



Down With Hitler! Down With Stalin!



When Hitler, with his typical imperialist brutality, invaded Stalinist Russia, a new stage of the Second World War began. The much vaunted "non-aggression" pact between Hitler and Stalin, which was supposed to have guaranteed an era of 10 years of peace, exploded in the most violent sector of the war.

The outbreak of this new sector of the imperialist war is in itself a terrible condemnation of Stalinism. For it is to be remembered that by signing the treaty with Hitler, Stalin gave him the green light for beginning the war in Europe. Stalin protected Hitler's eastern, northern and southeastern flank in exchange

for the "right" to conduct a few invasions of his own.

And also, in exchange for the breathing spell which Stalin gained, and the new lands which Hitler allowed him to dominate and exploit, Stalin had his puppets throughout the world, the various "Communist Parties," concentrate their main

attack on the imperialist democracies as the ones solely responsible for the war. In the words of Stalin, uttered in November, 1939, "it was not Germany that attacked France and England, but France and England that attacked Germany, thus taking responsibility for the war."

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THE CHALLENGE OF YOUTH

For Peace Through Socialism

We Won't Die For Boss Profits

JULY 15, 1941

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

Price 2 Cents

F. D. R. BEGINS WAR ENTRY; WE SAY: IT'S NOT OUR WAR!

Coolie Wages For NYA

A great robbery is being perpetrated on the NYA workers in New York City. According to an announcement of Helen Harris, NYA administrator, the following changes will take place beginning July 1:

All NYA workers on "defense" projects are to have their hours increased from 60 to 160, with only a \$3.00 a month raise.

All NYA workers on ordinary projects are to have their hours increased from 60 to 90, with no raise.

In plain language, the NYA is chiseling on its workers.

The excuse offered by the NYA officials is that the increased hours will offer a chance for more concentrated training so that jobs will be able to be secured for the NYA youth more rapidly. That is acceptable to the NYA workers. But, they ask, why not raise wages to at least the point where they continue to receive their present 36 cents per hour? And better yet, since these youth will now be doing production work (in which they will compete with union workers and apprentices and thereby tend to drive their wages down) why shouldn't they receive the union standard of 60 cents per hour for apprentices?

The NYA is getting its workers to do production work—under the flimsy excuse of "training"—at scab wages. This is robbing the NYA workers and cutting into standards of privately employed union workers.

NYA workers in the various projects have already begun to organize into local unions in order to fight against these scab proposals. The Challenge advocates independent, militant organization of the NYA workers in order to retain and better their wage and hour standards.

War Casualty

CHICAGO—Elizabeth Price was a girl who loved a soldier. She had been engaged to Robert Clark, until he was drafted.

A month after he was drafted they met and decided to terminate their engagement until after the "national emergency."

Two weeks later, Elizabeth Price committed suicide. She had cried the entire night and decided that life wasn't worth while so long as her ex-fiancé might soon die on a battlefield.

Mark up the first victim of the "national emergency." Her crime was that she wanted to enjoy life.

THIS IS WHERE WE CAME IN...



It's Expensive to be Killed!

The People Are Taxed for the Imperialist War

By BILL HAINES

Despite its "non-belligerent" status, the United States has appropriated a total of \$43,000,000,000 for "national defense" and "aid to Britain." This sum is only a drop in the bucket compared to the sums spent in the actual waging of a war. The inevitable question is: "Who will pay for the war?"

The answer is: "The people of the United States." They will pay in the following ways: 1) higher taxes, 2) rationing of consumer goods, 3) higher prices, 4) cutting of social services.

1) Higher Taxes. In 1939, according to the report of the Temporary National Economic Committee, 20 per cent of the income of persons earning less than \$3,000 a year was paid in taxes; federal, state, local, direct and indirect. The U. S. Treasury two months ago recommended to Congress the enactment of additional taxes to raise \$3,500,000,000 for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1941. Of this sum, one-third will come from excise or sales taxes on such products as gasoline, tobacco, soft drinks, tires and matches. All of these are pur-

chased by the low income group. The Treasury plan also calls for sharply increased income taxes—as much as 400 per cent—on the lower income brackets. The plan thus adds an enormous load to the already overburdened poor, while the rich are practically untouched.

2) Rationing of Consumer Goods—Guns or Butter! The story was that the U. S. would not be affected like the rest of the world by the war. American capitalism could produce enough for "defense" and the needs of the people as well. "Guns and Butter" changes to

"Guns, No Butter" according to the best precepts of Herr Goering's formula.

Secretary of the Interior Ickes promises "gasless Sundays" for the eastern seaboard. Eleanor Roosevelt in a press conference "advised American families to get ready to cross off their shopping lists automobiles, aluminum pans, and certain types of food in behalf of defense."

The 1941 Commodity Year Book issued by the Commodity Research

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Moving closer and closer to the precipice, the Roosevelt Administration has just taken the final steps in preparation for actual war entry, as this issue of *The Challenge* goes to press.

The recent events showing the last mile drive to the war are:

VIENNA, Austria—Hermann Goering's wife, wearing a rich tiara, attended an opera here. Part of the audience began to sing "Where Did You Steal That Tiara?" When the police were unable to quell the disturbance and the lights went down, Frau Goering sneaked out.

AYC Sees Stars... And Stripes

Special to *The Challenge*

Philadelphia—In as abrupt and fantastic a series of political flip-flops as have ever been seen on the youth political front, the American Youth Congress, the holding company of the various Stalinist youth groups, shifted its allegiance from its previous pro-Stalin and "anti-war" policy to a pro-Stalin and pro-war policy, at its congress held here over the July 4 weekend.

From the point of view of the Stalinist leaders, the time was a particularly unfortunate one in which to hold a congress. The Stalinist movement was just in the midst of an enormous somersault in which it was adopting a complete pro-war, interventionist position because of the sudden forced shift of Stalin to the side of the imperialist "democratic" powers. As a result, many delegates were still "unclarified," some of them still retaining bits of the old line.

Confusion Apparent

When our group of members of the Young Peoples Socialist League (Youth Section, Workers Party) arrived at the congress' opening mass meeting, the confusion present among the Stalinist delegates was even apparent among some of the speakers.

The fraternal delegate from Canada declared that there was no democracy in his country and that before the war could be declared just, democracy would have to be established at home. The fraternal delegate from India also spoke of

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1) Without asking Congress for as much as a by-your-leave, the President occupied Iceland. This step, which brings American soldiers into the actual zone of combat operations, brings the country perilously close to an actual shooting war. Especially since the President has ordered the Navy to keep the lane between Iceland and America cleared, it is quite conceivable that by the time this paper is read, some incident involving American and German ships will have occurred which will be used as the pretext for war. In the meantime, the seizure of Iceland is another instance of how American imperialism is gradually edging British imperialism out of the picture by "helping" it.

2) Secretary of the Navy Knox made a speech in which he called for the American Navy to clear the Atlantic of U-boats—that is, war. Since Cabinet members don't pop off without the knowledge of the President, it is certain that FDR was using Knox as a trial balloon.

3) In his report to Secretary of War Stimson, the chief of staff of the U. S. Army, General Marshall, proposed that drafted soldiers be kept in service for more than a year, and that permission be granted to send drafted soldiers overseas. The connection between this proposal and the drive toward war is obvious.

4) As *The Challenge* goes to press there are rumors in the daily press that some form of U.S.-British naval cooperation, possibly convoys, is contemplated. When you read this article, it may already be more definite.

These are but a few of the signs. There are more; but there is no need to go on listing them. It is

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Against War

The overwhelming sentiments of the American people in favor of staying out of the war have found another channel of expression. In a recent survey of the Gallup poll 56 per cent of those questioned answered "Yes" to the question: "Should a vote of the people be required before Congress can send men to fight overseas?"

And in response to the question: "If you were asked to vote on the question of the United States entering the war against Germany and Italy, how would you vote—to go into the war or to stay out of the war?"—79 per cent answered they would vote to stay out.

WE PRESENT WITH PRIDE--

... the new, renovated six-page CHALLENGE OF YOUTH.

We felt that it was necessary; that we need more room to report and discuss what is happening on the world front, on the trade union and Negro and youth front.

So we present this new CHALLENGE—with the pride that comes from achieving a new gain in our march to socialist freedom.

And we ask you, comrades and sympathizers and friends, to help us preserve it, improve it, enlarge it. READ IT, SUBSCRIBE TO IT, SELL IT!

On the Youth Front

WAR IN PALESTINE AND AMERICAN ZIONIST YOUTH

by IRVING HOWE

Not least among the tragedies of the world today is the tragedy of Palestine. The country to which hundreds of Jewish youth, oppressed by the savagery of anti-Semitism, have looked forward as a haven, has today become the very center of the imperialist war.

Palestine, where the Zionists were to build their national home, which would offer freedom to the Jews, is fought over by the British and German jackals, who are far more worried about ports, trade routes and oil than about the national homeland. Palestine—where the Zionists were to find their escape from Hitlerism, even before the working class would overthrow Hitlerism and its parent, capitalism—is the scene of armed struggle, or preparation for it, on the part of Hitlerism and capitalism.

HASHOMER AND THE WAR

And how ironic, too, are the continued ostrich policies of the Socialist-Zionist groups in America—like Hashomer Hatzair—which still persist in saying that they cannot actively participate in the domestic struggle against the imperialist war, because they, as persecuted and non-proletarian Jews, can only attain the social status necessary to struggle against capitalism and its war . . . in Palestine. In Palestine—the very holocaust of the war!

Tomorrow, members of Hashomer, it will be too late to fight openly against the imperialist war.

SOME POLITICAL JOTTINGS

We are in receipt of a letter from a Washington friend who was present at the conference of the Keep America Out of War Committee held about two months ago. The conference, it would appear, was a mélange of reactionary isolationists of the Senator Wheeler stripe (who admonished his listeners that if they didn't like this country they could go back where they came from), and also a few of the for-

The tragedy is great. And its impact is not lessened by the fact that there are ironic overtones. The tragedy of the fate of the enthusiastic and idealistic young Jewish settlers who have toiled to build up their cooperative farms and who now face the prospect of the devastation that comes with imperialist war—that tragedy is not lessened by the irony of the fact that these same settlers so mistakenly desire to fight in the ranks of the British imperialist army, and that the suspicious, decadent British refuse to give them arms! The serfs of the British Empire beg for arms to defend it, and the master refuses to give the serfs arms; because the master is more aware of the danger of potential revolt among the serfs than are the serfs themselves!

but you want to wait until you get to Palestine before you indulge in political class action.

We greatly fear that the only way the vast majority of the Zionist youth will ever get to Palestine will be as draftees of the American imperialist expeditionary force.

But today, you, many of whom understand the real nature of the war and many of whom speak out for the Third Camp as opposed to both imperialist camps, today you refuse to participate in organized, open anti-war activity. You must wait . . .

lorn Norman Thomas socialists, who limped wearily along as pathetic seconds to the isolationists. In his speech, Thomas found it necessary to come to the defense of near-fascist Charles A. Lindbergh, but did not find it necessary to distinguish himself from the jingoistic dribble of Senator Wheeler.

But such has always been the ridiculous role of Preacher Norman. The poor stooge for the wrong guy.

War Drive--

(Continued from page 1) clear: Roosevelt is headed break-neck for war.

He is headed for war, despite the fact that every poll taken in the country shows that the people are against the war. The Chicago Tribune recently held a poll in which over two-thirds of those questioned were against war entry. The New York Daily News had similar results in a poll of New York voters. The Gallup poll's latest question: Are you in favor of entry into the war? shows that 79 per cent of the people are opposed to it.

Yet Roosevelt, interested in driving the country into the war in the interests of the imperialists and bosses of the country, continues his drive.

Roosevelt says the war is for "democracy." Very well. Let him prove it! Let him hold a national popular referendum on the question of war entry; let the people decide. We are confident of the results; we are confident of the fact that the American people don't want war. And now, before it is too late, it is time for them to speak up against the war.

Hitler-Stalin War--

(Continued from page 1)

What was the reason for Hitler's attack? It is clear that the need for such an attack also demonstrates the collapse of Hitler's previous war strategy. He was forced, because of British imperialism's desperate resistance and because of growing American aid to Britain, to try to lay the basis of conducting a long war by seizing the oil, wheat and other riches of Russia.

It is clear, also that the main antagonism in the world today is an inter-imperialist one, between the German camp and the Anglo-American camp. Hitler's invasion of Russia can be understood only as an integral part of, and continuous preparation for, the continuation of his war against the Anglo-American bloc. And, concomitantly, the role of Russia is, and becomes increasingly, that of a subordinated, integral part of the camp of the democratic imperialists, together with and for whom the Stalinist gangsters conduct a reactionary war.

What cynicism is therefore contained in the official pretensions of both Hitler and Stalin as to the reasons for the war? When Hitler declares his war to be "a holy crusade against Bolshevism," we answer: Stalinism is the deadliest enemy of Bolshevism! Counter-revolutionary Stalinism has done more to destroy Bolshevism than any force in modern society!

And when Stalin pretends that his war is a holy struggle "against fascism," we answer: Stalinism, in country after country, is responsible for the rise of fascism. Stalinism has just recently cohabitated with Hitler. (Fascism, said Izvestia, is a

"matter of taste.")

Just as in the first period of the war, Stalin fought as the junior partner of Hitler for the extension of his domination over those people and countries that fell to him as his share of the plunder of conquest, so does Stalin today fight to retain his imperialist rule over the territories he yesterday conquered with the aid and approval of Hitler, for the retention of his bloody rule over the Russian people, for the retention of his reactionary, bureaucratic rule—only this time Stalin does it as the junior partner of the London-Washington allies.

Against Both Sides

In the first period of the war, neither the Washington-London allies nor the Berlin-Moscow-Rome Axis deserved support of the people of the world!

In the second period of the war, neither the Washington-London-Moscow Allies nor the Berlin-Rome Axis deserve the support of the people of the world!

The Stalinists, miserable puppets of Stalin's foreign policy who shift their policy every time Stalin shifts an alliance, have become, in America and England, howling war-mongers. They can be treated by the youth and the workers only with scornful contempt. They must be carefully watched and checked; they will attempt to put a brake on every militant action proposed in trade unions or youth organizations. They will serve as the finger-men for the imperialists in spotting the militant anti-war fighters.

An Open Letter to Y. C. L. Members - -

You are living through that bewildering period when your organization turns a political somersault in which it takes a position exactly opposite of yesterday's.

Yesterday, against the imperialist war; today, for aid to Britain. Yesterday, against any moves toward war entry; today, the Daily Worker supports Secretary of the Navy Knox's statement proposing that the American Navy clear the Atlantic of German U-boats—that is, enter the war.

Surely, such a breath-taking turn must necessarily make one stop to think for a minute: Why? Is it correct?

Let us for a moment review what you said up till yesterday. You said that the war being conducted by Britain and America was a reactionary, imperialist war; that is, it was a war conducted in order to preserve the British Empire and to extend the American. To support the American government in the war, your movement said, was to help lay the basis for fascism in America; it was to pave the way for war-time dictatorship.

Now you have forgotten about all these things. Your organization says it is for aid to Britain because Russia

"One may respect or hate Hitlerism, just as any other system of political views. This is a matter of taste. But to undertake war for the 'annihilation of Hitlerism' means to commit criminal folly in politics—*Izvestia*, October 9, 1939.

has entered the war. Therefore, you support all moves to aid Britain, even going so far as to call for "unlimited economic and military aid to Britain and Russia," that is, for war.

We want to ask you several questions. We think that you should carefully think them over:

1) Does the entry of Russia into the war change in any way the nature of the British economic and political

system of imperialism? Does it lessen the internal economic contradictions of British and American imperialism which, together with those of imperialist Germany, are the real causes of the war?

2) Does British imperialism exploit colonial India in any less brutal fashion today than it did before? Is there any reason today to support the strug-

"Germany is in the position of a state which is striving for the earliest termination of the war and for peace . . ."—Molotov, quoted in *World News and Views* (Stalinist organ) of November 4, 1939.

gle to extend this domination, which reason did not exist before?

3) Does not the tendency toward internal totalitarian dictatorship exist in America as it moves closer to war, just as much as it existed before the entry of Russia into the war? Is there any more reason to support today the war preparations of the Roosevelt government which lead to this dictatorship than there was yesterday?

4) Yesterday, your organization attacked any attempt of Britain or America to dominate any smaller powers under the pretense of military necessity. Why does the Daily Worker support the military occupation of Iceland? Is that not an imperialist move on the part of America, just as much as, say, the seizure of Czechoslovakia by Germany or of Greece by Italy was an imperialist move?

5) Yesterday, you pointed to the fact that in his war drive Roosevelt was becoming more and more viciously anti-labor? Has not this remained true to this very moment? Has Roosevelt sprouted wings merely because Stalin has been forced to shift to his side of the war?

6) Your main reason for giving support to Britain is that it is fighting against Germany, which, in turn, is fighting against Russia. Do you not

know that when Lenin was at the head of the Soviet state, when there was still workers' democracy in Russia, that when Lenin made a pact with an imperialist power, the revolutionary workers still continued to oppose that power? For example, when Lenin signed the Brest-Litovsk treaty with Germany, the German Communists continued to oppose the German government and even opposed the treaty as being reactionary on Germany's part. Compare this with the stand taken by William Gallagher, British Stalinist leader, who asked the workers to refrain from strikes and to speed up production!

7) Your party says that its support of Britain is determined by the fact it is Russia's ally. Very well. Let us ask you this: If, as seemed quite possible at the time, Britain had engaged in military action against Russia at the time of the Russo-Finnish war, while still continuing its war against Germany, would the American Stalinist movement be in favor of aid to Germany on the analogous grounds that Germany was fighting with Russia against a common enemy?

We raise these questions in a serious spirit. We believe that a serious consideration on your part must con-

"We have always felt that a strong Germany is an indispensable condition for a durable peace in Europe."—From a speech by Molotov, then Soviet Premier, quoted in *Daily Worker*, September 1, 1939.

vince you that to support imperialist Britain and America in this war is a fatal error for the working class. We seriously and cordially invite you to discuss these matters with us. The columns of our paper are open for your comments. We are ready to talk these important matters over with you.

Young Peoples Socialist League (Youth Section, Workers Party)

Stalinists Become Open War-Mongers at AYC--

(Continued from page 1)

the war as imperialist and demanded the freedom of India.

This, however, was not to deter the Stalinists from jamming their new, pro-war line across. The decisive resolution which was presented to the Congress on foreign policy contained a clear statement urging aid to imperialist Great Britain and its new partner, Stalinist Russia.

Stalinist spokesmen got up, one after another, and declared that the war was for democracy, that the war could not be said to be imperialist, that it was necessary to send convoys to Britain and Russia, that America should enter the war "if necessary."

One sat and watched in amazement these very same people who only two weeks ago were denouncing the war as imperialist suddenly transform themselves into rabid jingoes. They no longer even tried to hide that their policies were determined, not by any domestic needs of the American people, but rather exclusively by the needs of the Kremlin's foreign policy.

YPSL Speaker

In monotonous succession the Stalinist delegates got up to parrot each other in their jingo speeches. The convention was falling into the lethargic state of having to listen to continued Stalinist harangues, when it was announced that Irving Howe, editor of *The Challenge* and delegate from the Young Peoples Socialist League, would speak next. After that, the Stalinists paid attention.

In a forceful, biting speech, Howe denounced the hypocrisy of the Stalinists who shifted their line on war in accordance with the desire of Stalin's foreign policy. He declared, "The war in Europe remains an imperialist war despite Russia's entry into it. Anti-war youth must continue to oppose aid to any of the belligerents in the war; none of them fight in the interests of the people."

This speech fell like a bombshell into the Congress. The discussion veered sharply to continued at-

tempts by Stalinist speakers to refute Howe's speech. (As one Stalinist leader put it afterward, the discussion was "disoriented.") The YPSL spokesman was labeled an "appeaser," a "Quisling," an "agent of Lindbergh." But none of these stupid epithets could change the fact that the cloud of Stalinist unanimity had been pierced and that the point of view of the anti-war YPSL now occupied the center of the stage.

The Stalinists fully exposed themselves, however, in subsequent discussion that was held on an amendment made by one of the delegates. This delegate spoke for aid to imperialist Britain, but wanted to add a platonic statement to the resolution, condemning British imperialist rule in India and Palestine.

The Stalinists opposed the amendment!

Ed Strong, Stalinist floor leader at this session, said that to fight for freedom of the British colonies today would "divide the anti-Hitler

forces" and that the way to insure freedom for Britain's colonies was to insure the victory of Britain and Russia in the war. (Did he REALLY believe that a victorious British Empire would free its colonies? Or was he merely doing a bit of Stalinist bootlicking?) As a result, the amendment was defeated, though a considerable number of sadly confused YCLers voted for it.

The final instance of Stalinist war-mongering came when a resolution opposing the sending of another AEF to Europe came up on the floor. The Stalinists had been playing the "clever" game throughout the sessions of having some of their speakers criticize the foreign policy resolution as "too mild" and urging American entry into the war. They could not, however, jam through a resolution for an AEF since that would antagonize too many AYC supporters and would, as MacMichaels declared, "cause a crisis" in the AYC. As a result, John Gates, the Stalinist leader,

made a declaration that his organization favored "full military aid to Britain and Russia" but that it would abstain from opposing this specific resolution.

In the first vote taken on the resolution, at least two-thirds of the delegates abstained, together with Gates. In a second vote, enough delegates were secured to vote for the resolution, although at least a third still abstained.

The convention was composed almost exclusively of hide-bound Stalinists, some of whom were a bit dazed at the flip-flop taken by their organization. And their doubts were sharpened by the consistent political hammerings that the members of the YPSL present at the congress gave them. Constant discussions were held by YPSL members with Stalinist delegates at the congress and a considerable amount of YPSL literature was distributed, including *The Challenge*, a special statement on the AYC and a special leaflet on the colonies point.

Kansas City Cops Persecute YPSL

Young socialists in Kansas City are feeling the brutal fist of fascist police methods first hand. On the night of June 19, two of them, one a very young girl, were selling the pamphlet, "A Plain Talk on War," in front of a meeting of the America First Committee. The pamphlets were selling like hotcakes—a dollar's worth in the space of 15 minutes.

Then the cops arrived. A spotter was sent to buy a pamphlet. Little did our young comrades realize that selling or giving away literature on the streets of Kansas City was a crime (against a clearly unconstitutional and rarely used city ordinance). Six arrogant cops fanned out and ensnared the two culprits. A lady by-stander who appeared to protest this violation of civil liberties was herself arrested for speaking out of turn. All three were rushed off in a squad car to police headquarters, where they

underwent a three hour grilling. Not only was their literature ("slush") confiscated, but they were threatened with an immediate midnight trip to the state prison at Jefferson City (hanging up the phone, a cop said: "We just got word that you are going to be sent to Jeff City"). Also they were promised an eventual sentence in one of the government concentration camps said to be operating in Texas and California. The lady was

threatened with being "thrown into a cell all night with all the fast ladies from Thirteenth Street, and incidentally you will like it down there. It hasn't been deloused for months."

The boy was told "We don't want to be tough unless we have to, but if you don't change your ways we can make life miserable for you. We will hound you day and night, watch your friends, where you go, hounding you all along, open your mail and see to it properly that you don't get employment from anybody. And don't think we can't do it, either."

To these threats our comrade replied, "Lieutenant, I shall go on subscribing to any literature I feel I want to read." This was followed by a blast on civil liberties by the young girl, who finally made the officer admit that there was plenty of room for improvement and progress in our country.

I AM INTERESTED in receiving more information about the YPSL.

Name _____ Address _____ City _____

Who Backs Lindy?

An Analysis of the America First Committee

by Irving Howe

This article is not an "exposé." I am not interested in whether Charles A. Lindbergh had a secret meeting with so-and-so at such-and-such a time. Plenty of exposés of the America First Committee, of its fascist leaning and tie-ups, have been written, some accurate and some not.

That is not important here. What is important is to try and dig down beneath the sensational newspaper stories and headlines and try to find out: What is the significance of the America First Committee and of the isolationist movement as a whole?

I therefore intend to answer the following questions in this article:

- 1) Why did the America First Committee arise, and whose interests does it represent?
- 2) What is the composition, the various influences, of the committee?
- 3) What is the program of the AFC?
- 4) What is the future of the AFC?

While it is, of course, correct to speak of American capitalism having certain general, basic interests to which all of its sections agree, it is also true that within the capitalist class there are various groupings who have different interests of considerable importance. The two main groups are those represented by Morgan and Rockefeller. Both of them have important investments in South America and hence agree that American imperialism must

exclusively dominate the Western Hemisphere. But the Morgan group has tremendous investments in Europe and, more specifically, in the British Empire, while the Rockefeller group has its main concentration in the Far East.



As a result, the Morgan group (which, generally speaking, is today represented by the Washington administration and the Democratic Party) advocates a bold policy of direct intervention in European affairs, since a large part of its existence and power depends on the preservation of the British Empire. The Rockefeller group, however, is not too directly concerned with what happens in Europe—except insofar as it affects American imperialism as a whole and insofar as it affects its investments on other continents. Hence the Morgan group tends toward intervention-

ism and the Rockefeller group tends toward isolationism.

There is, however, no basic conflict between the two. Both want to defend American imperialism; and both realize what a powerful rival Nazi Germany is for American imperialism. As a result, they both agree on essentials: defense of American imperialism, domination over the Western Hemisphere. Hence, for example, Rockefeller, Jr.'s advocacy of

war entry. But they disagree over the speed with which America should come into conflict with Hitler and they disagree over what policy to pursue with respect to Japan (the Rockefeller group being far more aggressive toward Japan).

That, then, is the first major social basis of the America First Committee—it represents that section of American capitalism which, roughly speaking, is centered in the Rockefeller group and which does not have its basic life-line connected with the British Empire.

LITTLE TO CHOOSE

From the point of view of the working class and the youth, there is really little to choose. We care little as to which section of imperialist investments is especially protected; both Morgan and Rockefeller oppose our interests with equal vigor.

But there is still another social basis for the America First Committee—this is the "small business man" who deals mainly in consumer goods for the domestic market. He is in favor of imperialist armament and the war expansion program, but he is also opposed to the inevitable results of actual entry into the war—curtailment of consumer goods production in favor of war goods production.

These sections of the capitalist class, then, have their interests reflected in the America First Committee. In addition, there are the Mid-Western large farmers, who, while enjoying the war boom, fear the disturbances coming from actual war. What is common to all these groups is their support of war preparations—and their desire not to enter war. That is one reason why the America First Committee is in such a hopeless dilemma.

But if the America First Committee represents

the basic interests of a section of American imperialism, there are at least several other tendencies in the organization. These may be listed as follows:

a) The Big Business, semi-fascist and potential fascist spokesmen. These are personified by such men as Walter Castle, an extremely shrewd former Hoover aide, who is said to be the brains behind Lindbergh. These men are seeking a Fuhrer and think they have him in Lindy—who, so far, seems willing and ready for the role.

b) The Mid-West isolationists, many of whom are closely connected with the above mentioned Big Business group. These are mainly senators—Nye, Wheeler, etc. Some of them are semi-fascist in tendency (Senator Holman of Oregon, who is anti-Semitic); others are typical of the Populist middle class farmers. This group, while probably bringing the largest population section of support to the AFC, has no real independent policy of its own—in a basic sense. They will either capitulate to the interventionist Roosevelt forces, or they will drift to some form of fascism. Their lack of any domestic program which is uniquely their own, makes this an eventual necessity.

THE PACIFIST LIBERALS

c) The pacifist liberals—like Norman Thomas and John T. Flynn. How these poor sheep strayed into such sinister company is a sort of mystery; except for the fact that their failure to realize that the only genuine anti-war struggle can be found in the working class camp has led them to . . . the capitalist camp.

d) The foreign fascist groups and the crackpot tinge—the Bund and Joe McWilliams. They are

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Here, for the first time in any American paper, *The Challenge* presents the story of the British apprentices.

British Apprentices Fight Back!

by Eugene Victor

Beginning shortly before the war and developing its greatest strength and power under the stringencies of the British war dictatorship, a movement involving almost 50,000 young apprentices, averaging in age from 14 to 21, is sweeping the engineering plants (machine shops) and shipyards of Great Britain. It has already been tested in several great strike struggles and has welded the apprentice councils of Britain's foremost industrial areas into a national organization, without the aid of and against the opposition of the official trade unions, although the apprentice movement recruits its members into their respective unions of the British Trades Unions Congress.

As in the rest of Europe, British industry has a standard four year training period for skilled workers which working youth must complete in order to enter such unions as the Amalgamated Engineering Union (machinists). The significance of this is likely to be lost on American workers who are organized into industrial unions as semi-skilled production workers, since the journeyman in England who has completed his four-year apprenticeship has a standing in the great British craft unions as high as a member in the old International Association of Machinists had before the day of industrial unionism. He gets his job through the union; in union shops his rate of pay is set by union standards; he has the rights and privileges of the most skilled British workers.

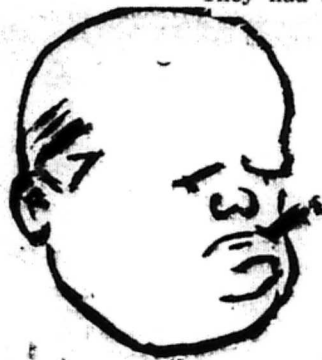
For the privilege of graduating into this status the apprenticed youth sacrifices wages and working

conditions. And the extension of the British war economy in 1939 made him the most exploited among the British workers earning less than even the new trainees in the British shipyards and machine-shops although the apprentice has a greater PROMISE for the future.

Meanwhile, apprentices 16 to 20 years old were working for 10, 12, 14 and 16 shillings per week while their cost of living for one week was at least 25 shillings. At the time of the strike in the Clyde Shipyards (Glasgow, Scotland) the cost of living had gone up 5 shillings 2 pence on the British pound, while apprentice wages had gone up only 4 shillings 3 pence.

The movement among the apprentices began in the Clyde shipyards of Glasgow, a city noted in the traditions of the British labor movement as the center of the revolutionary shop steward movement at the close of the last war and at the beginning of the present war.

As in all of England, the Clyde apprentices did not bargain collectively for themselves. Apprentice committees in the works were, in effect, chosen by the management. If a member of the committee made demands considered excessive by the management he was intimidated and transferred. The apprentice movement began when the apprentices formed committees in the works independent of the management.



The Clyde apprentices then put forward their demands (this was in 1939) and months of negotiations followed with no results. Finally, negotiations were adjourned for "an indefinite period" with no concessions. The adjournment took place in February, 1941, after two years.

Promptly, the committees went into action and a strike was called. Almost every youth walked out. One month later, March 29, 1941, the strike was settled with increases. Ten thousand boys in 36 firms in Clydeside and Kilmarnock areas were involved. They had no trade union backing, but the bosses were unable to use blacklegs (scabs) because the wages were too low.

The statement issued by the executive committee of the Clyde apprentices was as follows:

"The apprentices were forced to take action because of low wages. They knew how long the official procedure took and struck to speed it up. It was the only way in which we could bring pressure on employers and trade unions.

"The movement was absolutely non-political and reflected the feeling of the mass of apprentices.

"Our demands were justified on these grounds:

- "1. The rise in the cost of living.
- "2. Apprentices from 18 to 20 are being asked to face death in the forces (armed forces) without

ever having enjoyed a living wage.

"3. The profits of shipbuilding and engineering firms are soaring."

As a result of the strike, the Ministry of Labor was forced to set up an inquiry into the conditions of the apprentices in the Clyde shipyards. A result of even greater significance was the spread of apprentice committees to the Lancashire areas (Manchester).

Ten thousand boys in 18 Lancashire firms struck for wage increases. This time the government determined to break the strike and with it the apprentice movement. Six leaders were arrested (this incident was important enough to be reported in the New York Times, April, 1941) and charged with taking part in a strike over a dispute not reported to the Ministry of Labor and National Service.

Calling-up notices (conscription induction notices) were served on a number of the apprentices with the statement by the government, "If these men will not work in the engineering sheds, they must be made to aid the national effort elsewhere."

Although the apprentices were forced to return to work, they secured the release of their leaders and the promise of increases.

Nor was the movement discouraged by this strike-breaking activity on the part of the Ministry of Labor. The Manchester Committee and the Glasgow Committee exchanged representatives; the movement then spread to Dundee and Wallsend, where

(Continued on page 5)

The President's Poet

An Answer to Archibald MacLeish

by Howard Ives

An Open Letter to Archibald MacLeish: Several years ago, you wrote a poem that contained the following lines:

For a hundred and fifty years we've been telling ourselves
We told ourselves we had liberty
We told ourselves
The proposition was self-evident
We told ourselves we were free because we were free
We were free because we were that kind
We were Americans.
Maybe that proposition is self-evident
But try it in South Chicago Memorial Day
But try it at River Rouge with the Ford Militia.
You wrote these lines at the time you were conducting a flirtation with radicalism via the Stalinist intellectual groups, with whom you maintained a discreet—but definite—relationship.

Today you, as so many of your fellow intellectuals, have broken with your previous radical affiliations, even those of the malodorous Stalinist variety. You have assumed a new function in American society. You have become the official spokesman of the Roosevelt Administration in things intellectual—assigned to pay special attention to the youth.

THE IMPORTANCE OF MacLEISH

You begin your sermon* to us, the graduating class of '41, rather wisely. You say, "I have no doubt that you are thoroughly sick of the whole business—the talk and the talkers. . . . A satisfactory Commencement to most of you would be a Commencement without words. . . ."

That is true. Even at the very beginning of your sermon, you observe the resentment with which we listen to you. We understand your motives—and the motives of those for whom you speak. The time for battle is drawing close. We shall soon be needed—

needed—we, the neglected and locked-out generation, who were told to ring doorbells when we asked for jobs.

Now we are needed. So the bands begin to play, the flags to wave, and poets become eloquent (though also a bit forgetful of South Chicago Memorial Day and River Rouge with the Ford Militia).

The war which rages in the world today will be won not primarily on the battlefield, you tell us, but in "the minds of the young men." The Nazis cannot win the war, regardless of their military victories, so long as they do not persuade my generation to accept their creed of life.

A NEW VISION

That is true, MacLeish. Battles are fought, and often won, in the field of the mind as well as in the field of force. So you plead with us—we who, as you yourself admit, have "nothing of their own to fight for"—to adopt a new credo of democratic faith, some new mystic vision of human dignity and freedom which will resist the authoritative thoroughness and relentlessness of the fascist triumph.

You are worried—how we hear your Master's voice!—about our skepticism, our doubts. . . . the generation to which you belong has been prepared by education and experience to respond more readily to the use of language to question and disabuse and breed doubt than to the use of language to declare and to affirm. . . . Your predisposition to give validity and weight to the words of doubt and of discredit rather than to the words of affirmation and belief."

Is it then altogether a matter of words? Merely a psychological indisposition toward words of affirmation? Allow me to doubt, friend MacLeish. Is it not perhaps that the cruel lessons of life itself have taught us to doubt these eloquent "values," this noble "morality" which is trotted out at commencement time?

We look at this country, which our parents and brothers have built and work in. We have seen enough to make us doubt. We have seen injustice, inhumanity, inequality, exploitation. We have learned what the source of these things is. We call it capitalism—does the word rankle in your delicate ears?—the system of misery and poverty, the system you yourself say "neither you nor I can take much pride in."

And we are no so ready to die for it, to fight for it. We remember Wilson. We remember the bonus marchers. We remember the bread lines. Yes, and the South Chicago Memorial Massacre and the Ford Militia at River Rouge.

In one form or another, these things still exist. Take a look. Ask your boss, Mr. Roosevelt, who just bayoneted a strike in California. These workers demanded a little advance payment on your "dignity and freedom and justice" in the form of a 10 cent raise with which to buy bread for their children. They got bayoneted.

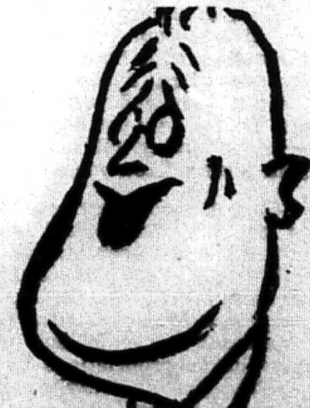
We wonder if you would be so enthusiastic about Mr. Roosevelt's war if he had one of his troopers stick a bayonet up your delicate parts.

You yourself are forced to admit the weakness of your cause. You almost plead with us to accept it. If your system were really so attractive, so fine, do you think it would be necessary to plead with us on bended phrase to fight and die for it?

Yes, we doubt, we are suspicious of your catchwords because you have nothing to offer. You are the poet of decay, the prophet of destruction.

Your world is dying and you would hide its

scars with metaphors. You tell us that a new faith must answer that of Hitler. How accurately you describe the armies of "democratic" capitalism



which are "altogether lacking in any affirmative belief, an army prepared only to resist and hence half defeated from the start." And what have you—or your superiors, Roosevelt and Churchill, Hull and Halifax—to offer us instead? A new Versailles treaty? Another 1929?

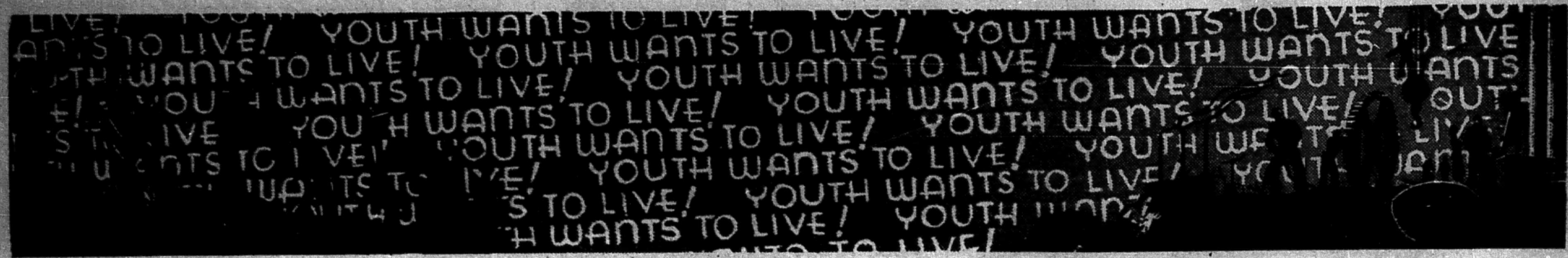
You wish to invigorate this ugly capitalist monster with new life. You say we "must bring men to believe in the possibility of the organization of men's lives by the instruments of freedom for freedom as an end."

But, concretely, now, today? We who are to die want to see a taste of it, this new, brave world of the President's poet. But perhaps it would be wiser if you were to address your superb eloquence, not to us, but to your hero, Churchill. Perhaps you could persuade him "to believe in the possibility of the organization of men's lives by the instruments of freedom for freedom as an end." . . . Say, in India. We wait patiently.

MacLeish, think of our generation. We who have never had a chance and who today are doomed by you. We who are so eager to build a future of our own, a future of genuine freedom and security. We who still remember that

Maybe the proposition is self-evident
But try it in South Chicago Memorial Day
Try it at River Rouge with the Ford Militia.

*The Nation, June 21, 1941—"To the Class of '41," by Archibald MacLeish.



Movies

by Jessie Startgen

Major Barbara

MAJOR BARBARA—Written by George Bernard Shaw, produced by Gabriel Pascal and starring Robert Morley, Wendy Hiller, Rex Harrison and Robert Newton.

George Bernard Shaw is almost never profound, but he is almost always brilliant. "Major Barbara," one of his old plays that has just been produced as a movie, is a constantly stimulating picture that makes the audience indulge in a few unusual mental gymnastics.

You leave the movie house with the feeling of having had an intellectual rubdown, but you also wonder exactly where it took place. The picture tosses around so many ideas—and the ideas are the most important part of it—and tosses them around with such grace and abandon, that you are often tempted to wonder if there are any ideas in it at all.

The story is very simple. Barbara is a major in the Salvation Army who is deeply devoted to the cause of saving souls. She is also the daughter of the greatest munitions makers in the country. She meets her father for the first time since childhood and they are attracted to each other by basic similarities in character—a certain domineering sense of the importance of their own destinies. She is at first scornful of her father's way of life, but she loses faith in her creed when she sees her beloved Salvation Army go to its greatest enemy, her father, for funds to continue its work. Bewildered by the hypocrisy of the pacifist and teetotaler Salvationists, who accept money from the munitions maker and brewer, she is finally won over to the idea of sharing the management of her father's tremendous factory town and trying to construct her Utopia there.

This simple—and none too astounding—plot is magic in the hands of Shaw. The dialogue is infernally clever; the acting splendid; the general character of the picture far more thought-provoking than most American films.

But what is the idea of the plot? I think that one of the main ideas is an attack on reformism. (Yes, from GBS, the incurable Fabian!) By reformism, I do not mean, of course, any specific political creed; that's not Shaw's concern. By reformism, I mean all those attitudes toward society that are half-hearted and superficial; all the hypocrisy that attends the political, social, economic and cultural Salvation Armies of all types. Shaw has no love for the munitions maker; he respects, however, the intransigent character of his cynicism, the uncompromising contempt that he has for the ineffectual old ladies of both sexes who bewail the world's ills and would reform them with whisk brooms. I do not doubt that the munitions maker would respect, if hate, a genuine, thorough revolutionist.

The other main idea of the picture is an annihilating attack on the static, absolutist concept of right and wrong. The pink-tea morality of the Salvation Army—which attacks war and gets money from the munitions maker on the grounds that it will thereby prevent unrest among the workers—is merely symbolic of an attack on all such moralities. Barbara's simplistic morality fails because it is based on a lack of recognition of the workings of the capitalist world. Her father's morality succeeds—and only the morality of a genuine revolutionist can better it—because it is attuned to the realities of the class struggle. Shaw, of course, is cynical; that is his doubtful privilege. But for his cleverness, his surgical incision into hypocrisy and myths, we must be tremendously thankful. It is a picture above our times.

The People Are Taxed For Imperialist War

(Continued from page 1)

Bureau, Inc., concludes, after 650 pages of charts and statistical data, that strict rationing of raw materials, transportation and fuel supplies is inevitable in the United States.

The most recent step was the announcement by Frank Bone, director of the Office of Civilian Defense, that a nation-wide salvage campaign would be started to yield 20,000,000 pounds of aluminum from old pots and pans.

Rationing is inevitable when the combined civilian and war need exceeds the country's capacity to produce. American industry, which prides itself on its ability to produce, given a market, refuses to expand! The fear of post-war depression and the greater profits of war production make for a sit-tight situation.

The result is that there "isn't enough to go around," because war materials are given preference over consumer goods. Rationing and higher prices is the immediate result.

3) Higher Prices. In the First World War the cost of living in the United States was doubled. Since the outbreak of the war, the commodity price index in England has increased 54 per cent, according to the British Board of Trade.

The latest U. S. government statistics show that the cost of rent, clothing and fuel has risen only 3.7 per cent since August, 1939. This figure is misleading because it only applies to retail prices, which always lag behind wholesale prices and the latter have risen 14 per cent since the war began. The full impact of increased costs will not be felt until this fall, when in-

creased costs in consumer goods will really be felt, due to higher prices on new stocks of materials bought by wholesalers.

Prices are rising much more rapidly now than at the beginning of the war. The Labor Bureau's commodity price index rose as much in the last three months as it did in the first nineteen months of the war. The figures also do not tell the story of the rise in food prices. Isidor Lubin, U. S. commissioner of labor statistics, announced that since November, eggs have gone up 10.8 per cent, lard 15.5 per cent, sugar 6.6 per cent, and potatoes 7.4 per cent. This is only the beginning and the cost of living will rise very rapidly in the next few months.

4) Cutting of Social Services. The Wagner health program has been scrapped. WPA has been cut by 35 per cent. NYA, CCC and Public Housing have been given the ax in those items not connected with "national defense." Throughout the country, relief appropriations have been slashed though employment has not provided for the figure of 9,000,000 jobless.

This is the Roosevelt government Four Point Program for the American People. In the framework of a system of imperialist war and capitalist exploitation there is no room for real democracy. "Soak the Rich" is the battle cry of an enlightened working class in the face of the onslaught of reaction at home and abroad. A sliding scale of wages and hours enforced by an awakened working class movement through the unions can halt the war profiteers and place the burden of the war on the backs of those whose war it is, America's Sixty Families.

Recreation for Youth:

Time on Our Hands - - What Are We Able to Do With It?

By PHYLLIS HOFFMAN

The sight of the U.S. battleship Washington sliding down the ways into the briny deep was supposed to have been an awe-inspiring sight. Its inspiration value was somewhat lost on us because we were thinking about the problem bothering most young people, especially at this time of year. Now that summer is here—what are we going to do with our spare time?

Recently, we read something somewhere about how most young people spend their spare time. A survey was made by the American Youth Commission which showed some of the following results.

The question asked was: "How do you spend your spare time?"

Among the answers were:

"Just walk around like the other girls do." (This from a girl 21 years old who left school at the completion of the third grade.)

"Go around and gossip."

"Gamble, shoot craps and play pool." (This from a 17 year old boy out of school and unemployed.)

"Walk around and walk around and go home and go to bed—all my time is spare." (This from a Negro boy, 21 years old.)

These are the forms of "leisure" which young people are forced to resort to. Our society provides them with nothing better to do.

No Facilities

Rural youth find nothing else to do than go to the movies—when they have the money. Other than that there are no recreational facilities for them. Young people who are unemployed, or who earn just enough to keep them in cigarettes and provide their families with sorely needed necessities, look forward with the same dread to spare time as they do to their jobs. They can't afford commercial amusements like movies and concerts; there are practically no public recreational facilities for them, and

so they spend their spare time by wasting it.

Although the plight of rural and low income youth in regard to recreation is pretty miserable, the plight of Negro youth is even worse. The young Negro who lives in the slums, who is given only dirty work to do, can seldom afford commercial amusements. When, in rare cases, he can, he finds that the color of his skin bars him from restaurants, swimming pools, tennis courts and movies. There is little else for him to do than to play in the streets or to start running around with "gangs."

A Chance to Live

These are some of the facts about youth we found in "Time on Their Hands," published by the American Youth Commission. Most of us know of these things. We've seen kids running wild in the streets because there doesn't happen to be a playground in their neighborhood.

We've seen young people pounding the pavements and loafing because there aren't any youth centers for them to go to where they can meet young people, or learn something about arts and crafts, or how to play a musical instrument, or sing and dance in groups. There aren't enough public recreational centers for young people—places where they can swim and play tennis in the summer, and have group activity during the winter.

The launching of the Washington didn't inspire us with awe, but it inspired us with a few ideas. The cost of that ship is something we find hard to estimate, never having come into contact with such sums. But we do know that the millions spent for it could provide for the sorely needed swimming pools, tennis courts, playgrounds and youth centers. It would mean a chance for the millions of youth to relax and spend their spare time profitably and enjoyably.

Left Of the News

We see by the papers . . .

Colonel Branshaw, who commanded the troops in breaking the North American strike, calls it an impartial action directed as much against capital as against labor . . . we presume he means that they'll bayonet a picket even if he's a boss . . .

We followed with great interest the military career of William McClesney Ryan, former president of the New York Stock Exchange, who was drafted amid much fanfare a while back . . . yes, we followed it right up to . . . a swivel-chair job at Fort Jay. . . Who said you have to be a President's son? . . .

"In a conference with his staff, Henry Ford often says: 'Go ahead—I'll sit here and represent the public.'" (Ford Motor Co. adv.) . . . Rumors that Ford is jumped upon, kicked, gagged, blindfolded and robbed are emphatically denied by company officials. . . "He didn't mean it literally," they said . . .

Now that Hitler's invaded Russia, we presume that Molotov will publicly retract his statement that Germany is entitled to a place in the sun. . . Litvinoff's health ought to be better by now, and it's time for Molotov to rest. . . which reminds us of the old saying, "time wounds all heels."

In the week before the Nazi-Soviet war we searched the Daily Worker in vain for an inkling of the official Stalinist position. . . All we could find was a clearcut, straightforward statement on . . . the beet crop in the Ukraine . . . they were in favor of it. . . Beets seem to be a safer subject than the corkscrew policy of the Comintern. . . You never can tell about beets, though . . . some of them are red . . . and as Earl Browder says, it's smart to be shifty. . .

Now it's Turkey's turn to be worried . . . Hitler has just guaranteed her territorial integrity. . .

We see by the latest "comic" (?) books on the newsstands that Churchill, Roosevelt and du Pont have enlisted in their fight such renowned and redoubtable champions of democracy as "Daredevil," the "Silver Streak" and "Pat Patriot" . . . we feel moved to suggest that "Daddy" Warbucks might volunteer for the War Resources Board . . . and at the same time, "Mandrake the Magician" might explain how this is a war for democracy. . . So long, boys, I'm going to collect my check from the new NYA treasurer . . . yes, you guessed it . . . the Phantom. . .

Walter Cliff.

Why Is Roosevelt Stingy For Army Boys' Recreation?

A tremendous drive is now on to provide the conscripted soldiers with recreational facilities. In every community a call for funds to help the boys in uniform is now broadcast through the medium of the USO (United Service Organizations). In this matter, as in others, we see how cleverly the propagandists are attempting to build up the war spirit.

A total sum of \$10,765,000 is needed to staff and operate direly needed recreational facilities near 360 army camps and naval stations. Compared to the astronomical figure of \$28,000,000,000 appropriated for war, the sum required is but a drop in the bucket. Moreover, of the sum appropriated more than \$11,000,000,000 has not been awarded to "defense" industries because of lack of facilities to handle the tremendous volume of business. Yet not one cent can be found to provide the draftees with adequate recreational facilities.

What hypocrisy! Newspapers like the New York Times, which runs editorial after editorial advising the lowering of relief and WPA appropriations and then tearfully runs a campaign, once a year at Christmas, for the "Hundred Neediest Cases," lend their voices to the chorus for funds.

It isn't enough for these mouthpieces of capitalism that the people pay for the cost of the war through higher prices and taxes, it is necessary to squeeze more from them by "contributions." After all, Mr. Rockefeller contributed \$500 and

everyone else ought to kick in and "sacrifice."

Bethlehem Steel makes \$2,000,000 clear on just one battleship! The least that Congress could do would be to appropriate the necessary money for the draftees and then raise it by a program of taxation that would hit those who are making fantastic profits.

Another step toward solving the

"recreational problem" would be to give the draftees free use of the railroads so that they can go home on furloughs and leaves. At the present time, it costs more than a month's salary for most draftees to travel and this is prohibitive in effect. The railroads are cleaning up on the "defense" program and this is a "contribution" they could well afford.

"Henry Ford, He Prayed to the Lord"

(Tune of "Turkey in the Straw")

O, Henry Ford was very wise,
Although his wages did not rise
He packed the papers with his lies,
He knew it paid to advertise.

"O, the CIO and the AF of L,"
Said Henry Ford, "Can both go to hell.
O, my men they like the work so well
That a union idea will never sell."

Now Henry Ford didn't know his men,
They thought of strike again and again;
For better pay they had a yen,
But they didn't have a union then.

O, a company fink told Henry Ford
Just what his men were working toward.
"It's un-American," Henry roared
And had the Pinkerton men applaud.

Each night he had an awful dream,
Union organizers were the theme,
And Henry tried every trick he knew,
To keep that dream from coming true.

O, he did his best to keep it away

But the union came to Detroit one day
And Henry's hopes that it wouldn't stay
Fell as flat as the tires on a Model A.

Said Henry Ford, "With a union which
Won't kiss my . . . I'll never get rich,
So I'll fight these 'reds' to the very last ditch,"
Said Henry Ford, that son of a . . . gun.

He said to workers, "Boys, be nice,
For national defense we must sacrifice,"
But somehow this had a tinny ring,
Coming from the lips of the flivver king.

O, all the workers understood
To be nice to him would do no good,
So they decided to combine
And fight Henry Ford on the picket line.

O, it jolted Henry quite a bit
To hear his assembly line had quit.
His faith in brotherly love was hit,
Poor Henry Ford, he threw a fit.

O, Henry Ford, he saw his fate,
Saw that he'd have to arbitrate.
So we'll say good-bye to Henry Ford
For he's on his way to the Labor Board.

Cal. NYAers Also Work for 16¢ an Hour

Los Angeles—NYA workers work for 60 hours each month and are allowed to make no more than \$18. In the national defense projects, such as sheet metal, radio, etc., the work done is regular work that under other conditions are produced in private plants at a much higher wage scale. For instance, the radio project in Los Angeles is working on a transmission panel for Boulder Dam power. The State & Municipal Water & Power Co. have produced 14 such panels, NYA is producing 2. Cable makers for the S&WM&P Co. make \$1.10 an hour, NYA workers make 30 cents an hour.

Along with this 60 hours of work, national defense project workers are expected to take from 30 to 60 hours a month of allied training. This consists of theoretical background for the work that you are doing. All this would be well and good except that the young workers aren't paid for this, and in most cases this training takes up the time that they would use to go to look for jobs and work on part-time jobs outside. Anyone who has tried to live on \$18 a month knows that what is absolutely essential is to get a job, because wages like that don't even pay for food, much less carfare, rent, etc. But allied training is required and you can't get by without it.

But now the NYA has a new plan. Beginning July 2 we are going to be given the privilege of making \$25 a month. For this we MUST work 80 hours a month and put in at least 80 of allied training. Figure it up yourself. This means that for 8 hours each day, 20 days each month (in other words, a full time job) we will be able to earn \$25 each month, or to be more specific, we'll be getting 15 cents an hour, and no time to even try to get another job. One redeeming feature of the system up to now was that you could get part time work outside to help make ends meet. But starting July 2 this is out.

Union Youth! Beware Of Stalin's Warmongers!

A wondrous change is now occurring in the unions under the influence of the Communist Party. Militant unionists who have seen this change before, however, will not be surprised nor amused by the comedy.

Joe Stalin's boys are turning into warmongers. Although Germany's invasion of Russia is only a week old, as these lines are written, the Daily Worker has already performed its flip-flop before the eyes of a cynical audience. Yesterday it called Roosevelt's convoy proposals warmongering. Today it demands "the freeing of credits, active commerce and all measures necessary for the crushing of fascism." As those measures are defined in the Daily Worker day by day they appear to be almost everything, including an AEF.

CIO councils dominated by the Stalinists are already promising support to the warmongering Roosevelt Administration in return for convoys to Russia. Resolutions of a like nature will soon be introduced into union locals and shop meetings.

In their search for allies the Stalinists will combine even with the elements whom they yesterday attacked as imperialist stooges and pawns of the profiteers, union leaders who have called upon the workers to give up vacations, the forty-hour working week, overtime pay, and demands for raises in pay to meet the high cost of living.

Once the Stalinists form alliances with the pro-war government and its spokesmen in the unions they will find it convenient to discontinue their militancy, especially in the war industries. Their agitation on economic issues will peter out and eventually they will become apologists for the profiteers.

Some of their leaders and agents are capable of more treasonous things, as was shown several years ago before Russia made her infamous deal with the Nazis and when American Stalinists still supported collective security. The more unscrupulous among the Stalinist leadership were appointed by the party to act as spies, stool-pigeons and red-baiters against militants and socialists in the unions.

They can and will do it again because they have no loyalty to the working class. Their only allegiance is to the Kremlin and its silent man with the drooping mustache. For this reason they are dangerous and untrustworthy elements.

The workers must be wary of the Stalinists. This is particularly true of the young workers, since many of them have been misled by the boldness and militancy of the Stalinist agitation on trade union issues. The working youth of America must keep up the fight for their demands in spite of Stalinist fakery and demagoguery. The Stalinist fakery must not be permitted to disrupt the fight for economic gains.

**MAINTAIN THE FIGHT FOR HIGHER WAGES, SHORTER HOURS, VACATIONS!
STOP THE WARMONGERING OF THE PROFITEERS AND THE STALINISTS!
YOUNG COMMUNISTS! BREAK WITH YOUR KREMLIN BETRAYERS!
JOIN THE FACTORY YOUTH OF THE YOUNG PEOPLES SOCIALIST LEAGUE!**

Youth in the Unions

BEDEAUX SPEEDUP MEANS FASTER WORK, LESS PAY

By EUGENE VICTOR

Young machinists just entering war plants where production is large-scale and efficiently planned are beginning to believe that a man named Bedaux has condemned them to a life of deadly routine and exploitation.

Under the Bedaux system each operation on a piece of work is timed and given the equivalent of a certain number of credits or "B's." If for example a certain operation is credited with 4 B's or 4 minutes' credit and during the eight-hour day the young machinist does 120 of those operations he gets 480 credits or B's. If his base rate is 50 cents an hour he would get \$4.00 for the eight hours he is credited. If, however, he should work faster and harder on those 120 pieces so that he finishes them in 4 hours, he receives at the end of 8 hours of such work 960 credits instead of 480.

The purpose of this is to speed up production by giving the young

machinist a bonus for extra work. In non-union shops, however, it works to cut down the hourly rate. In one shop in Massachusetts, for example, for these extra 480 credits the company pays 40 cents per 120 B's, so if the worker speeds himself up, he does 16 hours of work in eight, he gets 40 cents an hour for the extra eight hours instead of fifty cents.

At International Projector in New York, which is a union shop, the company is forced to pay a rate equal to the base rate for extra work. But even here it presents speed-up problems.

The bonus system or the Bedaux systems must be systematically fought in every shop in which they appear. They cause competition, friction and no end of trouble among the men and weakens the strength and effectiveness of the unions by giving the workers illusions that they earn more than they actually do.

HATS OFF TO THE GIRLS

From England comes a story about the girls at the Vickers works who were ordered by the company to wear their hats while at work in order to prevent their hair from being caught in the machines.

To be forced to wear company hats was considered unnecessary regimentation by these formerly peaceful ladies. So one fine morning a girl appeared at work in that wonder of feminine creation, a turban, and was promptly dismissed by the management.

The following day all the girls arrived in turbans and refused to work until their comrade was reinstated.

The firm not only reinstated her but permitted the girls to wear their own hats.

This story teaches a lesson to those who believe they can use the war dictatorship to end strikes, break unions and end the militancy of the workers by substituting women for men wherever possible.

THE STADIUM BOYS ACT

A strike was won the other day at Lewisohn Stadium in New York. Twenty-five City College boys who sweat all summer as vendors of soda, candy and mats for tender bottoms took advantage of the big Paul Robeson concert to embarrass the management by refusing to

work unless their demand for an increase was granted. The boss quickly complied with a 7 per cent increase and Local 906 of the United Office and Professional Workers, which bargained for them, is setting back to enjoy its victory and win other concessions.

LOCAL 65's NEW CONSTITUTION

The members of Local 65 are being asked to vote on a new constitution. The proposed rules will govern one of the larger warehouse locals in the country and one which has been administered by members and supporters of the Communist Party virtually without opposition within the local. The new constitution provides for a tight organization, one which is efficiently organized and whose members can be quickly mobilized for action. Yet under the present leadership its purpose, as can be seen by careful reading, can also serve to consolidate and perpetuate the Stalinist administration of the local.

This is most strikingly demonstrated in the section on elections. This section calls for the election of the leadership of the union EVERY SECOND YEAR. Holding elections every other year is not a new procedure in unions. It was adopted by Harry Bridges' union a few months ago as a means of overriding the critical opposition to Bridges.

Why This Clause?

The Stalinist leadership of Local 65 makes great claims for its leadership and many of its successes can be credited to its militant trade union policies. If it is so successful, however, why does it need less frequent elections in order to hold office? The answer to that question lies in the relation between the politics of the Communist party and the militancy of its trade union fractions.

The purpose of the Communist Party in dominating Local 65, as is true of all the unions it controls, is to further its program. That is why Local 65 is asked to affiliate to and support all of the front organizations of the CP which seek trade union support. The latest of these was the American Peace Mobilization, which will bite the dust as soon as the policy of all-out aid to Russia gets into full swing.

Program Based on Russia

The program of the CP is not based on the needs of the working class, but on the needs of the Soviet Union. If the latter is allied with Germany, then the Communists use the unions under their control for the purposes of anti-war agitation. As soon as Russia is at war with Germany a change takes place in the other direction.

The militancy and the class-consciousness of the Stalinists in Local

65 will be affected by Russia's latest change in allegiance. Local 65, which only a few months ago signed resolutions against convoys, against the lend-lease bill and against American entrance in the war, will now be asked to sign resolutions for convoys, for lend-lease to Russia and perhaps in a few months, for a war to aid Russia against the Nazis.

No Cast-Iron Stomachs

Not every member of Local 65 can stomach these overnight reversals as do the faithful followers of Joe Stalin. There will be questions and doubts. There may even be opposition from the floor to this latest pro-war policy of the Stalinists.

And when the Stalinists begin to tone down strikes and militant labor action because it will embarrass and hinder all-out aid to Russia, there may be more opposition and more criticism. There may even be an opponent or two to the Stalinist nominees for the leadership of the local. That is something as unheard of in Local 65 as opposition to Stalin's candidates in Russia.

Not Always Against War

The Stalinists knew when they drew up this constitution that they might not always have a militant anti-war policy to give them favor in the eyes of the union members, and they prepared for this by the two-year provision on elections.

That is why Section 2 under "General Principles" is a meaningless guarantee. This paragraph

which says "There shall be full respect for all shades of opinion and all members shall have full freedom of expression," can only be enforced by a leadership interested in putting such a policy into practice. But the leadership of Local 65 prefers to violate its constitution behind the scenes by promising members of the Young Peoples Socialist League that unless they keep their mouths shut they will be taken care of by the "athletic squad."

Public Criticism

Harry Bridges' union accompanied its two-years-in office clause with another one which gave the union authority to take disciplinary action against any member who criticized the leader of the union in public. Not one has yet criticized Osman in the public press. But if anyone should, or if Osman thought such a thing might happen, what is to prevent him from carrying his bureaucratic proposal a step further and punishing all public critics of his policies?

The membership of Local 65 should not give Osman and his followers the power they request. One year in office is sufficient for any union leadership to prove itself and to establish its policies. At the end of that year the membership should have the right to review its leadership and remove them. If Osman and the Stalinists are afraid of trade union democracy let them admit so openly instead of sneaking clauses into an otherwise good constitution.

Program for Young Workers

- 1. A Job for Every Youth.** We demand that all war industries be required to hire at least 10 per cent of their employees from the ranks of the unemployed youth between the ages of 18 and 24.
- 2. The Right to Learn a Trade.** All youth, experienced or not, have the right to trade training. Conscript the machine facilities in the shops and make them available for the unions after working hours to train young people in the skilled trades.
- 3. An Apprentice for Every Ten Mechanics.** Training of all apprentices to acquire the skills of a mechanic. The training to be done on the job, and in special schools on company time. Automatic raises periodically. Special seniority for apprentices.
- 4. A Minimum of \$24 for All Apprentices and Learners.** All youth not actually doing equal work to be started at a minimum of 60 cents per hour. This applies to all those legitimately classified as apprentices or learners.
- 5. Equal Pay for Equal Work.** No cutting of wages because of "learner" status or sex. Youth doing the same work as adults should get regular wages, regardless of the classification of employment.
- 6. Thirty Dollars a Week for Thirty Hours' Work.** The regular wage of workers should be at least one dollar an hour. Time and a half for overtime over thirty hours. For increased wages to meet the rising cost of living.
- 7. Abolish Jim-Crow and Anti-Semitism.** No discrimination in hiring or on the job because of race, religion or color.

Even Desses Go Jingo!

Jingo dresses will be imported to the United States from Britain. They will feature patterns such as the following: A bayonet-brandishing home guard attacking a Nazi parachutist; British Army, Navy and Royal Air Force emblems; Polish and Czech pilots fighting the Battle of Britain; General De Gaulle's proclamation to the Free French. However, the dresses will be expensive. Only the richer American women will be able to wear them. The more unfortunate ones will have to admire but not wear this propaganda.

The British Apprentices

(Continued from page 3)

a strike was called which won the reinstatement of two apprentices dismissed for leadership in the Apprenticeship Committee and negotiations are continuing.

The apprentice movement is here to stay and to grow. Reports from England are scarce and arrive here late. With even the meager information at hand, however, it is obvious that the apprentice movement is taking root all over the country and will be a tremendous factor in the growing militancy of the British workers.

How the Inglewood Strikers Fought Against Bayonets

By SUSAN DRAKE

INGLEWOOD, Cal.—It'll be a long time before the workers of this town forget the famous North American Aviation strike of last month. Pressed on by the ever-rising level of prices that were cutting more and more sharply into their pocketbooks, the workers decided that it was time for action. So they struck.

I worked in the soup kitchen, helping prepare food for the hungry and tired pickets as they came off the line. How full of fight they were! How full of enthusiasm, of a desire to prove to everyone the justness of their cause, that they needed the extra wages they were demanding in order to provide food for their families. These men weren't kidding around; they weren't playing a game of marbles. And they weren't just the victims of some "agitators." They knew what they wanted and they were out to get it.

They disregarded the red-baiting of the press and of their top union officials as well, and they got tired of the stalling of the Mediation Board. They wanted that 75 cent minimum and the 10 cent raise and they fought hard; even though they were no match for 3,000 troopers.

Some of the things we found out very very interesting. Most of the troops were draftees—the papers didn't say so, but friendly soldiers did.

They didn't like what they were doing any more than we did. They got orders and they had to obey them. But many of them had been union men and had been out on strike too and they were plenty mad about jobs such as these, and their rotten pay, and the pup-tents on the cold ground, and how they didn't get enough sleep, and most of all how they couldn't say anything about it without getting court martialled. This, of course, was told to us off the record, when the officers weren't around. Not all the soldiers were so friendly. Those volunteer troops specially trained for strike breaking activity were very attentive to their job and seemed to enjoy it.

We also learned that President Roosevelt, elected last November as a friend of labor, wasn't interested in the workers' welfare. He labeled this fight for a decent wage as a traitorous attack on America. We learned that even the top officials of unions needed watching for they too turned their backs on the strikers and urged them to go back to work. We found out that when workers go out on strike demanding a wage increase, the attorney general labeled it an "insurrection."

We found out that in a pinch the boss politicians always line up with the bosses and not the workers. That may sound very simple, but it's damned important!

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THE NEGRO PEOPLE NEED NEW LEADERSHIP TO OPPOSE WAR

An Answer To Randolph War Stand

A. Phillip Randolph occupies an increasingly important position in Negro life. He has a long and honorable history as a militant leader of the Negro people—his role in organizing the Pullman porters is unmatchable.

In recent years he has assumed an entirely different role. He has given up the militant struggle against the capitalist Jim-Crow government and has become one of the few Negroes who support the imperialist war and who favor aid to Britain. He was the main leader of the contemplated march on Washington; he was the main leader who, because of the mess of pottage which Roosevelt slipped him, sold his birthright by calling off the march.

That is why what Randolph says about the war is of special importance. He is important in Negro life. We must listen to what he says; and we must show where he is wrong.

That is why we read Randolph's special article which he wrote for the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, which was widely circulated in Harlem, with interest.

The first half of Randolph's eloquent article cannot be disputed by anyone. It describes what Hitlerism means to the world; the oppression, the enslavement which Hitlerism is. Hitler, Randolph tells us, considers the Negro as half ape. He would enslave the Negro. Therefore, Negroes must support the British Empire.

But, Randolph hurries on to add, "we have no illusions about the attitude Great Britain has maintained toward the Negroes. . . They have been deceived, betrayed and oppressed by Britain."

"But," says Randolph, "under British rule, Negroes are at least considered as human beings. In the British colonies, Negroes are making some progress."

This is where we have to say: Whoa, there! You're going too fast!

Human Treatments?

Since when did Randolph discover that Negroes in the British Empire are treated as human beings? Is it really necessary to tell a man like Randolph how the British Empire treats its Negro slaves? Where did Hitler learn how to mistreat Negroes and Jews—if not from the methods which Britain has used against the Africans?

Can anyone in his right mind maintain that it makes any difference to the Negroes in Africa which imperialist ruler oppresses them? Or that there is any other road for the Negro but struggle against all imperialist oppressors?

Randolph says: "In the British colonies, Negroes are making some progress." That is true. But they are making it AGAINST the British Empire. The Empire opposes every move of the Negroes for liberty; the Negroes must fight for liberty against his British oppressors, not with him.

The same thing is true about America. One of the leaders of a leading pro-Britain committee, the Fight for Freedom Committee, is Senator Carter Glass. He is also a staunch upholder of Jim-Crowism in his lily-white South. He speaks for Britain on the same platform as does Randolph. Does Randolph think that he can gain liberty for his people by playing around with people like Glass?

Negroes hate Hitlerism. They know how rotten it is. But Negroes have no more reason to support slave-master Britain and Jim-Crow America than they have to support Hitler.

The cause of Negro liberation is connected with no government. It is rather connected with the struggle against all governments. It is connected with the struggle of the working people for socialism.



GROWING UP IN THE BLACK BELT

We Never Got a Chance!

by Arthur Parks

What happens to the personality of the average Negro youth in the southern black belt when he grows up to face a life of Jim-Crow? What happens to this youth who "must begin to act as a supplementary wage earner at an early age and . . . whose opportunities for education and economic advancement are limited by the fact of being a Negro?"

These are questions that Charles Johnson has tried to answer in his book "Growing Up in the Black Belt" (published by the American Council on Education).

The popular conception of the southern Negro, founded upon ignorance and malice, is one of a lazy, shiftless being who is generally satisfied with his lot. This book once and for all smashes all such nonsense.

Seek Education

The author traces the development of the Negro youth from childbirth on. He begins with education.

Although the overwhelming majority of Negro youth are forced to leave school before the fourth or fifth grade, the children without exception desire education. For some, education represents a means of escape from the dead end of their lives. For others, education means that the white man will not be able to cheat them. Many families make unbelievable sacrifices to permit their children or at least one of them to go to school.

Despite the fact that they recognize the shortcomings of the education which is offered them, it still remains one of the major desires of their life.

Problem of Jobs

Another extremely interesting section is that on jobs. In all the areas studied, the occupations selected tended to be those for which there was some known precedent establishing them as Negro occupations and which reflected the desire for security, escape from farming and greater material wealth. The girls wanted to be teachers, nurses, beauticians, seamstresses and occasionally stenographers, and the boys wanted to be doctors, teachers, undertakers or to follow one of the traditional trades. These youth felt the racially restricted situation within which they were compelled to make their choices and resented it but had to accept it.

"The gap between occupational expectation and reality is at present so great as to suggest that the expectation itself borders on fantasy," says the author.

Church Conservative

The study reaches the conclusion "that the rural Negro church is a conservative institution . . . whose greatest value appears to be that of providing emotional relief for the fixed problems of a hard life." Among many of the younger people, however, the local preacher is looked upon with distrust.

"I know I've got religion, I know I was called to teach; Pay no attention to what I do, Just practice what I preach."

In addition, because of certain outmoded behavior codes—restrictions on dancing, card playing, baseball, in some cases even motion pictures—the Negro youth seeks other outlets for social life, in many cases the cheap honkey-tonks, the whiskey joints, etc. Society, of course, provides no means for an opportunity to relax from long hours of back-breaking labor, and sex, whiskey and fighting too often provide the necessary outlets.

Who Backs Lindy?

(Continued from page 3)

more of a self-imposed appendage to the AFC than an integral part of it, and while providing an attractive target for the interventionist press, they will not play an important role in the AFC.

e) Finally, the outspoken native fascists—like the Rev. Edward Lodge Curran of the Brooklyn Tablet, and Father Coughlin. This is a strong tendency in the AFC which is beginning to cooperate with the Big Business tendency in order to kick the liberals and pacifists out.

Can the America First Committee continue to exist on its present basis?

No Future Ahead

It is hardly possible. The AFC's policy will soon be meaningless—when America enters the war formally. Large sections of the AFC may continue to oppose FDR, calling for a more efficient organization of the war (the way Clemen-

The situation within the Negro community is clearing up. The lines of demarcation between the different groups are becoming clearer. The lines have cleared between those who have pledged their allegiances to the real, basic needs of the Negro people and those who have sold their birthrights for a mess of pottage, who have become the friends and cronies of the Jim-Crow bosses.

Two important events have brought this cleavage to a head. These events are: 1) the calling off of the Negro March on Washington Against Jim-Crow which was scheduled for July 1, and 2) the outbreak of the Hitler-Stalin war, with its internal political effects in America.

Let us discuss these one by one.

The March on Washington which was contemplated for July 1 had captured the imagination of a large section of the Negro people. Just think of it! A mighty demonstration of the Negro people, flocking in from all sections of the country to voice their hatred for Jim-Crow.

Just think of it! Tens of thousands of Negro workers and youth marching down Pennsylvania Avenue telling Washington that the Negro people demands equal rights with everyone else; that Jim-Crow must go!

Yes, the thought is inspiring. But it wasn't to President Roosevelt. It wasn't to Secretary of the Navy Knox. Or to the lily-white, Jim-Crow congressmen and senators. They were just a little bit scared at the prospect.

So President Roosevelt thought up a "clever" scheme. He issued a proclamation (what did it

The New York Times reports the creation of a new organization called "Barkers for Britain." Leading the parade of canines is President Roosevelt's dog, who is the head of the new society. No wonder people are saying: "It's a dog's life."

cost him?) in which he denounced racial and color inequality.

It was this miserable mess of pottage for which A. Phillip Randolph and the other leaders of the march sold their birthrights by calling off the march. Did the President's actions give one Negro a job in "defense" industries? No. Did the President's feeble little gesture strike even a half-hearted blow against Jim-Crowism? No! It didn't!

If FDR were serious, he would have set the example in abolishing Jim-Crowism by abolishing it in his own house first! But FDR isn't

serious. Jim-Crow still rules in FDR's Army and Navy. FDR was throwing sand into the eyes of the Negro people; trying to thwart their proposed militant march by some rotten sop.

And some of the Negro leaders fell for it. Randolph and his friends called the march off. They said what they knew wasn't true; they said that the Negro people had won a great victory. They had, in reality, won nothing of the kind. The President and the Jim-Crowers won their victory when they persuaded Randolph to call off the march. The Negro people lost.

WHAT WERE RANDOLPH'S MOTIVES?

Why was Randolph so ready to throttle militant Negro action when FDR threw him a bone? It was because Randolph, regardless of the undoubted sincerity of his motives, cannot today act as a real militant Negro leader. Randolph has associated himself with those forces in the community which stand for aid to Britain; those forces which are whooping it up for Roosevelt's war preparations.

In doing so Randolph has associated himself with the most reactionary and Jim-Crow sections of American political life. For example, he has associated himself with the Fight for Freedom Committee of which Carter Glass, notorious lily-white reactionary, is the chairman.

But Randolph is stepping along for the war which the Jim-Crowers are preparing. And if Randolph and the others like him (Pickens, White, etc.) start yelling too loud about Jim-Crow, they will embarrass their war leaders.

So Randolph and his friends are faced with the choice: Fight for the rights of the Negro people, which leads directly into conflict with the leaders of the imperialist war machine; or subordinate the fight for Negro rights in order to support the imperialist war.

Randolph and his friends have already made their choice. For them, aid to Britain (imperialist Britain, which exploits and enslaves millions of Negroes) is more important than the fight against Jim-Crow.

That explains why Randolph called off the March on Washington. HE WAS AFRAID OF EMBARRASSING HIS LEADER, ROOSEVELT, THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE JIM-CROW ARMIES AND NAVIES OF AMERICA!

A LESSON THAT MUST BE LEARNED

The Negro Stalinists don't give a hoot in hell about their people. All they're interested in is what the Kremlin says—and they try and twist the Negro people accordingly through their stooge outfits like the National Negro Congress.

The time has come for a sharp turn on the part of the Negro people and especially the Negro youth. We say that there are hundreds of devoted fighters for liberty in the ranks of the Negro youth—who are not so famous or so well off, who don't hang around the higher political circles but who do more fighting for their people's rights—who can become the leadership of a real movement of the Negro people for liberation.

ABOUT HE WASN'T WORRIED ABOUT THE FACT THAT HE WAS THEREBY THROTTLING THE STRUGGLE OF HIS OWN PEOPLE FOR LIBERATION!

The Negro people must learn the lesson. The Negro youth, especially, who is rarin' to go into action against his oppressors, must learn the lesson.

NO MORE FAITH CAN BE PLACED IN THESE LEADERS! THEY HAVE BETRAYED THEIR TRUST!

Any Negro who is tied to the war machine, any Negro who is more interested in helping British imperialism than his own people—such a Negro cannot be a real leader. He can only lead his people further into the wilderness instead of out of it.

And while we are talking about false leaders, we must not forget the Negro Stalinists. Now that their boss in the Kremlin has been forced to shift imperialist masters once again and has moved into the camp of British-American imperialism, you can expect that the Negro Stalinists in America will once again become 500 per cent patriots who will whoop it up for country, glory and flag.

We can just imagine James Ford, that monstrous fraud who is the leading Negro Stalinist in America, who only yesterday was denouncing British and American imperialism for enslaving the Negroes, who was telling the Negro people why they shouldn't be for the war—we can just imagine this same Ford becoming a patriot and yelling for aid to Britain together with Randolph and Pickens and also, together with them, putting a damper on any militant attempt of Negroes to fight Jim-Crow because that might embarrass his newly won friends in Washington.

We are convinced that any such movement must necessarily be in cooperation with the working class of this country, which is also fighting for its freedom. We believe that only if the white and black worker can together fight their common enemy—only then can they both achieve their common freedom.

And we believe that such a movement, though it may have as its immediate object the struggle against discrimination, will necessarily find that it will oppose the war moves of the imperialist government. It will find that Jim-Crow is just a part of the whole rotten system of capitalism; it will find that to fight Jim-Crow it is necessary, in the long run, to fight against capitalism.