

A Vote for Shachtman Is A Vote Against War!

After weeks of whirlwind activity in gathering the necessary signatures, the campaign to place Max Shachtman, Workers Party candidate for Congressman in the 23rd District, Bronx, on the ballot has come to a successful close. In view of the fact that over 7,000 people signed the petition to grant the minority candidate the right to a place on the ballot, and the law only requires 3,000 signatures, it is believed that Shachtman's ballot right is assured.

Though some of the petition signers did not necessarily agree with Shachtman's program, they signed nevertheless, in the belief that the minority point of view of the revolutionary Socialist movement has a right to appear on the ballot. Only some very raw handling on the part of the Election Board, frustrating the will of the 7,000 signers, could now deprive Shachtman of his place on the ballot.

With the first phase of the campaign over, the Workers Party and its youth organization, the Young Peoples Socialist League (Fourth International), will proceed to enter four weeks of intensive electioneering to roll up a sizable vote for Shachtman. Large meetings, outdoor rallies, literature distributions are among the activities planned.

Anti-War Candidate

Shachtman runs on an uncompromising anti-war, anti-capitalist program. He makes clear in his speeches that the only way to really stop Hitlerism and Fascism is to fight against the capitalist class at home, which is the source of the greatest danger of Fascism. He calls upon the working people not to allow their civil and working rights to be smashed in the name of "national defense" and he urges a struggle for a Workers Government as the only way to bring peace and security.

Shachtman's campaign committee has announced the following youth program:

1. Let Youth Vote Against War. Let youth vote in deciding its own destiny. For a popular referendum on American entry into the war in which youth shall be allowed to vote.

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

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

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

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

6. For the Right to an Education. We demand that a free education be provided for all youth through high school and/or trade school, and for all youth who so desire, through further educational institutions. We demand maintenance grants of at least \$15 weekly to all students who need economic support to make their further schooling possible.

In addition to this general program, Shachtman will fight for a special program for those youth who are conscripted:

1. FULL POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR ALL CONSCRIPTED AND ENLISTED MEN. THE RIGHT TO VOTE IN ALL ELECTIONS WHILE SERVING IN THE ARMY.

2. THE FULL DEMOCRATIC RIGHT OF THE SOLDIERS AND SAILORS TO ASSEMBLE UNDER THEIR OWN AUSPICES FOR POLITICAL DISCUSSION, THE RIGHT TO RECEIVE ANY LITERATURE OF THEIR CHOICE, THE RIGHT TO PUBLISH PAPERS AND LITERATURE OF THEIR CHOICE.

3. THAT THE MINIMUM ARMY WAGE BE RAISED TO \$60 A MONTH, EXCLUSIVE OF "KEEP".

4. THAT ALL RACIAL, RELIGIOUS, AND POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION BE ELIMINATED FROM THE ARMY AND THAT EVERY BRANCH OF THE ARMY AND EVERY RANK BE OPEN TO EVERY SOLDIER WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION.

THE CHALLENGE OF YOUTH

We Won't Die For Boss Profits

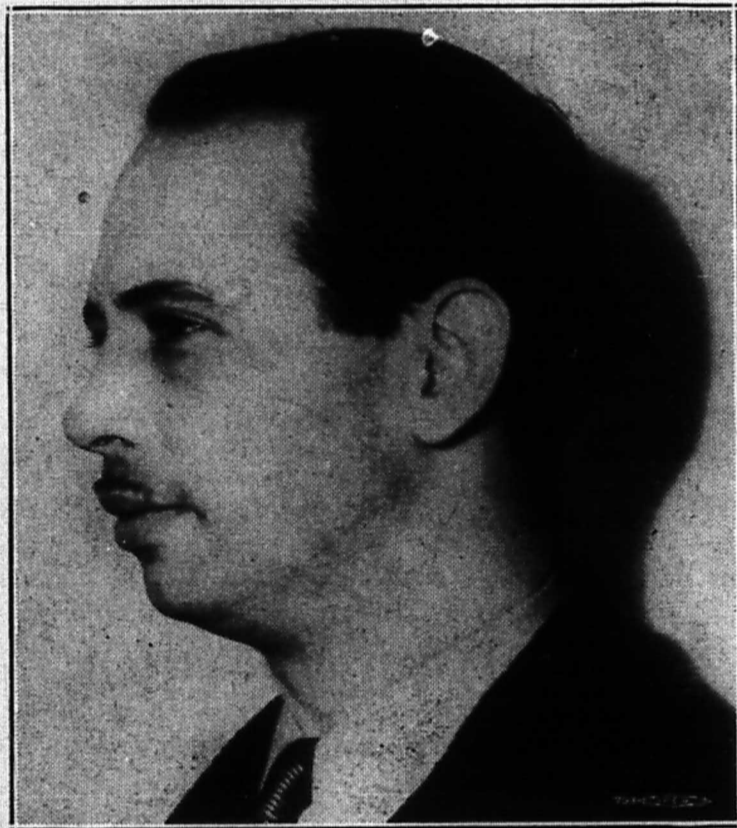
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F. D. R. AND WILLKIE BOTH LEADING TO WAR ENTRY

Shachtman, Candidate For Congress



Why The Shachtman Drive Has National Significance

By IRVING HOWE
Editor, Challenge of Youth

I had just finished a speech for the candidacy of Max Shachtman, Workers Party candidate for Congress in the Bronx, 23rd District, when one of my listeners, whom I knew as one of those sympathizers of Socialism who lack the energy to do anything about it, came up to me and asked me a question.

"Why did you say," he asked, "that the candidacy of Shachtman has national significance when you know that he won't get elected and that your party is a tiny organization? Whom are you trying to kid?"

"Nobody," I answered, "I was being completely accurate."

And this is what I went on to tell him:

We're quite ready to admit that Shachtman's chances of getting elected are pretty small. That's true. But it doesn't detract from the importance—yes, nation-wide importance—of his campaign.

We think that he's the only candidate who is really against war. He's against both sides of the imperialist war and is opposed to dragging the American people into the slaughter. He's the only one who has the program to solve such problems as unemployment, low wages, insecurity, etc.

That is to say, the ideas which he represents, even if today held by only a tiny minority of the people, are the only way to solve the problems of the people.

And Shachtman is conducting his campaign primarily on the national issues, not local ones. It is on

the national issues that he is campaigning.

If our party were strong enough, and if the election laws were not so reactionary and restrictive, we'd run a candidate for President. But, as you say, we're a small party and can't hurdle the handicap of the election laws in most places as yet. We did do that in the Bronx. There the name of Max Shachtman and the Workers Party will appear on the ballot.

If Shachtman gets a strong vote in the Bronx, that will have nationwide significance. It will show that in the one place where the workers had a chance they voted for an anti-war candidate. It will show that there is at least a minority of workers opposed to the war. And today's minority will be tomorrow's majority.

America is going further and further on the road to war. Her entry into the war, formally and completely, is inevitable and now merely a matter of time. This is true regardless of whether Franklin D. Roosevelt or Wendell Willkie win the election. This is true regardless of which party, Democratic or Republican, wins the election.

The above statements are made not on our authority—if so, you might say that we were "prejudiced"—but rather by the extremely authoritative, almost official, Washington correspondent of the N.Y. Times, Turner Catledge, in the Times of October 6. Read carefully what he says; it means the fate of our generation:

"A feeling of inevitability regarding a greater intervention, if not active participation (!) of the United States in the present World War, is spreading relentlessly at the national capital.

"Go wherever you will in Washington today you'll find the preponderant question is no longer 'whether?' but 'when?'"

"Furthermore, the feeling is not based essentially on any probability of result in the present Presidential contest. If Washington knew positively today whether the President for the next four years would be Franklin D. Roosevelt or Wendell Willkie, the expectations for the future so far as the war is concerned would hardly change fundamentally."

These are some pretty amazing statements, aren't they?

These authoritative statements should prove to every young worker and student that he has no business supporting either of the two old capitalist parties or their candidates. Both of them mean war.

That is why the Presidential Campaign is a farce. That is why the election itself will be a farce. THERE IS NO REAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CANDIDATES. They have minor differences among themselves on how to more efficiently administer the capitalist machine that is hurtling the country into war.

In the interests of American industrialists who are raking in fantastic profits on war orders, and in the interests of American capitalism as a whole, the present Administration had steadily taken step after step—embargo, plane sales, destroyer transfer, statements etc.—to drag the country closer into war on the side of the British Empire.

FDR and Willkie may have some disagreements. But they're not important ones. They agree on foreign policy—war, which will only mean misery, murder, dictatorship, destruction of trade unions and civil rights. It will mean the first step to Fascism at home.

Willkie basically agrees with these steps. That's why Times correspondent Catledge can write that as far as war perspective is concerned it doesn't matter very much who is elected. For when all the battle-smoke is let down, and all the political fakery and rhetoric discounted—we see FRANKLIN D. TWEEDLEDEE and WENDELL L. TWEEDLEDUM. Both play the role of Charlie McCarthy for American capitalism.

In the name of a holy war against Hitler (Remember the Kaiser!) they will drag the people into war.

In the field of domestic policy, neither have any solution. Neither have any answer, either in achievement or program, to unemployment, insecurity, because both want to continue working an economic system, capitalism, which has long ago outlived its usefulness for the masses of the people and which now only results in misery and war for them.

Regardless of their personal sincerity or honesty, neither candidate can give a real answer of peace, freedom, security to the people because they are both candidates of the bosses parties.

Only a short time is left to us. What is important is for American youth to organize to remove this rotten economic system and institute a government of the working people. That can be done before, during and after election day. For

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F. D. R. Record: Not Worthy of Labor Support

When FDR was elected President, American capitalism was in a tough spot. Unemployment, bread lines, farm foreclosures, bank failures—these were the symptoms of the illness of American capitalism.

The first step FDR took was to close the banks for a few days, prop up their rotten structure—and give them back to the bankers. This act was to be typical of the entire, inner meaning of the Roosevelt administration: an attempt to prop up a decaying capitalism with a series of liberal measures.

The basic idea of the Roosevelt administration was to 1) cut the amount of agricultural produce in order to prevent "overproduction" and to peg up farmers prices, 2) a tremendous government spending program in order to create new markets, 3) liberal concessions to the working class in order to allow its discontent to simmer off, and 4) self-regulation of industry in order to attempt to achieve some order out of the capitalist anarchy.

But the impossible could not be accomplished. Limiting agricultural produce was merely an admission of bankruptcy on the part of capitalism: in the face of mass want in the cities, it could only kill pigs. But all the pumping in the world couldn't solve the permanent crisis of capitalism. A great gap had arisen. As the technical facilities of capitalism allowed for greater and greater productive expansion, the workers had less and less work. On the one hand, a concentration of wealth; on the other, a concentration of want and misery.

Half-Way Measures

The piddling measures of the New Deal could hardly scratch the surface. It is, of course, true that the workers gained considerably from such legislation as the Walsh-Healy Act, the Social Security Act, the Labor Relations Act etc. But

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How Should the Negro Vote on Election Day?

It is very interesting to note that a Bronx Negro newspaper published by the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has recently shown several indications of friendship towards the candidacy of Republican Willkie.

This is a reaction which can well be expected, though not approved. The Democratic Party has been the traditional enemy of the Negro people. From before and during the Civil War the Democratic Party was the party of slavery—the party of the South. (And many of the Southern Democratic leaders still think the issue is slavery—though they're ready to let the poor whites in on it, too.) Since then, the Democratic Party has done everything in its power to prevent the Negro from exercising his rights as a free human being; it has connived with and led in the organization of the Ku Klux

Klan, it has prevented the Negro from voting in every Southern state, it has kept him in a condition of virtual serfdom. The Emancipation Proclamation may have been signed by Lincoln; it has never yet been an actuality in Southern life, which is under the complete control of the Democrats.

So one can understand why a Negro paper, interested in fighting against the injustices practised against its people, does not trust the Democratic Party, even when that party has smiling FDR at its head. The Negro people know that FDR works hand in glove with the reactionary Southern Democrats who killed the anti-lynching bill and the anti-poll tax bill. They know that FDR has not once raised his voice against the Senatorial filibuster which wrecked these bills. He was "too busy" drafting American youth into the

REPUBLICANS OFFER NEGROES SAME AS DEMOCRATS: UNFULFILLED PROMISES

But we believe that Negroes have nothing better to expect, absolutely nothing better from the Republicans. Every one knows that the Republican Party is the party of the most conservative section of Wall Street. Is that the party which will bother its head about the fate of a Negro on an Alabama plantation, or about the fate of a Negro mother going mad about her starving kids in Harlem?

This is the Republican Party which was in office for 12 years before FDR. It never passed an anti-lynching bill; it never passed an anti-poll tax bill. Isn't that evidence enough to disqualify this party as the representative of the Negro people?

The fact is that neither party represents the Negro people. Neither party possibly can. Both are boss parties, both are parties representing the interests of the wealthy, the bankers of Wall Street, the industrial magnates who run American industry. How can such parties represent the Negro people—a people oppressed and downtrodden, poverty-stricken and humiliated? The oppressors, they cannot

represent the oppressed. The oppressors, they can only fool and trick and further enslave and rob the oppressed! And that is what these two boss parties do.

Only the miserable traitors to their people—the cheap Negro politicians who desert to lick the boots of the leaders of the capitalist parties—only they can have any interest in supporting the capitalist parties.

The rank and file of the Negro people must realize that their interests are the same as the rank and file of the poor white people. True, in addition to suffering as workers, the Negroes suffer as Negroes; their color adds more suffering to their economic plight. But that is the trick which the bosses use in order to divide the poor people: trying to set off white against Negro worker. They persecute the Negro worker in order to attempt to make him suspicious of the white and to make white feel superior to the Negro. They do this because they, the bosses, fear most the possibility of Negro and white worker getting together.

ONLY NEGRO-WHITE UNITY CAN BRING FREEDOM

And that's what's got to be done. Negro and white worker together. Then nothing can stop us.

In the Bronx there are several thousand Negro voters who will have the opportunity of voting for the Workers Party candidate for Congress, Max Shachtman. He is not a candidate who comes around only during election time and poses as a friend of the Negro, and then forgets the Negro until the next election.

Shachtman runs as a candidate of those workers who see the necessity of building a new workers society of freedom and equality; that is why he fights for Negro equality. He knows that only Negro-white unity can free the American workers from the hell of unemployment, war, discrimination which is capitalism.

The Negro peoples—especially the Negro youth anxious to strike out on a bold struggle for freedom—have a chance to roll up an impressive vote for Max Shachtman. It is a vote against lynching; in Congress Shachtman would conduct a last ditch fight for an anti-lynching bill. Likewise with an anti-poll tax bill. It is a vote against discrimination of any kind. But above all, it is a vote for the working class struggle for Socialism and against the imperialist war, an indication that another Negro has joined in support of the fight for freedom.

Negro workers, Negro youth! Don't waste your votes on both boss, Jim-Crow parties! Vote for the Workers Party candidate, Max Shachtman, as a step towards freedom!

WAR ENTRY

(Continued from page 1)

100 young people to understand this is more important than how the vote swings on election day. To increase the ranks of the fighters for Socialism by 100 young workers means more to the future of the American people than how many electoral votes FDR gets.

Is it utopian, far-fetched to take this course, you think? What is your alternative? The two old parties offer you only war and unemployment, nothing to live for and nothing to die for.

But if you organize into the Young Peoples Socialist League and its adult organization, the Workers Party, then you'll have a chance to fight your way out to a new, decent society. It's tough sledding; but the only way.

And for this election, then, what is important is:

1. Wherever there are independent Labor Party candidates, not running on any boss party ticket, give them your support.
2. If you live in the Bronx, vote for and support Max Shachtman, anti-war candidate of the Workers Party for Congress, 23rd District.
3. Most important, a thousand times more important than votes, organize, join the ranks of our movement. The struggle for Socialism offers the road for our salvation.

Why Youth Must Support Shachtman

Twenty-five youth of draft age invaded the Army recruiting office in Portland, Oregon a few days ago demanding that they be made captains "like Elliott Roosevelt". They carried signs reading, "If \$316 a month is good enough for Elliott, it's good enough for me"; "The President says, 'The draft will be without fear or favor', how about us?"

These youth, a part of our generation, have no presidential candidate in this election. We play an important part in the life of every city and are least noticed by the politicians. We are overwhelmingly opposed to the draft; we have demands for wages and hours, for the right to education, to learn trades. But even the formal political programs of the major parties give little recognition to our needs and problems.

These youth in Portland, Oregon are protesting in the only way they know. There are millions who make no spectacular protest. Their day-to-day life is demonstration enough.

In a typical clothing factory in Red Bank, New Jersey, for example, in a low ceilinged room filled with steam, a majority of the workers are youth between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one. Textile and clothing companies hire more young people than any other manufacturing industry: six hundred thousand of them. They have worked since they were sixteen, for twelve dollars and sixty cents per week when they were healthy enough to work a full forty-two hours.

In the rolling fertile farmlands of Pennsylvania, in a sunny field, a dozen young men are completing the last tasks of the harvest season. These are farmers Mr. Wallace never spoke to. They don't own their own farms and don't vote. They are agricultural laborers.

FUTURE NOT BRIGHT

The majority of these youth earn no more than nine dollars per week. Many of them are unpaid members of the families who own the farms. They earn little more than their "keep". For this low cash income they work over fifty-four hours a week. School is a luxury. The future is not much brighter than the present.

Most of the farm laborers are Negro youth. Opportunities for securing other types of work are as scarce for the colored youth as a thousand dollars to a white youth. Fewer than a third are permitted by circumstances to go beyond the eighth grade in school. The government spends 30% as much for each Negro student as for each white. Out of a thousand youth of college age in the south, sixty whites but only twelve Negroes have the opportunity to study at college.

In a high school in Ohio several thousand teen-aged young men and women cleanly dressed, prepare themselves for office jobs, for professions and careers.

Many of these youth, however, will leave school before they graduate. In fact more than half of those who quit are the brighter ones. They will be unable to continue for financial reasons. The NYA pittance of five or six dollars per month is insufficient to keep them in clothes, carfare and lunches. Only a fraction of the needy students receive NYA aid.

These ambitious youth who will never achieve the goal of becoming professionals and making careers for themselves do not even have the opportunity to learn a trade. Fewer than three mil-

lion of them throughout the country were receiving any kind of vocation training when the last survey was made two years ago. The Emergency National Defence Training Program excludes the unemployed youth in favor of men who have already had several years of experience in the trade.

That is the picture of our generation trying to create a way of life for itself. Of course this doesn't include the millions of us who are unemployed, who have no factories, farms or schools to go to. We lead shiftless lives in this great purposeful democracy.

For years neither of the parties have been able to solve our problems. Today, they agree on a solution. We shall be drafted into the army at a salary of \$21 per month. At the end of this one-year career in the barracks we will be shipped abroad to defend the investments of your bosses, the owners of American industry.

In the army we will be unable to organize or agitate for jobs and wages and decent lives. We will read only what army officers think is best for our minds. We will become the perfect slaves, obedient, unquestioning, and never seeking to correct our superiors.

WHAT FUTURE FOR US?

We are taught that American capitalism has no future to offer other than the army and the battlefield. In the face of war, both parties, both presidential candidates are as one in depriving us of our liberty and our economic welfare.

Strangely enough, there is no presidential candidate who offers another solution. Earl Browder stands for the victory of the Stalin-Hitler camp. Norman Thomas is for aid to England.

Only the Workers Party fights for the kind of world in which we can make our lives. In this election, it is the only party which demands a living minimum wage for our generation, our right to education, and to jobs.

This Party, due to its own numerical weakness and to restrictive election laws which make it difficult to place minority parties on the ballot, was able to place only one of its candidates on the ballot—Max Shachtman for Congressman in the Bronx.

For the youth of the country as well as for those of the Bronx, Max Shachtman is more than just a candidate to be voted for on election day. He is a symbol of the Workers government of tomorrow which will end our hopelessness and give us a future.

Browder: Joe Stalin's Man On The Flying Trapeze

Among the "other" candidates for President is Earl Browder, local press agent of the Kremlin.

Browder is campaigning as an "anti-war" candidate and it is for that reason alone—leaving aside the general rottenness of Stalinism—that it is necessary to say a few words exposing this fraud.

At the National Convention of the Young Communist League held in New York about 14 months ago, Browder came out for the third term for Roosevelt, long before anyone else did. The trade unions under Stalinist influence or control did likewise. That was the period of the Popular Front honeymoon when Stalin was in alliance with capitalist France and flirting with capitalist England and capitalist America. The local Stalinists in these countries had sold the workers down the river, becoming hysterical supporters of the capitalist war machines of these countries in the name of "collective security" and making political goo-goo-eyes at the "liberal" capitalist parties with whom they wanted to make a "Popular Front." In this period the Stalinists had about as much interest in revolution or anti-war struggle as the most reactionary politician. They became stooges of "democratic" capitalism when ordered to do so by the Kremlin.

Chango, Presto!

But after Stalin changed horses in the middle of his swamp the local Browderites suddenly discovered that, after all, America was preparing for an imperialist war and that FDR was a capitalist candidate and that the New Deal did not bring Shangri-La for the working class. So "they changed their line again."

The present "anti-war" position of the Stalinists is as phoney as their pro-war position of yesterday. Yesterday in the service of Chamberlain, Daladier and Roosevelt, because they were Stalin's partners. Today they oppose Roosevelt because Stalin has lined up on the other side of the diplomatic and military struggle between the two major imperialist blocs—that is, Stalin is on the side of Hitler.

If tomorrow, perchance, Stalin switched back to the Allies (England and America) then Browder would change his tune and go back to the pro-FDR melody. These people lack any independence of thought or action. They act, not according to the interests of the working people (which dictate a struggle against all capitalist powers at all times) but rather by the needs of Stalin and his gang of bureaucrats who misrule Russia.

Bronx Readers, Attention!

If you are interested in what we have to say and would like to talk it over with us, why not drop into one of our Bronx headquarters? You can always have a swell time, playing pingpong, discussing politics, dancing—participating with us in our political activities and discussions, as well as our social activities. Furthermore, you can do something to improve your future.

Our East Bronx unit meets every Friday night at 1334 Wilkins Avenue.

Our West Bronx unit meets every Friday night at 7 West Burnside, Room 29.

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FDR Record—

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these gains were gotten only on the basis of the militancy of the labor movement, the threat it represented to capitalism, and not on the basis of Roosevelt's good will. And only the militancy of labor can retain these gains.

With the failure of the New Deal—it solved none of the basic problems: farm, unemployment, war, security—a new course was taken by the Roosevelt administration. This was an extremely aggressive foreign policy directed towards eventual participation in an imperialist war. That was the only solution for capitalism: to try to solve its difficulties by a new imperialist grab for which the workers would pay with their lives. That was the course Roosevelt took.

The New Deal was gradually cut down. WPA was slashed, first by Presidential decree, then by Congressional legislation. Tremendous jumps in war expenditures took place. The War Deal had come into existence.

It was masqueraded under the guise of fighting Fascism. But its real meaning was a program to aid Wall Street. It took the form of a series of measures dragging the country closer to war. Pledge to defend Canada, a nation at war, if it were attacked. Lifting of the embargo on shipment of war products to Europe. Shipment of 50 destroyers to England, a nation at war.

War Inevitable?

Willkie? What has he got to say that's any different than Roosevelt? He has the same foreign policy: aid to England and drive to war. He has the same domestic policy: that is, none. That's why it's not necessary to spend much time on Willkie in this paper—when you explain why the workers shouldn't support Roosevelt, you also explain why they shouldn't support Willkie. They're two sides of the same coin—and the coin is counterfeit.

CONSCRIPTION NEWS

Youth, Drafted To Defend "Democracy" Denied Democratic Right To Vote

From reports in the press, it is clear that men conscripted into the army will not be able to vote in the coming national elections.

There is a certain peculiar logic about this fact which it is important for American youth to notice. We are being conscripted into the army, we are told, in order to defend democracy. The right to vote is, presumably, a cardinal feature of democracy. Yet the very people called "to defend democracy" are to be deprived of the right to vote.

Legally, of course, draftees still have the right to vote. All they need is a leave granted by their superior officer for registration and election days. In addition, they have to pay their own carfare from

camp to their home town and back again.

The N.Y. Times coyly admits that leaves will be difficult to secure. And in view of the meager salaries paid to draftees, a man who lives in Connecticut and is in an Alabama camp is probably not going to be able to afford the trip. So that in actuality, draftees will not have much chance to vote.

We have always said that the draft was instituted to defend the profits of Wall Street, in preparation for an imperialist war, and was not in defense of democracy. That's why we were opposed to the passage of the draft bill. This latest deprivation of the rights of draftees requires a struggle to give draftees the right to vote.

HOW POOR ELLIOT ROOSEVELT BEAT THE DRAFT WITH A GREAT SACRIFICE

In view of the fact that this paper is designed for home and family, it has always attempted to modulate its language and steer away from profanity. (In addition, we wanted to keep our post office rights.)

But lately something has happened, which has really got us fighting mad and ready to express ourselves in some choice, rare American cussing.

We're referring, of course, to the appointment of Elliott Roosevelt as a captain in the Air Corps.

Now Elliott Roosevelt has about as much experience in Army Air work as we have in, say, whale fishing—that is, none.

We—the suckers of whom Barnum was speaking—will be scooped into the army at the magnificent wage of \$21 to \$30 a month. For that staggering sum we will be deprived of our civilian liberties, we'll be taken away from what-

ever jobs we have and from our families, we'll be regimented and marched and marched and then marched some more till our feet will hang off us like a row of ninepins and then we'll probably be sent across one or another ocean to have our heads blown off in some war we never wanted or had anything to do in making.

But Sonny-Boy Elliott, Mrs. FDR's little darling, is immediately made a Captain with all the privileges that go with that rank. In addition, he will be "earning" 200 smackers a month with another 116 dollars for "expenses."

That, if you ask us, is pretty soft. Are you, perhaps, looking for a soft spot? It's easy. If your old man is a union member, prepare for the barracks. But if your pop is, say, President of the United States, or even President of a big corporation, you might be able to be a Captain too. You just have to have the right connections.