

NOT ONE CENT To Militarize American Youth! To Build Capitalist Armies! To Defend Wall Street Profits!

THE MAIN ENEMY

AN EDITORIAL

Seven million young people locked out of industry and commerce—14 million unemployed all told—"a third of the nation" underfed—poorly clothed—and living in disease-breeding slums—overcrowded schools—\$6 a month for youth on NYA—\$12.96 the average wage for youth in industry . . . this is America under the rule of her Sixty Multi-millionaire Families.

Every bold proposal which the Young People's Socialist League has put forward to fight hunger and misery has been met with one monotonous answer from the puppets of the ruling class—politicians, editors, educators—IT COSTS TOO MUCH.

"Youth WPA Projects at union wages"—it costs too much.

"Open trade schools under union supervision"—it costs too much.

"A twenty billion dollar housing program"—it costs too much.

"The right to a college education for every youth"—it costs too much.

"Open the idle factories with federal funds"—it costs too much.

It costs too much—because the health and welfare of the American working class is of no concern to the ruling class. ALL THAT CONCERNS THEM IS TO SAFEGUARD THEIR PROFIT.

Therefore, when Roosevelt, in his message to Congress, asked for a cool two billion for war preparations, NOT A SINGLE CAPITALIST PAPER THOUGHT IT COSTS TOO MUCH.

And why should they? Two billions for arms is a necessary investment. Two billions for arms is a means of defending sources of raw materials, foreign investments, and markets. Two billion for arms might conquer new territory for investment and profits. AND THE TWO BILLIONS WORTH OF ARMS WILL COME IN HANDY WHEN THE WORKERS FIGHT FOR THEIR RIGHTS.

But what have we, the jobless and exploited youth, to gain from this two billion dollar investment in arms? How many oil wells do we own in Mexico? How many fruit plantations have we in Brazil? How much sugar do we raise in Cuba?

What? National defense you say?

Away with this hokum of national defense! We already live under the heel of the usurper. No invader could treat us worse than the present ruling class.

We are turned away from their employment offices. We sit in their relief stations for days waiting for a pittance. We are evicted from their buildings. When we protest, we are clubbed and jailed by their police.

IS THIS WHY WE SHOULD DEFEND THEIR AMERICA?

National defense? Yes, defend America against its pillaging and exploiting ruling class—against those who leave the working class to hunger, disease, and cold—against those who plunder and waste the nation's human and material resources—against those who would plunge us into war and leave the bodies of the nation's youth to rot upon the battle-field.

NOT ONE CENT to defend Rockefeller-Morgan America!

BILLIONS to fight unemployment, hunger, and misery!

NOT ONE MAN to defend Wall Street profits!

ORGANIZE MILLIONS to end the rule of capitalist parasites!

We cannot tolerate their rule any longer—IT COSTS TOO MUCH!

Only the workers—young and old—can overthrow the rule of the Sixty Families and DESTROY THE WHOLE ROTTEN SYSTEM OF CAPITALISM! If we fail, we will pay for it with our lives under a fascist dictatorship and in an imperialist war.

Only we can end the insane spectacle of plowed-under cotton and jobless youth shivering in the cold—of curtailed crops and hunger in the cities—of idle factories and 14 million unemployed—of a billion dollars cut off of relief and added to the war budget.

Only we can break the bottle neck of profit which separates the nation's resources from those who need them.

Only we can build and plan a co-operative system of Socialist production and distribution to provide for all.

Only we, together with the workers of the rest of the world, can solve the problem of war and achieve permanent peace on the basis of World Socialism.

JOBS FOR NYA STUDENTS

Dropping Death from the Sky

Did you ever see a gang of kids at a movie where an airplane picture is being shown? Almost all of them would like to have a chance to fly, because they think its thrilling to be an aviator, especially if you're a movie star too.

Well, American students are going to have a chance to learn to fly soon, thanks to the "generosity" of President Roosevelt. Not that Roosevelt wants these students to become movie stars. He wants to teach them to fly so that when America goes to war for "democracy" (read: the imperialist profits of the 60 Families) he'll have a reserve of trained pilots ready to rain death and destruction on defenseless people.

They would relish the idea of killing thousands of people with bombs. That's why they can enjoy the movies: they know the bombs are faked. But, according to the plan President Roosevelt announced on December 28, 20,000 college students will soon be trained to fly planes in which the bombs are real—very real.

The President has announced that there will be an initial experiment with 300 pilots. He plans to increase the number of student pilots to 20,000 with a minimum outlay of \$10,000,000.

It is significant that the plan will be begun in "rich men's schools," like Purdue, Mass. Institute of Technology, University of Washington, which are notorious for their political conservatism. Roosevelt

THE CHALLENGE OF YOUTH

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Two Cents

Roosevelt Recipe for Prosperity:

Arm To the Teeth and Conquer Foreign Markets

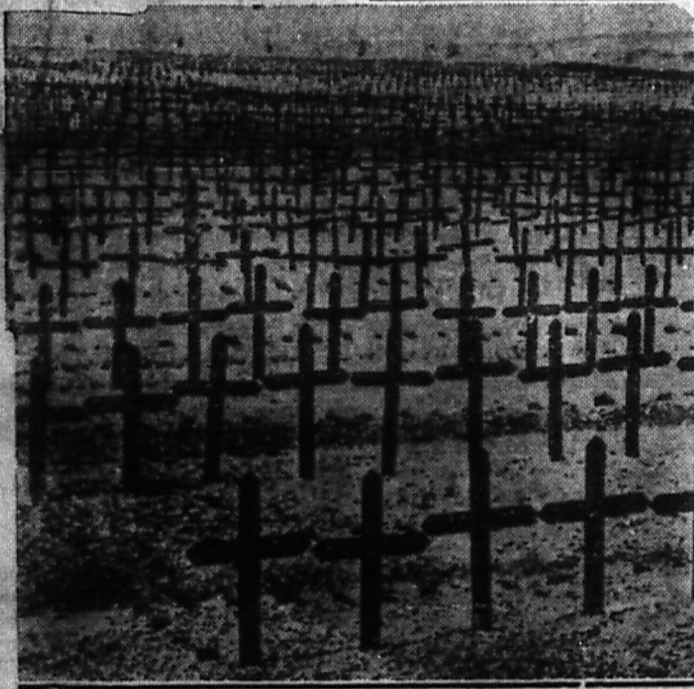


A get-rich-quick formula that sounds like a page from Al Capone's book—"Spend 2 billion for guns and grab yourself 20 billion more per year"—was placed before Congress in the President's message on "the state of the nation."

The budget message, which put into dollars and cents the general proposals of the opening message, asked that \$2 out of every \$9 spent by the government go to the army and navy. The pacifist president, Franklin "I Hate War" Roosevelt, thus becomes the father of the biggest peace-time war budget in American history.

The promise of 20 billion more in national income per year was intended as the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow for the 14 million jobless who are asked to pull their belts a little tighter while the president knocks a billion off of the national income by cutting appropriations and gives a billion more to the army.

CAPITALISM'S MARCH TO DEATH



Only the Best for American Youth

In his recent war budget message to Congress, President Roosevelt once again exhibited that generosity of heart for which he is so justly famous.

He said: "The young men of this nation should not be compelled to take the field with antiquated weapons."

Now isn't that nice of good old F.D.R.? Always worrying about the interest of youth. Next thing you know, he might get real "radical" and even provide some jobs! Oh, yeah?

Nazis Decree Year's Slave Labor for Working Girls

What amounts to virtually a year of slave labor for German working girls and a strict limitation to work in the war industries for boys was decreed in Berlin by the Nazi Labor Front, Hitler's "company union," and by Friedrich Syrup, head of the employment division of Gen. Goering's four-year plan to put German economy on a war footing.

The decree for a year of compulsory labor applies to all girls between eighteen and twenty-five who expect to find jobs in industry, commerce, or the civil service. The daughters of the wealthy, who do not have to work for a living, are, of course, exempted from such labor.

Employers have been instructed not to employ any girl within these age limits who has not performed her year of labor "service." Employment insurance bureaus and other state institutions are likewise not to pay benefits in such cases.

Henceforth, when the labor service was voluntary for all girls except those seeking work in the

clothing, textile, or tobacco industries, they received 20 pfennig (8 cents) a day as spending money. The new decree does not mention any pay at all.

The labor "service" consists of working on farms and in households to which the Nazi employment service assigns them. Girls wishing to select their own place of employment must first win the favor of a bureaucrat of the federal labor office before receiving permission. This, no doubt, is also part of Hitler's program to "save German womanhood."

A decree of the Labor Front prevents young workers from learning such trades as butcher, baker, tailor, barber, waiter, upholsterer, bookbinder and cabinetmaker for the next two years. The ban on apprentices in these trades is calculated to make more unskilled labor available for the steel mills, mining, agricultural and other key points for war-time economy.

Roosevelt's real program consists of the following:

1. Spend 2 billion building an army and navy second to none.
2. Put teeth into the Monroe Doctrine. Stop the "muscling in" of the European nations on Wall Street's private hunting ground—South America.
3. Increased trade with South America, i.e. greater exploitation of South American natural resources and markets.
4. Result: Add 20 billion to "our" yearly income.

Roosevelt is, of course, correct in realizing that American capitalism cannot increase its income 20 billion—or even maintain its present income—by only exploiting home resources. But even if the increased exploitation of South America would yield enough to overcome the decline at home and the wasteful building of armaments, the increased income would never reach the pockets of American labor. Anything that could trickle past the Wall Street investment houses and the shipping interests would not keep a cat alive.

IN THIS ISSUE

Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg	Page 1
Golden Gloves Basket Exposed	2
Civil Liberties under Boss Rule	3
Sixty Families, America's Real Rulers	4
The A. S. U. Convention	5

BUILD THE \$1,000 FUND!

Cauliflower Ears and Newspaper Circulation

THE GOLDEN GLOVES RACKET

By AL LIEBICK

FIRST CALL FOR GOLDEN GLOVES ENTRIES' So reads the headline of the Chicago Tribune's sports page for January 5. Similar headlines, in dozens of newspapers in the country's key cities are also beginning preparations for the 12th annual Golden Gloves Tournament.

This tournament—one of the largest money-making amateur athletic events in the world, was started by the New York Daily News, then taken up by the Chicago Tribune and now the News and Tribune, in association with about 60 other newspapers conduct sectional elimination tournaments. More than 29,000 amateur boxers enter annually, each of them paying 25c for an A.A.U. registration card.

The title "amateur boxing" is quite misleading and erroneous, for it applies only to the boys who do the fighting. For the newspapers "amateur boxing" is a business and a business that nets big profits. In Chicago the Tribune charges \$1.10, 66c, and 40c, to see the "amateurs" in the semi-finals; and for the finals the prices are \$3.30, \$2.20, \$1.65, and \$1.10. All this is side dough. The main income is the increased newspaper circulation.

THE BLOODIER, THE BETTER

The more blood spilled in the ring, the more teeth spit into the buckets between rounds, the more blood-clot giving blows—the better the tournament from the standpoint of the stockholders. The Tribune publicizes the Golden Gloves with the blurb: "Knockouts! Action Every Second!" or describes the tourney in this manner: "Three rings, three fights, and an average of a knockout a minute. That's the Tournament of Champions where winners from 17 states are striving for Golden Gloves."

All profits obtained from the Golden Gloves goes to the Chicago Tribune Charities, Inc. The Tribune and its associates give this as the only reason for running the Golden Gloves. What humanitarian ideals! But if the Tribune is so much interested in the welfare of the downtrodden then why does it wage such an unceasing campaign against any and all W.P.A. appropriations, why does it attack the C.I.O. and the progressive A.F. of L. unions, why does it fight all workers unemployed groups, why does it openly support every movement which fights unionism and the working class? No, the "charity" angle is

just a cheap front for sending young boys through an intensive training period and weeks of knocking about to build newspaper circulation.

TWO, THREE FIGHTS A NIGHT

In the name of charity, sportsmanship, and the "building of character" there is carried on a very thorough method of exploitation. As payment for the lemon sucking, starving, and sweating the boys go through in the process known as "making the weight," as payment for the thousands of punches on the head—the amateurs—after going through a tourney where being called to fight twice and three times a night isn't unusual—are "rewarded" with a few newspaper clippings or a diamond inlaid golden glove if they capture a title.

"Charity begins at home"—so the old saying goes. But for the Tribune it's a different story. Most of the youth entering the Golden Gloves come from not so well-to-do families and boxing has some expenses connected with it. The unattached Golden Glove entrant has to wear wads of cotton in his mouth as a home-made substitute for the fairly expensive mouthpiece. He usually follows the wrong diet, trains too strenuously, and enters the ring out of condition. Not one cent of spending money is provided for him. In one specific case—a young amateur had to ask for carfare to go home from his opponent who had first knocked him out!

NEGRO DISCRIMINATION

Although the boys have to pass a physical examination to participate in the tourney, a few years fighting doesn't exactly make them candidates for 4-H Club winners. One doesn't have to be a doctor to know that punches on or about the eyes have a marked tendency to blur or destroy the vision. Perhaps the publishers and leading authorities think the above is all for the best? Maybe the partially blinded boys won't see the unwholesome world of poverty and war in which they live! One doesn't have to be a doctor to know that constant left hooks, right crosses, and jabs on the head manufactures a type of "mental alertness" in which the afflicted shadow boxes while walking down the street or develops other such good habits! Well at least a situation like this will keep such healthy punch-drunk American lads from listening to some "mad, crack-brained Y.P.S.L.!"

Negro discrimination is carried on in a very subtle manner. The Golden Glove officials always



manage to have the negro boxer pushed around, disregarded and be inconvenienced in every possible way. It is a well known fact that if a fight between a Negro and a white boxer is anywhere close, the white boxer will always receive the decision. One glaring example of this type of Negro discrimination is the following:

During the preliminary bouts on the west side of Chicago in the 1937 Golden Gloves a Negro and white boxer were scheduled for the last bout for that night. For the scheduled 3 rounds of the fight the Negro youth threw everything but the ring posts at his opponent. After much hemming and hawing the judges eeked out a decision for the Negro's badly beaten opponent. The crowd refused to take such a decision and booted the verdict long and loud. After much hesitation and the refusal of the crowd to call a halt and go home, the announcer claimed that the judges had made a slight error in scoring and that the Negro youth had won the fight. A mistake in scoring? Maybe! But this is just one example of many such occurrences.

Besides the Negro discrimination, there is a marked favoritism shown towards the C.Y.O. (Catholic Youth Organization) and members of other large youth clubs. They receive free bandages for their hands, better handling, and greater medical care. All this plus the fact that they have the newest and flashiest boxing apparel as compared to the unaffiliated youth's shabby trunks and dingy bathrobe which gives them a feeling of greater confidence and ease while it makes the unattached feel confused and small. Here too if a fight between a C.Y.O. and an unattached boxer is close the fight usually goes to the bearer of the C.Y.O. colors.

Medical attention is very inefficient for all but the C.Y.O. youth and other favored groups. The unattached youth, after going through a fight in which he may have gotten a cut under his eye, or a gash on his forehead—is given a rush job by the trainer and sent home with a hunk of tape slapped on an open wound.

MILLION PAID ATTENDANCE

This is the great Golden Gloves Tournament. A tournament in which 29,000 young hopefuls participated in in 1937. A tournament which has well over a million paid attendances in Chicago alone. And what does the boy who slugs his way to the top get? What does the victorious amateur get for his part in the show? Let the Tribune tell you:

"America's strongest young men—champions from more than 20 states embracing Chicago and 43 other cities—marched into the Chicago Stadium last night and, to the accompaniment of stirring music from the mighty organ, were given a hearty welcome as they opened the first night's program of the tenth annual Golden Gloves Tournament of Champions—

"These were no hit and miss battles. Each boy was a champion in his own right and when one of them went down he was out flat. . . .

"It's A Tough Grind.

"To the eager seekers in the open bouts, however, there was a far more important goal—a diamond studded golden glove. But the route thereto is such as only a real champion can travel. . . .

"Let's take a boy who made his bid on one of last night's three stages. He put his man down in the second round. The big crowd cheered him. . . .

"Presume that our young tiger was not fortunate enough to draw a bye. Therefore he must come out fighting again before the night is over. And that second bout proved to be a far tougher one than the first, for his opponent also had beaten his opening foe. . . .

"GRUELING JOURNEY"

"Our hero wins the decision, but where is he? Close to the run for home? No, he still has the grueling journey through the backstretch. There remains tomorrow night. Again he must win two bouts, and still the little mitt of gold with the diamond is not his. . . .

"He must return to the Stadium on March 5.

"What awaits him there? Two more bouts and that's where the true Golden Glove seeker proves himself. If he brings off those two victories he can go back home and show the folks the highest prize in amateur boxing. . . ." (Chicago Tribune—Feb. 2, 1937—by French Lane.)

There's the real Horatio Alger story. Fight—sweat—starve—hit—get hit—fight again—get hit again—two in one night—to the finals—and then—that long sought after goal—a diamond studded glove! This is the orthodox style of education and recreation so heartily endorsed by the big shots—the mayors, the educators, the bishops, the business men. This is known as "Sports Recreation" under capitalism. But it helps circulation.

On to the Twice-a-Month "Challenge of Youth" Pacifist Youth Parley Flops

IN THE LEAGUE

By IRVING BERN National Organizational Secretary

By E. WILNER

"The CHALLENGE OF YOUTH must appear as a twice-monthly paper by April 1." This is the decision of the National Council of the YPSL. It must become the decision of every member of our League. It is the unspoken decision of every young fellow and girl in the United States who at this moment is pounding the pavement looking for a job, who is struggling to get through school, who is searching everywhere for a sign that will say: "You have the right to a job, to an education, to a happy life."

The TWICE-A-MONTH CHALLENGE OF YOUTH is the biggest political task that faces our League right now. More than anything else, we need an effective voice. Today, the CHALLENGE OF YOUTH is a swell paper. It's lively, it's colorful, it packs a punch. Every issue is a blow against the 60 Millionaire Families and their economic system which has made us a Locked-Out Generation. Challenge as Organizer

The CHALLENGE is our best organizer. It is better than ten speeches or twenty leaflets. A person who reads the CHALLENGE regularly will soon become a young Socialist fighter.

The CHALLENGE is our voice. It exposes the war plans of the Roosevelt Government. It heads the struggle against the Fascist gangs. Its pages tell the dramatic story of the fight of youth all over America, for jobs and for relief. But the CHALLENGE appearing

only once a month, cannot be truly effective. We must be in a position to reach the youth of America more and more often. The first step in that direction is the drive for a TWICE-A-MONTH CHALLENGE by April 1. A TWICE-A-MONTH CHALLENGE OF YOUTH means we must continue the increase in circulation from issue to issue. We need twice as many comrades out on the streets, twice as often, selling the CHALLENGE.

We must build our subscription list. As a starter, we want 650 new subscriptions by March 1st.

We must raise the \$1,000 National Fund Drive, \$500 of which will be allotted as a sustaining fund for the TWICE A MONTH CHALLENGE.

We must devote our full energy and our best efforts to this drive.

We must have an effective Voice!

HONOR THE MEMORY OF LENIN LIEBKNECHT LUXEMBURG

By Carrying on Their FIGHT AGAINST WAR Attend Mass Rally! WEBSTER MANOR 11th St. near 4th Avenue January 27th, 8 P.M. Speaker: NATHAN GOULD "Living Newspaper"—Chorus

Special to the Challenge

COLUMBUS, Ohio — The Congress of the "Youth Committee Against War," youth section of the pacifistic, isolationist "Keep America Out of War Committee," held here Christmas week proved to be—in plain English—a terrific flop.

The sponsoring committee of the congress had boasted originally that 600 delegates would be present. In fact, the Congress never had more than 150 people present at its sessions. The delegates may be classified into several categories: isolationists and pacifists, church youth with vague socialist leanings, socialist youth with vague churchy-pacifist leanings, and observers from the Young Peoples Socialist League (Fourth International) who presented the revolutionary position on war.

Funny Figures

The entire congress was drab and unenthusiastic. The Norman Thomas Jr., youth section of the Socialist Party, were constantly trembling lest it step too hard on the toes of the pacifists and lose its "mass base." This "mass base" was the joke of the congress. The delegates claimed to represent 2,500,000 youth. That is, each delegate "represented" the ridiculous number of 15,000 people. Everyone here knew, of course, that these figures were so much hot air, but at these sort of gab-fests a little hot air more or less didn't seem to matter much.

The Socialist Party Youth were trying to get across a more verbally radical program than that of the adult organization of the YCAW. At the same time they were trying to be friendly with the pacifists.

The result is that the Congress (Continued on Page 3)

GROWTH . . . Since the National Convention 48 members were recruited at the time of this writing. By the time the CHALLENGE reaches the country we are sure to get the 100 new members that the quota calls for by January 21, 1939.

Table with 3 columns: Location, Quota, Attained. Lists cities like Boston, New York, Newark, etc., with their respective quotas and the number of members attained.

SACRIFICE . . . The Minnesota Division is the first Division or Unit that sent in any money for the \$1,000 drive. What Division or Territory will win the banner for the first \$100 sent in? What Division or Territory will win the banner for achieving its entire quota in three weeks?

FRISCO . . . We are going to expect great things from San Francisco. It has a live wire Unit and now

BUILD THE TWICE-MONTHLY "CHALLENGE OF YOUTH!"

ATTENTION SUBSCRIBERS! If your subscription wrapper is stamped No. 11 your subscription expires with this issue. Renew your sub NOW!

the National Bureau having assigned Comrade Myra Tanner as a field organizer there, San Francisco will definitely be put on the map.

FOR THE FRENCH REVOLUTION . . . Throughout the Party and League we find there are discussions on the French situation. But we find our movement not only discussing but acting. Wherever the Party discussed the French situation in a concrete form we find tremendous response not only on the part of the Party but also by all members of the YPSL. Chicago, New York and Minnesota deserve special mention.

WHAT A BEAUTY . . . Its blue with a military cut. Two flap pockets and shoulder epaulettes. The emblem sewn on to one of the pockets. The initials Y.P.S.L. sewn over the pocket with a "4" in a different color mounted over the initials. Boy what a beauty the UNIFORM is. League members order yours now. \$1.35 per uniform.

WRITE . . . We want every League member to feel that it is his or her duty to write to the National Office. Criticize our Directives. Send in suggestions. Just the other day we received a document from Los Angeles, entitled "Building A Socialist Musical Corps" by Ben Maxson. It will soon be released for use by all our Units. Comrades, follow that example. We need help in many fields.

THE CHALLENGE OF YOUTH Young People's Socialist League of America (Affiliated to the Youth Section of the Fourth International) Editor: ERNEST ERBER Asst. Editor: IRVING HOWE Business Man: BETH WILNER 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK, N. Y. Published by the National Council

The Challenge Brigade

By the Business Manager
Gentlemen:
I am a young girl, 16½.
This is the first time that I have read, or even heard about 'The Challenge of Youth.' However, after reading the paper, my curiosity was aroused. I would appreciate it if I was to be given information on how I could get to be a member of Young Socialist League. . . ."

This is part of a letter received a few weeks ago, by the New York Division from a Brooklyn High School girl. She is now a member of the YPSL. The Challenge and the excellent work of the comrades in Brighton, who regularly sell the Challenge at the local high school, are responsible.

New York has really gone to town on the CHALLENGE. Units have been holding demonstrative street sales all over the town. The results are that a copy of the January issue of the CHALLENGE is as rare as a day in June.

The Leon Sedov unit sold 38 copies in a half hour one night, and 70 copies less than an hour another night. In City College 115 were sold in a few days.

Herbe Locke of the Lenin unit in Brownsville, reports "The CHALLENGE is selling swell. We sold 200 this week. We sell them on the street, on the subways, and at Thomas Jefferson and Tilden High Schools. People who bought the paper said they were interested in the League, and one boy joined up."

The Bronx units were not twiddling their thumbs while the CHALLENGE was being sold in Brooklyn and Manhattan. In the East Bronx, alone 65 copies were sold.

There is a great deal more that could be written about the excellent sales in New York. But other parts of the country clamor for attention.

From Chicago, Al Leibik writes that "sales on the West Side were good. I sold a few to the boys in the poolroom." And Max Weinrib, Division Secretary, tells the story of 12 skeptical comrades who went out one cold night to sell the CHALLENGE. Their sense of duty made them go, but they were probably thinking how nice it would be in a war movie. . . . They came back enthusiastic, and cheering. They had sold 50 copies (all they had with them), in less than an hour.

Jake Cooper, Minneapolis, who is the best CHALLENGE agent in the country, writes, "I am enclosing three subs to the CHALLENGE and a check to cover an additional 125 copies of the current CHALLENGE." With a flip of his pen (and a lot of hard work Jake DOUBLES his bundle order.

And Harold Schornbrun of Toledo, where only four comrades form a new group, requests, "Please send us ten more January issues. Also increase bundle order to 20 next month." (Harold pays in advance for the CHALLENGE.)

Sales of the January issue are a first good step in the direction of the TWICE A MONTH CHALLENGE. It should be a simple matter to sell the increased number you received of this issue. Bundle order quotas for the next issue, will reach units and divisions in the next two weeks.

The drive for 650 new subs by March 1 begins with this issue of CHALLENGE. The division or unit which gets the most subs per member will receive a CHALLENGE Bulder Banner. In addition there will be three individual prizes:

- 1st Prize: "Fascism and Big Business," by Daniel Geurin, latest Pioneer Publication.
 - 2nd Prize: One Year's subscription to the New International.
 - 3rd Prize: A complete YPSL Uniform: Shirt, tie and emblems.
- All subs turned in from now on will count to your quota. Let's make a good showing on the sub drive and on sales of this issue for next month's column. Let's go!
- FORWARD TO THE TWICE-A-MONTH CHALLENGE OF YOUTH**

Boss "Democracy" Unmasked

LIBERTIES VANISH WHEN WORKERS FIGHT BOSSES

By VICTOR MORRIS
An editor of Paramount News gives his reasons for refusing to exhibit the films of the Chicago Memorial Day Massacre:

"Our pictures depict a tense and nerve-racking episode which . . . might very well incite local riots and . . . riotous demonstrations in theatres."

This is an understatement. On Memorial Day, 1937, a thousand union sympathizers—men, women, and children—were marching peacefully toward the plant of the Republic Steel Company. They were unarmed. Before they had even reached company grounds the police opened fire, killing 10 and wounding scores. Then, under a barrage of tear-gas bombs, they pursued the fleeing workers, unmercifully beating and clubbing them.

This episode is especially instructive because the police were not company police. They were the official "democratic" defenders of law and order, "public servants" for all the people of Chicago; yet they acted exactly as though they were hired thugs of Republic Steel. This massacre took place not in some company town, but in a great Northern city in which organized labor is fairly strong. But in countless small company towns, in dozens of states such as New Jersey and the Southern states, civil liberties are fast becoming a myth.

Nation-wide Violations
In New Jersey, the anti-labor Hague machine violates the Bill of Rights and receives the support of the New Deal Government. In the South, it is extremely dangerous to attempt to organize a union. Negroes and poor whites are unable to vote because they cannot afford the poll tax. In several states, infamous Criminal Syndicalism laws are used to "protect our democratic institutions" by depriving labor organizers of their democratic rights. According to these laws, almost any statement which can be construed as an incitement to violence can be used to jail militant workers for long terms.

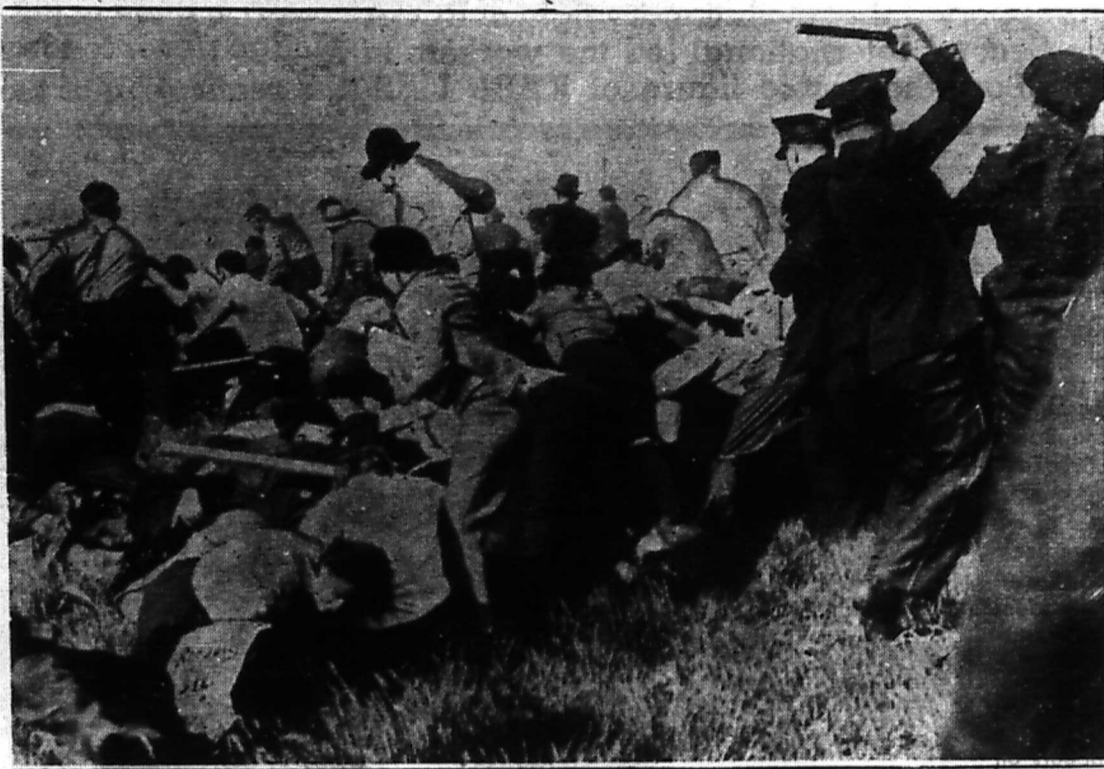
The courts, of course, do nothing to prevent these attacks on democratic rights. In school we were told that our legal system, which is based on precedent, is a flexible one which "moves with the times." Such a system gives wide discretionary powers to the judiciary. Theoretically if a judge wishes he can grant an injunction to a union against the boss, just as theoretically a man can bite a dog. It all depends on the judges who "move with the times." As capitalism declines and organized labor becomes incompatible with profits, the courts will flexibly and "progressively" forget about the Bill of Rights.

Government by Injunction
In New York, the ALP-endorsed Justice Cotillo grants an injunction against the workers of the Busch Jewelry Company and the injunction is enforced by the ALP-endorsed LaGuardia administration. These people all move with the times. The LaGuardia police attack hungry unemployed workers who apply for relief. The Will Lubin case is only one example of this.

So much for the activities of the capitalist state itself. To supplement these activities, the bosses have their private armies of professional strike-breakers, labor spies, vigilantes, Citizens Committees, private police, etc., etc. The La Follette Civil Liberties Committee merely scratched the surface in its investigation of these phenomena. These forces are not only permitted to exist in our great democracy; they work in close harmony with the official police. The notorious Mohawk Valley Plan illustrates how this is done. In this comprehensive outline of boss strategy all the forces mentioned above are coordinated into a unit to be used to crush labor. This plan was praised by Chambers of Commerce all over the country.

As is shown by the Memorial

IS THIS WHY WE SHOULD DEFEND AMERICA?



The Memorial Day Massacre of Chicago Steel Strikers in 1937. Here the dictatorship of the capitalist class is seen in action without the usual silk gloves of "democracy."

Day Massacre, there is not much difference between the official armed representatives of the democratic state and company police. Both are really protectors of capitalism and both will openly move against all democratic rights as soon as capitalism can no longer afford these rights. The fight to defend civil liberties can only be conducted against the capitalist state—democratic or otherwise.

PACIFIST YOUTH PARLEY FLOPS

(Continued from Page 2)

has a program as essentially isolationist as does its adult sponsor. In its 8 point program, despite the sugaring of radical phrases, there is not a word against isolationism or against pacifism, not a word suggesting that war can be fought only by fighting capitalism. Instead we find the old Cordell Hull nonsense about "eliminating trade barriers" as a way to stop war and some vague verbiage about internationalism. (Internationalism of the workers, the bosses, or just of peace loving ladies?)

Confusion Unlimited
The Congress produced a document by its peace commission that is a classic of confusion. It accepts the viewpoint of a section of American capitalism in favor of neutrality but counterposes that to isolationism! But neutrality legislation is precisely the mechanism through which isolation is to be affected. Exactly how the Socialist Party Youth, which claims to have a revolutionary position on war, can accept such nonsense has yet to be explained.

Another example of the futility of this congress is its deliberate failure to pass a resolution in favor of lifting the embargo on Loyalist Spain. Once again, the Norman Thomas Juniors didn't want to antagonize the pacifists by fighting for the interests of the Spanish workers.

The Young Peoples Socialist League (4th Int.), through leaflets and speeches, made clear its position—the fight against war must be an integral part of the revolutionary struggle against capitalism—isolationism and pacifism are as dangerous to the fight against war as is collective security—the only real way to fight war is to participate in the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

YOUNG PEOPLES SOCIALIST LEAGUE
116 University Place
New York City

Please send me more information on your organization.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

A. S. U. Goes Whole Hog For Boss Jingo Plans

By IRVING HOWE
NEW YORK—Wallowing in the mud of hysterical jingoism and flag-waving, the recent convention of the Stalinist-controlled American Student Union sank to a new low, even for that organization, in trying to corral American students into the Roosevelt war parade. The convention marked the transition of the ASU from a hesitant, squeamish supporter of imperialist war into a blatant war agency when it adopted resolutions in favor of "national defense" and of ROTC. It also applauded President Roosevelt's scheme for the training of 20,000 students by army air pilots.

When the convention opened with a mass meeting in the Hippodrome, the delegates and visitors were surprised by the challenge of a colourful, lively picket line of 150 members of the Young Peoples Socialist League who shouted: "Against Imperialist War," "Schools Not Battleships," "ASU Supports ROTC, Down with ROTC." During the convention the YPSL was to boldly present the revolutionary anti-war position through two bulletins, the sale of the "Challenge," and personal conversations.

Membership Falls
That the convention was held in New York is symptomatic of the decline of the ASU. The Stalinist leaders of the ASU felt certain that New York would provide two things that were essential for them: 1. A large delegation for the purpose of public consumption and 2. A large Young Communist League delegation which would enable them to go the whole hog in jingoism. They knew that if the convention were to be held, say, in the mid-West, the organizational decline of the ASU might be sharply reflected and there might be too many non-YCL delegates.

As it was, the YCL had a definite majority of the 450-odd delegates. This fact was proven by the ability of the YCL floor leaders to muster mechanical majorities even on procedural questions. The YCL was determined to get open support of Roosevelt's war measures into the ASU program and it did.

The ASU came out openly in support of American imperialism. Speaking of the Roosevelt war government, the convention resolution says: "We are confident that vigorous leadership by American democracy is more necessary than ever . . . we approve the steps taken by the United States at Lima. . ." The YCL leaders forgot that some 5 years ago they had been conducting a vigorous campaign against American imperialism in South America, applied by the very Roosevelt they are now so anxious to support.

The entire discussion on the war question was, with one or two exceptions, a shameful display of tub-thumping "patriotism." The question was not whether to support the arms budget, but how large an arms budget was needed. Thus, the resolution reads: "The ASU instructs its NEC to undertake a study of what are the defense needs of the United States."

Molly Goes Jingo
When the question of endorsing Roosevelt's plan for training in military flying for students came up, the convention supported it. At this point, Molly Yard—a former absolute pacifist and now hatchet-madame for the YCL—made one of the most hair-raising, hysterical jingo speeches your reporter has ever heard. She declared herself happy at the fact that President Roosevelt was going to be kind enough to give American students military training. And that was the tone of the entire convention: open jingoism.

There was but little opposition. There were some 20 pacifists voting against the YCL and about 10 Socialist Party Youth who made a very weak showing under the insipid leadership of Miss Robin Meyers. The SP youth despite their verbal protestations of horror at the ASU program did not have the initiative—or the guts?—to break from the ASU.

The ASU has now completed its transition. It is on the other side of the fence—with the ROTC, the Army Generals and the Daughters of the American Revolution—screaming for the defense of capitalism and its wars.

SIXTY FAMILIES; THE OWNERS AND LORDS OF AMERICA

By W. K. Manuel
It rises shrilly above the thick orchestration of the war symphony—"our country," "our institutions," "our destiny," "our America." In the flood of jingo appeals for greater and greater armaments in the drive towards imperialist war, the politicians, Democrats, Republican and Stalinists alike are concentrating on these choice lies.

Whose country and whose institutions are the American working class youth called upon to defend? "Our country" is ours only in a geographical sense. Actually it belongs to the Sixty Families.

Sixty Families own and dominate the United States. Sixty Families hold in their hands a fortune greater than the combined possessions of all the kings and princes of antiquity. As private citizens without titles of any kind they wield more power than czars and emperors. They own the nation's banks, factories, mines, mills, farms, newspapers, radio, movies, pulpits, political parties, universities, railroads, shipping. They maintain an invisible grip in the courts and legislatures.

On paper, citizens are equal at the polls, but the campaign contributions of the Sixty Families insure the election of selected candidates. In a nation characterized by the permanent pauperization of millions of people, a standard of living abysmally low in proportion to America's natural and industrial wealth, these Sixty Families sit on their private thrones and rule as dictators of our economic, political and social life.

The Ruling Clique
They exercise industrial and financial control through majority ownership in hundreds of corporations, and through the disenfranchisement through legal devices of fractional stockholders, policy holders, and bank depositors. But this is merely a mechanical outline of the dynasty.

The Sixty Families have organized themselves into the ruling clique of the capitalist class, perpetuating their control by means of family alliances. Just as in feudal society, the family was primarily responsible for gaining wealth, guarding it and passing it down intact or enlarged to the succeeding generation, these plutocrats have merged wealthy family, with wealthy family, millionaire with millionaire. Only Hollywood conceives of the poor little shop girl marrying into a million bucks. In real life the interlocking directorate of the financier is repeated in the marital sphere. A peek into the Social Register reveals that the blood of the Rockefeller, Vanderbilts, Whitneys, Astors, Manvilles, Hearsts, DuPonts and Harknesses is generously intermixed.

Poverty and Plenty
Discounting secret reserve funds, tax-exempt securities, and the numerous loopholes obligingly provided by a sympathetic government, the estimated fortunes of the sixty families make an amazing collection of figures. When one looks at the table based on the 1924 tax returns (the last ones to be made public), one is sharply impressed by the great contradiction that is America. Here is an aggregation of wealth and power concentrated in the hands of a minute percentage of the national population that far overbalances the disproportionate division of wealth in Ancient Rome. Yet this minority is able to dictate conditions of mass poverty, insecurity and want upon 125 million people in the richest country in the whole wide world. Votes are meaningless when money controls the politicians. Capitalist democracy is a sham when they are able to corral the nation's wealth while millions go hungry.

A detailed description of the individual families who comprise the group of sixty, and the ways and hows of their far-flung control of American life will follow in our next article.

THE OWNERS OF AMERICA

Family	Source of Wealth	Estimated Fortune
Rockefellers	Standard Oil	\$2,500,000,000
Morgans	J. P. Morgan & Co.	1,500,000,000
Fords	Ford Motor Co.	1,000,000,000
Mellons	Aluminum Co.	1,000,000,000
Vanderbilts	N. Y. Central R. R.	800,000,000
DuPonts	E. I. DuPont de Nemours Co.	1,000,000,000
Whitneys	Standard Oil	750,000,000
Harknesses	Standard Oil	800,000,000

(From "Sixty American Families," by Ferdinand Lundberg.)

We Shall Never Forget

When the Second International was being permeated with opportunism, the youth supported the revolutionary fight of ROSA LUXEMBURG. When the Second International led the workers to war, the youth gathered about the heroic figure of KARL LIEBKNECHT and met in Bern, Switzerland, in 1915 to reunite the international movement. When the Russian Revolution conquered, the youth gathered under the banner of LENIN to help found the Communist International.

We, heirs to the glorious tradition of the Liebknecht-led youth, pledge never to forget their example. We shall dedicate our lives to the realization of their highest hopes.

Nikolai Lenin

HERE are two ways of honouring Lenin's memory. One of them—the Stalinist way—is to pay lip service to him on holiday orations and then to contradict every one of his ideas in practice. The other way—that of the Fourth Internationalists—is not only to respect the memory of a great revolutionist but also to try to intelligently apply and carry out his ideas at the present time.

Lenin is the central character of the twentieth century. His name strikes terror into the hearts of the bosses, of the imperialist oppressors of humanity wherever and whenever it appears on the hopeful lips of workers striving for liberation. His name is inextricably bound up with the idea of revolution, of human freedom.

THEN AND NOW

That is why it is so tragic to see what has been done to it in the last few years. The American "Communist" Party (despite the fact that it supports a capitalist government, whoops it up for imperialist armaments, and endorses capitalist politicians) still dares to speak in the name of Lenin. But these things which it is doing now are just what Lenin fought against all his life. If he could wake up today and see what the Stalinists are doing in his name, he would say, as Karl Marx said about some of his timid followers, "I have sown dragons and reaped fleas."

For Lenin was a revolutionist—a fighting, militant, bold revolutionist. His great contribution to working class thought is precisely his idea that in a time of decaying capitalism it is not the job of the workers and the youth to try to patch an old blanket which never kept them warm—that is, to reform capitalism—but to get a new blanket, to fight for a workers' state.

What a tragic joke it is to compare this idea—and Lenin was a man who put his ideas into practice—with the policies of the present "Communist" movement which slavishly supports the Roosevelt War Government.

Lenin taught that the workers have no business supporting any capitalist war, no matter under what fancy excuse it may be fought. Compare this with the practice of the Stalinists who support the military budget of the American capitalist government. Compare this with the Stalinist policy of "collective security" which means supporting one set of capitalist gangsters against another in case of a war.

It is not only because we admire and revere Lenin that we commemorate his death. It is above all because we are the only ones that really carry out his ideas, that we are the only ones that have the same political program that Lenin did.

LIFE OF SACRIFICE

Lenin's life was completely devoted to the goal of achieving the freedom of the workers and all oppressed humanity. He never gave an ounce of support to any of the institutions of capitalism. He always taught that the workers must be independent of the bosses, that they must organize separately, in a class-conscious manner, in their own trade unions and political parties as the way to secure both immediate demands and to move closer to the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. That is exactly our program today. That is why the name of Lenin means so much to us.

He was never afraid of being alone. He was not afraid of fighting on for his ideals even though his former allies—the Social-Democrats—deserted the revolutionary banner. He said: Our program is correct. It is the only one that can save humanity. We shall go to the workers, and show them, patiently and through their own experience, that their place is with the Bolsheviks.

"I would choose an immediate split with no matter whom in our party, rather than surrender to social patriotism. . . ."



"The revolution shall rise again and to your terror announce with a voice of thunder: I am, I was, I am to be."

Rosa Luxemburg

"A people that gives silent consent to military government in times of war, thereby admits that political independence at any time is superfluous."

IT is the night of January 15, 1919—a cold, murky night in Berlin. The city has, for the past several months, been in an uproar: street fighting between workers and police, starvation riots, revolutionary uprisings of the workers under the leadership of the Spartacus Bund, suppressed in blood by the "Social-Democratic" government.

In a forest swamp near Berlin is found the body of Rosa Luxemburg. She, together with Liebknecht, has been murdered by the hired and uniformed thugs of the "Socialist" government. She was a dangerous character, "Bloody Rosa," the capitalist papers called her. She put terrible ideas in the minds of the workers; she told them that to overthrow the Kaiser is not enough, that it is necessary to overthrow the rotten politicians who rule for capitalism and to have the workers take power themselves. For that she has been murdered by the lackeys of the government, the right wing "Socialists" whose job it was to defend capitalism.

The indignation and sorrow of the workers is beyond bounds. Those leaders whom they had learned to trust and love are dead. And when the funeral of Rosa is held the Berlin workers come in hundreds of thousands to pay their last tribute to the heroes of the Socialist Revolution.

BRILLIANT RECORD

Rosa Luxemburg was shot in cold blood by the agents of German capitalism. But those bullets could not erase her deathless ideas; they could not erase the memory of her brilliant intellect and rich personality; they could not erase the great heritage of writing on Socialist theory she left behind.

Rosa was a born rebel. Even in her youth in the

Warsaw gymnasium she organized a Socialist study group and was forced to flee from the Czarist police. She continued her studies in Switzerland and organized the left-wing of the Polish Socialist movement.

She rapidly became famous as one of the most brilliant intellects of the twentieth century. Her original works, clarifying Marxian economic theory, defending revolutionary socialism from the "reformists" who wanted to support capitalism "temporarily," and attacking those Socialists who were to support the imperialist war in 1917, show her to be one of the sharpest and profoundest minds of the Marxian movement.

Rosa was a living refutation of the reactionary idea that women merely belong in the kitchen, the church and the nursery. She was a preview of the emancipated woman under Socialism, who would have as much right to develop their intellectual capacities as the male sex.

VARIED INTERESTS

But not only was Rosa a great revolutionist and brilliant thinker; she was also a truly wonderful person. A myth has arisen that she was a hard and emotionless automaton, solely interested in politics. That is nonsense. We need but read her letters from prison—so full of tenderness, of warm compassion for all human suffering, of deep and passionate interest in literature, science, art and music—to understand her magnificent character.

On the slate of history there stands in huge, indelible letters the name of Rosa Luxemburg. And all the fury of the ruling class will not suffice to erase it.

Karl Liebknecht

WHEN one discusses today the question of war and of the war budget of the Roosevelt government, there is one name, above all others, that comes to mind: Karl Liebknecht.

Everything that Liebknecht teaches us can be compressed into one incident of his life. And that is the glorious culmination of his life-long campaign against the bosses' war: his solitary vote in the German Reichstag against war credits to the imperialist government of the Kaiser.

ONCE MORE: "DEMOCRACY"

And how it is necessary to remember those simple lessons today! Once again we are being told that it is necessary to have huge armaments in order to "defend democracy" (in 1914, the French workers were told to fight for their government in the name of democracy while the German workers were told to die for the equally noble cause of civilization). But Liebknecht exposed that lie. His entire revolutionary life revolves around the struggle for the organization of the youth against militarism. He told them that in capitalist society wars are fought for the profits of the imperialist bosses; they are never really fought for the high-sounding ideals with which the workers are deluded into supporting those wars. If the capitalists were to ask the workers to die for profits, they would never go to war.

Liebknecht told the young workers that they had nothing to gain from war but death and misery. It was rather the job of the workers and the youth to take advantage of the war crisis in order to abolish that economic system whose contradictions give rise to war. He also warned them against the follies of pacifism: "Don't throw away your arms, but turn them against your oppressors."

THE MAIN ENEMY IS AT HOME

When the "Communist" Party supports Roosevelt's war budget they are doing precisely what the German Social-Democrats did when they supported their government's war budget. Liebknecht taught the workers that the war budget of a capitalist government is always to be opposed as the concrete manifestation of its war policy. That is why we can truly say that we of the Fourth International carry on the tradition of Liebknecht, while the Stalinists act as stooges of the bosses just as Scheidemann and Ebert—the leaders of the German Social-Democracy—did.

Liebknecht never ceased his fight against boss war. He agitated in the barracks of the German army and was sentenced in 1909 to prison for it. During the war he organized demonstrations against the war and was also arrested. The name of Liebknecht is inextricably bound up with the struggle against war and for peace. In his anti-war novel "Under Fire," Henri Barbusse tells how the French workers at the front in 1918 who were becoming tired of the war began to speak of "Brother Liebknecht." And rightly so. For Liebknecht became the spokesman of all workers.

The Prisoner and The Storm

Moabit Prison
Spring, 1917

Storm—comrade of mine—
You call me!
I cannot go,
I am yet chained!
Yes, I too am the storm.
Part of you;
And the day will come
When I shall break my chains,
When I shall rage again,
Rage far and wide,
Storm around the world,
Storm through all lands,
Storm of humanity,
Of man's mind and heart,
Triumphant, like you.

Karl LIEBKNECHT