Leon, good-by dear and incomparable friend. Your mother and I never thought, never expected that destiny would impose on us this terrible task of writing your obituary. We lived in firm conviction that long after we were gone you would be the continuer of our common cause. But we were not able to protect you. Good-by, Leon! We bequeath your irreproachable memory to the younger generation of the workers of the world. You will rightly live in the hearts of all those who work, suffer and struggle for a better world. Revolutionary youth of all countries! Accept from us the memory of our Leon, adopt him as your son—he is worthy of it—and let him henceforth participate invisibly in your battles, since destiny has denied him the happiness of participating in your final victory.

CONGRESS SHELVES ANTI-LYNCH BILL, PASSES JIM-CROW DRAFT

The Ku Klux Klan Strikes Again!

The bloody Ku Klux Klan has struck again.

This time in Lagrange, Georgia, where a 16-year old Negro boy has been lynched. He was dragged out of the city jail and then murdered in cold blood. The usual trumped-up charge of rapism was dished out by local Klan hoodlums.

Another innocent Negro—victim of Klan terrorism. But in Congress, there is still no action on the anti-lynching bill. There is time to pass conscription legislation to enslave American youth. But "there is no time" to even consider the anti-lynching bill.

Twelve million Negroes—outcasts from elementary justice. How long will it be before the American people rise up in wrath to demand the passage of the anti-lynching bill? How many more Negro bodies must swing on Southern trees?

WAY DOWN SOUTH

Way Down South in Dixie
(Break the heart of me)
They hung my black young lover
To a cross roads tree.

Way Down South in Dixie
(Bruised boy high in air)
I asked the white Lord Jesus
What was the use of prayer.

Way Down South in Dixie
(Break the heart of me)
Love is a naked shadow
On a gnarled and naked tree.

Langston Hughes

The Tragic Story of the Landless Farmer—Negro and White—A Generation Doomed By Capitalism to Misery

Pioneers Without a Frontier

By LOUISE BROWN

Once the land they worked on belonged to them. The homes they lived in were like themselves—rooted deep in the soil.

But that was not to be for long. Draught, winds, mortgages, tractors—these were the things that got them. The draught and the winds they might have struggled through, if it hadn't been for the mortgages. It was becoming hard enough in the early 30's to run a farm under normal conditions—but when the draught and winds burnt the crops and killed the soil that was the last blow. The big landlords, who had mortgages on the lives of America's farmers, foreclosed.

The farmers became tenants. But even that didn't, couldn't last long. Most of them "weren't needed." Because people in the cities were starving for the food which they couldn't afford to buy and which the farmers were trying to sell. And because there were the tractors—which can run 24 hours a day (even farmers can't work that long, though some of them tried) and only needs one-third of the men. So the tenants had to go.

They had only one other place to go: the road. The farmers and tenants of America began to go west to the land where "the climate fits your clothes", California. But the road to California Valley, like the road to the Jordan Valley, proved the undoing of a generation.

AN ANSWER TO SOME NEGRO PAPERS ON CONSCRIPTION

An interesting and important question affecting Negro youth is raised in a recent issue of the *Pittsburg Courier*, liberal Negro paper. The *Courier* writes:

"If military training is so valuable, we want our youngsters to have it... Since colored people are helping to pay for this military machine, we think we ought in justice to be getting something out of it in training, pay and healthful surroundings...."

"We must demand that the President make the Negro a part of this national program" says the *Chicago Defender*, another Negro newspaper.

We believe that these papers are doing a definite dis-service to the Negro people when they write such things. Their basic idea is that the only objection which the Negro has to conscription and the government war plans is that these discriminate against Negroes.

In effect, they are saying: Give us a few crumbs (like some gestures against Jim-Crowism in the army) and we will serve as boot-lickers in your imperialist war.

These papers turn the entire problem on its head.

AGAINST THE WAR

They fail to understand—or refuse to admit—that the main reason why Negroes should be opposed to the war for which American imperialism is preparing is that it will be a war in the interests of the bankers, not of the people. It will be an imperialist war. The great majority of Negroes, who are workers of one sort or another, will suffer as workers, just as the white workers will suffer.

They will, of course, suffer even more than the white workers. They will have the added burden of Negro discrimination. Not only will they be slaughtered in the imperialist war for Morgan's profits; they will be slaughtered under Jim-Crow conditions. The fact that Jim-Crowism exists is merely another indication of the reactionary character of the war.

The Negro worker and youth must therefore have the following policy:

The Negro does not fight for the privilege of being slaughtered in the imperialist war. When he is forced into the army he fights against Jim-Crowism inside of it. Jim-Crowism in the army is merely a reflection of Jim-Crowism in capitalist life. It can be abolished only by abolishing its roots: capitalism.

We cannot therefore say, as do these Negro papers, that if the capitalists made some sort of anti-Jim-Crow gesture (which would be more fiction than reality) that we would then support their war. The only war that Negro youth should support is the war of the workers for freedom, which is in direct opposition to the war of the present capitalist government.

Negroes Against Conscription

The following editorial is reprinted from the *Listener-News*, the Bronx organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People:

CONSCRIPTION A STEP TOWARD TOTALITARIANISM

40,000,000 conscriptees! For what? To defend our country against Fascism? Why not defend our own citizens against Fascism and Nazism at home? What about Poll Tax Democracy in the South? The Anti-Lynching Bill? The barring of American Negroes from branches of service in the Army, Navy? Inequality of opportunity for jobs and wages! Discrimination of every type! Let us raise an army to stamp out these Nazi evils at home!

While Congress was putting the finishing touches to its plans to draft thousands of Negro youth into Jim-Crow army barracks, it "conveniently" neglected to take up the anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bill during these last several weeks.

Giving the excuse that Congress was "too busy with preparations for national defense" (in reality, plans to draft American youth into a war for Wall Street's profits) Senator Alben Barkley, President Roosevelt's Senatorial big-stick, declared that he could not

"be at liberty to prophesy when the anti-lynch bill can be taken up." In other words, he was telling the Negro people: If any of you had any illusions about anti-lynching legislation being passed, you'd better forget about it.

While the Congressional leaders of both old capitalist parties, the Republicans and Democrats, were backing away from the anti-lynching bill in order to draft American youth into the army, a new wave of anti-Negro terrorism swept the South.

The results of this anti-Negro terrorism could be seen in the two recent lynchings in the South. The first of these, the lynching of Elbert Williams, was directed against a Negro group, of whom Williams was the leader, which dared to organize into a branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in order to fight for their rights.

Another lynching, recently exposed by the NAACP, is that Jesse Thornton, in Luverne, Alabama. The great "crime" for which Thornton was lynched was that while speaking to a white policeman he neglected to refer to him as "Mr." For that he was beaten and lynched within 25 minutes and his body was thrown into a nearby swamp. His body was later found gnawed and picked by vultures.

Here is the dramatic answer which the American Negroes must give to the Congressional leaders, the Republicans and Democrats, who are "too busy" to enact anti-lynching legislation:

You say you want us to die in your war "for democracy." You even draft us to prepare for that war. But at the same time, you do not offer us the first bit of democracy at home. You lynch us, you segregate us, you discriminate against us, you humiliate us. No, Messrs. Republican and Democratic politicians, we do not intend to die in your war which you say is "for democracy" but which we see is really for greed and profit of Wall Street. The only war for democracy we intend to fight in is the war against the capitalist plutocrats who exploit us and our brothers, the white workers. Together with our brothers, the white workers, we intend to build up a decent society in America—a society which will be run by the majority of the people, the workers, and which will end discrimination against any race or group and which will give peace and security to all. And you don't have to yell "that's Socialism" at us, Mr. Politician. We know.

United In Chicago Rent Fight

By T. S.

CHICAGO—A few months ago a young child, Carrie Bell, was bitten to death in the Negro slum area in the Chicago South Side by one of the huge rats that infest the slums.

This horrible incident brought to light the terrible conditions in which the Negro people of the South Side are forced to live. A group of workers, actively supported by the YPSL (4th Int'l) determined to struggle for better housing conditions in the Negro slum area, and organized into the South Side Action Committee. This Committee, which soon grew to considerable proportions because of its sincere activity, began a suit against the Coleman Real Estate Co. which leases many of the buildings in the slum area.

The Committee has thrown a picket line around the offices of the Coleman Real Estate Co. at 47 St. and State St. each Saturday morning at 11:00 A.M. These demonstrations have continued for a number of weeks, until the real estate rent hogs have shown a certain willingness to negotiate with the Negro tenants for better housing conditions. As a result of the Committee's activities, the city has been forced to apply pressure on the landlords to improve housing conditions and to provide garbage cans for the Negro houses.

This committee, showing in actual life how Negro and white workers can cooperate to improve their conditions if they fight together honestly and boldly, is an encouraging sign of what future activities of the Chicago workers can be in order to achieve those rights which are rightfully theirs.

Negro People Suffer Worst Housing In Country

Some time ago, in a speech on the 'state of the nation', Franklin D. Roosevelt, mentioned the one third of the population that is 'ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed'. About the only result that now-famous speech ever had was the production of a hit play, and later a hit movie, using the phrase as a Title.

And even here, the problem was never once honestly posed, because both presidents and producers seemed utterly unaware of the fact that in that one third was included almost the entire colored population of the country.

As the logical result of this strange neglect of the major housing problem facing America today, even those projects which have gotten under way have almost entirely ignored the Negro question.

where William Randolph Hearst owns 100,000 acres while millions starve for land has become a thing of the past. They will be assured of a decent life when there is a sane society run by and for the working people of the country. Then there will no longer be any such things as anti-Negro prejudice, as unemployment. A Worker's society can still rescue this generation doomed to misery by capitalism.

This is the real challenge to the American workers. Not to be enticed into another war for Wall Street profits, but to fight out their battle for security and freedom at home.

But the impoverished restricted districts in which Negroes are forced to live, the laxity of enforcement of building and zoning regulations in those sections, the complete neglect on the part of the landlords of the houses in colored neighborhoods, even these are not enough. On top of all that, the rentals in these decrepit firetraps and abandoned houses are approximately fifty percent higher than those charged whites for the same places.

Crime and Housing

On the other side of the problem: government and social service education during the last few years has consistently played up the part played by slum conditions in crime. Youth from poor neighborhoods have been pardoned or sent to schools time and again, in place of the reformatories which were once their inevitable goal.

But Negroes, it seems, don't live in slums—just in colored districts. Negro crime, simply because the housing condition has never been recognized, "could not possibly be a result of that, and is therefore inexcusable."

But to end on what the federal government at least seems to consider an encouraging note, it seems plans have been laid to provide housing facilities, by the end of 1941, for 35,000 Negro families—which will leave not more than 9 or 10 millions still in need of decent homes.

Land To The Landless

Though they're important, unions aren't enough. The farm laborers of America will be assured of a decent life only when the slogan of LAND TO THE LANDLESS becomes a reality, when a situation

wheat, to Texas for cotton, to L.A., Phoenix, Bakersfield, to catch the prunes, peaches, peas.

The road becomes not only a means to a destination but home and life itself. They live, die and are buried under an open sky, near a garbage heap and under a billboard advertising Sunkist oranges.

Pioneers without a frontier, they are citizens of no state, no township, no city. Some 5½ million migratory laborers do not have the right to vote. Their children can't attend school.

They live in camps, tents, corrugated paper houses, wooden shacks. There is no running water, no toilet facilities, no medicinal care. The ill-fed, ragged children are walking invitations to disease.

A report of the California State Relief Administrations says: "Many of the families camping along the irrigation ditches were using the ditchwater for drinking as well as using the side of the ditch as a toilet. A child from one of these families was taken with meningitis. Children dressed in rags, their hands encrusted with dirt, complexion pasty white, teeth rotten—were observed."

When these people finally do get a job, they work feverishly "from when you can see to when you can't." Some even sleep in the fields to hold a place. They work fever-

They had no idea, when they set out in their cars and trucks piled high with bedding, stoves and children what they would have to face. They knew one thing—they wanted work, any kind, any where.

And so a new class grew up—the dispossessed, migrant farmer. He who for generations back could boast of farm and home became a hungry wanderer.

No Retreat

There was no retreating back. Behind him new tractors were going on the land and new tenants were being forced off. Before him: the road and the question of where to get work.

To Oklahoma to work in the