

THE

CHALLENGE OF YOUTH

We Won't Die For Boss Profits

Let Bankers Fight Their Own Wars

Vol. I, No. 6, NOVEMBER 20, 1940

Monthly Organ of the Young Peoples Socialist League (Youth Section, Workers Party)

Price 2 Cents

LITTLE CONSCRIPT, WHAT NOW?

FIGHT FOR - Voting Rights For Draftees, Increase Of Pay To \$60. a Month, Abolition of Jim-Crow In Army, Right To Retain Trade Union Membership!

YPSL Stand On Indicted Pacifists

The National Council of the Young Peoples Socialist League (Youth Section, W.P.) has issued the following statement on the case of the eight religious and two "socialist" pacifists who were recently indicted by a grand jury for failing to register under the draft law:

"Motivated by humanitarian and religious reasons, 10 young men refused to register on October 16, thus violating the provisions of the draft law. For this expression of their opposition to the war, these young men face the possibility of severe prison sentences.

"We revolutionary Socialist youth—despite our sharp disagreements with these pacifists—unconditionally support the defense of the 10 youths and demand that they not be subjected to persecution because of their opposition to the imperialist war. We shall continue to defend all workers and anti-fascists who resist moves towards war.

"We wish here, however, to also make clear our disagreement with the methods which these 10 young people are using to express their opposition to war. These young men say that they do not wish to use arms under any conditions, objecting to violence in principle. On that basis, they declare themselves conscientious objectors.

"We believe that such a position leads to a passive acceptance of the reactionary status quo of capitalism. We cannot object to—rather, we hail—those oppressed who struggle against domestic enslavers. Likewise, with a colonial people against foreign oppressors.

Conscientious Objectors

"To isolate oneself as a conscientious objector means to remove the possibility of influencing the future political decisions of the working class, which is the only group in society capable of building a new, peaceful society. A revolutionary Socialist must suffer, fight, and die if need be, with his class; he cannot set himself on a pinnacle above it.

"These differences we have with the pacifists. They are the differences between people whose perspective it is to change society into a Socialist commonwealth and people who merely desire to fold their arms in face of bayonets.

"And what are we to say of these "Socialists", followers of Norman Thomas, who also speak as pacifists? Genuine Socialists have never taken such a course. Genuine Socialists have never spread the tripe which these people do about following the "example of the Sandwich Islands" in passive resistance. These Norman Thomas Juniors show here that their political position is not that of the revolutionary Socialist who fights against capitalism in every way he can, but rather that of the impotent pacifist who merely buries his head in the sand.

"We for our part stand firmly behind our position of the class struggle as the only method for the liberation of humanity.

JOE DRAFTEE - WHAT NOW?



A Letter to Joe Draftee: Remember That You're Still a Union Man!

Dear Joe;

I was up the union hall the other night and one of the boys told me that you were one of the unlucky guys whose number was picked early. So I guess—since you aren't hitched—you'll be packing up and leaving us pretty soon.

There's no use wasting any tears over spilt milk, of course. If they nab you, you have to go. That's all there is to it. We of the Workers Party and YPSL (Youth Section, W.P.) are going to do the same thing. We're not going to try to hide from the fate of our fellow workers the way the followers of preacher Norman Thomas do.

So I guess you must be wondering what's going to happen to you now—what you're going to do in the draft camps. You and the millions of others like you. Guys who are good union men, hard workers, who don't want to trouble anybody, but are ready to fight against Fascists at the drop of a hat. Well, I'm writing this to you to sound off on my ideas again.

You know, Joe, it was funny how you and I got along together in the union. Most of the fellows knew I was a radical, a Trotskyite, and of course they didn't agree with my ideas. You for example were always going around with these big Roosevelt buttons on your lapel telling everyone who wanted to listen—and even those who didn't—what FDR had done for the working man. And you thought that my ideas about Socialism, even though they sounded OK, were a little far-fetched.

But the funny thing was that we usually agreed on things that had to be done right away. We saw eye to eye about the need for kicking out the pie-card artists who were shaking down the union at the time we joined. And neither

of us could stand the slimy stooges of Earl Browder who tried to jack the union onto whatever bandwagon Uncle Joe was on at the moment.

And the payoff was that you who always talked about trusting FDR—when it came to a strike, or when it came to any kind of union action were always up front battling it out. You never really trusted a politician on anything in your life (except on Election Day, when you sort of went nuts and voted for the bosses man.)

You always said that the only way to win a strike was for the union men themselves to go out there and fight like the devil. You knew that workers win on the picket line, not in the conference room. The only trouble, in my opinion, was that you didn't apply your ideas about strikes to other things.

So we got along together pretty well. Because whatever our disagreements on politics, we both were pretty militant union men. And now I think, John, that you've got to remember your ideas about unions a thousand times more—now that you've been conscripted. Because that's what's most important about getting into the army—REMEMBER THAT YOU'RE STILL A UNION MAN! Just because the bosses force you into their army for 30 bucks a month, is no reason why you should forget it.

Remember the old union slogan: In union there is strength. The same thing holds true for the army. Now I don't mean that when you get to camp you should get up on a table and start making speeches, or start a union of the boys in camp and pass out union books! Because if you do that, all that will happen will be that they'll put you in the guard house—and it'll serve you right.

So you're not going to do any-

thing as stupid as that. But remember—if the men in the camp have a beef (and there'll be plenty—the guys in Fort Dix nearly started a riot about getting their pay late) the only way they can get it satisfied is by sticking together. If you guys want to cut out discrimination against the Negro men, or if you want the right to vote in the elections or if you want better eats or more heat—just remember the old union slogan.

They'll probably call anyone who opens his trap a "Fifth Columnist" or a Red. But that shouldn't get you down. You know that's what they call every union man who puts up a fight.

And there's another important way you can remain a good union man. The blue-blooded, labor-hating officers will probably make little speeches every now and then in which they'll try to smear the

(Continued on page 2)

Everyone has his number now—whether he likes it or not. Everyone is wondering now, not whether conscription is desirable or not, but rather: what to do now?

We, of the Young Peoples Socialist League (Youth Section, Workers Party,) were the most consistent and clear-cut fighters against the conscription bill. We opposed it, not on any vague humanitarian grounds, but rather because we saw it as a vital step towards the entry of America into the war. We saw it as another preparation of American capitalism to plunge the people into war and to totalitarianize the country. We still believe that to be true. We remain the unceasing fighters against the plans of Wall Street and America's 60 Families who would drag us into a war to pull Morgan's chestnuts out of the fire, while masquerading it as a "democratic crusade against fascism."

But while still insisting on our above analysis of the reasons for conscription, we also understand how the average young American feels: Well you guys may be right about what you say as to the reason for passing the conscription bill, but what should I do now?

If you have to go, you'll just have to. (See column 1 for our reasons for opposing pacifist conscientious objection.) We aren't pacifists. We aren't adverse to learning some of the things that the army will teach us.

But to merely go, like a whipped cur dragging his tail behind him, would be a tragic surrender on the part of American youth to the war makers. To the question: What shall I do now? we answer: Here is a program for Joe Draftee to fight for. Here are the things he needs.

Study this program. There's nothing so "unreasonable" about it. Don't forget—the bosses are piling in plenty of cash on war profiteering. We're asked to sacrifice our lives for their war on which they're coining oodles of dough. We can at least fight for the following program as our demands for draftees:

- 1) FULL POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR ALL DRAFTEES! In actual fact, many drafted men will be denied the right to vote. There is no reason for such a state of affairs. Guarantee the political rights of drafted men!
- 2) FULL DEMOCRATIC RIGHT OF SOLDIERS TO ASSEMBLE UNDER THEIR OWN AUSPICES FOR POLITICAL DISCUSSION! If this is a "war for democracy", why not allow those who may die "for it" to practise it. Let men in the corps have the right to receive whatever political literature they wish, to publish their own uncensored papers, and to be able to discuss the issues that affect their lives.

3) THE RIGHT TO RETAIN THEIR PREVIOUS POLITICAL AND TRADE UNION CONNECTIONS DURING MILITARY SERVICE! Remember, you're still a union man, you're still a working man and you should be able to exercise this right OPENLY.

4) RAISE THE MINIMUM PAY TO \$60 A MONTH! If the bosses can rake in millions, give the youth at least enough to live on. Newspaper reports from Camp Dix, for example, show that prices are sky high and the present wage of \$36 a month is nowhere near enough.

5) ABOLISH ANY AND ALL RACIAL AND POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE ARMY! Drive Jim-Crow out of the army!

This is our program for Joe Draftee. It's what belongs by all rights to American youth. And it's American youth's job to fight for it—no matter who opposes it!

(Continued on page 2)

Why The Critics Didn't Like Chaplin's Speech

By KARL KRAMER

Almost without exception, the movie critics of the prostitute press have praised "The Great Dictator" . . . except for Charlie Chaplin's concluding speech. For some reason they didn't like it.

One bright critic said it was "Communist propaganda;" another that the speech came two years too late; still another that it was "out of character."

Chaplin is no communist. Certainly he is no Stalinist. But neither is he a war-monger beating the drums for Wall Street and the Bank of England. He hates Hitlerism, not alone as an outbreak of fury of sadistic storm troopers but as part of a civilization, a way of life in disintegration.

(Continued on page 2)

Movies

By KARL KRAMER

"The Great Dictator"

(Continued from page 1)

Mistaken for the terrible Hynkel, dictator of Tomania, the little Jewish barber finds himself in the vanguard of the army invading Osterlich. Elevated to the speaker's rostrum, he delivers a passionate speech not alone against Hitlerism but also against the corrupt social order that has borne, suckled and raised him. That is what the critics of the kept press did not like. "In this world," says Chaplin, "there is room for everyone. And the good earth is rich and can provide for everyone. The way of life can be free and beautiful, but we have lost the way. Greed has poisoned men's souls, has barricaded the world with hate, has goose-stepped us into misery and bloodshed. . . . Machinery that gives abundance has left us in want. . . . "Even now," says the little barber to the assembled hordes of Tomanian soldiers, "my voice is reaching millions throughout the world—millions of despairing men, women and little children—victims of a system that makes men torture and imprison innocent people. . . . "You, the people have the power, the power to create machines, the power to create happiness! You the people have the power to make this life free and beautiful, to make this life a wonderful adventure. Then, in the name of democracy, let us use that power; let us all unite. Let us fight for a new world, a decent world that will give men a chance to work, that will give youth a future and old age a security. . . . Now let us fight to free the world, to do away with national barriers, to do away with greed, with hate and intolerance. Let us fight for a world of reason, a world where science, where progress will lead to the happiness of us all. Soldiers! In the name of democracy, let us unite! And for once the word "democracy" is not a hollow phrase. It does not ring false because it is charged with meaning for the people.

Chaplin pleads for the millions who are "victims of a system that makes men torture and imprison innocent people." He pleads because he has not yet learned that he must demand. He calls on the people to "do away with national barriers" instead of calling for the extermination of the German people at the hands of Wall Street. That is what displeases the hiring press. How they must writhe at the thought that here is one who cannot be labelled a "fifth columnist." This is written in praise; praise neither lavish nor untempered, but praise. "The Great Dictator" is not Chaplin's best; "Modern Times" was a greater film by far. It is a satiric indictment of fascism. That and that alone is its justification. As motion picture art, Chaplin's latest is lacking in unity and power. At best, it is a series of disjointed episodes that burlesque the Nazi regime and its Fuehrer. Its satire is not sustained nor is it sufficiently pointed. It suffers from a superficial comic brilliance that overlooks many of the social implications of its theme. Perhaps, as Chaplin himself suggests, we have lost the capacity for laughter. The booming guns in Europe is much too close and deadly. Chaplin has striven to use the material of tragedy for satire. It is not his fault if, in good measure, he fails in the attempt. The little man with the mustache is his usual competent pantomimic self. But as Hynkel, the dictator, lies on his desk playfully tossing a rubber balloon ball back and forth, throwing it into the air, watching it bounce, whirling it on his fingertips, the laughs die down. The light-hearted, light-minded mood vanishes. This is the tragedy of a bankrupt civilization. It will not be long before "The Great Dictator" is forgotten. But as the passionately honest testimonial of a sincere anti-fascist and a great artist, don't miss it.

Ted Lyons Writes a Letter on the Elections, Chicago Poolrooms, Draft and Turkish Baths

Hello Jim—

Now that the elections are over, Chicago's West Side can relax. It must've been a helluva strain on all our civic leaders from Kelly and Jake Arvey down to Mickey, our vote-slap-happy precinct captain—what with the stupendous job of tripling Chicago's population on such short notice. According to the votes cast the 24th Ward must alone be twice the size of New York. But you know our city's motto; "Keep Chicago Ahead!"—and boy are they doing it! Any day now I expect to hear that Judge Jarecki has held another of his investigations and sentenced a flock of Republicans for vote fraud and illegal residence within Chicago's city limits. Between Hague-Kelly on one side, and the Grundy machine and others of the G.O.P. stripe, this election has, if anything, proven that the census was all wrong and that Willkie might've gotten in if his boys had a chance to "water" the votes the way they've "watered" the stocks in his corporation. I heartily agree with both F.D.R. and W.L.W.—they both said the other guy was going to drag us into war—and they're both right.

Well pal, it looks like the numbers racket has become official. The Jones Boys of the South Side and Paishkie of the Lawndale Poolroom—these small fry in the numbers racket—have now been replaced by the Knox, Stimson, and Roosevelt outfit. And playing their game isn't voluntary . . . but look at the stakes you get if you hold the lucky number! A complete outfitting in the latest men's wear, a year's vacation with pay, and your room and board free!

(In fact about the only private thing you'll have in the army is your rank.) But you will have a 2x4 bunk all to yourself and the bedbugs.

A few days ago I was walking along the street and I came upon a "Join the Army and See the World" poster that had various scenes of army activity. One of the pictures was that of the Army Transport I worked on last month which carried troops up to Alaska. Let me tell you something about it and you'll know what you're in for in the army of the U.S.

ALASKAN FIASCO

The troops we carried on this old tub were all young fellows of our age. Most of them came from the poor hard working share-cropper families of Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. These fellows were lured into the army by the prospect of 3-squares a day and a place to bunk. They were bamboozled into going to Alaska by promises that would have brought a blush of shame to even Wendell Willkie. The boys were told everything: Alaska is a land of adventure and beauty . . . nothing is too good for the army up there . . . they were promised everything from Florida sunshine to Turkish harems.

Conditions on the ship gave these young soldiers a taste of what was coming. They were herded down into the Bottom part of the ship, and packed into dilapidated bunks, so that you'd think they were a cargo of salmon. Their food was cheap, and sloppy. Seasickness saved them from eating most of it.

I used to go out on the deck to talk to these boys after supper. They were a sorry lot—they looked as bad as my kid brother does after the Sox lose a tough one. And they certainly had their fill of army life. They hated the army. They made no bones over their dislike of the rigid discipline, and the police-minded officers. They didn't like the idea of the officers living in the ship's best private cabins, eating the best food—while they lay vomiting over one another in the stinking hold of the ship's bottom.

And what a surprise awaited these fellows

(Continued on page 4)

Chi YPSL Fights For Civil Rights

By S.W.

CHICAGO—In order to carry its fight against war to the entering freshman at the University of Chicago, the local unit of the YPSL tried to arrange for a meeting on the U. of C. campus during freshman week. Permission to hold this meeting on the campus was, however, denied by the university administration which is concentrating on whipping up a war hysteria. But the YPSL, determined to present its point of view to the freshmen, arranged to hold its meeting in a private apartment near the campus and distributed a leaflet announcing it.

No sooner was the meeting started when a squad of plain clothesmen invaded the apartment in which it was being held. The fact that they had no warrant, and therefore no right to enter a private home, meant nothing to these dicks; they had their orders and civil liberties could go to hell.

The members of the YPSL protested strongly, but to no avail; the meeting was forced to break up. But the cops, not satisfied with breaking up the meeting, dragged off one of the YPSL members to jail for "questioning."

This flagrant violation of civil liberties has aroused much feeling on the U. of Chicago campus. Strong protests have been lodged with the police department and the local alderman. Their only response has been to gloss the whole incident over.

Indispensable, Eh?

The Kiplinger News Letter, confidential Washington press service for leading business men, informs its readers that sons of business men can evade the draft by pleading that they are indispensable to their business or to "national defense."

If you work in a factory and make, lets say, \$16 a week then you're not indispensable to "national defense" even if your family needs the money to keep going. After all, you only work for a living.

But if your boss has a lazy, good-for-nothing son who's been made a Vice-President in the company, then the boss can declare him indispensable. According to draft regulations, he'll most likely be exempted.

Listen, Girls

By JUDY STONE

"I'm sorry, miss, but when I go down to the terminal market, they just laugh at me, if I offer any less for it. Sugar always goes up during a war." It was almost a year ago, and the little man in the grocery store was a little bit bewildered and a lot angry.

It wasn't a rich neighborhood, and he knew most of his customers couldn't afford the extra penny a pound on sugar, but what could he do? Sugar always goes up during a war, sugar and everything else. If you've been out for a new dress recently you know. Silk is way up. Countries are more interested in raising cannon fodder and munitions plants now than silkworms. Wool, too. Maybe the English sheep got scared by aerial attacks. Or maybe, like sugar, and meat, and bread, it just happened "because there's a war," and everybody knows prices go up in wartime.

Or take the case of Nylon. They advertised it as the discovery of the age. It was going to revolutionize the hosiery industry, and eventually the whole clothing business. But try and buy a pair today. "Sor-

ry, we only get a dozen in each shipment. They're not making many now. I hear they're using a lot of it for war materials."

Or movies. It took a lot of shopping around, but you finally got hold of a decent dress for what you had to pay, and you want to use it. So you go to the movies, and get stung for an extra four cents—defense tax.

Or maybe you want a pack of cigarettes. Two or three cents more, depending on which state you live in. The only war that's troubling the country your tobacco comes from is a profits war—which doesn't make it so very different from the one that's being fought in England, and China, and the Mediterranean.

There's nothing here you didn't know before. But think it over for a minute. Food prices are going up when we have a food surplus. Silk and wool prices are going up, and the first really good discovery in the clothing field can't be used, because it pays a lot more when put into munitions. Movies, cigarettes, candy, cosmetics, for one reason or another, all cost more today. And it's only the beginning. We're not in the war yet.

Soviet "Education"

Dispatches from the Soviet Union inform us that free high school and college education, which had been instituted by the revolutionary government of Lenin and Trotsky, have just been abolished by the government of Stalin. Fees will now be charged for admission to these schools. Thus, with one swipe of the pen, Stalin removes one of the few achievements of the Russian revolution which have survived the reactionary Stalin government.

The excuse offered by the local Stalin apologists is that the people in the Soviet Union are now so well off that they can afford to pay for their education. (This whopper is dished out on the principle that the bigger a lie is the more people are likely to believe it!) But one can ask in return: if life in Stalinland has become so wonderful of late, and if there is such an abundance of joys and riches there, why is it necessary for the government to charge tuition fees for high school and college students? Why can they not offer this education as a free service of a government which is increasingly giving its people a better life . . . unless that government is really doing nothing of the kind? The real story is let out of the

bag by another decree of Stalin which provides for the creation of forced labor army of 1,000,000 to be composed of youth from 14 to 17. Instead of an education, Stalin offers the Russian youth forced labor. They couldn't afford the education, anyway!

This is the mockery and distortion to which Stalinist reaction has brought the first successful working class revolution.

Negro Youth Fight for Jobs

CHICAGO—A concrete example of how Negro youth can organize to fight for jobs and against Jim-Crowism was seen here by the organization of a group of 30 young Negroes in the South Side in order to start a mass job hunt. The movement is sponsored by the Urban League.

These unemployed Negro youth are proceeding to visit factories en masse, in the hope that they will be able to secure something other than the usual answer: "Come back later—much later." Not only are these youth looking for jobs but the yare also trying to break down the Jim-Crow policy of most large factories.

LIFE WITH THE BEDBUGS

Of course you may not like the type of vacation the boys have planned for you. I guess you'd rather go to the ball-game or gab with the drug store "field generals" than spend a good solid 10 hours in drilling and taking orders from a pot-belly with brass buttons who's so dumb he thinks the Mexican border pays rent. With your wages you'll be sure to have no income tax headaches. The clothes may not suit your bright taste and your room won't exactly be of the private type—it may house a regiment or two.

Explaining A Point In Our Program — Youth Demands The Right To Learn A Trade

One who has worked in a shop with skilled mechanics who were trained in Europe often hears them say, "I worked for four years without any salary, just for the privilege of learning a trade."

No one will deny that this is a miserable way of serving an apprenticeship. Many an American youth, however, would accept even such conditions in order to "get into a skilled occupation".

American industry has never developed an apprentice system, always having imported its skilled mechanics from abroad. As a result more than three quarters of American men are untrained in any skilled occupation and forty percent are untrained to do any kind of work.

Recently the trade schools and technical high schools have expanded their trade training facilities through federal grants. It took a war to make the government appropriate money for this purpose. But even so the majority of the youth are kept out because of lack of experience.

We of the Young Peoples Socialist League have a program for providing vocational training and jobs for every unemployed youth.

More Schools!

We demand that the federal government appropriate enough to open all the additional trade school facilities for use by American youth (more than 40% of available trade school facilities are still not in use because the recent congressional appropriation does not provide for enough instructors and materials). We further demand that idle factories and idle machinery in functioning factories shall be conscripted for trade school use.

We demand the right for every young worker to receive a minimum of ten hours of weekly instruction in a trade of his own choosing for the period of his employment. His total working hours and instruction hours should not exceed thirty hours weekly.

We demand the right of youth in such trade schools or projects to organize freely in associations or unions of their own choosing.

A Letter To Joe Draftee

(Continued from page 1)

unions—not of course the good "respectable" ones that knuckle under to the bosses, but the unions that fight. Again, you won't be able to say or do anything (unless you want to get into that guard house again.) But you'll have to speak to the other men afterwards and show up the anti-labor propaganda. You'll find a lot of the other guys are for unions too, even if they have to keep their mouths shut.

Well, these are the things you'll have to do as a union man. But I just have to say a few words about politics. After all what's going to happen after conscription? We all know that it's a step towards war. That's why the great majority of American unions opposed it. And don't you see that this war is coming regardless of what FDR may say?

And what do we have to face after conscription? A war? Or looking for a job that doesn't exist? It doesn't look so bright. I still think Socialism is the only thing that can give us a way out. But I'll sign off here. Write to me from camp, if you can.

Books

By HAROLD ANDERSON

Lenin Writes On The Youth

A new volume in the "Little Lenin Library" called *The Young Generation* has just been issued. Selling for 15¢, it contains a few of Lenin's writings on the youth.

For the habitual reader of Lenin, there is nothing very new in this little pamphlet. The same ideological precision, the same revolutionary passion are present in these few scraps as in every other line which Lenin ever wrote.

Despite the fact that there was never any real revolutionary youth organization in Russia before 1917, Lenin showed a keen interest in youth problems. The first selection in this pamphlet is an article written in 1901 on the occasion of a series of student strikes and demonstrations which led to drafting of 183 students into the Russian army as a form of punishment. The Russian students at this time were just beginning to stir; they fought for the most simple and elementary of academic rights. As a result they were severely punished by the Czarist police, and their leaders were drafted into the army. In this article Lenin writes in passionate defense of the students whose struggle for liberty was but a preview of what was to happen to the entire nation.

There follows an excerpt from one of Lenin's letters written in 1905. This magnificently energetic and driving letter in which Lenin appeals to a party co-worker to initiate work among the youth. It fairly bristles with energy. Listen: ". . . all that is needed is more widely and boldly, more boldly and widely, again more widely and again more boldly to recruit young people, and not to be afraid of them . . . it will not be terrible if they make a mistake; we will 'mildly' correct them . . . Only you

must unflinchingly organize, organize and organize hundreds of circles . . ."

Then follows an article on the role of the student youth. He writes in reply to a questioner who asked him if the working class party should support a student movement which struggles solely on academic issues and does not yet understand the political implications of its struggle Lenin answers that it would be sectarian to refrain from such a struggle, since it is being sincerely conducted against the reactionary powers, and since it is the beginning symptom of other, more important actions on the part of the working class. "It is our duty," writes Lenin, "to explain to the mass of 'academic' protestors the objective significance of this conflict, to try to make it a conscious one . . ."

The fourth selection is a review of the magazine *Youth International*, published by a group of young German Socialists during the war who were moving in the direction of Lenin's internationalism. The article is an example of Lenin's understanding of how to handle a youth organization: the warmest solidarity and praise for its revolutionary perspective, yet sharp, if comradely, criticism of its political errors.

Then follows Lenin's well known speech to the youth in which he describes the tasks of the young revolutionist as primarily self-education and participation in the class struggle. This speech had previously been published as a separate pamphlet.

The entire pamphlet is extremely interesting and informative; it provides additional testimony to Lenin's many-sided revolutionary genius as a leader of the working class.

THE WORKERS GAINED THEIR FIRST VICTORY!

Ten Days That Shook the World!



By BERNARD PASTON

The Jews of every country, even to this very day, tell and retell the story of their ancient liberation from the oppressive hand of the Egyptian Pharaohs. Not for the glory of God nor even in praise of his dubious mercy, the workers of every country must tell and retell the tale of their greatest victory, the Russian Revolution. They must tell it, retell it and tell it once more to learn its lessons and to prepare for the greater victories yet to come.

February, 1917. A world at war. Winter grips the Continent as millions of men stand at their stations in the third year of Europe's disaster. The cheers have long since died to mocking whistles. Once proud flags hang limp and stiff with cold. War has become a deadly crushing duty.

Suddenly, unheralded and unexpected, the Russian Revolution blazed across the overcast skies of Europe. It brought hope to millions and struck fear into the heart of the ruling class. Almost overnight, the world awoke to the fact that the centuries-old Romanov dynasty was no more. Kindled by the suffering brought on by the war but fed by the fuel of countless years of misery and resentment, the Revolution which had begun with demonstrations went on to the overthrow of Czarism.

The Monarchy Falls: But The Bosses Remain

By February, 1917, very few people supported the dynasty. Even the white-collared gentlemen who owned the fields and factories of Russia were critical of the monarchy. Its corruption was legendary, its police were everywhere. The royal court was the happy hunting ground of speculators and profiteers. It was whispered that the Czarina herself wished for a German victory over Russia. Alone, despised and distrusted, the royal pair went to their destruction.

Millions of Russia's peasants were landless. Other millions were hemmed in on plots of land too small to sustain them. They lacked the ma-

chinery for intensive cultivation and they lacked the means to obtain it.

Millions suffered from the misrule of the Czar, the bureaucrats of his police-state and the few giant landowners. Ukrainians, Jews and others felt the lash of national and religious oppression. Everywhere, life and thought were stifled by the brutal censorship and the police.

The prisons were jammed with political prisoners of every description, from the mildest critic of the monarchy to the Bolsheviks who demanded the overthrow of the Czar and a democratic republic. The Czar's answer to criticism or opposition: the knout, a prison cell or exile. Czarism was a top-heavy giant that fell almost of its own weight. But it was the working men and women of Russia, particularly of the capital and the other great cities, who dealt it the deathblow.

The party of the landlords and capitalists tried to save the monarchy. Nicholas II had to go. The masses in the streets, the rebellious soldiers and the peasants in turbulent unrest made it impossible for him to continue. Perhaps another could be found to take his place, the Grand Duke Michael or the Czar's son, Nicholas.

The Workers Take To The Streets

The workers would not hear of it. The journalists and politicians who for years had politely requested the Czar to grant the country a constitution sadly set about the task of constructing a republic. How the bourgeois "democrats" trembled when the revolutionary workers took to the streets! How they cursed when the republic became a reality.

The new Provisional Government, in a public proclamation, promised the election of a national constituent assembly that would determine the constitution of the new Russia. It declared that Russians could now speak, write and assemble freely. The workers had the right to organize unions and strike. Even the soldiers were to be given civil rights. But . . . not one word was said about the war.

"The entire Manifesto of the new government," wrote Lenin, the Bolshevik leader from his exile in Zurich, "inspires one with the greatest distrust for it consists only of promises and does not carry into life any of the most essential measures that could and should be fully realized right now. In its program the new government does not say anything about the eight-hour day or other improvements in the economic condition of the workers; it

says nothing about land for the peasants, about transferring, without compensation, all of the landowners' land. By keeping silent on these vital questions, it reveals its capitalist and landowning nature . . . The new government cannot bring peace because it represents the capitalists of England and France. . . .

"The revolutionary proletariat, therefore cannot but view the revolution of March 14 (Western calendar—B.P.) as its first, though far from complete, victory along its glorious course; it cannot but assume the task of continuing the struggle to achieve a democratic republic and Socialism."

Three days after the establishment of the Provisional Government, Lenin had clearly formulated the great accomplishments and the new tasks of the Russian proletariat.

"Bolshevism" Means International Socialism

In April, 1917, Lenin returned to Russia in the famous "sealed train." The Kaiser thought that Lenin's return to Russia, together with a number of other socialists of various parties, would weaken the Provisional Government and help Germany win the war. But the Kaiser miscalculated. As General Ludendorff was forced to admit years later, Bolshevism was one of the most important factors in the disintegration of the Imperial German Army as well as the Russian. Bolshevism was not simply Russian. It was and it is international socialism.

Intoxicated with victory, the "socialists" of Russia had come to the support of the Provisional Government. Even certain Bolsheviks, among them Stalin and Molotov, were ready to support the imperialist government that was fighting for profits and new territories to exploit.

We must not support the Provisional Government, said Lenin. The workers must fight for their own government, the government of their own independent elected bodies, a government of the Soviets. In May, Trotsky arrived in Petrograd from America to add his voice to Lenin's. "All power to the Soviets!"

In 1905, the workers had rebelled against Czarism and been beaten back. But in the struggle there came into being for the first time the Soviets. Democratic to the core, they were bodies of workers themselves. Divided in its political beliefs, the proletariat united in the Soviets for common action against the enemy. Now in 1917, in the struggle against the war, for the democratic republic which the professional "democrats" of the Provisional Government sought to sabotage,

for land, for the peasants, the workers' Soviets once again came into being. This time they were joined by the soldiers' and peasants' Soviets.

All Power To The Soviets!

"The fundamental political process of the revolution," Trotsky has said. ". . . consists in the gradual comprehension by a class of the problems arising from the social crisis—the active orientation of the masses by a method of successive approximations." Through the months, the Russian masses "by a method of successive approximations" moved toward the left. The Cabinet of the Provisional Government was shuffled and shuffled once more, each time in response to the leftward pressure of the masses. In July came the armed demonstration against the government. The workers were impatient. But the peasants were not yet ready for action. The Bolsheviks who had opposed the idea of the demonstration nevertheless placed themselves at its head once they saw the masses could not be dissuaded. The place of a revolutionary party is with the masses in action. It must fight and learn with them and teach them through struggle, not from afar.

The "July days" drove the Bolsheviks into illegality. The Provisional Government imprisoned Trotsky. Lenin fled to Finland. The counter-revolution gloated. The Bolsheviks, on whom they pinned the label of "German spies," were smashed. But they gloated too soon.

At the end of August, the reactionary General Kornilov attempted a coup d'etat. Before he reached Petrograd, his soldiers had gone over to the people. Kornilov was arrested.

Soviet after Soviet, in city after city, went over to the Bolsheviks. Across the vast plains and steppes of Russia, the masses were echoing the cry of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. "All power to the Soviets!"

On October 10 the Bolshevik Central Committee finally adopted Lenin's resolution placing armed insurrection on the immediate order of the day. Even they had hesitated at the crucial moment. But Lenin did not falter. "All power to the Soviets!"

On October 25, 1917 the Bolsheviks and the All-Russian Congress of Soviets seized state power. The Russian Revolution had been accomplished.

Socialism Lives And Fights On—Despite Stalin

Twenty-three years after the Bolshevik Revolution the workers of Russia have lost the political power they seized in 1917. The leaders of the Revolution itself have been murdered by the butcher who rules in the Kremlin. The blood of Leon Trotsky, victim of a Stalinist assassin, had hardly dried as these words are written.

But the Socialist Revolution lives and it yet shall conquer! The Russian workers, too, will once again lift their heads together with the workers of other lands. Out of the chaos and destruction of the Second World War will come a new world, a workers' world.

STATEMENT OF THE YOUNG PEOPLES SOCIALIST LEAGUE ON THE FOURTH YOUTH INTERNATIONAL

The National Council of the Young Peoples Socialist League by virtue of the authority vested in it by the recently held National Convention of the Young Peoples Socialist League takes cognizance of the statement of the Workers Party (printed below); and in line with this statement, the National Council hereby declares in the name of the Young Peoples Socialist League the suspension of any connections with the Fourth Youth International.

National Council, Young Peoples Socialist League (Youth Section, Workers Party)

STATEMENT OF THE WORKERS PARTY ON THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The Voorhis Bill, which provides that all organizations having foreign connections shall register with the government and supply it with a list of its members, has passed both houses of Congress and, after being signed by the President, has become a law.

Up to the time of the adoption of the Voorhis Bill, the Workers Party has listed itself as a Section of the Fourth International. By virtue of the authority vested in it by the plenary session of the National Committee of the Party held recently, the Political Committee hereby declares, in the name of the Workers Party, the suspension of any connections with the Fourth International.

This action and declaration in no wise signifies any alteration in the fundamental principles and policies of the Workers Party or in the adherence of the Workers Party to the fundamental principles which have always been the foundation stones of the movement that established and built the Fourth International.

A statement by the Workers Party on its political attitude towards the Fourth International will be issued shortly.

POLITICAL COMMITTEE, WORKERS PARTY

Nicholas Murray Butler Beats the War Drums of Intellectual Reaction

The problem of the relation of the American college to the war crisis has been raised in sharp form by a recent speech of Nicholas (Miraculous) Butler, president of Columbia University.

Were Butler's speech merely an individual quirk of reaction, there would be slight need to comment on it. But that is not the case. Butler speaks as the advance guard of American intellectual reaction; most of the educators and intellectuals who today throw up their hands in horror at Butler's renunciation of academic liberty will tomorrow follow in his footsteps as the war crisis sharpens.

Butler puts himself out on a limb; he says frankly that 1) Students can have no academic liberty and 2) Teachers can have academic liberty only if they do not attack the status quo, that is, the war mongers.

Butler works out an ingenious theory. The primary intellectual responsibility of the university, he says, is that of "university freedom," the development of understanding of the reasons why a defense program is being instituted (i.e. the propagation of a war hys-

teria). When the academic liberty of the teacher conflicts with this "university freedom," that is when the teacher speaks out against the imperialist war, he is going to be booted out.

School Like A Church Not accidentally, Butler compares

The CHALLENGE OF YOUTH
 Subscription: 25c a year
 Published monthly
 Vol. I, No. 6 (New Series)
 (Whole No. 38)
 NOVEMBER 20, 1940
 Organ of the
YOUNG PEOPLES SOCIALIST LEAGUE
 YOUTH SECTION, WORKERS PARTY
 114 W. 14th St. (3rd Floor)
 New York, N. Y.
 Editor: Irving Howe
 Bus. Manager: Edith Carlton

the university to a church and says: If someone disagrees with a church, he quits. Likewise with a school.

But the university, unlike the church which is devoted to the propagation of a specific theological dogma, should serve as an investigator of scientific, social and cultural problems. When a University has a political program to put forward—and a reactionary one at that—it can be so only because the university is controlled by capitalism (in this specific case, by the House of Morgan whose representatives form a majority of the Board of Trustees of Columbia.)

No "liberal" educator has yet shown the courage or understanding to expose the pro-war political significance of Butler's speech. They do not object to Butler's dictum that the university should enlist in the war parade. They merely want more "flexibility" in carrying out that objective. Tomorrow they will forget about that flexibility.

Once again, the comfortable recess of student life is invaded. Either . . . or. Either with Butler and the war-mongering, dictatorial reaction . . . or the Socialist struggle for freedom and peace.

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 _____

GENERAL JIM-CROW STILL RUNS THE U. S. DRAFT ARMY

Ted Lyons Writes On Elections, Turkish Bath, etc.

(Continued from page 2)

when they got to Alaska. Few people, cold and rain, a drab, dreary existence. The bungling bureaucrats of the U.S. Army had shipped over too many soldiers and the boys were forced to live in small pup-tents in the mud and cold. High prices made their miserable wages look even worse. Sixty cents for a quart of milk, six-bits for bacon and eggs, fifty-five cents for a film in a rundown movie house, two-bits for a glass of prohibition beer—and so on down the line. "The Army Builds Men!" . . . and kills 'em too.

In a Seattle movie house I saw a newsreel of FDR speaking on the draft. Geezus—the man's got more brass than the U.S. Army and Navy Band combined! His speech was tragically funny—if that is possible. When he smilingly remarked how democratically the army was run—I saw the stinking hold full of vomiting soldiers. When he glibly announced that the army will build healthy bodies and minds—I saw the lack of any chance of educating one's self, the silly, despicable orders, the unsanitary conditions, the boys lined up before the doctor's office for their syphilis and gonnoreah treatments. When he graciously assured everyone that all this was being handled by competent, honest and sincere patriotic politicians—I saw the Kelly-Nash machine handing out jobs to their henchmen, fixing things up for the right guys. What a dirty fraud they're trying to put over on us!

UNCLE SAM AND HIS SOLDIERS

But by golly—they can't keep this up for long and get away with it—no sir! Everywhere—from the U.S. Army boys on the ship I was on to the fellows with and without jobs throughout the country—everywhere—guys like you and me are being regimented and whipped into line, pushed into a militarized barrack-life existence and gotten ready to "fight fascism" (read: rival bosses) with our type of totalitarianism. How long can it last? You tell me the guys in your plant are muttering—uncertain about their future—hating the draft. It's the same all over—nobody's hot for this numbers racket. Soldiers hate the order of things today. When one of these army fellows—a young Okie of about 18 years—bitterly commented to me: "So this is the way Uncle Sam treats his soldiers!" it sounded to me like just a faint rumble—a warning to the bosses that they better lay off—or sooner or later there's gonna be hell to pay!

Well Jim—I guess this'll hold you 'til the next letter. Say, don't miss Chaplin's "The Great Dictator". It's damned good. Write and tell me what you think of it. And by the way . . . Mussolini's panting army reminds me of your late Golden Glove career.

So Long,

TED

A SERIES OF FIVE LECTURES

By

MAX SHACHTMAN

on

Fascism and War

Manhattan Plaza

4th Street bet. 2nd and 3rd Aves., New York

ON FIVE SUNDAY NITES BEGINNING

NOVEMBER 24, 1940

Negro Youth! Organize To Smash Jim-Crowism!

In the adjoining column is printed the factual record of Jim-Crowism in conscription. It gives the details of how the government has steadily and deliberately Jim-Crowed Negro citizens.

It is not a pretty picture. The facts show that the attitude towards the Negro which is prevalent in the South has been carried over into the army throughout the country. The facts show that the Negro worker or youth who in civilian life has to suffer as the underdog, who in civilian life has to take all the lousy jobs for the lowest wages and under the worst conditions—that this Negro worker or youth will play the same role in the U.S. Army.

And the Negro people understand this. A recent article in the Baltimore Afro-American describes the remarkable reaction of Southern Negroes to the draft. Resentment, anger, hatred—these words sum it up. And justly so, too. For even in the preparation for death the Negro is made to suffer humiliation.

On the day of draft registration, the N.Y. Post ran a story which gives another indication of the reaction of the Negro to the draft. One of their reporters visited Harlem and told of overhearing some Negro boys saying: "The only time they want us is when there's some fighting to be done."

Where then is all this talk about "democracy?" What does it mean to a Southern Negro boy who is conscripted and has to suffer the unspeakable indignity of being a servant to a Southern "lily-white" officer, who has unlimited powers over him, and who can bring him before a court-martial

if the Negro dares to open his mouth in protest against an indignity?

They point to Hitler. But we point to Alabama, to Georgia, to Florida, to the U.S. Congress which refuses to pass an anti-lynch bill, to the army which Jim-Crows Negroes. Do the politicians think that the Negro people are just a bunch of cattle who, even when they are being led to the slaughter, can be treated like slaves?

President Roosevelt in his statement throws a colossal insult at the Negro people when he says that this Jim-Crow policy "has been proven satisfactory." What a vile, filthy lie! What a monstrous insult to the American Negroes!

For whom has this Jim-Crow policy been proven satisfactory? For the Negro, for the workers, for any decent person who believes in justice? Of course not! It has been proven satisfactory only for the Ku Klux Klan, the Nazi Bundists and Negro haters throughout the country. And the President dares to make such a vile statement!

Negro youth can expect only more indignities, more segregation, more misery, more Jim-Crowism if they place any faith in the old capitalist parties, in the rotten politicians. Either Negro youth will struggle with its white brothers—the workers who believe in freedom for everybody—or it will continue to suffer. The time has come to raise a hue and cry: AGAINST ANY SORT OF COLOR OR RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE CONSCRIPT ARMY!

We young Socialists pledge ourselves to take a leading role in that fight.

Chi South Side Wins Housing Fight

By T. S.

CHICAGO—I have just returned from the dedication of the Ida B. Wells housing project here on the South Side of Chicago. For several hours various politicians spoke at great length. They talked mostly about themselves. They told the 2,000 neighborhood Negro workers present of their untiring efforts which "made possible" this magnificent spectacle.

As I wandered through the crowd I picked up bits of chat consisting of cynical remarks on how much baloney the politicians were shooting, and sincere comments in approval of the project.

It was more than just approval. A sense of pride could be seen in the people's faces. They were proud, not of the "untiring efforts" of the politicians, which they well knew were used in favor of the real estate associations in an attempt to kill the project, but rather they were proud of their own untiring efforts which have been directed for the past 5 years in a splendid militant struggle for decent housing. Yes, it was truly a workers' victory. When I think of the rent strikes, picket lines, protest meetings, demonstrations to lift injunctions, etc., which were carried on by such militant organizations as the South Side Action Committee, I wonder how these politicians have nerve enough to speak of "their" untiring efforts.

The most significant part of the dedication was not to be found on the speakers platform but rather on the lips of the people. It was their attitude toward the slum area that surrounds the project on all four sides. They have seen what

The Filthy Jim-Crow Record Of A Stalinist "Peace Meet"

By S.W.

CHICAGO—Over the Labor Day weekend there was held here a meeting which the Stalinist Communist Party and all its stooges made a great fuss about. This meeting was called the "Emergency Mobilization," and its purpose was, according to its Stalinist sponsors, to mobilize the people against war. The ballyhoo which was issued before the meeting convinced many workers, Negro and white, that this was actually a meeting called in the fight against war. But no sooner had they arrived in Chicago when the hoax was laid bare for them to see.

The New York delegation arrived in Chicago on Saturday afternoon and went to the Morrison Hotel for lodging. When it got there, the management refused to house the Negro delegates. They were told that the housing committee of the "Peace Conference" had agreed that Negro delegates would not be allowed to stay in the same hotel as their white friends, but would have to get lodging on the South Side. When the delegates heard this, they grew very indignant and immediately formed a picket line in front of the hotel. Representatives were sent to the housing committee of the "Peace Conference", which was composed entirely of Stalinists to

demand an explanation. Some Answer! Instead of that, they got the following angry reply: "Why didn't you ask us before picketing the hotel?" But when the same thing happened to the Minnesota delegation and when they formed a picket line in front of Hamilton Hotel, the Stalinists were forced to declare that the housing committee had made a "mistake" (!) and that it would not happen again. By this time however, the delegates were thoroughly disillusioned about the meeting. One of the workers on the picket line in front of the Morrison Hotel made the following statement:

"I came to this meeting thinking that it was a meeting against war. I knew that the Stalinists were playing a big part in it, but that didn't faze me as long as I thought that I was fighting against war. But when the housing committee agreed to not allowing the Negro delegates lodging in the downtown hotels, that was the pay-off.

"If the workers want to stay out of war, they've got to fight against the whole boss system. That means against Jim-Crowism. The fact that the Stalinists allowed such a thing to happen shows that they do not want to fight against the boss system and its wars.

"I guess you people in the Workers Party and YPSL are right when you say that the only reason the Stalinists are talking against war in America is because of Stalin's pact with Hitler. Believe me, I'm off them for life."

How The U.S. Army Jim-Crows The Negro Soldier

The slightest doubt which could have existed in anyone's mind that the U.S. conscript army will be Jim-Crow and anti-Negro can now be dispelled by a mere recital of some startling events of the past month.

These facts prove demonstratively and conclusively that the army regime will continue to be Jim-Crow, that this policy is approved by President Roosevelt (Democrat) and Secretary of the Navy Knox (Republican). Here is the story, from the beginning, of Jim-Crow in conscription.

1) When the bill was first proposed, two amendments were made by Senator Wagner which, with the obvious intent of throwing sand into the eyes of the Negro population, were supposed to outlaw color discrimination in the army. This was hailed as "a great victory" . . . by Senator Wagner.

2) The value of this amendment was soon tested in practise. The results showed that Negroes would still be Jim-Crowed in the army.

A Negro paper, the Baltimore Afro-American, sent reporters to five cities to attempt to join the U.S. Aviation Corps. In each city they got the same answer: a flat rejection. One of their reporters applied for admission into the U.S. Navy in Washington, D.C. He was told that the only position open to him was that of a mess-hand or orderly, that is, as a servant of the Southern whites who are officers in the Navy. When this reporter objected on the grounds that an amendment to the conscription law outlawed color discrimination, the officer in charge answered, significantly enough: "We haven't had any further orders. The conscription bill hasn't changed the situation for us. As far as we're concerned, it's just as if nothing's happened."

3) A government announcement then informed the country that Negroes would be conscripted on a proportionate basis in preparation for Jim-Crow segregation in the army corps afterwards. That is, Negroes will be conscripted in proportion to their number in the population. In the camps in which they are taken to, despite the fact that separate Negro regiments will be formed, Negro soldiers will serve under white officers.

Negro Committee Is Given Run-Around

4) A committee of leading Negroes went to see President Roosevelt to protest against Negro discrimination in the army. This committee, composed of A. Phillip Randolph, T. Arnold Hill and Walter White, was given a merry run-around by Washington. Secretary of the Navy Knox said: "that while he was sympathetic, he felt that the problem was almost insoluble since men have to live together on the ships" and it is "obvious" that the reactionary Southern officers wouldn't tolerate equal rights for Negroes on the ships.

5) President Roosevelt, after his conference with these Negro leaders gave out the following statement:

"The policy of the War Department is not to intermingle colored and white enlisted personnel in the same regimental organizations. This policy has proven satisfactory over a long period of time and to make changes would produce situations destructive to morale and detrimental to the preparations for national defense.

"For similar reasons the department does not contemplate assigning colored reserve officers other than those of the medical corps and chaplains to existing Negro combat units of the regular army . . ."

For whom this policy of Jim-Crowism would be "satisfactory" the President does not say!

6) The White House then gave out a statement which implied that the Negro leaders who conferred with him had approved the above Jim-Crow statement. The Negro committee then issued an indignant reply, parts of which follow:

"We most vigorously protest your approval of War Department policy regarding Negroes in armed forces which precludes Negro officers except chaplains and doctors in regular army units . . . As recently as October first, the Adjutant General of the War Department wrote that "applications for flying cadet appointment or for enlistment in the Air Corps are not being accepted . . . We further question your statement that morale is splendid in existing Negro units of the regular army. Many enlisted men in these segregated units have made repeated protests at being forced to serve as hostlers and servants to white army officers."

7) The Baltimore Afro-American has recently sent a reporter to Southern areas asking Negroes what they think of the draft. The response is remarkable. Almost every Negro asked expresses a deep suspicion of the government draft, and a hatred for the Jim-Crowism which he is sure will exist there as well as in civilian life.

8) This, then, is where the matter stands now. Discrimination, segregation, Jim-Crow—no Negro officers assigned to Negro units, Negroes serving as servants of white officers—approved by President Roosevelt (Democrat) and Secretary of the Navy Knox (Republican). This is how the great capitalist democracy treat the Negro workers and youth.