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THE

CHALLENGE OF YOUTH

"The Third Camp
Speaks Out!" ---
The Story of
World-Wide Fight
Against War

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AGAINST LONDON---PARIS!

AGAINST BERLIN---MOSCOW!

FOR THE THIRD CAMP OF WORLD LABOR REVOLT!

Youth Delegates Support Minority At SWP Convention

By ERNEST ERBER

The long discussion in the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young People's Socialist League was brought to a head at the sessions of the S.W.P.'s Third National Convention meeting in New York City over the week-end of April 5th to the 8th.

The convention debated as its two main questions a resolution on the Party's attitude toward the Second World War and the Soviet Union and a resolution on the conduct of the National Committee Majority in the administration of the organization.

The National Committee Majority was supported on both questions by 54 delegates representing 60% of the Party membership. The resolutions of the Minority of the National Committee received the votes of 31 delegates representing 40% of the Party membership. The three delegates from the Y.P.S.L. cast their votes for the Minority resolutions. Over 70% of the youth organization supported the Minority position in the pre-convention discussion.

Divide on Red Army Role

The Majority of the NC took the position that the invasions of Finland and Poland by the Stalin army were merely episodes in the world war which will soon be transformed into an attack upon the Soviet Union by the imperialist powers. Since this is very likely, they argued, the Fourth International should support the military efforts of the Red Army in Poland and Finland, while continuing, however, its political opposition to the Stalin regime.

The Minority of the NC argued that the Red Army was taking part in the imperialist war for the extension of the power, influence, and revenues of the bureaucratic caste that rules the

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The six months war of nerves is over. It was but a pause between the brief overture in Poland that opened the Second World War and its first Act in Scandinavia.

For six months the gods of war worked with fiendish anticipation to feverishly pile up the essentials of war—poisoned and inflamed minds, well-drilled bodies, broken, disciplined slaves, and arms, arms, and more arms.

The flood of war preparations rose high behind the Siegfried and Maginot Lines. When the flood could not rise over them, it swept around them and poured forth its death and destruction upon Scandinavia and, without a doubt, the rest of the world.

Now the blows will fall with lightning rapidity. In Norway and Denmark today, in the Balkans tomorrow, in the Caucasus on the day after. . . .

Just as Stalin's invasions of Poland and Finland scattered to the four winds the pathetic contentions of the Kremlin apologists that the only aim of Soviet diplomacy is to keep out of the war, so now the sudden extension of the war into Scandinavia blows to bits the puny constructions of those "theoreticians" who insisted that the war between German imperialism and the British Empire was a "phoney" war that had the purpose of concealing preparations for a joint German-British attack upon the Soviet Union.

The war is NOT phoney, it is horribly real. If neutrality was proven impossible for the Scandinavian countries, it will prove itself impossible for one country after another until the entire world will be hurled into the abyss. Each country in turn will find the pistol placed at its head with the demand to declare itself either "For the Berlin-Moscow Axis" or "For the London-Paris Axis."

The desperate profit-hungry rulers of German imperialism and the bloated plutocratic lords of the British Empire have summoned forth their maximum strength for the trial by blood and fire that is to determine which group shall exploit the peoples and wealth of the world. And as they lock arms in a death grapple they crush out between them and trample underfoot the last remnants of that civilization which we were told was the proud achievement of capitalist society.

Trial by blood and fire? It is the blood of working-

men and farmers that soaks the ground and the bodies of their wives and children that are seared by fire.

But those who have unloosed the flood will not escape. They can place a pistol to the head of the working masses of the world and the toiling colonial slaves of Africa and Asia and demand support of either the camp of Moscow-Berlin or the camp of London-Paris. And they can even force them into the slaughter pits under one imperialist banner or the other. BUT IT WILL NOT BE FOR LONG!

The working masses of the world will find their way out. Every bayonet is the same in this war, whether it is German or British, French or Russian. It is merely a weapon with a point at one end and a worker at the other. The worker will soon ask himself and his comrades why he should thrust the cold steel into the flesh of another worker, no different from himself, if he happened to be born in another country.

And on the question is asked the answer will be given. The calloused hands of workmen will reach across No-Man's Land to greet each other in international solidarity. They will stream forth from the camp of the perfidious British robbers and the French oppressors. They will stream forth from the camp of the German exploiters and the Russian slavedrivers.

THE MASSES WILL UNITE IN THE THIRD CAMP OF THIS WAR — THE CAMP OF WORLD REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND SOCIALISM.

In this camp will be found the heroic underground fighters of Germany, the revolutionary workers of France, the unvanquished "Trotskyites" of the Soviet Union, the awakened labor masses of England and America, the oppressed peoples of Europe—the Poles, the Czechs, the Ukrainians, the Irish, the Danes, the long suffering Negroes of Africa, the United States, and the West Indies, and the million-headed mass of sweating, toiling, bleeding Asiatic slaves of American, British, French, and Japanese imperialism.

And in that THIRD CAMP will be found the Young People's Socialist League, honorably and proudly holding high the banner of the Fourth International and inscribing upon it our battle cry—
LIVE! FIGHT! CONQUER!

Stalinists and Pacifists Seek to Derail Campus Strike

By IRVING HOWE

The annual student anti-war strike which is taking place this April 19th may well be the last one. It is quite likely that by April, 1941, America will be actively involved in the European War. The character of these strikes, therefore, assumes a more than ordinary importance: will the students of America remain indifferent to all actions; will they be misled, as so often in the past, into a Stalinist or isolationist maze; or will they work their way clear to an unambiguous, militant anti-war position, the position of the THIRD CAMP.

It may be safely predicted that the war hysteria which is being created in the country will affect large numbers of students, with the result that they will abstain from any form of anti-war action.

But those students who will act—what will be the nature of their actions? This question can be answered in advance. There have been three programs proposed for the Anti-War strike. These programs fall very neatly in the three possible attitudes toward the war itself. The Stalinist "American Student Union" acts in the interests of Moscow-Berlin. The isolationist-Socialist-pacifist melange of the Youth Committee Against War gravitates around the Allied axis. Only the program proposed by the YPSL (printed in this issue of the *Challenge*) raises the banner of the THIRD CAMP: opposition to both sides of the imperialist war.

Two Programs Compared

Let us examine the programs of the ASU and YCAW to prove our statements:

Though starting from different premises, both programs end with the same conclusion: isolationism. The Stalinists, in their support of Hitler-Stalin, want to prevent America from joining the other side; the YCAW represents a sort of indigenous, "native" pacifism, the sponsors of which lean to the Allied camp.

The Stalinist ASU has secured a number of other organizations to endorse its call—American Law Students Association, the Association of Medical Students, etc. Their program is therefore a compromise between an outright Stalinist program and a patriotic program. It is also likely that the Stalinists willingly subordinated many of their pro-Hitler-Stalin slogans in order to win wider support on the campus.

Their call, for example, does not support the Stalinist invasion of Finland. As a matter of fact, it says: "No war loans, no planes, no men to European belligerents." What hypocrisy! Do they mean that to apply to Russia as well? Or do they feel that their

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Youth Will Find Way to Third Camp Says Editor of New International

By JAMES BURNHAM

The first seven months of the second world war have been enough to remove all grounds for doubt about its true character. It is, like the war of 1914-18, a wholly reactionary struggle for world domination, for the privileges of ruling and oppressing the great majority of mankind, the workers and farmers, and the impoverished masses of the colonies and semi-colonies in Asia, Africa and South America.

The first seven months of the war find as open belligerents the govern-

Moscow axis on the other; but already, under the impulsion of the world crisis, one after another of the remaining great powers and the smaller nations are compelled to tie themselves to one or the other of the opposing camps. In the days to come no nation will be able to avoid the fatal choice, least of all the United States which even today has its economic and diplomatic feet firmly planted in the

Anglo-French camp and tomorrow will supply men along with its guns and planes. Everywhere in the world, statesmen and priests, moralists and writers, "leaders of opinion" and editors, bend all of their major energies to the task of lining up the people for the war.

Present Two Choices
One step is indispensable in achieving their aim: to persuade the people

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New NYA Cut

New cuts in NYA allotments for New York State youth were announced last week by agreement between the National Administration and the State Welfare Department.

According to this policy, youths of relief families in cases where the Welfare Department deducts more than 25% of the youth's wages for the family, will be dropped from the NYA rolls.

Exactly to what extent this will result in cutting more youth off NYA is not clear. But it is clear why such youth, who would seem to be the most in need of aid, should not be cut off the rolls.

California Student Workers Form Union

BERKELEY, Calif.—One of the first attempts at trade union organization among working students is achieving great success here at the University of California. Over 200 working students, members of the Student Workers Federation, organized two years ago, are cooperating with locals of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in a drive to organize students and non-students employed on and about the campus.

For the last few months the Federation has been concentrating on students working in restaurants and "hash joints" around the University. The drive has been conducted with the cooperation of the A.F. of L. Culinary Workers Union, and definite results are already in view. There are now two or more members of the Federation in every eating place on Telegraph Avenue, with some shops organized almost 100%. The Culinary Workers Union has also made great strides among the non-student workers in this district, and contract negotiations are to be started in the immediate future.

Union Overcomes Fears
In the past, organization has been hampered by the fear on the part of non-students that should they join a union they would be replaced by low-wage students. Students have also feared that closed shop contracts with the union would exclude them from the jobs which they need if they are to continue in school. The organization of a strong union for working students has now changed all this.

The Student Workers Federation and the Culinary Workers Union have agreed to retain the present proportion of student to non-student workers in all organized shops. At the same time, the Culinary Workers will give permit cards to all members of the S.W.F. who wish them, thus becoming the collective bargaining agency for all workers in these shops. Wage scales have been devised to the full satisfaction of all workers involved. Differentials are not based on "student" or "non-student" work, but on the hours per day worked. As most students work only a very few hours, they will receive a slightly higher hourly wage than persons working six or eight hours a day. Students carrying Culinary Workers' permit cards will also be eligible to union jobs during the summer.

Help Enforce NYA Scale

The S.W.F. has been active in other types of work as well. Though it has not succeeded as yet in organizing a majority of N.Y.A. workers, it has exerted great pressure on local N.Y.A. administrators. In conjunction with the University's "Labor Board" it has established and helped enforce the minimum of 40c per hour for all kinds of student work. The S.W.F. has also taken a strong stand condemning the attempt to draft NYA students into the Army.

One of the S.W.F.'s strong points is its close collaboration with the labor movement. University students, at one

FDR Offers Jobless Youth "Pie in Sky"

When a New Jersey clergyman sends out a questionnaire asking a number of outstanding politicians and Coupon-Clippers: "What is the most fundamental need in the lives of the young people of America today?" you can expect almost anything to happen. And it did.

In this day and age, when there are 6,000,000 youths unemployed, the answer subscribed to by most of those who answered was: "A CLEARER UNDERSTANDING AND APPRECIATION OF RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL VALUES."

What's the old song about "Pie in the Sky?"

This parade of "Spiritual" baloney was led off by none other than President Roosevelt. The President wrote:

"No greater thing could come to our land today than a revival of the spirit of religion—a revival that would sweep through the homes of the nation and stir the hearts of men and women of all faiths to a re-assertion of their belief in God and their dedication to His will for themselves and for their world."

"I doubt if there is any problem, social, political, or economic that would not melt away before the fires of such a spiritual awakening."

What drive! All you have to do is get religion and all your problems will be solved. If that's the best that the representatives of the ruling class can give us, we better start looking around someplace else for a solution of our problems.

time the greatest reservoir of scabs in maritime strikes, are learning from their own experience that unionization is the only answer to their immediate economic problems. Arrangements have been made with several unions to give students summer jobs where they can really come to understand the labor union movement.

Stalinists and Pacifists Seek to Derail Campus Strike

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program is so reprehensible on this question, that they had best be quiet?

We, on the contrary, need have no hesitation to put forward our slogan of the THIRD CAMP! Against the two imperialist camps and for the camp of international working class solidarity.

Though there is a war going on, the ASU strike call does not condemn either of the warring sides. This, alone, would be enough to eliminate it as a program for the American students.

It continues in the same weaselled manner: "no cuts in social service for increased armaments." But this slogan is misleading and evasive. For or against the Roosevelt war budget? They must answer that question.

The ASU call says: "Optional ROTC—no extension." Again weaselled! We say: Abolish the ROTC!

What Kind of Peace?

The ASU call says: "No second Versailles." This slogan gives the show away. Sure, we're against the repetition of Versailles. But this slogan, in and of itself, is also the slogan of . . . Hitler, Stalin's partner. We, the revolutionary Socialist youth, say: Yes, against a second Versailles treaty. We cannot accept the peace conditions of either the Allies or Hitler-Stalin. We are against the oppression of any people, whether it be done by Chamberlain or Hitler. Why don't the Stalinists dare raise the cry for freeing of Czechoslovakia or Poland oppressed by Hitler? On this question, the reactionary meaning and motives of the Stalinist ASU are clearly shown and the students should reject them therefore.

Finally, we cannot accept the Stalinist slogan "The Yanks Aren't Coming." This slogan can be accepted by Fritz Kuhn too. He doesn't want America to fight against his boss, Hitler, just as Earl Browder doesn't want America to fight against his boss, Stalin.

We're against both sides of this war. That's the only kind of anti-war program worth a hoot. And that's why we reject the misleading slogan of "The Yanks Aren't Coming." (This slogan, by the way, has a reactionary meaning in many sections of the country where Yank refers to native-born American as opposed to immigrant workers or descendants of immigrants.)

YCAW Also Isolationist

The program of the YCAW is essentially the same as that of the ASU, though stemming from different motives. It, like the Stalinists, fails to concretely analyze the present imperialist war in Europe: the roles of the Allies, of Hitler, of Stalin. It, like the

Stalinists, fails to raise the crucial slogan of the THIRD CAMP of the working class in opposition to both sides of the imperialist war.

It contains, again like the Stalinists, evasive and confusing formulations on the questions of abolishing the ROTC and opposition to the Roosevelt war budget. The YCAW does not dare attack the Roosevelt war drive.

It does contain several slogans which are not in the Stalinist program and which are worth noticing.

The YCAW says: "Maintain strict neutrality. . . . Stop war trade." This is either hopelessly naive or maliciously idiotic. What neutrality has FDR practised that must be maintained? Can any imperialist government be "neutral"? Is it our job to suggest a foreign policy for "our" government or is it our job to suggest a policy for the workers and students against the government? And how can "war trade" be stopped? What demagogical propaganda!

The YCAW continues: "Stop the war now. Support forces working for peace in all countries. . . ." This is a misleading and reactionary slogan. Revolutionary students and workers are in favor of neither the imperialist war nor its reactionary peace. We are not in favor of a peace on the conditions of Hitler; nor on the conditions of the Allies. We do not support the Fascists in Britain who work for peace (at Hitler's conditions); nor German monarchists and Social Democrats who want peace for Germany on Britain's terms.

Both of these programs must be rejected. It is not our job to act as advisers to the Roosevelt government. It is rather our job to lead the struggle to break the confidence of the people in that government. That is the direction in which the anti-war struggle on the student field must go: THE THIRD CAMP!

Living Standard Declines

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The United States is now producing an income in goods and services about equal to that of 1929, but since its population has increased by some 10,000,000 people, its standard of living has been lowered 7½ percent, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, asserts in the April issue of the *American Federationist*.

This important indication of the decline and sickness of the American capitalist economy is said to be the first instance where the standard of living has declined, not temporarily over a short period of one or two years, but over a whole period of 10 years.

Students! All Out In Strike Against War On April 19th

With the Spring of 1940 will begin the 2nd Stage of the 2nd World War.

The first stage—the period of preliminary skirmishes, of diplomatic jockeying for favorable positions—will soon be over. The war of imperialist brigandage will burst out like an overcharged volcano.

American youth must speak out—while there is still time. We must speak out firmly and boldly against both sides of the imperialist war, against both camps of plutocratic exploitation. NOW—before it is too late.

Only the working people of the world, rejecting all the reactionary imperialist governments and their agents, can bring real peace by overthrowing the warring exploiters. Only in this way can democracy be given real meaning—by establishing the power of the working people and their allies. Only in this way can Fascism be stopped.

In America, the THIRD CAMP means relentless struggle against the war drive of the Roosevelt government. Expose the intrigues of the Roosevelt Administration to drag us into war! Fight against the hysterical "War for Democracy" propaganda being dished out by the 60 Ruling Families and their government!

Students of America! STRIKE AGAINST WAR on April 19th on the following program!

- 1) Support the Oxford Pledge—"Refuse to support any war the U. S. government may undertake.
- 2) Let the People Vote on War!
- 3) Allow Youth to vote at 18—Old enough to fight, Old enough to vote.
- 4) AGAINST BOTH IMPERIALIST CAMPS: THE CAMP OF CHAMBERLAIN, REYNAUD, MANNERHEIM, ROOSEVELT and THE CAMP OF HITLER-STALIN.
- 5) Jobs not Guns—We Can't Eat Battleships.
- 6) Against Roosevelt's War Budget; Use All War Funds for Public Works to give jobs to the unemployed.
- 7) Oppose Roosevelt's M-Day Plans—No Military Dictatorship.
- 8) Only International Working Class Action Can Stop War.
- 9) THE MAIN ENEMY IS AT HOME—Fight the War-makers and the System that Breeds Them.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE (Fourth International)

Youth Will Find Way to Third Camp Says N. I. Editor

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that their only choice lies between the two imperialist camps now in the field. The people have grown wise enough to distrust both camps; they will support one of them only as a "lesser evil", only if they are convinced that there is no way out, no third choice possible.

All of the slogans are designed to reinforce this lie that the only possible choice is between these two camps—London-Paris and Berlin-Moscow. "Democracy against Fascism", "Stop the Aggressor", "Destroy British imperialism and plutocracy", "Defend the Soviet Union". . . . Every one of these slogans is a lie, hiding the true character of this war of tyrants and plunderers.

And the biggest lie of all is the lie that is back of all of them, the lie that in this war there are only two camps, that we must choose between one or the other of them.

No! There is a THIRD CAMP! There is not yet any government in the ranks of the third camp; its soldiers are not yet organized into official armies. But already, on a world scale, the forces of the THIRD CAMP are in action. Every week news of the battles of the THIRD CAMP forces its way through the censorships.

The THIRD CAMP is the camp of struggle against the war, of irreconcilable struggle against both axes, against all the belligerent governments and their armies and their aims.

Youth Gain Nothing From War
The war strikes home most directly of all at the youth. It is the youth who are summoned to fight and die; it is the youth who have nothing, nothing whatever, to gain from the war.

It is the youth who, first and foremost, belong in the army of the THIRD CAMP, whose victory alone can bring peace and freedom.

With the world in flames, it is true that no one can stand aside. We must fight. The problem is: what is worth fighting for? where is our army?

The youth, every young worker and farmer and student, can find his place in the army of the THIRD CAMP. And they will not be alone. The THIRD CAMP is not a dream, not a mere hope. Its forces are in daily action. The workers and peasants of India have started their battle for freedom: their fight may be the first major engagement in the campaign of the THIRD CAMP. The people of Ireland have set their course against their oppressors. The people of Australia continue their struggle against conscription. All the resources of the Gestapo cannot quiet the people of Bohemia. Every action, every pamphlet, every demonstration, every strike against the war and the war-makers is a skirmish in the war of the THIRD CAMP.

Today the actions of the THIRD CAMP are episodic, isolated. But they gather strength, widen, and move jointly in the same irresistible direction.

Tomorrow the army of the THIRD CAMP will take the field openly, its ordered ranks backed by hundreds of millions from every continent. Before the advance of that army the two enemy camps will be swept into the irrevocable past, and mankind will raise at last the banner of enduring peace and freedom.

Public School Textbooks Teach Children Jim Crow Prejudices

By PHILLIP SHERMAN

It is by now a well-known fact that one of the most important means by which the Sixty Ruling Families of America keep themselves in power is that of control of the school system. By weeding out radical teachers, by controlling courses and textbooks, they manage to fill the minds of American youth with the kind of prejudice which will most effectively serve to keep the present system intact.

One of the most vicious forms of this pro-capitalist propaganda is the campaign of slander against the Negro people. In a pamphlet recently issued by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, it is shown how the textbooks used in the school are filled with lie after lie about the character, the history, the traditions of the Negroes, who number one-tenth of the total population of the country. Thus white children are taught that their colored schoolmates (in those places where Negro children are permitted to attend the same school as do the white children) are not their equals, and in this way racial divisions are introduced into the ranks of the working people from childhood.

Textbooks Are Unfair

Textbooks are supposed to be "objective", that is, to deal with facts and

not with prejudices. But in reality they are nothing of the sort. They are written—and large—by very bigoted people who peddle all the traditional prejudices which the school boards (controlled by the big business interests) like to see fed into the schools.

Here are a few examples of the anti-Negro propaganda. One guide book for immigrants, which was supposed to tell the newcomers to America about the customs of this country, says, "The Negro was first brought to these shores as a slave in 1619 and has been a source of constant struggle ever since." The impression which this book seeks to create is not that the Negro has a right to struggle for human dignity and justice, but that the Negro is only a "trouble-maker".

The "Encyclopedia Britannica" and the "Encyclopedia Americana", according to the NAACP study, "have given a picture of the physiognomy of the Negro that places him nearest the ape in his bodily build and his capacity to think." Everyone who knows anything about modern anthropology knows that such a statement is sheer nonsense that results from ignorance or a deliberate attempt at slander. There are dozens of competent scientists who have exploded the "Theory" peddled by the Encyclopedias on the Negro.

The most insidious anti-Negro propaganda of all is that which seeks to picture the life of the Negro under chattel slavery as being one of peace and contentment. The facts of history, however, tell us the exact opposite. In spite of the fact that everything possible was done to keep the Negroes from revolting—like forbidding them to learn to read and write, forbidding them to carry arms, denying them the right of assembly—there were literally hundreds of revolts against the slave system. The class rule of the plantation owners was strong enough to suppress these revolts, but not without loss of burned plantations, executed slave drivers, and other blows at the ruling class.

Negroes Fought in Civil War

And when their great chance came during the Civil War, the Negroes did not hesitate to strike a blow for their freedom. Some of the most heroic regiments of the Northern Army were those composed entirely of Negroes. They volunteered for the Army even though they knew that the Confederates refused to take Negroes as prisoners of war and shot them on the spot. Lincoln himself said that without the help of the Negro people, both in the Northern armies and behind the enemy lines, the victory would not have been possible.

Yet there is not a word about all this in the history books from which American children learn about their country!

Teach Nazi Ideas

Is this falsification of history any different from that of Hitler when he erases from the histories any mention of great Germans who happened to have been Jewish?

Before we condemn the brutal regime of Hitler and its treatment of the Jews, we must first of all condemn the Nazi-race attitude toward the Negro which is held by the ruling class of this country.

To overthrow the Sixty Ruling Families, the white workers and the Negro workers must march side by side. Many workingmen do not realize that, as yet—but the ruling class knows it and fears it. And because they know it, they do everything possible to keep the Negro and white workers divided by planting the seeds of race prejudice among the white workers, beginning when they are children in school.

If you have come across examples of race prejudice in your school books or other places of ruling class propaganda, write about it to the NAACP in New York City and to the "Challenge of Youth". We will do our best to help you organize action to combat anti-Negro propaganda.

From England, India, Germany, France---

THE THIRD CAMP SPEAKS OUT

--- Against Hunger and Mass Murder!

SEPTEMBER

LONDON, England—The Ministry of Labor announced here today that the demand of the Railway Workers Union for restoration of the \$5 per week wage cut had been granted. The action was necessary to avert a threatened railway strike in the midst of war mobilization.

OCTOBER

LONDON, England—The pressure of a number of trades unions has secured substantial concessions from the Ministry of Labor. The demands for wage increases and other economic demands were the result of a rise in the cost of living brought about by the war. The London "Economist" estimates an increase in cost of living of 23%. Dislocation of industry by war has resulted in an increase in unemployment by 200,000.

The unions benefitted were the following:

The Seamen's Union was given additional compensation for war risks.

The shipyard, steel, and coal mine workers received wage increases after a threat to strike.

Cotton operators were granted a 12% increase after a strike threat.

The rapidly rising cost of living brought forth a sharply worded protest from the Transport and General Workers Union.

BOMBAY, India—A one-day protest strike against the war brought 60,000 Bombay textile workers into the streets here today.

JUBBULPORE, India—Over 100 people were killed in a clash here between British police and a demonstration of native workers who were protesting the sharp rise in the price of food brought about by the war.

CALCUTTA, India—An anti-imperialist conference of the Indian nationalists closed its sessions with a pledge to resist attempts to "drag India into Britain's war". The conference was attended by 30,000 delegates and visitors. Its sessions were presided over by Subhas Bose, leader of the left wing of the Indian National Congress.

TEL AVIV, Palestine—At least 10% of all mobilized men from the Jewish communities of Palestine refused to sign a declaration offering unconditional support to the British government, according to a report released by Hashomair Hatzair, left wing Zionist group.

NOVEMBER

SYDNEY, Australia—Indian seamen walked off British ships here today in a protest against plans to take the ships through the war zone.

CALCUTTA, India—A strike of jute workers in Calcutta and vicinity paralyzed the whole industry here today.

PRAGUE, Germany—Nine Czech students, including two girls, were executed by a Gestapo firing squad here today in an attempt to terrorize the population after the street demonstrations of the last few days. The demonstrations were held in celebration of Czechoslovakia's Independence Day. Thousands of Czechs, led by the students from the University of Prague, surged through the streets shouting anti-Nazi slogans. This was the first public demonstration since Germany incorporated Czechia into the Reich.

LONDON, England—The London "Times" reports today that reliable sources in Prague have informed them that a crowd of demonstrators at the main railway station shouted, "Down with Hitler! Down with Stalin! Long live Trotsky!" in the course of the street disturbances of the last days.

TILSBURY, England—Prison sentences of one month each were meted out here today to 76 Indian seamen on the charge of "mutiny". The seamen had refused to sail through the war zone without war risk compensation.

DECEMBER

LONDON, England—The anti-war movement has recently gained ground in the local sections of the British Labor Party. Local Councils of the Labor Party in Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh have passed resolutions calling for peace.

The resolution of the Glasgow council called upon the Parliamentary leadership of the Party to break off cooperation with the Chamberlain government.

Labor Party leaders in Transport House, national headquarters, warned local trade union affiliates of the Party to repudiate these peace resolutions.

LONDON, England—The National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers went on record here today for a socialist peace in Europe. Their resolution said that "the United Socialist Europe is the only solution of the war problem."

WELLINGTON, New Zealand—A vigorous resolution was adopted here today by the Railway Workers Union protesting against a suggestion to abandon the forty-hour week as a war measure on behalf of the British Empire.

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia—Police were stoned by demonstrators here today when students and workingmen marched through the streets with banners declaring against the "imperialist war".

BELFAST, Northern Ireland—Irish Republican Army activities resulted in rioting throughout northern Ireland today. At Londonderry, 60 Irish Republican prisoners set fire to the prison.

JANUARY

ROME, Italy—The Vilna correspondent of the Giornale D'Italia reports that G.P.U. troops fired upon a crowd of Ukrainian nationalists in Lwow who were on their way to the cathedral to celebrate the 25th Anniversary of the "proclamation of Ukrainian independence".

LONDON, England—The "New Leader", weekly paper of the Independent Labor Party, has carried reports from Germany in its recent issues, allegedly received from underground sources in that country. The following information has been disclosed:

In the Ottakring section of Berlin, a Nazi Party "educational" meeting was disturbed by housewives who complained about the difficulties in buying food staples. The complaints led to arrests of the speakers on grounds of "distributing demoralizing propaganda."

At the Karleiter Market, housewives demonstrated on a ration line by displaying their empty baskets and shouting, "We thank our Fuehrer."

At the Siemens armaments factory, authorities conducted a vigorous investigation on November 17 in search of the person or persons who were responsible for distributing an illegal leaflet denouncing Hitler's war.

BRUSSELLES, Belgium—Reports from both France and Germany indicate that there were a number of cases of fraternization between German and French troops on Christmas Day. The General Staffs of both armies had issued specific orders forbidding it.

SYDNEY, Australia—The Australian Labor Party again went on record here in opposition to conscription and the dispatch of troops overseas. The top leadership of the Labor Party is supporting the war but is forced to voice at least partially the anti-war sentiments of the mass of labor.

CEYLON—The legislative representatives of the Socialist Party of Ceylon have spoken out against the war in the Legislative Assembly. The Party has no international connections but adopts a sympathetic attitude toward the Fourth International.

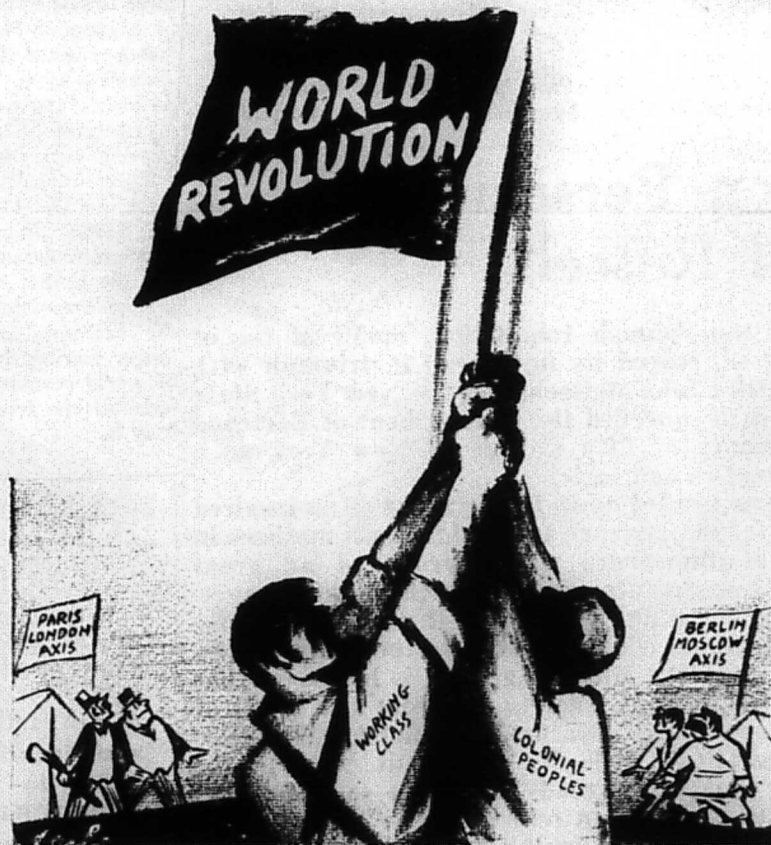
For Peace Through Socialism!

Their voices are still low. Their numbers are still few. Their ranks are still disorganized. Their outstanding spokesmen are still persecuted, harried, beaten, murdered.

But every passing day records another advance for their legions. Every passing day records another blow struck for their cause. They cannot be stopped. They gather their forces slowly, like the gathering of the elements before the cloudburst. And as they move into action, the rumble of their movement resounds in the most distant corners of the earth.

They do not march with the precise and disciplined step of the armies of the two great axes—that of Berlin-Moscow and London-Paris. They are not regimented pawns and dupes—misled by lies.

They are the armies of the people—the voices of the men who work with their hands, those who toil in factories and sweat in fields, those who vainly walk the streets in search of work, those who smart under



the whip of the foreign oppressor—they are the legions who make up the THIRD CAMP in this war—the camp of the working people and the oppressed national minorities.

Each division of this great army fights for its own immediate needs—but each struggle is a blow at world capitalism and for the liberation of humanity.

THIS IS NOT OUR WAR! cry the partisans of the Third Camp. "Neither for Stalin nor Mannerheim. Neither for Hitler nor Chamberlain. Neither for Roosevelt nor Mussolini."

The Irish nationalists demonstrate in Belfast against British rule. The Czech students riot in the streets of Prague against the Hitler terror. The Indian masses surge forward like a tidal wave against the iron grip of British imperialism. The German workers cover the walls of the factories with slogans, "Down with Hitler and Stalin". The Clerks and Retail Employees Union of England meets to denounce the war as an imperialist venture.

These are but the first faint and distant rumblings of revolt. But the THIRD CAMP gathers its forces. Tomorrow, the workers of Europe will turn their bayonets upon the war-makers of their own countries. Tomorrow, the millions of colonial slaves will straighten their backs with a mighty heave and burst the chains of imperialism into a thousand bits.

Tomorrow, THE THIRD CAMP WILL CONQUER!

CAPETOWN, South Africa—Reports reaching here from West Africa state that the British authorities have arrested Wallace Johnson, organizing secretary of the West African Youth League and president of the Sierra Leone Trade Union Congress. The arrest took place immediately after the outbreak of the war while Johnson was a candidate for the Legislative Council. His arrest was ordered by a judge who was a candidate in the elections against Johnson.

Johnson is also an active head of the International African Service Bureau which issued a stirring anti-war proclamation at the time the war broke out.

FEBRUARY

LONDON, England—Dispatches from India to the Colonial Office here report increased activity by mutinous tribes on the Northwest Frontier.

NEW DELPHI, India—The likelihood of a civil disobedience campaign after March 17 was indicated by Maulana Abdul Kalan Azad, newly elected president of the All-India Congress.

BRUSSELLES, Belgium—A recent issue of the *L'Étincelle* (The Spark), illegal organ of the Fourth Internationalists of France, which just reached here, carries many reports of anti-war activities that occurred since last September. Some of the more important are as follows:

A mutiny broke out in the 31st Infantry Regiment of the French army when the soldiers threw down their arms after a forced march of 120 kilometers in 3 days and refused to continue.

Native troops from Tunis were arrested and placed in concentration camps upon their arrival in Marseilles for having hurled their knapsacks at superior officers.

The entire regiment of the famous Bat d'Af shock troops, composed mainly of former soldiers of the Spanish Republican army, were sent to the Maily Concentration camp for refusing to obey marching orders.

The 126th Line Regiment was punished for singing the "International" by being sent into action in the Warndt Forest against German machine gun nests. A large number of casualties resulted.

The 103rd Regiment was replaced at the front by the 105th when the former refused to move into action.

Over 4,000 sailors demonstrated in Marseilles for their right to an immediate furlough. The furloughs were granted but the leader of the demonstration was sentenced to a month's imprisonment.

The entire shop committee of the Mureaux factory in Paris has been sent to the front after a period of imprisonment for refusing to accept a wage cut. Similar incidents were reported at the Gnome et Rhone and the Lorraine factories in Paris.

CALCUTTA, India—The sessions of the Indian National Congress, held this month, saw the rise of a large left wing which demanded a complete change in policy from that of Gandhi, who advised cooperation with Great Britain for the duration of the war.

The left wing, led by Subhas Bose, claims the support of 1,250,000 members of the Indian National Congress. They stand for immediate independence and a fight against using Indian men or wealth for Britain's war.

TORONTO, Canada—Frank Watson, young member of the Canadian section of the Fourth International, was sentenced to one month's imprisonment for making a public speech against the war.

C. H. Millard, Canadian secretary of the CIO, has been arrested for making statements "prejudicial to recruiting" during a CIO rally.

MARCH

LONDON, England—The University Labour Federation, student organization affiliated to the Labor Party, adopted a resolution at its national

conference here today denouncing the war in Europe as imperialist on both sides. They likewise denounced the leaders of the Labor Party for supporting the Chamberlain government. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 49 to 9.

LONDON, England—The National Miners Unions went on record here today denouncing the war as imperialist.

LONDON, England—The No-Conscription League, a semi-pacifist movement against conscription founded at the beginning of the war, claimed to have 700 affiliates and represented a total membership of 500,000 in a statement made public today.

STETFORD, England—Bob Edwards, running for a seat in Parliament with No-Conscription League endorsement in the by-elections held here today, received 20% of the total vote cast. Edwards polled 5,000 out of 25,000 votes cast.

APRIL

PARIS, France—The recent increase in anti-war activities has induced the Reynaud government to introduce the death penalty for agitation against the war. The decree was promulgated in the disguise of a law against "Communist agitation" to take advantage of the mass sentiment against the Stalinist movement in order to crush all radical opposition. The French government has thus taken another step to keep pace with the Hitler government in the establishment of a totalitarian regime.

Y.P.S.L. Supports S.W.P. Minority

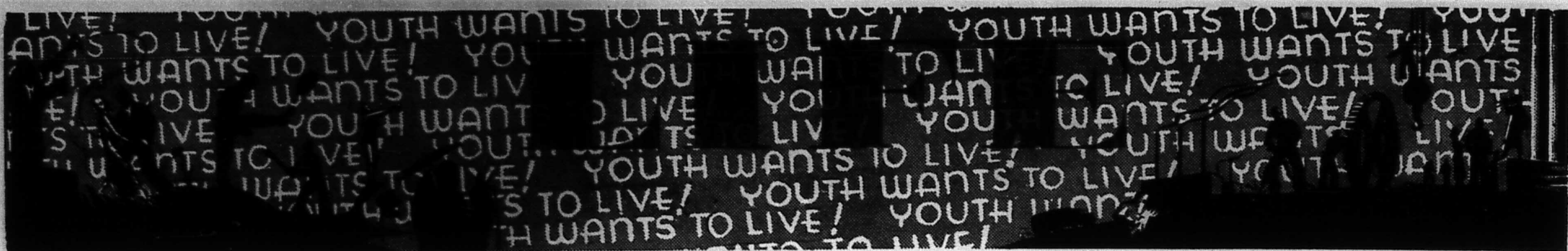
(Continued from page 1)

Soviet Union. It was participating, they said, as an integral force in the imperialist war between Germany and Great Britain. From this it followed, declared their resolution, that support of the Red Army would be a betrayal of the struggle for a world revolution. As a substitute for the Majority's slogan of "Defend the Soviet Union", they offered the slogan "Against London-Paris, against Moscow-Berlin, for the Third Camp of World Labor Revolt!"

The so-called organization question came to a climax with the contention of the Minority that they had a right to present their opinions to the workers who support the Party but are not members. The Majority denied them this right in pre-convention discussion. The Minority, therefore, declared that they would issue a political journal of their own for advanced workers who were interested in the questions raised by the war. The Majority countered by introducing to the convention and adopting a resolution citing the publication of such a journal as grounds for expulsion from the Party organization. Minority spokesmen declared that submission to the convention majority on this point would constitute a betrayal of their revolutionary principles and that they would therefore flaunt the convention decision against a public discussion of the Party's political differences.

Y.P.S.L. Supports Minority

Leading members of the National Committee of the Y.P.S.L. have declared their solidarity with this stand of the Party Minority. They point out that the members of the Party and the Y.P.S.L. who hold the Minority position constitute over 50% of the membership of the Fourth Internationalist movement in the United States. They declare that the silence of the Y.P.S.L. on the questions involved, in the face of the Second World War, would be an act of disloyalty to the workingclass youth who will be the cannon-fodder in this war and a betrayal of the only principles that can lead the workingclass to victory. The "Challenge of Youth" will, therefore, in the best traditions of the youth of Karl Liebknecht in the last war, speak out openly and fearlessly for the revolutionary internationalist position on the war.



Action---Camera

By MARTIN EDEN

It is to be doubted that Hollywood will soon venture further productions on the life of Abraham Lincoln. For despite its fame as a Broadway play, and despite the ballyhoo which accompanied the movie adaptation, the film, "Abraham Lincoln in Illinois" has had a miserable flop at the box office.

And while we do not judge pictures by their money making ability, Hollywood most assuredly does. In the language of the movie world, Honest Abe laid an egg, but big. Why? The picture had an excellent cast. Raymond Massey, whom I have always found a pompous ham, does a surprisingly good job. Ruth Gordon, of stage fame, and several other fine players come through with good performances. The direction was capable, if slow-moving, and certainly the theme is popular enough.

It seems to me the answer was given by the audience when I saw the movie. They sat through the show politely, applauded politely the virtuous characters, and sympathized mildly with the plight of the young politician. But they had heard the story a thousand times, seen it portrayed in the movies over and over again. The simple heroism of Lincoln is a national institution in America.

STORY LOSES MEANING

But as time goes by, the story seems to lose meaning. It is absolutely true that the sentiments expressed are admirable. And those sentiments against slavery, for democracy we support entirely. But what meaning does the story of Lincoln have for us today who are facing problems. Shall we believe in the fairy tale that somewhere an honest man shall arise, who by dint of clever homilies shall smite down our enemies? Nonsense. We know that things are done by a political machine. We know that to accomplish the solution of our problems we have to take things into our own hands.

I would waste no time arguing against the picture politically, were it not for the fact that the picture is intended for political purposes. It is only a variation on an old theme—from "Log Cabin to the White House" or "Won't You Be Seated and Wait for the New Messiah?"

Aside from the fact that it says nothing about the political realities of Lincoln's time, and leaves out his actual record—it may be quite accurate.

Truth to tell, the picture is a dud, worthy of very little comment. And that seems to be the reaction of the public. They wrapped this one up in the flag, and no one seems very much interested in unwrapping it.

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EUGENE VICTOR

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DWIGHT MACDONALD

Sparks In the News

Bankruptcy Report

The U. S. Department of Commerce has issued a report on the national economy during the last ten years which turns out to be in the nature of a receiver's report on a bankrupt enterprise. The bankruptcy of the reformist policies of the New Deal is summed up in one item in the report: a breakdown of national income figures shows that the distribution of income payments in 1939 was just about what it was in 1929. In other words, after seven years of "redistributing the wealth" under Roosevelt, the rich were still getting precisely the same percentage of the national income they got in 1929.

But the Department of Commerce report went even further than this. It presented evidence that not only the New Deal but American capitalism itself was bankrupt as a social system. Its analysis showed that total production of goods and services was about the same in 1939 as it had been in 1929. From this, you might conclude that at least we have not gone backward in the last ten years. But this is not true, for since 1929 there has been an increase in our population of some 10,000,000 persons. Thus the celebrated "American standard of living" is today 7.5% lower than it was ten years ago! This is something absolutely without precedent in our history. Always in the past our economic system has emerged

from a depression on a higher level. Its failure to do so this time is ominous.

Business Is Business, Latest Chapter

The magnificent impersonality of the capitalist system has been noted by observers from Karl Marx onward. The capitalist buys and sells wherever he can make a profit, without respect to race, creed or color. He exploits the labor power of the masses ruthlessly, but always in the most objective, unprejudiced way. There is "nothing personal" about the most savage wage cut, the bloodiest slaughtering of strikers.

In this war the "business is business" spirit of world capitalism has been widely commented upon. French ore is apparently still being traded, via Belgium, for German coal. The Bank of England, a month or two ago at least, was still making loans on the securities of German corporations as security. American and British oil interests compete eagerly to sell Japan the oil it needs for its armies who are now slamming the Open Door in China shut in the face of English and American capital.

This impersonality of capitalist enterprise, which sends a flow of goods wherever the magnetic pull of profits is felt, extends also to dealings with the Soviet Union. For all the fervent editorials in the big business press about "poor little democratic Finland"

and "Stalin's hordes of Red barbarians", the American ruling class did a brisk trade with the "Red barbarians" all through the war. Last summer American exports to the Soviet Union were about \$3,500,000 a month. In October, as Stalin's military needs became urgent, the total jumped to \$8,600,000, and by December it stood at \$10,500,000. Amtorg, the Soviet buying agency in this country, has moved into bigger quarters.

The Moscow gold which Soviet steamers have been bringing to this country in recent months has been delivered not to the *Daily Worker* but to the U. S. Treasury Dept., to settle Russia's trade balances with respectable bourgeois exporters and manufacturers. The gold is being spent for war materials: copper, lead, tin, rubber, alloy steels, machine tools. Statistics recently given out by the British government, which is highly indignant at this state of affairs, "tend to show that, without heavy imports from the United States, Russia's industry would be in difficulties because of the lack of essential war materials." (*N. Y. Times*, April 1)

Business is business. During the Finnish invasion, an American manufacturer is said to have called up Amtorg in a state of high moral indignation and announced that he had decided to withdraw from bidding on a certain contract. "Do you refuse to sell to a man because he beats his wife?" asked Amtorg, with justifiable cynicism.

There is, of course, another factor involved: the terrible degeneration of the Soviet Union under Stalin. The antagonism between world imperialism and the USSR has been weakened in precise proportion to the progress of the Stalinist counter-revolution. No longer fearing the USSR as a center of world revolution, world capitalism feels all the freer to trade amicably with it.

CHALLENGERS! Notice!

With this issue of the CHALLENGE OF YOUTH we are opening our campaign to rally the youth of America AGAINST the two camps of world imperialism—the camp of Berlin-Moscow, represented in this country by the Stalinist movement and the camp of London-Paris, represented in this country by the Roosevelt administration — and for the THIRD CAMP, the camp of the toiling and exploited masses of the world.

The long internal discussion in our organization on the great problems posed before the Marxist movement by the role of the Soviet Union in the present war has necessitated a temporary retreat on the frequency of publication, from a semi-monthly to a monthly. However, this issue, the first of the campaign issues, is being published with a press run of 6,500—double that of the previous issue.

We are asking all units to immediately pay in full for all bundle orders.

Push the sales of this very important issue. SEND IN MONEY IMMEDIATELY.

Note our change of address. Send all money orders and other communications to THE CHALLENGE OF YOUTH, 114 West 14th Street, Third Floor, New York City, N. Y.

Techniques in the House-to-House Game

By PAUL NORTON

While not of cosmic significance, one of the knottier problems wrinkling my brow these dreary days is how to push the circulation of the *Saturday Evening Roast* (and, incidentally, make a living). There are, I am told, some individuals in these United States who have never read the *Sateveroast*. Which is—if true—deplorable. To the remedying of this evil, this column is hereby dedicated; and I intend to subject the whole situation to a clear, cold analysis—with all the sobriety its nature merits.

First, let us examine the possible objections a prospective customer might have to purchasing a *Sateveroast*. Speaking from personal house-to-house experience, the following are the more important points of sales resistance I have encountered, to wit:

1. Listen bo, we get 14 newspapers every day including the Bronx Home News.
2. Look sonny, come shrove Tuesday I'm eighty years old see. I figure the *Sateveroast* is outta me class.
3. I'm in the bathtub you dope, come back next Christmas.
4. Look, if I had two cents I'd get married.
5. Who is it? No, I won't open the door.

Other popular objections are:

1. Get the hell outta here, you goddamn peddler.
2. Get the hell outta here, you goddamn nuisance.
3. Get the hell outta here.

Spectacular Sales Methods

As far as actual door to door selling is concerned, there are several remedies for slow sales. One rather gruesome but effective method is the following; the salesman munches on a bit of Ivory Soap until he is foaming nicely at the mouth. He then rings the door bell. When the lady of the house answers, he pretends that he is an idiot in the midst of an eclectic fit. "Lady, buy vuh paper, buy vuh paper," he quavers, all the while drooling foam (99 44/100% pure) all over her Persian rug. The woman, half mad with fright, will usually buy four or five papers just to get the eclectic out of her house. Occasionally, a woman is driven insane by this method, and this is one of the regrettable, although necessary, evils of such a system. One cake of Ivory will do nicely for a whole day's work.

The Chivalrous Method

Other methods have been suggested. One lad with a touch of romance in his soul felt that women crave chivalry, adoration. So he dressed himself in a tuxedo, placed his magazine on a diamond studded platter and when the lady came to the door, greeted her with a deep bow, "Madame permit me," he murmured, extending the platter. This method, while ingenious, had unfortunate repercussions in this particular instance. The woman, a very hard-boiled type, immediately contacted Matteawan and the lad is now cooling his fevered brain in a padded cell.

Other sales procedures, less strenuous, are no less effective. Briefly, they are the flirtation or man-who-comes-around system (females who apply this method should know a little jiu-jitsu just in case), the free lollypop with every purchase method, and finally the old "woikin me way troocollich" line. Of course, an intelligent organizer should be able to think of countless variations on each one of these systems and use them interchangeably. My crew, for example, uses all of these methods and sells over 14 magazines every week.

This provides me with an ample income to keep paid up in college (which, I forgot to mention is Hooper's Correspondence College for the Liberal Art of Barbering).

Inquisition Persecutes Bertrand Russell

The spirit of the Spanish Inquisition, medieval foe of science and progress, reared its ugly head in triumph with the decision of Justice John McGeehan of the New York State Supreme Court which cancelled the appointment of Bertrand Russell to the faculty of City College of New York as a teacher of mathematics and logic.

The decision was handed down in the midst of an inspired hysteria among the "tax payers" and middle class mothers in keeping with the atmosphere that surrounded all great "heresy" trials—from Socrates and Galileo through the ages.

The mentality and enlightenment of the worthy Justice who handed down the decision would well have qualified him for a heresy-hunter of the Middle Ages. It is his boast that he sat up one whole night in order to read four (no less!) of Russell's ponderous works. (He probably finished Russell's "Principia Mathematica" with his grapefruit juice in the morning.) What the Justice really meant to say was that he read the marked passages in four of Russell's books that had been conveniently selected for him.

The barbarous Inquisition of the Middle Ages received the blessings of Popes whose personal lives scandalized the whole of Christendom. In keeping with historical precedent, the modern Inquisition has received the blessing of William Randolph Hearst, agnostic, man of the world, and friend of movie-actresses-in-need-of-publicity. The week-end "parties" at the palatial Hearst estates in California even scandalized Hollywood. But it is significant to note that Hearst is less concerned with the morals of Bertrand Russell than with his record as a pacifist during the last World War.

The suit against the Russell appointment served as a summons to call forth to public view to the last dregs the reactionary ballast that weighs down upon modern America like water-logged clothes upon a drowning man. The mentality of the whole crew—the fundamentalist clergy, the hypocritical Puritan moralists, the 102% pay-triots—is typified by the objection to Russell's appointment voiced by the national leaders of the American Legion who howl that Russell is an alien and "are there not worthy Americans who can fill the position?"

The drive against the Russell appointment is only a reflection in the fields of learning of the reactionary drive against civil liberties and for the creation of a war hysteria in America. The labor movement has maintained a shameful silence on this question. The leaders of the trade unions think this is an issue which does not concern them. They will wake up too late to understand that a blow at intellectual freedom, human dignity, and civil liberties, no matter where, how, or at whom it is aimed, is a blow at the very basis of a legal and free trade union movement.

The members of the Young Peoples Socialist League at City College of New York are in the thick of the fight. Every person who values his civil liberties, and above all trade unionists, should join in the fight.