

CHALLENGE OF YOUTH

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Five Cents

F. D. R. Exposes U. S. Preparing Intervention in Sino-Jap War

Far Eastern Crisis Showers Sparks For New World War

Powers Rally to Defend Own Interests In Subjugating China

By Herman Stern

Three months of Japan's brutal campaign in China has yielded Tokio 90,000 square miles of valuable colonial territory! In defiance of repeated condemnations and threats by America, Britain and France, Japan proceeds to execute its plans in China. Her object is to make of China an indisputable vassal in the briefest possible time.

The history of colonial rape knows many varieties of imperialist "educators". The "civilizers" (Continued on page 2)

Parker Trial Set In Ill. Frame-up

BULLETIN

Ed Parker's trial has been indefinitely postponed. With elections coming, the county officials are anxious to avoid losing the votes of the Negro and unemployed workers.

A new trial, set for October 18, marks the latest step in the bitter attempts of the Jim Crow police and local officials in Southern Illinois to "get Eddie Parker for activities in the unemployed movement in Illinois.

The first trial was thrown out when Frances Heisler, attorney for Parker, was able to show that one of the jurors in the trial was a local constable.

Parker was arrested April 9 when he led a demonstration of unemployed negro workers who were demanding the back pay promised them by the WPA for working on the Cairo levees during the great flood last spring.

Shunted secretly from jail to jail, where Workers Defense League lawyers were unable to locate him for seven weeks, with bail set at a preposterous figure, Parker was held in jail for over seven weeks after his arrest.

Promised the munificent wage of 50 cents an hour by the WPA for working to bolster up the levees of the Mississippi river to save Cairo, during the floods last spring, the unemployed workers of Cairo found that because the local politicians had padded the relief payroll, their pay was delayed for week after week.

Called down to Cairo by the dismissed workers, Parker led them in a militant demonstration to demand the back pay and a

weekly cash relief of three dollars. They marched to the relief station, and when they got no answer to their demands, they occupied the relief station.

Police attacked the workers occupying the office, beat numbers of them up, and arrested Parker. Six charges of riot and assault were entered against him.

The Cairo police want to make an object lesson of Parker. They want to show the workers that they have no right to organize—by "getting" Parker. They set their machinery of boss "justice" in motion: terrorism, bribery, padded juries, every device is being used, "to put the Negro workers of Cairo in their place."

The Roosevelt administration, sponsor of the largest military and naval budget ever adopted by the United States, is actively preparing for a new imperialist war. Already it has scrapped the fake "neutrality legislation" and dumped it into the diplomatic wastebasket.

The keynote was struck by Roosevelt in his speech at Chicago when he called for sanctions against the "aggressor nations" and further demanded that the "peace loving nations make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties."

The treaties that Roosevelt referred to are the Nine Power Treaty and the Kellogg Briand Pact

signed by the leading capitalist nations for the purpose of keeping an "Open Door" for the imperialist exploitation of China.

For decades, Wall Street, together with other foreign "civilizers," has robbed and plundered the Chinese market. Roosevelt's Chicago audience would have better understood his remarks had he said that Japan was "horning in" on his territory. Roosevelt is only fearful lest the Japanese robbers steal the entire booty from the Chinese victim, and thereby cut out his own gang of thieves.

Roosevelt, however, has suddenly become a friend of the Chinese masses. In his speech he cries out against "the bombing of innocent women and children," the "reign of terror," and the "international lawlessness" of Japan. He had to make such a speech. American workers would never act as cannon fodder in the next war had he truthfully said, "We must stop Japan to make more profits for Wall St."

The same stock phrases that were used to rally support for the last world war, were used by Roosevelt in his Chicago address. One need only substitute "China" for "Belgium" and the story of 1917 could be retold word for word.

Browder Hails Speech

For war, Roosevelt needs to cement the "holy alliance" between the working class and the bourgeoisie. He needs "labor lieutenants" who can swing the support of the workers in favor of the war he is about to undertake. He has long been sure of Green, Lewis, and the social-democratic fakery. Today, however, he has a new ally, the Communist Party.

The Stalinists, following exactly in the steps of the social-patriots of the Second International who led the working class to war in 1914, has greeted Roosevelt's pro-war speech with the heartiest applause. Earl Browder, in a statement to the Daily Worker said, "The Communist Party welcomes the president's positive peace policy (!!!) for the United States." He closes his remarks by demanding that all "peace loving peoples must become active to realize effectively and in life, the policy given by President Roosevelt." What miserable social-patriotic speech

(Continued on page 2)

The Spirit of '37



Open Letter Announces Break With A.Y.C.

The Young Peoples Socialist League declares its break with the American Youth Congress, and calls upon all member organizations to do likewise. To remain a member of the AYC at the present time is to be party to the mobilization of America's young workers and students as a patriotic tail-end to the Roosevelt administration. With War becoming daily a patent reality, the face of the AYC assumes

more distinctly the features of betrayal. As a warning to American youth lest the AYC serve as the engine of military recruitment, the YPSL denounces the American Youth Congress for what it is—a machine designed according to the blueprint of peoples-front class collaborationism.

Among the originators of the AYC movement, the YPSL has (Continued on page 7)

Diplomats Battle Over Mediterranean Control

WAR PERIL ACUTE AS POWERS ARGUE OVER SPANISH SOLUTION

A showdown between Mussolini and London is expected in Europe in the next few weeks. Only a complete retreat of the fascists from Spain can temporarily stave the inevitable imperialist war. Italy intends to make no such move! Her dilatory reply to impatient British-French requests for a 4 power discussion of removal of Fascist troops was unequivocal.

The next move was made by France. British imperialism directed the course of the Popular Front Government. Last weeks announcement of a special London Cabinet meeting declared that Britain and France would accept Italy's proposal for a meeting of the petrified Non-Intervention Committee to discuss withdrawal of foreign troops from Spain. The auspices of this meeting is unimportant. We may also assume that its decisions will not reflect the actual arrangements being made for Spain. Britain is entirely concerned with safeguarding its investments. It has no time to ponder the consequences of war for the workers.

They key to unlocking the war doors rests entirely in the hands of England. At the beginning of the Spanish civil war huge sums of British capital were placed at the disposal of the fascists. Early support of Franco was designed to prepare a fat market for English capitalism after Franco crushed the workers.

With this idea the reactionary Tories persuaded the self-appointed agent for French imperialism, Blum and the Stalinists, to sponsor the Non-Intervention scheme—which enhanced considerably the prospect of a fascist Spain. Britain, however, did not anticipate that the colony hungry fascists in Germany and Italy, who were independently financing Franco, would be so powerful a threat to anglo-interests. Mussolini poured not merely money into Franco's campaign, but close to 100,000 men, squadrons of airplanes and aviators, ships, guns, etc. Mussolini literally conducts Franco's war against the workers! He is of no mind to share his position with the envious British.

Roosevelt Prepares China Intervention

(Continued from page 1)

will Browder make next? The fight against war must be carried on in spite of the betrayers. It is the young workers particularly who will pay with their lives to advance Roosevelt's imperialist aims. They must organize today under the banner of the Young People Socialist League (Fourth Internationalists), the only youth organization of the working class that carries on the day to day struggle against capitalism and war.

Organize to day.
AGAINST ROOSEVELT'S IMPERIALIST DESIGNS ON CHINA.
AGAINST THE SOCIAL PATRIOTS OF THE SECOND AND THIRD INTERNATIONAL.
FOR INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION AGAINST WAR.
FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

The real danger of Italian domination in Spain lies in the entry it gives Mussolini into the British colonial empire. Were control of the Mediterranean to be surrendered to Italy, Britain would lose every-thing. The Challenge of Italy is clear. There will be no reversal of policy—no troops are to leave Spain—more are being added. The domination of Spain by Mussolini through Franco would put an end to the safety of Britain's life line (the Mediterranean and Suez Canal.) To avoid this England is anxious that the rebels shall not win a complete victory. Even less, however, would she like to see a victory of the Spanish workers.

A most pleasant solution from the British view, would be an agreement of France and the loyalists to cease the war and give Franco three-fourths of Spain. This is undoubtedly what London is working for. But again there is difficulty with Italy. Nobody will really ascertain the strategy of Britain by reading "official" speeches and pronouncements by its diplomats. Under the surface of newspaper rubbish, in secret conferences and with its war industry running full blast—the British bourgeoisie works in earnest.

British imperialists are great lovers of peace. They desire peace more than anything in the world today. The "peaceful" maintenance of the system of class of class exploitation. The "peaceful" oppression of millions of exploitation. The "peaceful" prevention of proletarian revolutions which would destroy capitalism forever. The last consideration is a direct and immediate problem for the British war department. No spokesman for the Foreign Office fails to mention it. Capitalism in France and Britain prefer fascism a thousand times to a worker's government.

Nevertheless, some measure must be taken against Italy. The dilemma grows constantly larger. Will England make further concessions to Spain and risk two Italian feet in the Mediterranean, or will it risk war and the possible end of capitalism?
Oct. 16th. H. S.

Editorial

You've Got a Fat Chance!

"Health Data Show Poor Die Fastest."

"The death rate of Americans with incomes of less than \$1,000 a year from the ten major diseases is twice that of the rest of the population."

"For seven of the ten diseases... the death rates mount steadily as the income goes down."

"Ten diseases take this toll of three out of four of our deaths. Where do they strike hardest and most often? In the home of the poor, of that one third of our people... ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-clothed."

"The death rate from all causes is more than twice as high for the unskilled workers as for the professional."

(Excerpts from the N. Y. Times article on report to the American Public Health Association. No comment is needed.)

AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We wish to express the thanks of the entire League to PIONEER PUBLISHERS for its splendid cooperation in building the Challenge. The offer which we make of a free cloth-bound copy of Behind the Moscow Trials, is made possible only by the fraternal generosity of comrade Wasserman and the other comrades of Pioneer Publishers.

Far East May Be Starting Point of New World War

(Continued from page 1)

of China" like the fascist "educators of Ethiopia" are fiercely impatient. Words cannot describe the vast suffering and horror which shrieking bombs have brought to Chinese workers and peasants. Japan in its furious drive, display all the savage and inhuman traits common to every bourgeoisie—Great Britain, France and the United States.

The imperative needs of the ambitious and greedy militarists are centers for money investments, territory and human slaves for exploitation. China offers the best opportunity for the solution of all these problems.

Two gigantic obstacles, however, stand in the road of Japan's enterprise; the U. S. and Great Britain. Capitalism, which drives England and America to "save" China, impells Japan to take it from them. A war between these powers is inevitable.

The world crisis of capitalism created innumerable internal defections in the economy of British and American imperialism. A flourishing foreign market is indispensable to continued "peace" at home, and for the satisfaction of the bosses. China has been the leading penetration point of anglo and American capital for many years. To Morgan, Rockefeller and Wall Street the control of China by Japan would signify an end to their expansionist dreams in the far east; a loss of an important trade source today; and the sacrifice of a vital military position in the Pacific. Roosevelt, the protector of Wall Street dollars in China, has dramatically informed Japan that the U. S. will per-

mit no "open door" to ban-

face so simply. The October 30th Brussels conference of 9 powers instigated by Britain is intended to accomplish two aims. To move Japan out of China and to prevent war. It will undoubtedly fail in both. Every new success of Japan will encounter more determined intervention by London and Wall Street! War is an old fear—but the stakes in China are too great for abstract pacifism.

Britain will not consider war—until it has exhausted every other means of checking Japan. An old hand at using her friends, she is trying to push the Soviet Union into more active war against Japan. In the meantime it is safer to supply arms and military directors to a Chinese army than to support a British army in China. If this strategy is successful, Britain can remain in the background temporarily. However, Japan's advance already indicate the inevitability of a strong counter-attack.

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N.Y. Left Wing Socialists Name Cannon for Mayor

Left wing Socialists of New York City have given an answer to the disgraceful Peoples' Front hysteria which has drawn the support of all "radical" and "labor" organizations behind the Republican candidate for mayor, LaGuardia. That answer lies in the nomination of James P. Cannon for mayor of New York.

The wide-spread capitulation to People's Frontism and the necessity of a write-in vote (due to Thomas's last minute withdrawal) present tremendous obstacles to the left-wing campaign. The committee in charge, headed by Alex Retzkin, has, however, already made extensive plans to educate the workers to the meaning of the political issues involved.

Republicans Embarrassed

The platform maps out a campaign based on immediate class struggle issues; an analysis of the nature of "Father" LaGuardia and all his "Angels"; the unnamed People's Front which has been formed and its consequences; and stresses the necessity of solving these problems in the only possible way—the independent class struggle of the workers for socialism.

Without exception, all the other existing political and labor organizations have exposed their essential character in the endorsement of La Guardia who in turn has endorsed the entire Re-

publican slate, including Red-baiter, Harvey (Borough President in Queens), The Communist Party's back door support of socialist candidates in the presidential elections last year has become so straight-forward that it is a source of untold embarrassment to the Republicans to find themselves in alliance with the Communists. The embarrassment is hardly necessary, however, and the line-up places the Stalinists not in the least.

Anti-labor "friend of Labor"

All this in spite of the fact that the anti-labor position of "the friend of labor" is already flagrantly demonstrated in the suppression of militancy in the recent painters strike, the Automat strike and in the desperate efforts being made to prevent other strikes. The dirty work of "pacifying" the militant workers now falls into the hands of the "radicals" and trade unionists who are desperately in need of justifying their support of La Guardia by preventing test cases in which his role is precluded and inevitable.

It might be noted significantly that in order not to embarrass La Guardia when he will address the Fascist meeting on Columbus day, the "radicals" have, for the first time in many many years, neglected to have their anti-fascist committee call a counter-demonstration.

WORLD REVOLUTION

By C. L. R. JAMES. 440 pages.

New Statesman:—"A book which is unique of its kind, badly needed, and likely to excite more anger than any yet published this year. A history of the last twenty years from a Trotskyist angle." (R. W. POSTGATE.)

NEW Leader:—"It must be read three times to realize its significance. It is a book which will influence substantially the thought of our time." (Fenner Brockway.)

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

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THE FACE OF THE NEXT WAR

By S. Stanley

Up till now we have been saying that Roosevelt's government has been headed toward war. Now, with the complete abandonment of fake "neutrality" and the beginnings of naked, aggressive imperialism, we must say that Roosevelt is plunging straight into war! The same old slogan with new disguises are being pushed up; war hysteria and war psychology are doing their work; the workers (especially young workers) are being prepared for the "inevitable."

What can Labor and Youth expect if war comes? What will happen when F.D.R. sets the military machine lumbering off? It is not necessary to guess, to set your imagination at work. The answer is already given and is as clear as daylight. For over 16 years the Army and Navy departments have been working out a plan of national mobilization for war. The plan is completed and is the notorious and famous IMP (Industrial Mobilization Plan). It is the plan for setting up a brutal military dictatorship the moment "M-Day" arrives. What does it call for?

CONSCRIPTION: All male citizens between 18 and 45 are automatically drafted into the armed forces. (No volunteering this time—imperialism is in too much of a hurry.) Military court martial of any worker who "fails or neglects fully to perform any duty required of him."

LABOR CONTROLL: A War Labor Administrator (with an advisory council of 10) is to "arbitrate labor grievances, regulate the extent of collective bargaining by trade unions, set standards of wages, hours and working conditions, fix wages, change the work day and work week for "national-defense" needs and maintain maximum production in all war industries.

CHILD LABOR: "While the employment of children under the age of 16 in industry or agriculture will be avoided wherever possible (??)... the nature of the emergency may require such employment."

In short: universal conscription, smashing of labor's hard-earned minimum standards, prohibition of all strikes, intensified exploitation of youth and especially child labor, complete subordination of the people to the war machinery. All this spells **MILITARISM, WAR, DICTATORSHIP!** It is against these deadly plans of Roosevelt's imperialism, plans rapidly taking on shape, that youth must fight.

The War That Never Ended

By Edmund Ross

It was a day like any other day. Perhaps the sun was shining, however it mattered very little. The Sergeants shouted to the Corporals, the Corporals to the Privates, and up on top the Captains bellowed at the Lieutenants. Otherwise there was a state of peace; the war was officially declared over and the people were officially declared happy.

Everybody was happy except the dead. But since they had died for a just cause, it was presumed by the speechmakers, the peace-makers, the officials, the generals that they too were happy. Everybody shouted and tinkered with colored balloons, horns, bagpipes, drums and falsetto voices. They erased the military formalities and celebrated PEACE! The



"ALL THE WORLD IS HAPPY EXCEPT THE DEAD"

newspapers and the editorial writers summed up the war, summed up the peace, added praises and literary wreaths to the dead, and with steamlike

Yipsels Join Party Left in Calling Convention

"... an emergency Party convention for the purpose of throwing out the traitors, determining the will of the party membership on all the important Party Problems, and re-establishing the the Party on the foundation of revolutionary socialism" (from the Convention Call, Socialist Appeal, Oct. 2) is being called for Thanksgiving weekend, Nov. 25-28 inclusive, and will be held in Chicago.

This call for a democratic convention of the membership has as its signators the representatives of the most active and vital sections of the Socialist movement in America. They include the State Executive Committees of the Party in California, Ohio, Minnesota and Indiana; the City Executive Committee of Local New York (left-wing); the Executive Committee of Cook County (Chicago); and the National Executive Committee of the Young People's Socialist League.

precision they baked in hot language—a sum total of achievements. The imperial Germans, the Turks, the Austrians and the Bulgarians had been defeated, by the Democratic Frenchmen, Americans and the Englishman—and of course by the Italians.

The generals now gave way to the bankers, who had of course for the last four years conducted a very successful exchange; they got the money—the army got the men and together the democratic principal of "live and let live" achieved remarkable cooperation. The bankers radiant with cash and 100 per cent patriotism signed the peace and organized the payment of reparations and war debts.

Now there was peace all over. Where there had formerly been death, were now many crosses, flags, headstones, orations; the Percent gentlemen covered the universe with pacts, facts, and marble statues. Where Mr. Priapus—the Greek showoff—had been stationed in his toga, there stood instead the Doughboy, in very white ancient marble. Put up entirely by subscription—it was indeed an edifice that radiated a long established capitalist principal of Percent!

The brown sugar of wartime peace, but no matter what sugar sweetened your tea and coffee, there was to be had—the tart, sour rations of poverty. Poverty has no peace time, it is permanent, indivisible, visible—but not democratic; it is on the contrary entirely autocratic—and is inflicted on four-fifths of the nation. All over Europe stood the long lines of poverty and disease, wrapped in army blankets and leggings. Demobilization had had taken place, but the soldier was still the soldier; the way he walked! was nervous and jumped when he heard a whistle! the gas that he was always smelling, the scar on his face, the missing arm

and leg, and unmentionables. Everybody knew they were the soldiers that had made the supreme sacrifice, but had made the mistake of coming back alive to an empty world from the dead ones of the trenches.

The Big Parade to employment agencies took place and with blueprint exactness—a head nodded, said NO! "come back in a week". Or when they were asked by a gentleman who also went by the non de plume of boss what their trades were, they never said they killed another workingman, for they were secretly not proud of it. They could not bear to say such things, though they had—killed, jabbed, shot, gassed and been organized



"PARADE OF THE UNEMPLOYED"

murderers—which science they had become a master of—because the man up there asking quaint questions about their past—had it in his science to make them do the things he wanted and they did not have the democracy to say NO! to mean NO! and do something about there being a NO MORE WAR WORLD!

The war that never ended began in this fashion, from the top with the industrialists, to the President, to the Cabinet, to Congress, to the ward heelers, the police, the patriotic societies, and at the last—the labor betrayers and the idealists, who only wanted a war on certain conditions, certain democratic formulas and appendages, not CLASS WAR, not Marxism! but pure, spiritual, white, unadulterated, make the world safer war—of

the democratic apostles of Imperialism.

The sequence of the past still exists, the sacrosanct politics of peace, with their ornate language, their objections, their different approaches, their virtues and verities—all lumped together are not apostles of class struggle—but practical peace, which is of course nothing but a new kind of way to enter into a war, yet differing little from Mr. Wilson's "Make the world safe for democracy". They are not only not apostles, but they are apostates, and the sequence of their apostasy is the following. From Roosevelt, to the ALP, to La Guardia, La Guardia to Harvey, Harvey to Justice Black, Justice Black to the Klan, the Klan to 100 per cent Americanism, 100 per cent Americanism—to the Communist Party. The ALP is the Armistice party, the percent party, the career people, the peace with capitalism... with the practical people... the office holders for the contract at the round table at which they square the impossible with their statistics of reform. Their mathematics of struggle is the bold speech—and the palsied act; the main enemy—and then compromise; democracy—but they practice autocracy within the Unions they control. What is progressive about them is their gradual pro-



"PEACE WITH CAPITALISM"

gress away, to the popular affront—against the needs of the workingclass. They are legion to this, loyal to the bourgeois needs of the moment and the hour. They do not struggle, they only skirmish and then give up the ground, not in a retreat—but in an organized rout.

It will be a day like any other on Election day, fusing the ALP with Harvey is more than one days work, or two or three—or a year, the time is not important, but La Guardia—the little flower of fusion—has already stomped their lapels, so that their new dress for formal occasions, the top coat and the silken hat of political success will not frighten away the workingman with a hole in his pants. The home relief clients, what a word for those of us who are on relief, will receive a visit, a good word, a promise of future delivery; only turn the right lever! press the right button! mark X for this valiant fighter! be a hundred and 4 per cent american... do your duty for La Guardia, and the ALP will set you free!



STALINISM and BOLSHEVISM
by Leon TROTSKY
1.0 C
Pioneer Publishers
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Uncle Sam's Peace Policy

Armaments Statistics Expose the Meaning of F. D. R.'s Peace Talk

While the liberal and "communist" populations rejoice in Roosevelt's peace speech, a glance at some bleak realities cannot fail to be interesting.

In the period of 1930-1931-1932 the United States Government spent more than two billion dollars on "national defense;" in the period of 1935-1936-1937 the country will have spent three billion. The difference—one billion dollars—may be better appreciated when it is realized that the amount is twice the value of the nation's entire wheat crop for 1935.

Furthermore, the facts on government vessels under construction as of January 1, 1937 are these:

	Number	Tonnage
United States	87	276,265
Great Britain	54	248,195
Japan	29	87,194

Thus the United States leads the world in naval construction, including those nations whose very existences depend on their cruiser and battleship strength!

It is equally important to inspect America's place in the international complex of commerce. "Our" own limited prosperity these last two years (and certainly Europe's) is fairly under-

lain with the manufacture of munitions and armaments. Increased purchasing power for these European countries has meant an increase in America's export trade. For example, scrap-iron trade has jumped to a 900 million-dollar-a-year industry. For the same reasons the prices of raw materials—the stuff of war—such as manganese, zinc and glycerine have leaped. Tungsten has gone up 100%. The whole quilt of war and war preparedness is being frantically sewn with America's merchants doing their share of the stitching—here and abroad. In fact at the present time, the trade in war materials more than equals the amount of war business this country had gained from the warring nations of Europe up until the middle of 1915.

The next step is for the American capitalists to loan other countries the money to continue the purchases of our arms and war materials. Then the stage will be completely ready for the world war.

America's masses want peace, Mr. Roosevelt, but does American capitalism? The distinction is necessary.

W. S. BOWMER

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Harry Milton Returns, Interviewed on Spanish Movement by Challenge

By Donald Bergner

Expressing his conviction that "the youth will take an active part in the fight for a Workers' Spain", Harry Milton, recently freed from a G.P.U. prison in Barcelona, told of the growth of the revolutionary movement in Spain, spreading even into the ranks of the Stalinist controlled Juventud Socialistas Unificadas (Unified "Socialist" Youth). Comrade Milton, smoking one cigarette after another, told of being sent by the Debs column to fight in Spain. Arriving in Barcelona, and finding that they had made no provision for him, Milton enlisted in the Lenin division organized by the POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unity). He was sent to the Huesca sector of the Aragon front. There he was wounded during a fight with the Fascists. "I was in Barcelona during my leave of absence", said Milton, "during the celebrated 'May Days', and took part in the attempt of the workers to stop the Stalinists-led drive of the Peoples Front Government to destroy all movements toward Socialism. It was soon after this that I was arrested and placed in a prison run by the Spanish section of Stalin's G.P.U. and only freed after vigorous protests were heard all over the world".

During his stay in Spain, Harry Milton had the opportunity to observe at first hand the developments in the Spanish labor movement. "Unfortunately," he said, "there is in Spain no consistent revolutionary party or youth movement although there are signs of their development." Spanish youth are not, as a whole, as active politically as the adults, according to Comrade Milton, but those who are, are usually further left and more militant than their elders. Milton also observed that the youth movement is almost entirely made up of working class elements, with students and peasant youth playing a minor role.

The largest youth organization is the Anarchist Libertarian Youth. "These youth are largely under the influence of the Friends of Durutti, a left wing Anarchist group which displays a growing tendency toward the Marxist position held by the Bolshevik-Leninists 'or Trotskyists (the Fourth Internationalists - D. B.)", said Milton, "and they took an active part in the May Days. I saw many of these Anarchists getting wounded and killed. Hundreds of them, and members of the Juventud Comunista Iberica (the POUM youth) have been and still are in jail for their working class beliefs.

"These Leftist youth are particularly angry with Norman Thomas, who bitterly attacked the Barcelona workers upon his return from Spain, but later admitted that he got all his information from the Government officials, and had not even made an attempt to see or hear any of the Anarchists and POUMists!"

Dissent In Stalinist Ranks

The Stalinist J. S. U. also has a large membership but large sections of it are beginning to revolt against the anti-Socialist line of the leadership. Whole Federations, such as the Asturian and Valencian, have condemned and refused to obey the discipline

of the reformist line and suppression of the POUM ordered by Moscow. "The Stalinist youth troops at Alcubiri, for example", observes Comrade Milton, "had to be removed to another front after joint discussions had been held between them and the POUM youth."

The other Loyalist youth organization was the J.C.I. "This organization supported the left wing of the POUM and had definite leanings toward the Bolshevik-Leninists. They passed resolutions attacking the POUM's participation in the People Front Government and its weak-kneed role in the May events, attacking the POUM's reformist German brother-party, the S.A.P., and calling for the launching of a new International", said Milton, "and although it is now illegal, many units of the J. C. I. are still functioning.

"Large numbers of these JCIers and Anarchist youth, as well as JSUers went to the front at the beginning of the Fascist revolt and they suffered heavy casualties. This was true especially of the Anarchists, for the Anarchist militia were a majority of the anti-fascist troops until the May events. The Anarchist and

POUM troops were continuously hampered by the government. They were sent reactionary officers who often deserted to the Fascists. They weren't given ammunition. They received no military or airplane support. And finally, after the May events, they were liquidated."

Towards a Workers' Spain

"The May events, resulting in the crushing of the Workers' Patrol Guards, were the turning point in Spain", Comrade Milton said, "They were followed by the smashing of the Workers' Militias and the POUM. They resulted in a considerable demoralization in the ranks of the POUM and the Anarchists. However, at the same time, many of the POUM and Anarchist Militantes, who spat upon the editions of La Batalla and Solidaridad Obrera which called upon them to surrender the Barcelona barricades, are beginning to turn towards the revolutionary Marxists, the Bolshevik-Leninists, for leadership. The proletarian revolution in Spain has been given a severe blow, but it is not dead!"

WORKERS SALUTE OCTOBER BY FIGHTING STALINISM

CELEBRATE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF RUSSIAN REVOLUTION WHILE BUREAUCRACY UNDERMINES U.S.S.R.'S FOUNDATIONS

By Reva Craine

Twenty years ago, the working class of Russia, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, overthrew the ruling class, and for the first time, established its own government. What before November, 1917, had been the dream of the oppressed everywhere, now suddenly became a bold, living reality, when the workers, organized in their soviets, established the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the midst of the World War, while the workers everywhere had been beaten into submission by the war-mongering patriots with the help of the parties of the Second International, and while those workers' organizations which had resisted and remained true to their class had been suppressed, the revolution in Russia came as the clarion call to action, reawakening the European proletariat from its stupor, and rallying revolutionists everywhere.

The Russian Revolution broke the backbone of the war because the newly-established workers' power immediately entered into peace negotiations with the warring nations, and the Russian soldiers, now fraternizing with instead of shooting their class-brothers in the trenches, taught the workers how to transform their passive hatred of the war into active and effective opposition. On the wave of the Russian Revolution, came revolts and revolutions in almost every European country. Re-establishment of revolutionary groups and parties culminated in 1919 in the formation of the Communist International.

As a result of the Russian Revolution, the Bolshevik Party

became the ruling party in Russia. As the vanguard of the working class, its task was to guard the conquests of the proletariat, to defend its best interests, and to educate the workers to greater participation in the management of the country's affairs. Prior to 1917, there was no separate revolutionary mass youth organization in Russia, primarily because of the illegal conditions under which the Bolsheviks had to function. The revolutionary young workers, when they wanted to join an organization, were admitted directly into the Bolshevik Party. After the Revolution, however, the Young Communist League of Russia was organized, having as its main duty the education and training of youth for membership in the Communist Party. This was to be accomplished by permitting the youth to participate actively in all political work, to carry on political discussions in their own ranks, to form their own opinions, and to express them freely to the Party; and to experiment, within certain limits, with their own ideas. The voting age was reduced to 18 years in order to permit the youth a more active role in political life.

The conquest of power by the workers in Russia and the establishment of a working class regime opened up new vistas for the development of the country both economically and culturally. Backward as Russia was at the time, the workers there received, upon the seizure of power, opportunities which the proletariat of even the most advanced capitalist country lacked. They received the opportunity to create a new life for themselves and their children. By eliminating the profit system, and the con-

comitant waste of capitalist competition, the Soviet Union laid the foundations for a planned economy.

While it accomplished many things for the Russian proletariat and youth, the Russian Revolution is in constant difficulty and danger: from the imperialist ring around the USSR, and from the Stalinist bureaucracy which is destroying the foundations of the revolution. The Stalinist have tried to solve the contradiction of a workers' state surrounded by hostile capitalism on all sides, by the nationalist doctrine of "building socialism in one country," the application of which has resulted in the most disastrous defeats for the workers in Europe and Asia. On the basis of these defeats, and because Russia still remains a backward country which cannot adequately satisfy the wants of the people (in spite of all the progress which it has made and which we do not belittle or deny), the ruling clique in the Communist Party, eliminated the true proponents of international revolution, the Bolshevik-Leninist "Trotskyists." In the course of time it has been transformed into a caste whose interests stand apart from the interests of the toiling population as whole. Under its direction economic disparity between workers and non-workers, or skilled workers, is becoming greater each day.

YCL Deprived of Political Life

The bureaucratic course pursued in Russia, the crushing of all revolutionists, first by expulsion and exile, and latterly by outright execution and murder, the destruction of the Bolshevik

BOOKS

Reviewed By Milton S. Miller

The library of Marxism finds itself enriched by the addition of three new books.* Each book is an entity in itself but taken together, they form an invaluable compilation of material on the Russian situation and the International events connected with it.

The Case of Leon Trotsky is the verbatim report of the hearings of the preliminary Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials held in Mexico some time ago. It is a comprehensive evaluation of the testimony presented in the Moscow Trials as well as a correlation of all the material that Trotsky had to offer in his defense.

The Case consists of more than just a recital of facts in refutation of alleged incidents that the Trials brought out. The testimony given and recorded in this book consists also of material concerning the real attitude of the

*THE CASE OF LEON TROTSKY. By the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry. 616 p. Harper and Brothers. \$3.00 cloth, \$2.00 paper.

WORLD REVOLUTION. By C. L. R. James. 429 p. Pioneer Publishers \$3.00.

RUSSIA 20 YEARS AFTER. By Victor Serge. 298 p. Hillman-Curl. \$2. 50

Left Opposition towards the burning problems of war, fascism the Russian revolution etc. At the same time it contains a detailed account of the circumstances surrounding several disputed stages of the Russian revolution, pre-Hitler Germany and so on.

This book in its scope takes in much. That it refutes and shows the Moscow Trials for the farce they are is beyond dispute. Its value is far more than that however. It is a lesson in Marxism and its application to Society.

World Revolution is a well written text of the Marxist interpretation of World Politics since the Russian Revolution. Although it tends to emphasize the role of the individual in politics a bit too much, it is a fine objective history.

The book treats such subjects as the German Events of 1932, the Anglo-Russian Committee of 1926, the Chinese Revolution of 1925-7, Hitler's rise to power, France of the sit-down strikes of 1936, and Spain at the present time.

C. L. R. James, an English Trotskyist, does a fine job. In a simple direct and straightforward style he presents his case. His documentation is excellent and helps to make for a balanced study of all these events.

Pioneer Publishers is to be congratulated for publishing this work. It is to be hoped that in the near future it will be available a history of the youth movement which is regrettably treated in small detail in World Revolution.

Russia 20 Years After is written by a man whose life history alone would make an interesting volume. A devoted revolutionist, a founder of the Communist International, a staunch supporter of the Russian Revolution, Victor Serge stands as a symbol of revolutionary devotion. Persecution by the capitalist class as well as the Stalinist bureaucracy has not dimmed in the least the revolutionary ardor he possesses. Better still, he has a trenchant ability to set his thoughts down on paper in the capable style of a finished writer.

The title of this book is a summation of the contents. The entire book deals with soviet life in all of its aspects: art, education, politics internal and external, economics, youth, army. All of the component parts of Soviet life are discussed with reference to the changes since the Russian Revolution. The facts and figures presented are brutally frank. The conclusions drawn are all the more inescapable.

The contention of the author that the Stalinist bureaucracy must be removed finds ample confirmation in the recital of changes in Soviet life. From the democratic days of the Russian Revolution to the terrorist brutality of the Stalin regime. From freedom and abundance of literary thought and production to censorship and sterility. In every field the stultifying influence of the bureaucracy is shown.

This is not a polemical book in the true sense of the word. It is more or less a reasoned dissertation with the necessary corroboratory facts. It should be read and disseminated as widely as possible.

(Continued on page 7)

FOR A LEFT WING IN THE ASU!

The coming Christmas convention of the American Student Union will go a long way toward deciding the fate of the organized American student movement. Will it turn its back upon the past of anti-war and anti-imperialist struggle, militant activity, participation in labor struggles? Will it become a machine for mobilizing students for the war which up to now we have been fighting?

Is the ASU Against War?

The program of the ASU, on paper at the present time, faces in an anti-war direction. It is based on the following ideas:

1. *Analysis of war*: The cause of American-Japanese tension is over economic (imperialist) stakes, "as in the case of all wars fought by imperialist nations."

2. *Peace agencies*: No reliance on the League of Nations and Kellogg Pact, but only on "independent organization and action" by the anti-war forces, "per-eminent among which is the organized labor movement."

3. *ASU attitude*: It will organize students "against the steps which lead to war and in the event of war to the war itself." It therefore accepts "without reservation" the Oxford Pledge "to refuse to support any war conducted by the U.S. Government."

This program was further concretized, at the founding convention, by the resolution printed herewith.

This, to be sure, is not a complete program. It leaves unanswered questions (such as the struggle for socialism, turning imperialist war into civil war) which can be answered only by a revolutionary organization. It does, however, take up key questions of orientation, and has served as a united-front platform for conducting the fight against "the enemy at home," American imperialism.

And now today, the spokesman for the Young Communist League in the ASU, Strack and Wechsler, propose to throw it overboard—lock, stock and barrel. They propose that the convention eliminate the Oxford Pledge and substitute "pressure" upon the government to line it up for "collective security", based on reliance on the Kellogg Pact and the League of Nations.

What is the "collective security" which the ASU is asked to inscribe on its banner? It is the program of American imperialism, as announced by Roosevelt in his recent speech on foreign policy, and which was hailed by Knox, Landon's running mate; Stimson, Hoover's secretary of state; Democrats, Republicans, William Green, Old Guard Social-Democrats AND Earl Browder for the Stalinists—the people's front of American imperialism.

It is a war program. It demands that the government join in action taken by the European imperialist powers against an "aggressor" (Japan currently). Such "collective action" by the imperialist governments can only lead to collective war.

It is based on the lying myth of the good "defensive war", and "the war to save democracy" which was so thoroughly rejected by the ASU (on paper) in 1935, following the lessons of the World War.

It means lining the ASU up on the side of the war forces, trailing in the wake of the Young Communist League's new-baked patriotism. We call upon every sincere anti-war fighter in the ASU to see to it that this turn in the policy of the student movement is blocked!

Maintain the anti-war program of the ASU! Defeat Celeste Strack's proposal for collective security! For a vigorous campaign against the looming war danger, around the Oxford Pledge!

Where is the Old Militancy?

Every old student activist recognizes a change that has come over the student movement. The

By Hal Draper

National Secretary of the YPSL
Member of ASU National Committee

old spirit of militant struggle that animated the National Student League and Student L. I. D. has been progressively dissipated, to make way for the new cloak of "respectability"; anxiety for collaboration with the administration; "legality" at all costs; care not to offend the prejudices of the most backward elements; aversion to fighting on the campus as a militant minority, if need be.

The two lines are distinct. Celeste Strack proposes to gain the majority of the students by watering down ASU action and program, policies and militancy, to the level of the backward majority. We propose to struggle for the adherence of the majority of the students by educating them up to the level of the militant vanguard—NO wateringdown of program, NO avoidance of militant manifestations in order not to "antagonize the liberals". No movement, certainly no meaningful movement, can be built up in this way. The "liberals" outside the organization will be won to the ASU program, not by catering to their backwardness, but by involving them in action for specific objectives. When this brings them up against the administration, they will learn what the administration represents, just as in the event of war, they will learn that the administrations will be the agents of the war machine.

This question of militancy becomes most important in connection with the Student Strike. The strike in the high schools has already been killed; "peace assemblies" have been accepted in their place. Even in the colleges, wherever administrations learned that the best way to kill the strike was with kindness, peace assemblies have been substituted where once there were militant demonstrations. This is the path of the degeneration of the student strike movement.

Once the student strike was a "dress rehearsal" for the event of war, with the Oxford Pledge as the content and the strike action as the form. With the new line of "collective security" and "collective imperialist war", a peace assembly under the wing of the administration is the fittest dress rehearsal for planned *inaction* in the event of war.

The student strike meant a wave of fighting enthusiasm through the strikers. Its effect on the participants was often its most valuable feature. The peace assembly is just another anti-war meeting.

The student strike made the headlines everywhere. It brought home vividly to the masses of people that a militant anti-war movement existed. The peace assemblies bring editorials in the school papers noting (sadly, ironically or triumphantly) that the "strike fever" is over.

This is the second task before the ASU: For militant action on the campus! No substitute for the strike!

Is the ASU on the Side of the Working Class?

This question is not at all answered by the ASU decision to "go into politics" on the side of "progressive" candidates, some of whom may be supported by, or give lip-service, to labor. Support LaGuardia and his ilk, whose record is one of pro-labor phrases and anti-labor action, serves only to line the ASU up on the side of old-line politicians and bring splitting issues into an organization which is a united front of different political tendencies.

The real answer was indicated in the Program of the National Student League before the amalgamation, in the pamphlet "Building a Militant Student Movement", as follows:

In conducting their campus struggle stu-

dents find themselves confronted by the dominant economic groups and their subservient political machinery...

In this clash the students have a powerful ally in the working class which is engaged in the constant struggle against the identical economic interests...

After graduation students will find themselves bound to the workers with ever closer ties...

The students therefore ally themselves with the working class which bears the brunt of these conditions, and join its fight for security and a decent living.

This we can do by joining in the demands for social insurance for unemployed workers and graduates, and by giving active support to the militant organizations of the workers and farmers.

This is the third task before the ASU: direct participation in the struggle of organized labor! It is our belief that students can play a progressive role in society only as an ally of the working-class movement; this alliance must be consummated in common day-by-day experiences.

Will the ASU Pass the Test?

This about-face in the student movement is no mystery. It is well known that it is due to the about-face of the YCL leadership. And it has been no secret that the leaders of the student movement have been Young Socialists and Young Communists.

About 1935, the policies and program of the Stalinists, on a world scale, began to swing around rapidly in a sharp turn. From the old days of rabid sectarianism when they denounced all non-Stalinists as "social-fascists", they swung around to the ultra-opportunist "new line" of peoples-frontism and social-patriotism. And, as in every other field, the apparatus went into action for the "coordination" of the student movement in accordance with the latest turn.

The clash between our policies for the student movement and the new policies of the YCL is now coming to a head. That is the significance of the coming convention.

But while the old program still remains on paper, the practices of the ASU have become increasingly in line with the desires of the Stalinist leaders. The Oxford Pledge has been gradually showed out the back door into virtual oblivion. The ASU National Committee has taken the first step toward collective security (before a convention!) by calling for an embargo by the U. S. Government against Germany and Italy. Such government steps are incipient belligerent acts.

We, for our part, stand for action against Germany, Italy and Japan by "independent organization and action against war by the anti-war forces of the world"—independent of our government's imperialistic war in China, by OURSELVES, and not for the intervention of American imperialism in these imbroglios.

We are not pacifists who object to supporting violence, but revolutionary socialists who refuse to support or "sic on" our own imperialist government. We are not isolationists who want to have nothing to do with European troubles, but revolutionary internationalists who believe in the international collaboration of the workers of the world independently of the imperialists of the world democratic or fascist, American or European.

The Great Change

The situation in the ASU today is the first test for the organization. On the one hand is the right wing of the ASU, led, inspired and organized by the Young Communist League forces and the "liberals" under its influence. On

(Continued on page 6)

More YCLers Resign; Stalinist Youth Join Yipsels at CCNY

Following the examples of over a dozen leading and experienced members of the Young Communist League of the City College of New York, 2 more well-known YCLers resigned in the last 2 weeks and joined the Young Peoples Socialist League.

The first resignation comes from a member of the YCL branch executive committee, Irving Wechsler. In his resignation, copies of which were given to all the radicalized students at the College, comrade Wechsler says (in part) "I know from my lengthy association with the YCL, that the overwhelming mass of members are today going through a period of doubt, often resulting in disillusionment. It is not for nothing that the CCNY YCL has suffered such a sharp decline in membership from 225 to 110. I think you should honestly ask yourself: why have so many YCLers quit and joined the Young Peoples Socialist League? Why have some of the leading and most experienced comrades done so? You know some of them; they were hard-working, active YCLers. (They were not Fascists, were they?) For years the YCL gained members from the YPSL, today the reverse is true. Why has the tide turned? The answer is simple: The conclusion I came to (and it was not easy to break old ties and surrender old prejudices in order to do so) is that the Communists have abandoned revolutionary Marxism, are now playing the role of reformism.

"Need I go into details? You yourselves have been puzzling over these things, asking questions. Not, of course, the peanut politician leaders. They never question, never wonder about anything; they are hardened. That

is why, when asked embarrassing questions by the revolutionists, they don't answer..."

Soon after Wechsler's resignation came that of the Sports Editor of the school paper, a well-known and well-liked YCLer, Mortie Clurman. In his resignation, copies of which were also distributed, Comrade Clurman, speaking of the Popular Front line, says: "...The spectacle of the CP defending 'bourgeois democracy,' i. e. a state entirely controlled by the bourgeoisie and which the bourgeoisie is perfectly willing to tolerate as long as it works and does not encroach on their interests, is enough to keep comrade Lenin whirling in his tomb..."

After giving his opinion of the

mass purges in Russia, comrade Culman says: "Briefly then, the choice before me is this: I can either abandon all faith in Socialism as a vice-ridden, corrupt, criminal-producing, fear-maintained and unworkable nightmare, or abandon the idea that Stalinism can be synonymous with Socialism. I prefer to do the latter.

"To fight for Socialism, to combine sincerity, singleness of purpose, theoretical and practical correctness of policy, and internal democracy, all the necessary prerequisites of a truly revolutionary party, I have decided to join the Young Peoples Socialist League, the Fourth Internationalists."

Welcome, Comrades!

ASU Resolution On The Oxford Pledge

(This resolution introduced by Draper for the YPSL and adopted by the first national convention of the ASU, December 1935, was subsequently buried in oblivion. Mention of it was carefully avoided by all published ASU literature—the *Advocate*, the *ASU Handbook*, *Chapter Guides*, etc. It gains additional significance in view of the intensified YCL drive today and can well be utilized against it. Parts 1 and 2 were unanimously adopted by the convention; part 3 is the Strack (YCL) substitute which carried against the Draper original.)

The world picture which confronts the student at this very moment points more insistently to the threat of war with Japan. This makes it necessary for the American Student Union to take the Oxford Pledge off paper and to apply it in the light of the specific problems raised by this menace.

The same forces that led to the first world war are leading to a second, and the same fair-seeming slogans are being raised in order to mobilize the sentiment of the mass of people behind war.

1. There is a widespread conception that we should support war by the United States government if our borders are invaded by Japan. If in general the United States fights a "defensive war". The American Student Union rejects this concept as a snare and a delusion, pointing out that the threat to the interests of the American people comes not from a foreign aggressor but from those who call upon youth to defend the interest of a few and not of the many.

2. There is a widespread conception that we should support war by the United States against the fascist nations in order to overthrow the fascist regimes of these nations. However strong may be our hatred of fascism, we must not be misled into believing that it is possible to bring about freedom anywhere through supporting war by a government which will destroy our freedom through wartime dictatorship. We cannot liberate any people by supporting a government which itself oppresses the peoples of the Philippines, Hawaii, Latin America, and elsewhere. The ASU rejects this re-

petition of a "war to make the world safe for Democracy," nor does such a war become a whit better if it is undertaken at the behest of, or under the aegis of the League of Nations.

3. A grave threat exists to world peace today. Each outbreak of a local war threatens to involve the entire world in conflict, the war of Italian fascism against Ethiopia threatens to develop into world war. In the interests of world peace and in the interest of keeping the American people out of war, we call upon the students of America to support the Ethiopian people and the Chinese people in their fight for freedom. We call upon the students of America to combat the Hearst and Liberty League campaign of encouragement of the war plans of Japan and Germany against the USSR whose peace influence has strengthened all the forces for world peace. At the same time we reject the use of such support of the people of Ethiopia and China as a pretext for war or any steps leading to war on the part of the United States government. This convention states further that whatever other form the alignment of international forces may take we will oppose the participation of our government in war, we will be against voting for war credits and of other military steps.

For a Left Wing in the ASU!

(Continued from page 5)

the other hand—the left wing forces, the militant progressives. They are divided by differences which involve the very existence of the militant student movement.

This situation demands the fullest application of internal democracy in the procedure of the ASU and the most complete pre-convention discussion to bring the problem into the full light of day. When sharp differences exist, the bureaucratic suppression of opposing tendencies can lead only to disruption, the responsibility of which falls upon the opponents of democracy. For this reason, we have proposed that the leading committees, delegates, etc. of ASU chapters (which are not merely executive but definitely policy-making and policy-enforcing in their operation) be elected by proportional

(Ed. note: The following article is a translation from REVOLUTION, issue of Sept. 1937, organ of the Belgian J. S.R. (Fourth Internationalists). It is necessary to add that little more than a year ago, Andre Gide was the recipient of the lavish praises of the Stalinists. He was their hero; they idolized him. But Andre Gide went to Russia in 1936 and recorded his experiences there in his little book, RETURN FROM THE USSR.

Overnight, Gide became an "enemy," a "pervert" and a "counter-revolutionary Trotskyite," for Gide has always been an honest man of letters and he described what he saw. The book was a sensation—over 300,000 copies sold in France alone. As a result of the criticism (of all types) that he received, Gide spent the better part of the next year in studying much of the available material on Russia. In the summer of 1937 there appeared his CORRECTIONS TO MY RETURN FROM THE USSR. While still lacking much, from a Marxist point of view, for Gide is essentially a literary figure and not a politician, the book represents a vast improvement over his first effort and is a crushing refutation of the Stalinist myth that paradise has been established in Stalinland. The new book should appear in English soon and should be read by every militant, for there is much to be learned from it. Meanwhile, the following will be of special interest to the youth.)

"When I see you espouse so lightly such absurd accusations, I am less astonished at your laughing at everything else."

(Andre Gide to the YCL)

The misfortune is real and obvious: there exists today a "Stalinist" youth. A very important section of the organized working class youth is dominated by the Stalinist spirit, impregnated with the Stalinist mentality. This youth, called upon to fill the role of a vanguard which must necessarily be bold has been subjected to a series of maneuvers—in the field of thought as well as in action. An essential characteristic of this has been their voluntary submission to a prohibition of all thought.

There have been thousands of examples recently. Is it necessary to cite again the case of Gide, or, more precisely, is it

necessary to refer again to the quasi-automatic reactions that it aroused on the part of this "Stalinist youth"? All this is known: the man whose well-deserved prestige they tried to exploit for their own profit becomes the most abhorred enemy, and the "youth" immediately trample upon him. The passion with which they manifested their admiration was immediately devoted to opposite purpose. But what lies behind that "passion"?

Before Gide's trip to the USSR, a section of the YCL of Paris, following the established fashion, had made the author their honorary president. After Gide's trip to the USSR i.e., after the proof that he was really "the real honest writer" whose merits they pretended to appreciate this YCL section of Paris wrote to him solemnly that he was no longer worthy of this honor.

The book in question is only to be understood as a "business deal" and the YCL scorns him as one who has sold himself. They seek and find the most insulting terms in order to communicate their decision to Gide. Andre Gide replies to them in a different tone, and here is his letter:

Paris, January 5, 1937.

Gentlemen:

The collective letter that sent me hardly surprises me. It contains a serious insult that I cannot ignore.

Is it possible that not one of you dreamed of comparing this "great business deal" of which you speak, with the precious advantages, the golden fleece that the USSR offered me with all the glory possible?

Is it possible, when you offered me the presidency of your group that you knew me so poorly that you did not know that such considerations could not touch me?

If I had consented to lie with the others, then you would have had the right to speak of a "business deal"—and you would not even dreamed of suspecting my sincerity. When I see you espouse so lightly such absurd accusations, I am less astonished at your laughing at everything else.

Since your letter is in long-hand and you may not have made a copy of it, I am sending you two typewritten copies, and appeal to your honesty to make it public, along with my reply, for those comrades who could not possibly be acquainted with it as yet. I cannot believe that there are not among you some intelligent comrades who, in spite of everything, will want to be clear on this question, who will look at things as they are. Not doubting that your confidence in me will someday return and with increased esteem, I remain as before, yours sincerely,

Andre Gide.

One must know the care which Gide uses in writing, and particularly the meaning that he gives to certain formulations, in order to judge the character of this short reply. But, is it not precisely the essence of the Stalinist influence to spoil everything of the human (revolutionary) conscience, the words and the formulations as well? What Gide appears unwilling to believe is indeed true.

that the discussion on it is carried on on the basis of principle and argumentation, not slander, or underground suppression of viewpoints.

FOR A LEFT WING MOVEMENT IN THE ASU AROUND A MILITANT PROGRESSIVE PROGRAM!

Open Letter to American Youth Congress denounces Patriotism and Calls for Break

(Continued from page 1)

to resist the development of the AYC towards Stalinism and patriotism. We entered heartily into the plans to make an instrument for the collaboration of youth organizations in specific acts of united front struggle. At the very beginning we heartily endorsed the creation of the AYC as a united front leading militant anti-capitalist organization, in opposition to the Roosevelt shindig organized by Viola Ilma. Viola Ilma who was then denounced as a tool of the New Deal administration by the present leaders of the AYC, never dreamed of being as fulsomely patriotic as the AYC has become, and even in the wildest of what the Young Communist League then called her "fascist" moments. Today too we stand squarely against the concept of a "front of the younger generation" to propagate the ideas of New Dealism. Today too we counterpose the positive program of united actions on points of specific agreement for immediate demands.

Toady to Administration

For the last two years we have resisted, in some small measure successfully, the YCL plans to make of the AYC a super-organization for the mass deception of youth. Fight as we have, we have not been able to check the patriotizing of the AYC by the reactionary elements in the Congress, chief among them being the Young Communist League. Even where the Congress was formally pledged to independent militant action (the American Youth Act), in its actions it subserviently stooged for the Roosevelt regime. During the last year it undertook but one mass activity (a pilgrimage to Washington in behalf of the AYA), and then absolved itself of responsibility for the one militant aspect of that demonstration—a spontaneous sit-down by the marchers on the White House lawn. So eager were the YCL puppets to erase any suspicion from the minds of the President, Aubrey Williams and the chief of the White House police, that despite photographic evidence to the contrary, they blithely denied that a sit-down had occurred, except as an hallucination of a few people (and camera-men, and newspaper-men). Protests by the Yipsel observer on the National Council were tossed out with a motion "not to include in the minutes."

Formally committed to the AYA, with all its deficiencies in content and method of struggle, it has in fact relegated the AYA to some forgotten niche. But the AYC has shelved campaigns more important than the AYA, garbled as these campaigns were from the start. Precisely on the all-important question of war has the AYC demonstrated most completely its reactionary direction. Undertaking a single anti-war activity last year, it sponsored "peace picnics" that could not have been more vulgarly class-collaborationist had they been executed by Justice of the Supreme Court Black or Bill Green. Not a single demonstrative action not a militant anti-militarist slogan. The Boy Scouts who tooted the Star Spangled Banner while the YCL led the singing were on "home" ground. Yipsel who dared sing the song of the working class, the International, were frowned upon as "disruptive."

Impartial Aid to Spain

Preparing for these May 30th picnics, the National Council refused point blank to so much as include a line in support of the Spanish working class in the "National Proclamation." Not everybody in the AYC might be agreed on that! The full meaning of this was made fully manifest at the Milwaukee congress when the YCL railed against any declaration except one for impartial aid to the contesting forces in Spain, and followed that by inviting an avowed fascist to sit with them on the National Council. Greater treachery than that can no organization conceive! At the peace session, the Yipsel delegates did succeed in defeating the proposal for impartial aid, with the help of rank and file YCLers who broke their organization's discipline; the reporter for this peace session largely vitiated the stand taken by the session.

As was easily foreseen in advance, the Milwaukee congress marked the culmination of the rightward trend of the AYC. Every vestige of independent militancy was obliterated. Class-collaborationism reached its fruition—so baldly, so unequivocally that failure to make public condemnation of it would itself be treason. The YPSL has repeatedly declared its willingness to work with other organizations towards common and limited objectives, so long as these objectives do not violate any tenet of socialism—of which the first is

Recruiting Sergeants for Imperialism

The Congress best reveals the dangers it conceals on that touchstone of policy—war. Already, the AYC has pledged its fealty to imperialist war plans in defense of boss democracy. To be sure, the AYC has not in so many words urged the militarization of youth, has not declared itself for the increase of the war budget, has not publicly announced that American youth must give its life to maintain capitalist profits—not yet, though in some instances its propaganda has been hardly short of this. More important is what the AYC will do the day that war is declared—on the basis of what it has already stated. We forecast—and the sequence of history will prove that this forecast arrived at by Marxian analysis is exact—we forecast that the AYC, if it has not crumbled before then of its own inner contradictions, will be among the most adroit, deceptive, and chauvinistic of recruiting sergeants for the armies of US imperialism. These are plain truths. Logically and inevitably the AYC must play that role. All the peace protestations in the world do not mean a thing if their concretization betrays the formal intent, if they are fundamentally motivated by allegiance to the status quo of capitalist "democracy." (And what will become of that democracy during war need hardly be asked.)

Behind our forecast lies a tradition bitter in experiences. The war mongers and jingo patriots of 1914-1918 were many of them

Admit Fascist to National Council

The act which capped the degeneration of the AYC, and more than anything else symbolizes its reactionary retrogression, was the admission of a fascist, an open, unashamed fascist, to the National Council. The representative of the Italian American Civic League did not sneak on.

no political collaboration with the class enemy. The very organization of the Milwaukee congress foretold its completely reactionary character. As an earnest of their allegiance to capitalism and its institutions, the leaders of the AYC prepared the congress in imitation of the United States Congress. A close imitation it was too. Just as the U. S. Congress was devised in large measure to forestall the pressure of mass opinion, so was this feeble school boy duplication of it oiled to put the skids under rank and file militancy. All "bills" had to go before "congressional" committees before being reported out. The delegates had no voice in determination of the Congress proceedings. Considerable time was wasted in religious invocations, and patriotic addresses. Very little time was given the delegates to speak before the entire assemblage.

The congress decreed its sympathy toward labor. It did indeed do that. The remarkable thing would have been to find any kind of body that would fail to do that under the circumstances. Being in sympathy with labor is quite the fashion currently; the best people, including some of the richest bankers, are all for it. Ku Klux Black is an outstanding "friend of labor." At that, Yipsel delegates who rose at the labor session to make class-conscious suggestions were rudely and summarily handled.

the loudest defenders of peace. No doubt they were sincere—before the war. Many more people demonstrated for Wilson and peace in 1916, than the AYC attracted at its May 30th picnics. Most of these did not find it difficult to rationalize their "repugnance" to the horrors of war into righteous justification. Here and there a bold spirit stood out, refused to be swayed by the patriotic hysteria. In Germany, a Liebknecht and a Luxemburg; in Russia, a Lenin and a Trotsky; in the United States, a Eugene V. Debs. Indeed, it is Lenin, Debs and Liebknecht who make the forecast for us. They taught us that the horror of war lies not so much in the misery of warfare as in the horror that is the system which breeds war.

1914 had its own slogans, concocted by the advertising men of capitalist propaganda. Defend German culture. Or, make the world safe for democracy—that masterpiece of Wilsonian deception. 1937 will have its own slogans, some already devised free of charge by the Browders, and Roosevelts: defend democracy, protect the status quo; "quarantine the aggressors;" neutrality; collective security. Next will come the Yellow Peril, and whatever else fits best the exigency of the war. Those today who organize peace picnics (as though picnics could dispel anything but social gloom), will tomorrow perfidiously and cravenly stomp the country to boost liberty bond sales. That has happened before.

He took his post as a guest of honor, welcomed by a YCL stooge, with the blessing of the fawning leaders of the AYC who sweetly invited other fascists to follow suit. No cry of Shame! can sufficiently damn this move. The incident was not accidental. It fits in as closely as a piece in

a jig saw puzzle with the current strategy of the Communist International. In France, the young communists have invited the young fascists to join with them in a front of all the French people—a super-super-popular-front. Elsewhere the Comintern sections have acted similarly. The AYC introduces this particular feature of the Comintern line to the United States. Given all else, no matter what the policies of the AYC, we could not abide this one act. No common plane exists between the fascists and ourselves. We are for organizing united fronts against the fascists, not with them. Let the AYC leaders sit in conclave with fascists if they will. In the eyes of young workers and students this alone must damn the AYC.

YCL Domineers Congress

For the whole of the past year, the YPSL has experimented with the possibility of making its voice heard in the AYC, of changing the structure and policies of the AYC. The experience proved fruitless. The YCL has translated to the Congress that same devastating bureaucracy with which it rules its own ranks, and which must needs characterize every appendage it controls.

Up to the present the YCL has been the dominant factor in the AYC. It has been able to determine policy and structure. Every kink in YCL line had its reflection in the AYC. Largely, the fate of the AYC has rested in its hands: to destroy it, or to make it the New Deal machine that it now is. Recently however something of a change has occurred which may betoken a shift in organizational control, though not at all in policy. If anything, it will mean a shift to a more avowedly rightward course. The YPSL takes note of the increasing influence of the Catholic youth organizations. In Canada, the catholic youth groups were finally able to dictate terms to the entire Congress. This change would not mean any substantial change in the AYC, but its possibility does indicate the direction of the Congress.

It may be that before long the AYC will disintegrate. Certainly, there is no inherent unity between the organizations in this super-organization for the "alleviation" of all social ills—from crime among youth to war. The further right it goes, the more sharply must it contradict the progressive and militant aspirations of many young workers and students who may be affiliated with it. Perhaps Roosevelt will see a stronger need for the AYC, and step in to organize it more solidly. Perhaps not. Eventually, as it spins to dizzy heights of social-patriotism it must centrifugally hurl off the class-conscious proletarians who have been deceived into it. Whether or not the AYC disintegrates in the future, we speak out to condemn it for what it is.

For United Fronts of Action

We are against the AYC because it is a rival political organization, a junior peoples front, drawing its program from the Stalinist version of New Dealism. But the YPSL still insists on the necessity for united action of all organizations, whatever their persuasion, so long as they are not fascist or nationalist-jingo outfits, on specific cam-

Celebrate 20th Anniversary of Russian Soviet

(Continued from page 4)
Party as a revolutionary force and its conversion into an apparatus of the ruling caste, has had its effect on the youth movement as well. Whereas directly after the revolution, the Young Communist League took a most active interest in the affairs of the Soviet, and was encouraged by Lenin and Trotsky to speak out and present their problems to the Party, today the youth are told that politics is none of their business, that they should devote themselves merely to "building socialism" and not to give consideration as to how and what kind of socialism is to be built. The Young Communist League has been deprived of all its political duties, and to-day fulfills the role of yes-men to the bureaucracy.

Right after the Revolution, the Young Communist League of Russia was thoroughly internationalist in outlook. Its slogans were addressed to the workers of the world; in 1922 for example its banners celebrated the Russian Revolution with: "Working Youth of All Lands, We are Ready for your Call!" To-day it has become reduced to a nationalistic and patriotic organization in the worst sense of the term, and has to pay homage and sing the praises of the "beloved leader, comrade Stalin." The initiative of the youth has been destroyed. Their greatest treasure, freedom of thought and criticism, has been taken from them.

Youth Will Rally to Revolutionists

It is little wonder that the axe of Stalinism falls heaviest on the heads of the youth. Every revolutionary movement finds its chief support in the youth of the revolutionary class. So it is with the Bolshevik-Leninists in Russia today, where most of the followers of the Trotskyist Left Opposition are young people. The Stalinists fear the youth—that is why they have had to deprive them of all political rights—that is why they seek to divert the attention of the youth to problems of a non-political character.

But in the struggle against this bureaucratic suppression, for a return to the theory and practices of Bolshevism for the victory of the revolution, the Russian youth will be found in the forefront. The revolutionary youth of Russia will find their way to victory under the banner of the Fourth International.

paigns for mutually agreed upon objectives. In our struggle for socialism, we are ever ready to join with others in supporting any truly, progressive struggle truly progressive thec". b z z of the working class youth or students. This aim, the fulfillment of which we once saw in the AYC, will now have to be carried out despite the AYC. It remains our positive program.

Break with the AYC!
For United action for the Immediate Demands of Youth!
October 20, 1937

National Executive Committee
Young Peoples Socialist
League of America

Armistice Day, 1937

Armistice Day: 1917-1937. Twenty years of "peace"! The silk-hat entlemen will probably make speeches to commemorate that peace. They will explain their devotion to peace by denouncing "aggressor nations", by urging bigger armies and bigger navies—for self defense, of course; or, better, to defend some noble institution like democracy. The Justice from the Ku Klux Klan may even make the longest speech for democracy. (Who knows? He may have a "Japanese friend" to match his Jewish friend.)

Twenty years of Armistice—without a single year of peace: the sacking of Nicaragua, China, Ethiopia; the civil wars in Italy, the German, now Spain. As each year passes, the war machine chugs louder. Capitalism is choked with rivalries between imperialists seeking to maintain and augment their profit booty, and with the more fundamental rivalry between worker and boss. Those imperialists who are "well set" prime their military engines in order to protect their position. Those who have been eating the table scraps of capitalist pillage are set for a leap at the table itself. That accounts for peace-loving *defenders* and war-like aggressors. F. D. Roosevelt, for example, as even Earl Browder will testify, loves peace; if necessary, therefore, he will order his navy to sail 3000 miles to *defend* American independence, and to quarantine the persecutors of China. (He defended American independence so well in Haiti, some twenty years ago!) The Japanese war-lords on the other hand, make no bones about their plans; they will teach China good manners (and how to make good profits for Japanese business) if they have to kill every Chinese worker and peasant to do it. In its own way, this difference between robber nations is a struggle between the haves and the have-nots.

There is no mistaking the war that Japan is waging in semi-colonial China. However, no one can tell when war on a larger scale will start, when for this, or other reason, Britain, France, the United States will fire their cannon in defense of their menaced interests (and, maybe, even expand them a little.) No one can tell when war will break out. President Roosevelt, astute politician that he is, seems to think that it will be soon. Consequently, he steps forward to make his most momentous speech of the year—to announce that American business is ready to lay down the lives of 10,000,000 youths to protect its own right to exploit China. No doubt on Armistice Day he will deliver a peace speech on how to make war.

Can we be less vigilant than Roosevelt? Can we fail to see clearly that war is on its bloody way? That when war comes young workers, farmers, students, will be stampeded into the trenches—not for democracy, comrades, but for the gutted coffers of Wall Street, and its "right" to exploit the Chinese masses, to keep fellow brigands from "muscling in" on its "swag." It is time that we young workers and students issued our own declaration—quarantine the defenders of capitalism! Let us be the aggressors in a war against the bosses, and jackals who pipe their tune. Let us stop war by challenging the masters who order it. By an allegiance to ourselves—the working class. For a world without war—for a world without capitalism!

Against the American Youth Congress, to the Masses of Youth

The break with the AYC which is recorded elsewhere in the *Challenge* does not come a day too soon. If anything, we have been remiss in not speeding the rupture. We cannot afford to temporize and "experiment"—especially when events are moving swiftly. Besides, all "experimentation" (for which the time has indeed passed) was excluded by the admission of a fascist organization—not only into the organization, but to the very top councils. That one act revealed more than could a thousand political arguments how rotten rank had become the patriotism of the AYC. So rank that young militants and revolutionists cannot abide breathing its polluted air.

Some of our erstwhile friends who did not have the courage to denounce the AYC for the reactionary body that it is, feebly gasped that "we must not separate our-



selves from the youth in the AYC." What nonsense! Such an argument proves only one thing—that those who advance it lack the revolutionary will and ability to approach the masses of youth directly, but must instead sneak up on them from behind. That way they get only one view of the Youth.

There is no doubt that nominally, through member organizations, huge numbers of youth are affiliated to the AYC. However, these masses of youth play no active part in the life of the Congress. In fact, for the most part, the Congress does not exist for them. They are represented in the Councils of the AYC by various local and national leaders who play a more or less influential role depending upon their individual interest. Membership in the AYC, does indeed allow contact with "Y" secretary's and the like who in most instances are far removed from their "constituents". Membership in the AYC does not establish contact with the rank and file. We desire such contact, and we will get it... but not through the back-door. We have absolute faith in our ability to go directly into the settlement houses, unions and "Y's", and there, by working side by side with young workers and students, influence them, teach them Socialism.

Further, as concrete issues arise, we will be ready participants in united fronts of action. Indeed, with the AYC yielding what little vestige of militancy it had, we will be the initiators of such activities—not by creating a super-organization for deception, but by uniting in militant campaign those organizations that agree on the immediate objectives.

War is in the air. Already the AYC is leading the youth into the barracks of imperialist "democracy". Those who take responsibility for the AYC today, must also be responsible for it tomorrow when it sheds its last veil and stands naked in all its treachery. For our part, we speak out. We do not mince words. The AYC is a lever of reaction. We call upon all youth to break with the AYC!

Do You Know?

That the October (Russian) Revolution took place in November?

That Lenin's sealed car through Germany was not sealed?

That the characterization of reformist leaders as "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class" is not Daniel De Leon's (but M. Hanna's)?

That the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels is subtitled "A Manifesto of the Communist Party", though no communist party was in existence?

(Send in your "Do You Knows")

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