

# Sham War-Profit Attack Fogs Munitions Quiz

## Student League Convention Endorses Anti-War Strike

Chicago—Meeting at Northwestern University, Dec. 27 and 28, the National Convention of the Student League for Industrial Democracy unanimously declared in favor of calling a nation-wide strike against war next April 6. One hundred undergraduate delegates, representing 57 colleges in 24 states, heard reports of continued organizational strides in organizing the campus for Socialism. Over 150 colleges were reported as having organized clubs affiliated with the League.

A vigorous resolution was adopted condemning the Hearst press for its character as the "primary propaganda agent of American Fascism." Only four votes in favor of an amalgamation proposal with the Communist-controlled National Student League were cast and reaffiliation with the similar-natured American League Against War and Fascism was also decisively defeated.

### New Executive Board

Al Hamilton, former University of California student, whose expulsion for refusal to take compulsory military training was recently upheld by the U. S. Supreme Court, was elected National Chairman of the Student L. I. D. Ruth Oxman was chosen Vice-Chairman, and Joe Lash was re-elected National Secretary. Others elected to the National Executive Committee are Monroe Sweetland, George Edwards, Morris Milgram, Len Lurie, George Mann, Florient, Donahue, Haskell, Spivak, Graham and Holloway. Sweetland and Edwards are to continue as full-time student organizers for the League.

Joseph Lash, League delegate to the Paris Conference of the International Socialist Student Federation, reported on the Conference and announced that it had voted to make international, the Student Strike Against War, initiated in this country last April 6th, with a one-hour absence from classes.

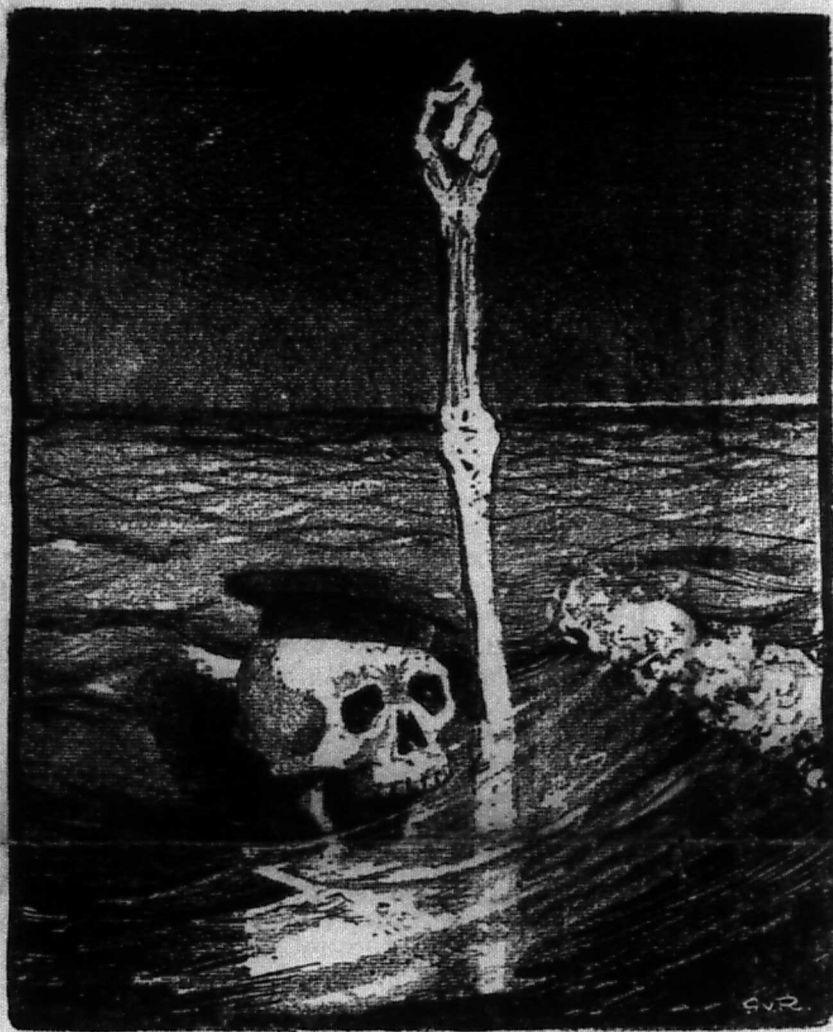
## BRITISH DOCTORS AFFIRM LINK WITH LABOR

London — The English doctor henceforth will be a trade unionist. He will carry a card of associate membership in the English Trades Union congress. The Medical Practitioners' union, with a membership of nearly 5,000 general practitioners and consultants was recently affiliated to Britain's labor federation. Professionals and other middle class groups, as indicated by this action, are more and more recognizing their true status in society.

## Japanese Students Against War

Even in war-fevered Japan the average student loathes military training. Authorities in the Japanese War Office are worried over possible results of an incident that took place in Kanazawa, on the western coast. An entire class of students in the Fourth Higher School mutinied during military maneuvers at the school and refused to continue these exercises. The usual red herring of "Communist activity" has been drawn across the trail.

## His Last Naval Conference



December 1934 saw the disintegration of the London Naval Conference when Japan's imperialists refused to accept naval limitation terms offered by the imperialists of the United States and Great Britain. A clash, with cannonading battleships instead of by smooth-tongued diplomats, appears ever nearer as Japan's ambitions ruffle those of the other powers. In that event, Jack Tar will find his "naval equality" beneath the waves.

## Educators Told Depression Means Youth Stagnation

New York — More than 5,000,000 young people between the ages of 16 and 25 are "stagnating" and may become permanent wards of society, unless they are promptly provided with educational and work opportunities.

That startling warning was sounded before the Progressive Education association last week by Prof. Mark A. May of Yale university, who declared that these victims of the depression are in a dangerous emotional state which "may break out in disastrous mass action or be turned inward with equally dire results."

### Ruling Class Invites Chaos

May said that these 5,000,000 men and women have been schooled to look forward to jobs, marriage and homes of their own, but emphasized that none of these normal desires can now be realized. "They are adults in their parents' home, treated like children," May said, "because there is no place open for them to go and no jobs are open to them."

May called for emergency government relief as a "stopgap," but Lewis Mumford, another speaker, contended every suggestion of that sort means the blind opposition of the "ruling classes, which hold on to their privileges and prefer to face chaos rather than a fundamental change in the social order."

## Illinois Students on Dole Increase

Champaign, Ill. (FP)—The University of Illinois has 1189 students getting a federal payment averaging \$15 a month to stay in school. For the money they do part-time work of clerical, research, maintenance and upkeep nature for the institution.

Northwestern has 587 students under federal subsidy, Chicago 507, and the Chicago Central Y.M.C.A., De Paul, Loyola, and various normal schools also have over a hundred students apiece getting the \$15.00 monthly average from the government.

"Two things," said Kant, "fill me with breathless awe: The starry heavens and the moral law."

But I know a thing more awful and obscure—The long, long patience of the blundering poor.

## Paul Porter's COMMONWEALTH PLAN

as described by Arthur G. McDowell, National Chairman of the Young People's Socialist League, will appear in the forthcoming issue of the Challenge.

The literature department of the Socialist party, the nation's foremost pamphleteering agency, reports that the Commonwealth Plan "has become our best seller with constantly increasing sales."

No one should miss this keen analysis of what has been called the "only positive proposal that has yet appeared that seriously challenges the 'New Deal' as a program of reconstruction."

## ROOSEVELT PROPOSAL SEEN MOVE TO SCREEN GOVERNMENT PART IN "BLOODY TRAFFIC"

### MILITARISTS ENTRUSTED WITH FDR PEACE PROGRAM

Washington—Front page stuff this Senate Munitions Inquiry! Front page stuff packed with dynamite! Not only have the revelations already condemned the manufacturers in the eyes of the vast majority of people. They have also involved the Government itself to an extent that caused Senator Nye, Chairman of the Investigation Committee, to charge: "The Departments of our Government are really co-defendants with the munitions industry and the profiteers!"

Into this dynamite-fraught situation suddenly came our always astute President's announcement: "The time has come to take the profits out of war!" But the proposal which the President's headline-getting announcement prefaced did not bring a welcoming response from the Investigating committee nor from the sincere peace groups in the country. It was universally regarded by these, and rightfully so, as an attempt to muzzle the sensational disclosures of the investigation.

### State and War Departments Bring Pressure To Bear

For behind our genial President's statement is more than a mere attempt, as has been charged, to capitalize on public sentiment. The inquiry has brought forth results that have caused cabinet officials to squirm in their seats and bring pressure to bear to "do something" to head off the investigation. Times magazine comments, "The State Department has been irate ever since the munitions inquiry began in September over the disclosures of graft paid to foreign officials... The War and Navy Departments do

not want U. S. arms makers, on whom their preparedness plans are based, to be tarred, feathered and crippled to make a publicity holiday for Senator Nye."

But regardless of the motives behind President Roosevelt's attempt to forestall further revelations of a permanent liaison between government officials and profiteers in war materials, his proposal "to take the profits out of war" is emphatically not a proposal for any such purpose.

### Back Door Fascist Entry Seen

Devere Allen, probably America's foremost authority on questions of peace, writes:

"Essentially the steps thus far announced are not at all peace plans, nor plans to eradicate war profits, but to guarantee conscription of manpower and stabilize profits at a level which will abundantly reward business interests in wartime." Such a clear-headed labor and Socialist paper as the Reading Labor Advocate sees in the proposal, and the manner in which it was made, nothing less than an attempt to introduce fascism through the back door by providing for the militarization of industry and labor in war-time.

That these statements are not mere sensationalism is indicated by the character of the men the President has appointed to the commission to "take the profits out of war." Head of the group is Bernard M. Baruch, Wall Street financier, who has formally testified that in his opinion the profit cannot be taken out of war! This is the same Baruch who initiated the United Metals Selling Company which profited on sales to the War Department, of copper alone, to the extent of \$50,306,301!

### Peace by Militarists!

Another leader of the President's group is Gen. Hugh Johnson, who, while a captain serving under Gen. Crowder, war-time draft administrator, had the draft registration blanks all printed and ready for distribution (minus the promised exemption sections for war resisters on conscientious grounds) before Congress had even passed the draft law.

A third is Gen. Douglas MacArthur, whose militaristic utterances have rarely been paralleled in American history, and who was "hero" of the bonus episode. Another is Sec. of Navy Swanson, assiduous big-navy promoter. Others reported in the conferences are Assistant Secretary of Navy Henry Hoosevelt, Secretaries Dern, Tugwell, Perkins, Wallace, Grady, Hull and Morgenthau, few of whom can be credited with a deep desire for peace action. And Dern and Hull are Secretaries, respectively, of the War and State Departments which have been deeply involved in the "bloody traffic."

### "Like Law by Dillinger"

No wonder the choosing of these men to "take the profit out of war" has prompted the comment that "as well let Dillinger write our crime laws!" President Roosevelt's term as Assistant Secretary of the Navy during the War (under the "President who kept us out of the War," Woodrow Wilson, whom testimony indicated had, "placed complete confidence in Sir Basil Zaharoff," international munition magnate) certainly does not add strength to the sincerity of his proposal.

## Brother of Andy Gets Patriotism Dope from Dad

Milwaukee (FP)—The death in Pittsburgh at 88 of James Ross Mellon, Andy's elder brother, recalls a Civil War incident when James was a law clerk here. James fell for the patriotic speeches of chamber of commerce patriots and enlisted for 100 days to guard prisoners, far from the danger zone.

But Judge Thomas Mellon, founder of the family fortune, wrote Jimmy: "I had hoped my boy was going to make a smart, intelligent man and was not such a goose as to be seduced from his duty by the declamations of buncombe speeches. IT IS ONLY GREENHORNS WHO ENLIST. You can learn nothing useful in the army. In time you will come to understand and believe that a man can be a patriot without risking his own life or sacrificing his health. There are plenty of other lives less valuable or others ready to serve for love of serving."

Papa Mellon's sound patriotic arguments won out and James ever after was a patriot without risking his own valuable life.



# The Facts About the Merchants of Death

By S L. Devin

Was is a dirty business. That, everyone is agreed upon. But until the U. S. Senate Munitions Investigation Committee unearthed column after column of front page stuff, few outside the ranks of the seasoned radicals and peace-agitators had a definite notion of the actual depravity of the men and industries who cater to this business of war.

## HOW THE INVESTIGATION STARTED

Of course, the ground for the investigation had been fairly well prepared by the tireless anti-war propaganda efforts of the peace advocates of one shade or another. Then lately, the war scares became uncomfortably frequent (we've just had our third this year) until even the race track devotees and next season's crop of society debutantes would answer "yes" if the question were put, "Is another war just around the corner?" If further pushed they might even go so far as to suggest something ought to be done about it.

Being for Peace was becoming popular. And when Fortune magazine and even whole books featured exposes of the international munitions ring which "caught" with the public and the press, the Great Cause found its supporters in congress. After an investigation of the munitions industry proposed by himself and Senator Vandenberg had been sidetracked, Senator Nye of North Dakota offered an amendment to the 1934 Revenues Act placing a tax of 98 per cent on all incomes in excess of \$10,000, effective the day the United States next declares war.

This, Congressional manipulators decided, was bad. So they compromised with Nye, giving him his inquiry and \$15,000 for its financing, on condition he withdraw the offensive amendment. It was so done.

## HE DISCLOSES AN INDICIMENT!

Exactly what has the Munitions investigation disclosed? In an analysis of the investigation by Wm. T. Stone for the Foreign Policy Association, the findings are summarized in nine points which we take the liberty to paraphrase:

1. The munitions makers have circumvented arms embargoes and defied international treaties.
2. They have made bribery an almost universal essential in their sales methods.
3. They have sold arms simultaneously to both sides in time of war.
4. They have stimulated armament races between friendly countries.
5. They have sabotaged disarmament conferences.
6. They have sold military secrets abroad.
7. They have jeopardized national defense plans.
8. They have enlisted the aid of governments in extending their trade.
9. But the United States government, under existing laws, is powerless to control this "bloody traffic."

Scores of specific instances illustrating these findings may be gleaned from reports of the testimony taken at the hearings. The facts speak for themselves.

## DEFYING EMBARGOS

On May 18, 1934 Congress proclaimed an embargo on arms shipments from the U. S. to Bolivia and Paraguay, engaged in the still continuing Chaco War. On June 6, Lamot du Pont wrote assurances of cooperation with the embargo to President Roosevelt.

On June 7, the very next day, the Du Pont Company had already taken steps to circumvent the embargo by referring through its Buenos Aires agent, to Paraguay for 2,000 miles of ENEL to a British Company with which it had a sales agreement.

## BREAKING TREATIES

Despite Article 176 of the Versailles Treaty which strictly prohibits the importation and exportation of arms, munitions, and war material of every kind by Germany, not



Senator Nye

only has the arms industry of that nation, but private firms in France, Great Britain and the United States have disregarded this and other treaties. The United Aircraft sales to Germany increased from \$2,000 in 1931 (before Hitler) to \$1,445,000 in the first eight months of 1934. The sales included planes described as "mail planes," but identical in specifications to planes sold by the company to the U. S. navy as two seater fighters.

## MUNITIONS COMPANIES AT DISARMAMENT CONFERENCES

Ironical, that heading? Yes, but also true. Perhaps the key to the factor that helped make "disarmament" conferences the laughing-stock of all nations.

In our estimation, the prize exhibit under this category is a letter from Commander Luis Aubry of the Peruvian navy, Electric Boat Company (submarines) representative to vice president L. Y. Spear of the company. "I am planning to be appointed by the government, if you permit, delegate for Peru in the disarmament conference that is going to take place in Geneva in June 1925. I feel that I can do something good for Peru there, as well as for the cause for submarines in South America. My flag will be 'no quotas in submarines,' construction in South America, and classify it as a 'defensive weapon.'"

It will be remembered that the Geneva conference proposed to limit "offensive" weapons to a greater extent than "defensive" weapons, and perhaps the above letter is as good an indication as any of how the line was drawn between these two "types."

In the United States, former President Herbert Hoover, then Secretary of Commerce, invited arms manufacturers to Washington April 1, 1925, to discuss the forthcoming Geneva conference.

A telegram from Hoover to the Winchester Repeating Arms Co. was read into the inquiry record. It invited the company to send a representative to an "informal preliminary conference to discuss the economic phases of the forthcoming Geneva conference for the control of the international trade in arms, munitions, and implements of war."

The wire went on to say that it was "important that the American representative at Geneva be fully posted as to the views of American manufacturers of sporting arms and munitions so that he may be able to safeguard their interests."

When the Geneva conference finally took place, the arms manufacturers were almost at the elbows of their government representatives, and an agreement resulted which was so feeble as to be "hopeless" according to Senator Nye, chairman of the quiz commission.

## BRIBERY AND GRAFT

This same L. Y. Spear in a letter to Vickers Ltd., said "the real foundation of all

South American business is graft." His Electric Boat Company, between 1919 and 1930, paid to Sir Basil Zaharoff, "mystery man of war," \$766,099 for using his "influence" as a supersalesman to Spain.

In 1932 the Du Pont Company paid a large fee to the son of the then President of Argentina in connection with a scheme to prevent the construction of a government powder factory in that country.

## ARMING BOTH SIDES IN WAR

"Taking the cake" for indiscriminately supplying all sides with war supplies is Federal Laboratories of Pittsburgh.

On August 13, 1933, six days before Machado was overthrown, this firm supplied the Cuban government with tear gas. August 18, J. Y. Young, president of the firm, congratulated the leaders of the victorious opposition with whom he had already established contact to discuss a "big program" for procuring war materials. When the ranks of the revolutionists split, Young offered his Cuban agent "a commission of 10 per cent on all business done with the Menocal-Mendieta group and a commission of 15 per cent to 20 per cent on all business done with the Grau group."

Immediately after the overthrow of Grau and the organization of the Mendieta government on February 10, 1934, Young was appointed "a consultant to direct the planning, organization, training and equipping of the national police force" at a retainer of \$10,000. To appropriately round out the story, Federal Laboratories sales to Cuba increased sharply during the next six months.

## STIMULATING ARMS RACES

"The Electric Boat Company of the United States, reads a Federated Press dispatch, 'has long had a split-the-swag agreement with Vickers Ltd. of Great Britain. They divide the world between them and share profits, the Senate Investigators learned. So when Chile and Peru fell out some years ago, the U. S. concern got busy trying to persuade Peru to go in for undersea warfare, while Vickers was assigned to get Chile to use submarines against Peru."

And we wonder at the emerging of a "back to the Incas" movement in these countries!

## JEOPORDIZING NATIONAL DEFENSE

That Socialists and many other peace advocates brand as fundamentally wrong, as a war-forestalling method, our entire policy of "national defense," is not news. When the most ardent proponents of this policy jeopardize it by selling war secrets to foreign countries, news most certainly is made.

Du Pont officials had negotiated and agreement with the Mitsui Company of Japan in 1931 "to inform Mitsui of any new improvements in a secret nitrate conversion process (nitrates are used in munitions as well as fertilizer) developed for a period of seven years." Members of the inquiry committee expressed the opinion that possession of a secret process of this kind might be just as important as increasing the strength of an army by several divisions.

## GOVERNMENT AID TO PROMOTE ARMS SALES

Help in securing contracts for arms to Latin American countries was given private companies by our Department of State. Our government, and King George in England, were used with their consent to help private firms secure arms contracts with Poland and South American countries.

General Douglas MacArthur, recently reappointed U. S. Army Chief of Staff by President Roosevelt, aided private airplane makers to secure foreign orders. Official U. S. army pilots were loaned to make demonstrations of war planes to foreign governments.

The government also showed its "good will and friendly attitude" to the Driggs Ordnance and Engineering Co. in 1928, when the Navy Department sent the cruiser Raleigh to Istanbul, to demonstrate to Turkey the effectiveness of anti-aircraft guns whom the Driggs Co. was trying to sell. The War

"Munitions vs. Peace" might well be the title of this timely article. It is the first complete-to-date summary of the findings of the Senate Munitions Investigation yet to appear in any newspaper.

Department also cooperated, company officials testified.

It was disclosures like these that led Senator Nye to cry: "The Department of our Government are really co-defendants with the munitions industry and profiteers!"

## MERCHANTS OF DEATH IN POLITICS

Both Republican and Democratic parties have profited from the financial favors of the munitions magnates. Political campaign contributions so far reported by the E. I. du Pont de Nemours company show that 22 directors contributed \$438,757 to Republicans and Democrats between 1919 and 1924. No one ever accused these gentlemen of wantonly spending such vast sums.

Since the Republican party could produce better results in the company's state of Delaware, the bulk of the contributions, some \$408,000, went to that party. But Irene du Pont, whose political contributions totaled \$178,801, gave \$8,000 in 1930 and \$5,000 in 1933 to the Democrats. In the same years he also gave money to the Republicans, and in 1931 he again divided money between both parties. In 1932 he supported the Democratic candidate for president, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The next largest political contributor listed, after Irene, is Lamot du Pont, president of the company, whose campaign contributions are reported as totaling \$148,650. Pierre S. du Pont contributed \$12,378 to the Republican campaign fund in 1920 and \$15,000 in 1932 to President Roosevelt's campaign. Nice people, these Democrats and Republicans? But why do they insist upon exhibiting such lack of taste in choosing their associates?

## CLEANSING THE AUGEAN STABLES

"We hardly have scratched the surface," states Senator Nye. But for the most of us in the United States, the munition makers stand already convicted of the foulest sort of organized conspiracy against the welfare and peace of the peoples of the world. It remains to consider, critically consider, some of the proposals offered for curbing the future predatory activities of the private armament firms. Three major proposals have been made:

1. Regulation of manufacture and trade
2. Elimination of wartime profits
3. Nationalization of the munitions industry.

No one acquainted with the unsatisfactory results of "regulation" of utilities, where the "regulator" has usually wound up controlled by the "regulated," can seriously entertain the first proposal as a basic reform. And obviously, the elimination of profits in wartime alone does nothing more than give a cut of the "swag" to the government.

Alone of all proposals made, the last is nearest to satisfactory yet put forward. That this alone will not insure peace is made clear by Norman Thomas.

"It is easy and true," he writes, "to say that profit should be taken out of such a nefarious trade. But how, short of Socialism, is it to be done? We might nationalize the making of munitions or put a virtual hundred per cent tax on profits. Still if we left cotton, steel, copper and banking in private hands, here would be immense profits in preparation for war and probably in waging war. On the whole, I am inclined to believe in the nationalization of the munitions industry. But a capitalist and jingoistic nation having nationalized the making of arms would not necessarily be an agency of world peace and justice! It certainly would not cut the profits out of trade in the means of death. It might be better than what we have now. Almost anything might be better than that."

So much for the disclosures and the proposals. To complete our record we add this choice bit giving one munitions maker's angle on his "enterprise." Sir Robert Hadfield, British munitions maker, reports to his stockholders that "We are indeed devoutly thankful for present mercies, but may I add that for what I hope we are about to receive may the Lord make us truly thankful."

To which we add an equally devoutful "Amen!"



# THE CHALLENGE

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## Roosevelt Muffs Again

Viewing the present munition episode as but a part of the entire "New Deal," it is seen that for the third time since his inauguration, Franklin D. Roosevelt is guilty of muffing an unprecedented opportunity to make a basic change for the better in the condition of the people. In March 1933, when the President inherited the banking debacle from his pudgy predecessor, instead of using that crisis to take over the banks for the people, he salvaged and bolstered them, but only to restore them to the money changers he had promised to "drive out of the temple."

The opportunity to settle for once and for all the status of labor's right to organize, promisingly held forth in Section 7A of the National Industrial Recovery Act, he has almost completely nullified by refusing to take action to curb the industrialists who ride, with increasing arrogance, rough-shod over those workingmen and women who dare take this section seriously.

And now for the third time the fires of hope in the President's "liberalness" that may still have endured in the hearts of progressively-minded people in the nation have once again been quenched, perhaps for all time, by his delegating as drafters of his "peace" program, one of the most selective groups of militarists and war-profiteers it has yet been this nation's tribulation to endure.

## Thumbing My Nose

by Belly Acre

### IS YOUR SPACE RED!

According to press reports, the Republican Party is being taken over by the "younger element." The leader of this youth movement is Sen. Bill Borah, an up-and-coming youngster of 69. His right hand man is another kid, Sen. Nye, who is only 60 years old. Sort of second childhood, eh?

At that, it may prove an interesting experiment. Cross an elephant with a couple of old buzzards and see what you can get. No matter what results, the worker will still be made the goat, and will continue to lead a dog's life until he stops being an ass and joins the Socialist Party.

Bill Borah continues his philosophical strain and remarks, "every worker is a capitalist." Maybe if the twelve million or more "capitalists" who are vacationing, not in Belle Harbor, but in Dire Straits, were to demand a share of the profits, Billie would sing a different tune.

But after all, he says that "every worker is a capitalist," and isn't it the capitalist who takes all the risks, supplies all the energy and brains? That explains why the capitalists get the lion's share while the workers get the ass's end.

There is a young fellow named Borah Who makes us get sorer and sorer, He has stated that he Will reform G.O.P. Which of grafters retains a plethora.

Then there is the industrialist who can never tell what the future of the country will be until he sees who yesterday's visitor at the White House was.

Headline in N. Y. paper:—"Famous Crook Killed!"

## The Child Labor Amendment

With the opening of sessions of state legislatures in a majority of the states this month, a period of renewed effort and agitation to secure ratification of the proposed child labor amendment is in order. The amendment, it should be explained, will not of itself end this too-long continued characteristic of capitalism's ruthlessness in choosing its industrial fodder, but will merely enable the federal government to pass such legislation.

The history of this amendment is an interesting reflection of the last decade's about-face from care-free complacency to social unrest and renewed interest in social legislation. Submitted to the states in 1924, the amendment received only six of the necessary thirty six ratifications in nine years. Then, in 1933, no less than fourteen states added their approval to it.

There progress ends—with 20 down and 16 to go, for which we have chiefly to thank the blighting influence of the daily press whose circulation feeds on the penny-hunger of boys and girls from needy families. Outside of that industry, child labor is at low ebb. Not because of the NRA codes; not because of sudden altruism of the employing class; but because more efficient adult labor can now be secured for virtually as little as the labor of children.

But those capitalists who still profit from child labor, and those reactionaries who out of pure cussedness combat any move to better the conditions of the working masses, despite the passive support accorded the amendment by some Industrialists and many politicians who see an opportunity to make a "concession" at little cost, are putting up a fight that prohibits any slackening on the part of the Socialist and labor drive for ratification.

And Socialists must continue, in their agitation, to emphasize the need for positive action to provide continued schooling and eventual jobs for those we would have released from their youthful labors.

## Food for Thought

Civilization brings to us  
Much of the ridiculous,  
Interspersed from time to time  
With a touch of the sublime.

See the costly dining place!  
See the financier at noon  
Lifting lamb chops to his face,  
Lifting each with spotless grace  
By its paper pantaloons!

Through the frosty windowpane  
In the chilly street outside,  
Ragged Jack and shivering Jane  
Watch the process eager-eyed.  
Here's a dream to rival Dante's.  
Here's a scheme of life laid out,  
Where the lamb chops wear the panties  
While the kiddies go without.

Much of the preposterous  
Civilization brings to us.

—A. G.

## Young Circle League Celebrates 5th Year

New York—Celebrating its fifth anniversary last month, the Young Circle League of America, youth organization of the Workmen's Circle fraternal organization, reported an increase in membership from 430 after its first year, to 2,500 today. There are more than 40 branches of its parent organization based on former Young Circle League groups which have "grown up."

Hunters are warned by Director Robert Fechner of the CCC camps not to go around shooting CCC boys. War hasn't been declared yet, so there is no "open season" for that sort of stuff. "State game and conservation officials in all the states are co-operating with CCC authorities in the protection of CCC enrollees during the hunting season," says a statement from Fechner's office.

But there aren't any international game and conservation officials who will protect them when the war-hunters' open season begins. So the boys had better get ready to look out for themselves, even if it means reading some books forbidden in CCC camps.

Even the iron heel of fascism has not dimmed the wit of Germany according to some "treasonable anecdotes" as reported by the New York Times: Here's our choice of the selection:

Four men were sitting at a table. The first one sighs. The second one sighs deeply. The third one groans aloud. The fourth exclaims: "Won't you chaps ever stop talking politics?"

General Goering comes in for some jibes at his vanity in two tales. One tells of his disappearance during a state visit to a big electrical works, only to be found next morning hanging up to one of the big magnets up in the roof. He had gone too close with his row of medals. A similar story tells of 200 of his uniforms stolen by burglars.

# CLARENCE SENIOR REVIEWS "HUMAN EXPLOITATION" BY NORMAN THOMAS

The first surveys of American life and customs were made by foreign travelers. Since the time of Viscount Bryce and de Tocqueville there have been more descriptions and analyses by less well known foreigners, and many of a more academic sort by Americans. Now we have an almost unique description of America by a native whose travels in the past few years have taken him into most of the states and all the principle farming and industrial regions. It is a description by an extraordinarily shrewd observer, whose eyes see all there is to see, and whose keen mind penetrates below the surface and sees what causes the things he sees.

Three sections of "Human Exploitation" will be of particular interest to readers of *The Challenge*: the chapter "Exploiting Our Children," passages dealing with employment opportunities of young people; and, the treatment of the conscription of young people by the capitalist war machine, in which Thomas becomes almost lyrical.

**Land and Landlordism**  
That most human exploitation is due to the capitalist system and the fact that the government is the executive committee of the ruling class is the theme of the book. Thousands of timely illustrations are given. The first three chapters are particularly important. They deal with land problems both in the city and on the farm. Without a doubt, Thomas is one of the few Socialists who have an understanding of the urgency of settling the question of the ownership and use of land. Radical literature had little except Henry George's over-simplified remedies and the material which streams from him, until Thomas, in several recent books dealt with this knotty problem. Since there has been so much ballyhoo about the housing plans of the government, Socialists must read Thomas' analysis of why nothing may be expected from this "New Deal" move.

The main facts about the exploitation of the farmer are given in thirty pages. "Men and Trees" and "Mines and Miners" are resumes of significant facts and figures on forestry and coal and metal extraction. Wages, working conditions, unemployment, women and children in industry, are also covered by chapters. The last shows how the codes have failed to eliminate child labor.

**The Case of The Negro**  
While the root of most exploitation is capitalism, the problem can be oversimplified. There are exploitations and injustices among those to whose interest it is to work un-

itedly against the exploitation system. The negro is the outstanding instance of this in America. Prejudices started a century ago are still dividing the workers whose skin happens to be white from those whose skin is black or brown. Unions refuse to admit Negroes, and the most obvious answer is scabbing. Even here, capitalism is mixed up in the case. Frederick Douglass pointed out years ago essentially what often happens in strikes when there are white and colored workers: "The hostility between blacks and whites is easily explained. It was... incited on both sides by the cunning of the slave master. They divided both to conquer each." Socialists must understand that, not only in relation to the Negro problem, but to racial, national, or religious hatred of any kind.

Young Socialists will recognize many of the illustrations given in the chapter on the labor struggle since they have been on many of the picket lines mentioned. More important to us will be the criticism and suggestions on the problems of racketeering, democracy in the unions, jurisdictional disputes, and the relation between the government and the unions.

**Capitalism vs. The Middle Class**  
In reaching the middle class and small business groups that thus far only Fascism has organized effectively, the chapters "The Consumer Pays" and "Little Owner, What Now?" will be indispensable. The latter contains the best treatment of banking malpractice that has appeared anywhere. It gives the Socialist answer to the ill-informed "radical" who thinks that if only something were done to eliminate bank failures everything would be lovely. The treatment of chain stores also is important in heading off demagogues such as "The Main Street Crusader" and others of his kind who exploit the little owner's puzzled attempts to save his business and divert his attention from capitalism as the real trouble.

The book does not attempt to set out a program except as it follows from the analyses. The last two chapters however, do show the direction in which we are going and point out the possibilities. Thomas hurls at those who want to turn back the economic clock this *Challenge*: "It is far more utopian to talk about a return to laissez-faire economics than about the cooperative commonwealth." He ends with a call for an organization to build the economic foundation for Socialism which "can and must be speedily laid."

## ORGANIZATION BY THE NATIONAL SECRETARY

School for Organizers . . . .  
"International" . . . . Drama  
Persists . . . Literature . . .  
Pickets . . . Forum.

### MASSACHUSETTS SCHOOL FOR ORGANIZERS

The State League Federation arranged a training school for members which was held during Xmas week at Fitchburg. The Finnish Federation of the Socialist Party gave excellent cooperation on housing and meals for the students. Courses included Public Speaking, Fundamentals of Socialism, History of American Socialism, Organization (How to organize a circle, how a circle functions and how to work with students), and Trade Unionism.

### INTERNATIONAL NEWS MEETINGS

The Educational Department of the New York City League is beginning in January 1935 to arrange a meeting on the last Sunday evening of each month at which a summary of International Labor and Socialist news will be given. Four or five specialists in the current events of various countries will deliver short talks. Singing and dancing will make these affairs thoroughly enjoyable and the admission fee of 5c will help build a Library and Research center at the Bronx Labor Center, at which the meetings will be held.

Circle 3 Sr. Bronx is the winner of that Boro's Literature sales contest. More than \$50 worth of literature was bought by circles from the Boro Educational Dept.

### THE PLAY IS THE THING

Circle 8 Jr. Bronx has presented "Gimble Sprockets" before the local Party branch. Not a bad time to have an appeal for membership contacts. Circle 6 Sr. Manhattan has a dramatic group that's working on an anti-war play. Toledo also reports rehearsals. Reversing the usual procedure, Circles 1 and 7 Chicago presented two plays for the Falcon Xmas Party, and a good time was had by all. St. Louis reports that music will help their growth and has a Labor Choral Class.

### CHICAGO DISTRIBUTES LEAFLETS

Five thousand leaflets have been given out to high school students as part of the organization campaign of the YPSL, in cooperation with the Young Circle League and Young Poale Zion. The Deutsch circle distributed 8,000 leaflets to advertise their first youth rally, at which "A Picture of the Cooperative Commonwealth" was shown.

Getting meeting places is a tough problem for Circles 1 and 4 Cook County, while Circle 7 Jr. reports that they're tripled their membership since Election Day.

### PICKET HOTELS

The Madison, Wisc. circle picketed the hotels which refused to allow Negroes into their establishments. The issues of racial discrimination arose against the members of the cast of "Green Pastures."

### DETROIT YOUTH FORUM

A very successful Youth Forum has been established by the Detroit circles with weekly sessions at 9105 Hamilton on Sundays at 7:30 P. M. Subjects for the first two weeks of January are "Where do we go from here?" and "Alphabet Soup," (NRA, AAA, CCC, etc.).



## U.S. Court Pro-ROTC Decision Condemned By Student Groups

New York—"We regret that the decision of the Supreme Court with respect to compulsory military drill in land grant colleges is one contrary to policies that might insure peace, and instead plays right into the hands of the reactionaries who would militarize education at every turn. For ourselves, the decision of the Supreme Court has merely shifted the arena of battle."

So begins a statement by the Student League for Industrial Democracy, commenting on the U. S. Supreme Court decision upholding the right of the University of California to suspend two student conscientious objectors, Alonzo Hamilton and H. A. Reynolds who refused to take the compulsory military training on grounds of religious scruples to war and militarism.

### Decision Stimulates Anti-ROTC Forces

The Court's decision was similarly attacked by other prominent student organizations, including the National Student Federation of America and the Committee on Militarism in Education. Instead of proving a setback to the anti-war and militarism movement on the campus, as hoped by conservatives, the decision was made the occasion for reaffirming and intensifying the fight to oust military training from the universities. The S.L.I.D. statement continues:

"The students of this country want a peaceful world and will not tolerate the jingoistic R.O.T.C. in their universities. We hoped that the decision of the Supreme Court would end this problem in the colleges. Since it has not, we will carry the fight against the R.O.T.C. to Congress and to the floor of every college administration that insists on retaining the course. We will carry on the fight by petitions, protests, and in the end, if necessary, by a strike. The students of this nation indicated by their strike against war last April, that they wanted a warless world. They mean it."

## Take Anti-Militarism Fight to Congress

(Late Dispatch)

Washington (FP)—Demands that Congress withhold funds from land grant colleges which have compulsory military training will be made at the coming session. This move, which Sen. Frazier says he will sponsor, is an outcome of the U. S. Supreme Court decision upholding compulsory military training in state universities and colleges.

Plans are also being made to carry the issue before state legislatures, notably in Ohio, where 8 students were dismissed from the state university last spring for refusing to take military training.

### War Authority "Uber Alles!"

The decision of the Supreme Court, which was unanimous, spoke in part of the "well-nigh limitless extent of the war powers" of the government "in the last extremity to compel the armed service of any citizen in the land, without regard to his objections or his views in respect of the justice or morality on the particular war or wars in general."

Justices Brandeis, Stone and Cardozo, in voting with the rest of the members of the Supreme Court, contended in a separate statement that "there is no occasion at this time to mark the limits of governmental power in the exaction of military service, when the nation is at peace."

## Gold In Them Thar Sands?



With college degrees but no jobs, these two boys spend their time on the sand beach at Atlantic City, N. J., trying to find buried treasure in the form of jewelry and money lost by summer bathers. They're finding life not nearly so rosy as it was painted by university presidents last June.

## American Youth Congress Held In Four Cities

New York — Four city and state-wide congresses of the American Youth Congress were held in the East and Midwest during the latter part of December, while the National Congress will be held in Washington, D. C., January 4 and 5.

Most eminently successful was the Michigan Youth Congress, in session Dec. 22 and 23, at Ann Arbor, with delegates numbering over 500 and representing organizations scattered throughout the state.

### Chicago Has Trouble

The New York City Youth Congress was also well attended with over 300 delegates. New Jersey held a state-wide Congress Dec. 29 and 30, at Newark, but it was rather poorly attended.

Although many groups of widely divergent views were present at these conferences, only at the Chicago Congress were these differences sufficiently acute to cause fatal results. The Chicago Congress was held simultaneously with that at New York, Dec. 22 and 23, but "dissolved of itself," because of the attempts of the Young Communist League to dominate it and have it endorse various Communist-controlled organizations such as the American League Against War and Fascism.

### National Congress

The second National meeting of the American Youth Congress will take place in Washington early this month. Among the cooperating organizations, in addition to the Young People's Socialist League, are: The Young Circle League, the Young Poale Zion, the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the Young Communist League, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Youth section of the American Jewish Congress, and the Young Women's Christian Association.

## Peace Flag Peary Unfurled at Pole Barred from U.S.

Wilton, Conn.—On April 6, 1909, twenty six years ago, Admiral Robert E. Peary discovered the North Pole. Firmly fixed in the public fancy, even of today, are the tales of the heroism and fortitude displayed by Peary and Hanson, his Negro aide. Much is also made, of the manner in which, at so-called tip of the globe, the Stars and Stripes was planted.

Nothing is said nowadays, however, about the fact that when the Pole was reached, a Peace Flag was also set up, (and thus one of the most interesting episodes of American history has become obscured by the eclipse of peace efforts in the World War that so speedily followed Peary's brave adventure.) In his own writings, and his principal book written after his successful expedition, Admiral Peary dwelt in detail upon the incident.

## On with the Challengers

by SUB CHASER

Happy New Year, Challengers! Despite the fact that our 1934 Wind-Up Drive only got us just over half the 1500 new subs we were aiming for, wait till you get a load of this news! Way down further we'll enumerate the December and deferred November totals, but here's news what is news,—nothing less than the Challenge

### 1935 MINIMUM PROGRAM

1. Circulation:
  - a. One hundred thousand total paid circulation for all issues of 1935! As much as in all the preceding 20 months of our career!
  - b. Five thousand new individual subs before the end of the year! Double our 1934 totals!
  - c. Five thousand bundle sales averaged per month! Also double our 1934 totals!
2. Size:
 

An EIGHT-PAGE PAPER! Our minimum budget calls for four 1935 8-page issues beginning with

### D.A.R. Peace Advocates Then

Interestingly enough, it was an organization devoted, at least in official attitude, in more recent times to efforts for large military and naval preparedness—the Daughters of the American Revolution—whose original devotion to peace prompted them to send the flag with Peary. The movement then was only a few years old; and in 1907, when Andrew Carnegie served as chairman of a huge peace rally in New York, the D.A.R. presented him with a larger peace flag, but the same pattern as the later one for the pole.

Developed first by a Philadelphian named Henry Pettit, and used by many peace groups around the world, the peace flag consisted of a customary American flag surrounded by a broad white border, across which, at the top, sometimes ran the slogan: "Peace to All Nations." Each nationality in the world was expected to adapt their own national emblem similarly, and so fifty of them did. It was the practice to display these banners at peace gatherings, the peace flag of the country in which the meeting was held predominating, with small streamers of the peace flags of other lands hanging from the flag-staff.

### "Peace Flag" Outlawed

As the World War promoted the spirit of nationalism, and as heedless merchants increased the practice of employing altered representations of the Stars and Stripes on commercial packages, the Congress of the United States finally outlawed the use of the American flag with anything added or taken away. Thus the flag of peace, illegal here at home, still lies at the North Pole, a silent witness to the peace symbolism of an earlier day.

— from Nofrontier News Service

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April... but if you Challenger's substantially better our minimum totals here's our pledge to make them all 8-pagers!

But don't click your heels in joy yet, Challengers. It's up to you to deliver the goods and bring in the wherewithal to make that minimum possible. Here's your program and if you don't come across we'll declare a lockout that will make the Chamber of Commerce hang its head in shame.

### Challenger's Program

1. Average 500 new subs per month.
2. Monthly bundle sales of 5,000 copies.
3. Raise \$1,250 by advertising and donations.

That means every member should send in at least one club during 1935! That means every circle should boost its order to 50 per month at a minimum! That means that every circle should raise \$10.00 by soliciting advertising, donations, and running socials, during 1935!

And another Resolution we've made is that we're going to show our esteem for our Challengers in a more substantial way this year. Here's what our hard-working sub-chasers are in for if they get in the following sub totals during 1935:

- The Gift**
- 100—"Human Exploitation" by Norman Thomas
  - 50—"Socialist Fundamentals" by David Berenberg
  - 25—"Bound set of YPSL "Blue Cover" Educational Outlines
  - 12—"Rhapsodies in Red" by Sam A. DeWitt.

During 1934 we would have given over 50 of these gifts, two, four, fifteen and twenty eight respectively, from the top prize down, but during 1935 we expect to give out more than 100! Will you get yours, too?

The combined November and December totals were just shy of 400. NEW YORK (73)

Binghamton: Emerson Venable repeats with 6. Bronx: Sam Portnoy gets in 3 clubs totalling 12. Brooklyn: Bob Parker ties for No. 2 Challenger of the month with 26. Kermit Haber, Gertrude Finkelstein and Henry Margulies each get in a club.

New Rochelle: Violet Chapman gets in 5. New York City: The City Office, 43 for new members. Well, all we've got to say New York, is that you've done better than this in the past in only one month... let's get going!

### PENNSYLVANIA (44)

Philadelphia: Ah! A brace of Challengers from the cradle of liberty. Morris Riger and Nat Weinberg get in 7 apiece. Pittsburgh: Public Challenger No. 1! 'Tis brown-eyed Tillie Smith of Allegheny County again with 28 subs.

What's happened to the mess of circles outside of the metropolises? OHIO (44)

Cincinnati: 'Midst the beer vats of this brewing-burg, Sam Verne picks up 23 subs. Cleveland: Nick Gianasi gets in a club. Fletcher: Lou Moon recuperates from his circle's rabbit roast and gets in 4. Toledo: Alvin German gets in a half dozen.

Good work Ohio, but let's have more Challengers active.

### WISCONSIN (40)

Kenosha: It's John Van Hazinga again, with no less than 23 subs. Milwaukee: The Hillquit Jrs. get in no less than 9 while the Bay View Srs. followed with 8.

### MICHIGAN (33)

Charlotte: National Organizer "Hoot" Rasmussen totals 26 subs from a flock of Michigan towns. Detroit: Ruth Moore keeps up her steady work with 8 more.

### ILLINOIS (25)

Chicago: Brothers Dancis and Devin get in 10 and 6 subs respectively, while the balance is gathered in dribbles.

### MASSACHUSETTS (15)

Boston: Saul Harris gets in 4. Dorchester: Henry Fine gets in 4. Fitchburg: Peter Wartainen, Jr. gets in 4 also. You can do better than this, Codfishers!

### NEW JERSEY (15)

Dover: Jean Parker gets in 4 more. Paterson: Vivien Vinies also 4. Newark: And Seymour Pilch saves the day for the N. J. males with 4 also.

Art Grossman of St. Louis, Eugene Greuling of Indianapolis, J. W. Duke of Burlington, Iowa, K. Pritchard of Richmond, Virginia, Bernard Seltzer of Providence, Rhode Island, and Eleanor Frowe of Lawrence, Kansas keep their respective states on the Challenge map with clubs of 4 apiece.

And there goes 1934. Let's go 1935!

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