

YOUTH ACT HEARING HELD

Hitler Answer to Spoils Pacts Brings Near-War

ALLIES' WAR LOOT, NAZI SHOWMANSHIP CAUSE RHINE MARCH

LONDON—War in Europe was narrowly averted after Hitler, in a temporarily successful effort to stem internal unrest, remilitarized his Rhineland frontier in defiance of existing "spoils" treaties against Germany.

Thirty thousand troops and a concealed amount of heavy artillery pieces were moved to the Franco-German frontier from the German side and at least that many from the French. The occasion for the troop movements was the signing of the Franco-Soviet pact, originally intended to be an "Eastern Locarno" similar to the Locarno pact which was calculated to preserve the redivision of imperialist spoils established by the treaty of Versailles.

With German living standard at a record low, unemployment mounting despite the "gain" made by replacing Jewish workers, and a very evident shortage of even simple foodstuffs, Hitler is desperately seeking to postpone the inevitable reaction against Nazi-ism, the "Hindenberg line" of German capitalism. He found an excellent circus without bread in the fight against the vicious treaty system by which the satiated European powers have preserved the status quo of German inferiority.

Moving up into the German Rhineland, which the dominant powers forbade German troops to occupy lest their war loot be endangered, Hitler immediately asked for a popular vote of confidence at the height of the enthusiasm for his move. To make doubly sure of results, the ballots contained only one printed circle instead of the usual provision for a yes or no vote; and a special scheduled vote of the labor councils (compulsory government "trade unions") was called off for fear of a larger opposition vote among the working-class than the populace as a whole.

The Versailles treaty was a pact stripping Germany of its power, and represented a violation of pledges of "Peace without Victory" circulated behind the Allied lines. It was forced on the new German republic by the victorious countries. The clause providing for a disarmed German frontier was reiterated in the Locarno treaty, forced on Germany at a time when it was desperately in need of Allied loans.

The Allies themselves have flagrantly violated the Versailles provision that they were to disarm themselves gradually to the level of demilitarized Germany.

MOTOR CYCLES GOOSE STEP



A MOTORIZED UNIT of Hitler's new army, part of the force which moved into the Rhineland. See page 4 for other pictures.

Leader of Jobless Youth Gets 4 Mos.

GILLESPIE, ILL. — James Cross, youth director of the Illinois Workers' Alliance and active unionist was sentenced to four months imprisonment for an accident which occurred last Christmas.

No great damage was done and no one was injured. Cross paid the full damages which amounted to \$7. None of the occupants of the damaged automobile made efforts to prosecute.

Michael Seyfrit, the state's attorney of Macoupin county, went out of his way to file charges against Cross and had him held on a \$1,500 bond until his conviction.

There is almost unanimous agreement in the county that the only reason for this vicious sentence and treatment was because Cross was active in the fight of workers and unemployed for better living conditions and civil liberties.

A James Cross Defense Committee has been organized to seek reversal of the verdict. The committee believed that if this case goes unchallenged, the enemies of organized labor will seek to arrest and jail active

people for the most trivial offenses.

An appeal for defense funds was made by Tom Sorbie, 1406 S. Macoupin St., Gillespie, Ill., treasurer of the committee.

MILLIONS REPRESENTED AT SENATE HEARING; TELL OF NEED FOR YOUTH JOB BILL

WASHINGTON — Special — Youth organizations with memberships totalling millions, vast trade union organizations, civic bodies, prominent authors and educators, all sent representatives here to present a picture of this country's "locked out generation" and demand the passage of the American Youth Act at the Senate Education and Labor Committee hearing on the young people's work relief bill.

In a masterful presentation which brought forth expressions of admiration from committee chairman Walsh, Senator LaFollette, and others, the speakers produced an array of statistics, case histories, and powerful arguments all pointing to one thing: the necessity for the American Youth Act.

So great was the number of those who came to testify that the hearing had to be extended a day and moved into the Senate caucus room, largest chamber in the building, which was nonetheless packed to the walls.

Beall Testifies

Not a minute was wasted during the three days of testimony, opened by William Hinckley, secretary of the American Youth Congress. Foremost of the youth representatives was Hayes Beall, chairman of the National Council of Methodist Youth, who spoke directly in the name of its one and a half million members and indirectly in the name of "ten million young people from sixteen to twenty-five" in twenty-five protestant youth organizations, all of them "largely of the same mind on issues like the one before us."

"I desire to say to this committee," he declared, "that the present economic chaos is exacting an ever-increasing toll from our group. Countless thousands are being degraded. Many are breaking under the strain of a sense of uselessness that plagues their existence." Concluding with a demand for the Youth Act, he gave a final strong warning:

"Our generation is in no mood to receive false promises, empty condolences, or any other substitute
(Continued on next page)

Socialist Revolution Due Soon in Spain; Masses Are Restless

By MELOS MOST

There is every indication that a social revolution is imminent in Spain. The present Azaña government is definitely emerging as a "Kerensky regime." The workers and peasantry are taking things into their own hands to carry out their demands. The government is issuing appeals to "wait."

Capitalist forces are rallying behind Azaña in a last minute effort to save themselves. The Spanish party of reaction, the CEDA, has just come out for the republic and ordered the expul-

sion of all monarchist members. Former Premier Valladeres, ousted by the election, has announced his support of the new government.

On the other hand the masses are putting no faith in him. By mass action on the streets they not only prevented a scheduled rightist coup d'etat, but compelled Azaña to carry out his campaign promises.

Despite the rallying of capitalist forces behind him, Azaña is pitifully weak.

The police forces have demonstrated their "independence" by repeatedly mutinying against orders to

restrain them. The fascists are completely demoralized and have collapsed. The only military power that stands opposed to a revolution consists of 38,000 civil guards and a few thousand colonial troops. The bourgeoisie is fleeing by the hundreds.

The Communists with their new reformist line and the right wing Socialists are actually the main obstacle to a revolution. However Caballero's left wing, restored to its majority position by the release of 35,000 revolutionists, will soon get things under control.

Tell Need for Youth Job Bill

(Continued from previous page)

for its fair demands."

Other youth groups which sent representatives included Y's, political youth organizations, and unemployed groups, while the American Student Union, the National Student (Council) Federation, and the Student Division of the YMCA represented the youth of the campus.

Just as impressive was the trade union delegation, consisting of emissaries of local and central labor unions, and two of the three largest unions in the AF of L: the Interna-

tional Ladies Garment Workers Union and the United Textile Workers. Speaking for the latter, Francis Gorman, vice-president, declared: "We stand squarely behind the American Youth Act. We see its passage as an absolute necessity if the trade union movement and our democratic processes are to survive." Both are threatened, it is held, by the present National Youth Administration.

In the name of 30,000 organized farm workers Ed Mitchell, sharecropper and leader of the Southern Tenant Farmer's Union took the stand and described the plight of the South's rural youth. "The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union survey," he stated, "found that out of 319 white children of school age 100 or 31.3 per cent are in school, while 219 or 68.7 per cent are not going to school. Of 346 colored children of school age 90 or 26 per cent are in school, 256 or 74 per cent are not in school."

After depicting the collapse of the Southern rural school system, and the anti-Negro discrimination, Mitchell declared: "In the American Youth Act the underprivileged youth of the Southern states in our country see a new hope. We do not claim that it is a panacea for all our troubles, but we feel that it will open a new life to millions of hitherto neglected people."

Crime Mounts

The settlement houses of America's slum districts were represented by several prominent social workers. Typical of their testimony was a statement of Franklin Harbach, representing the famous Henry Street settlement, that the number of youth court cases in his constituency had mounted from ten in 1928 to 162 in 1932.

A half-dozen outstanding educators were present to plead for the Youth Act in person, including Professor Thomas Minehan, author of "The Boy and Girl Tramp of America," and Professor Charles A. Beard, co-author of "The Rise of America Civilization." Dr. Beard's testimony created an unusual stir. He gave as his opinion that "the era of homesteads has passed" and that "the present order has to be radically altered to make way for youth."

The National Youth Administration was under fire throughout the testimony. Columbus Alston of Harlem gave a statistical picture of anti-Negro discrimination practiced by the NYA by showing that only 100 young people out of 4,500 eligible had obtained NYA work in the North's Negro center. Dr. Willard Uphaus of Connecticut estimated that only one-eighth of the NYA eligibles in his state had obtained relief. A student from the University of Texas described the low NYA relief rates, citing examples of Texan student NYA workers forced to live entirely on \$14 a month.

Interviewed by the Challenge after the hearing, on the Youth Act's chances for passage this session, Hayes Beall declared, "It looks as if pressure will have to be applied. They all throw up their hands at the cost." He contrasted this with the free manner in which enormous appropriations had been made, to pay for past and future wars.

POULNOT, FLOGGING VICTIM, TELLS STORY TO CHALLENGE

CHICAGO—Eugene F. Poulnot, victim of the brutal Tampa flogging case which resulted in injuries to himself and Dr. S. A. Rogers and in the death of Joseph A. Shoemaker, told the story of his case in a special interview with the Challenge of Youth while passing through here on a

WORLD SOCIALIST YOUTH BODY IN SPECIAL CONFAB

BRUSSELS, Belgium—Special—An extraordinary meeting of the Socialist Youth International was called here for April 1 and 2 to consider a proposal for setting up two separate world divisions, consisting of the political and cultural movements respectively, as advocated by many national sections including the Young People's Socialist League of America. The most powerful European left wing Leagues have begun action on the issue by forming themselves into a political section of the International.

The meeting, an executive committee session to which Young People's Socialist Leagues the world over have sent representatives, will be the last joint conference of both political and cultural Leagues in the International. Fernand Godefroid, left wing international leader, predicted.

Acceptance of the left wing proposal, it is held, will lead to closer international ties and facilitate coordinated action because of greater political agreement and structural similarity which will exist within each of the international organizations.

American Statement

Unable to send a delegate because of the short notice, the Young People's Socialist League of America presented a statement for the consideration of the international executive committee, covering the points most likely to come up at the meeting. These consisted of the structure of the Socialist Youth International, the united front, the "front of the younger generation" (junior people's front), the united youth league (suicide pact), and the struggle against war.

Declaring "we have long felt that the Socialist Youth International has not been an adequate

medium through which we can function," the YPSL statement endorses the actions of the Toulouse conference at which representatives of six countries voted in favor of the division of the International.

Asking for a frank recognition of the differences within the International, the American Young Socialists declared that the twin-International plan was the solution. "This is no time for split," they stated. "That is why we welcome the decisions of the Toulouse conference setting up a political section of the International."

United Youth League

This consolidation of the political element within the Socialist Youth International was sharply contrasted with the depoliticalization of the Young Communist International. "True Socialists have always fought for organic revolutionary unity ever since the Communist split. There is room for differences of opinion in a really democratic organization and we have the experience of the fight against the class parties to existence.

"But we brand the latest offer of the Young Communists for a united youth league along non-Party lines as a suicide pact and not as organic unity. The Communists, who are now like other reformists, want to abolish the revolutionary tendencies among their youth by giving them purely cultural activity and confining political thought to the party members, who are older and more bound by traditions and jobs.

"That the leaders of the Communist International see fit to demolish the Young Communist Leagues is, however, no concern of ours. But that they attempt to demolish our organization also is another matter."

They Didn't Trust Promises



FISTS UPRAISED in the Socialist salute, this crowd before the Modelo prison in Madrid was one of the many throughout Spain who forced Azana to decree complete amnesty for political prisoners. Story on previous page.



KIDNAPPED by police

Youth Congress Drift Explained

Conflicting tendencies within the American Youth Congress were revealed in a report of the Young People's Socialist League of America to the Socialist Youth International, in which the example of the Congress was cited both on the question of united front and the junior people's "front of the younger generation."

Proof that united action with Young Communists can be successfully undertaken was seen in the Congress, with the observation that "within the American Youth Congress, which we have built together during nearly two years, we find the Communists better allies and more serious workers for unity than ever before."

In conclusion it was stated that "nothing today stands in the way of world united fronts on issues over which it is possible to agree except the unwillingness of certain comrades who lack self-confidence or courage.

"This does not mean that we favor unity at the expense of principles, but on immediate and specific actions, in which our main aim must always be to help the workers in their struggles, we must encourage unity and not think of factional interests."

United vs. People's Front

Sharply contrasting the united front with "the new theory of the front of the younger generation," the Young Socialists returned to the example of the Youth Congress. "The Communists have been vainly trying to make of the American Youth Congress a junior people's front, with a so-called program of its own for 'peace, freedom, and progress,' a program of half-truths which create illusions by virtue of the omission of essential revolutionary facts."

In opposition to this the Young Socialists "are building the Youth Congress into a united front of organizations, which does not pretend to a program of its own, but is organized for action in the immediate struggle for government relief for youth, on which we can all agree."

speaking tour of the North.

The flogging took place on November 30, 1934, after the police assisted in kidnapping the three Socialists and turned them over to the Ku Klux Klan. Eleven men, including six policemen and the chief of police, are now on trial for second degree murder in the Shoemaker case. Two of the witnesses died mysteriously.

Poulnot, who is head of the Florida Workers' Alliance, declared to the Challenge that "this incident is but one indication of the rising tide of Fascism in the United States."

In answer to the question, "to what do you attribute the mass indignation aroused by the case?" he stated,

"Mainly the investigation by Norman Thomas and David Lasser, which brought the facts to light, and William Green's threat to remove the scheduled AF of L convention from Tampa."

"The day I dragged myself into town members of the Workers' Alliance formed an armed guard around my house as I lay in bed, and notified the police that they would not be responsible for the consequences if a police car or uniformed policeman were seen within three blocks of the house." The police kept a safe distance.

"What was the cause of the flogging?"

"They were trying to stop the organization of a political party by the Socialists and of the unemployed by the Workers' Alliance, which has already won higher living standards for WPA workers."

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Plane Interests Lobby to Train Young War Aces

WASHINGTON, D.C. (YNS)—Aviation company officials and military officers are backing the Junior Air Reserve bill, recently introduced in Congress by Rep. John McSwain, (D., S. C.). The cooperation of some 300 aviation officials and militarists was secretly solicited by Rep. McSwain shortly before he introduced his bill, the Youth News Service has learned.

Among those who responded to Rep. McSwain's solicitation were:

C. J. Brukner, president, Waco Aircraft Co.

Walter H. Beech, president, Beech Aircraft Co.

A. M. Woody, president, Air Reserve Association of U. S.

Carig Isbell, Springfield Aviation Co.

Bernarr Macfadden, sponsor of the "Macfadden-American Legion Movement" and publisher of True Story Magazine.

Dudley M. Steele, chairman of the aeronautics commission, American Legion.

Louis R. Inwood, Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce of America.

Cooperation of the Civilian Conservation Corps camps assured by Bertram A. Totten, of the C.C.C. of Chatsworth, N.J. in a letter to Rep. McSwain dated January 27, in which he stated: "Let me say that we of the Conservation Corps will welcome any proposal federally or

otherwise which will be consistent to our personal aims, ambitions, and aspirations, and to our country's national defense."

Rep. McSwain admits that one of the principal virtues of his proposed Junior Air Reserve is that it would bring a boom in the aviation industry while preparing young pilots for the next war.

182,370 Now in Nazi CCC
BERLIN, Germany—The Nazi labor service army, for which every young German male is drafted for six months, now totals 182,370 men, a Reich statistical survey reveals. The women's labor service, which is still on the volunteer basis, is 10,278 strong.

The reason for the lower enrollment in the conscript labor force than in the volunteer force which it replaced last October, is explained by the fact that the service term has been reduced to six months, so that there is a complete turnover semi-annually. 360,000 men are thereby conscripted for forced labor every year, it is estimated.

Food, clothing and 25 pfennigs daily are allotted to each man in the service, while the recruits in the girl's division get food, lodging, and 20 pfennigs. Clothing is furnished only when funds are made available. The pfennig is worth one-half a cent.

LOYAL SOCIALISTS WIN

BULLETIN

NEW YORK — Special — A sweeping victory for youth and Socialism was seen here as early returns indicated that the regular party organization had overwhelmingly defeated the disloyal Old Guard in the primary election here.

The candidates of the Socialist Party of the United States, representing the younger, more vigorous element, carried twenty out of the twenty-four districts in the city, defeating a heavily financed slate of Old Guard leaders.

Old Guards who went down in defeat included Louis Waldman, leader of the faction; James Oneal, editor of the fac-

tion's English newspaper; Algermon Lee, head of the Old Guard educational institution; Julius Gerber, one of its leading officials, and his son, G. August Gerber; August Claessens, the Old Guard's leading orator; Jacob Panken, recipient of a magistrerial appointment by the city's Republican administration; and others just as prominent.

Norman Thomas credited the victory to the younger Party workers. He declared it marked the close of "the chapter of intra-party controversy and the opening of a new chapter of victory for the party."

The Young People's Socialist League city office here was a bedlam of joy and excitement.

Building Strikers Aided by Young Sympathizers

NEW YORK—Marked by more than a dozen arrests of its members, and the brutal slogging of its industrial secretary, Milton Cohen, the New York Young People's Socialist League played a very active and important part in the historic building service strike of 85,000 workers. Leading picket lines, administering food relief to need strikers, editing the official strike bulletin of the union's financial district section,



YIPSEL GIRLS picket wealthy strike-breakers' home

the Young Socialists drew words of high praise from strike leaders.

The walkout was the occasion for militant strike action, in all of which Yipsels figured prominently. An unusual sidelight was created by Bellinger, a wealthy publicity seeker, who operated a scab elevator in his Park Avenue apartment house, wearing an army-helmet and holding a double-barreled Winchester.

He was put to ridicule when a bevy of Young Socialist girls picketed his home fortified with tin helmets, toy rifles and mocking signs. Police confiscated the signs and arrested Nancy Bedford-Jones, Tillie Smith, Virginia Vacira, Ernestine Levine, and Paula Aragon for "disorderly conduct."

Other Yipsels arrested during the strike were Irving Fried, Bertha Goldberg, and Gertrude Finkelstein, while Milton Cohen was slugged into unconsciousness by police.

Labor Athletes Hold Meet in NY

NEW YORK — Sports fans jammed the swimming pool and gym of the Hecksher Foundation for New York's first indoor sports festival of the Workers' Sports League, March 21. A three hour program was run off with precision, ending just five minutes from schedule.

Twenty swimmers with different colored flashlights swam about the darkened pool in various formations to open the festival. This was followed by 3 medley, crawl and backstroke races for men and women, diving and other swimming event. A special race was held for children under 14. The final event in the pool was a water polo game between two specially picked teams.

The best of the WSL's gymnasts performed on the parallel and horizontal bars to open the gym program. Following this, a program of mass calisthenics was given with snappy precision. Then came a wrestling bout, not in the modern grunt-and-make-face style of the professional ring, that has brought this sport into bad repute, but in the graceful and scientific Greek-Roman style. A boxing bout was followed by a nip-and-tuck basketball game between the Carmel-Hapoel and the Katja teams. Rarely did more than a single basket separate the two teams with the Carmel's finally coming out ahead, 19-16. Dancing was held after the athletic program.

Getting Drunk On An Apology

An Editorial

Last issue we carried an apology for having unwittingly transmitted misinformation about the Young Communist League of Denver. THIS TIME WE DEMAND ONE FROM THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE FOR BEING DELIBERATE LIARS ABOUT US.

Apparently interpreting the decency we displayed in the Denver case as a sign of weakness—they can understand it no other way—the last issue of the Young Worker, Young Communist sheet, launched a cunning attack on the integrity of our news columns, and demanded ANOTHER apology from us for a mistake it pretends we committed.

In the previous issue of the Challenge of Youth it was reported in the case of a news despatch, that

"Cabello of Spain added that in his country real unity was being achieved by the YCL joining the YPSL en masse."

THIS INFORMATION WAS CORRECT IN EVERY RESPECT.

Yet the Young Worker carries TWO articles, of three and five columns respectively, facing each other on its second and third pages, asking that we apologize for having said this!

It was comrade Cabello himself who was misinformed when he made his statement, as the Young Worker is compelled to reveal in publishing a letter of his to Fernand Godefroid of Belgium. If THAT is the impression the Young Worker wished to create—

Why was its five-column article headed "Young Socialist Leader Corrects Mistake OF YPSL PAPER"?

Why did it include a box giving the impression that Cabello had branded OUR statement as "misinformation"?

Why should it so smugly, in two feature articles, ask us to Apologize for A MISTAKE WE NEVER COMMITTED?

In Answer to The "Young Worker"

UNITY VS. HYPOCRISY

Eager to take advantage of our sportsmanship and Cabello's, the Young Worker carries its SMUGNESS even further than asking for an apology which it already has from Cabello himself. It takes a statement of ours praising the "friendly relations and cooperation" of the Denver Young Communists with us, and throws it in our faces!

It tries to imply that ONLY THE YOUNG COMMUNISTS desire unity, and INVITES us to do LIKEWISE. This implication, this reflection on the sincerity of our remark, is not, however, of importance to the young workers of America. WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS THAT THE YOUNG COMMUNISTS DESPITE THEIR "INVITATION" ARE WORKING TO DESTROY THE MOST POWERFUL UNITED FRONT OF YOUTH EVER BUILT ON THE AMERICAN CONTINENT.

We refer to the American Youth Congress as it is developing today. The Young People's Socialist League is working hard to build this tremendous project into a UNITED FRONT OF YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS, based on the MUTUAL AGREEMENT of these organizations, in which they will work WITH each other, not AGAINST each other, for the immediate benefit of the masses of youth.

The Young Communist League is working to build it into an INDEPENDENT organization with A PROGRAM OF ITS OWN which it will seek to impose on its member organizations. They wish it to carry on independent agitation, recruitment, and publications OF ITS OWN instead of UNITING the work of EXISTING ORGANIZATIONS.

They wish it to become a "FRONT OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION" by which they can WIN other organizations FOR THEIR OWN POLICIES.

Our answer is:

If you wish to prove your desire for unity, PROVE IT IN THE AMERICAN CONGRESS.

Join with us in converting it into a real UNITED FRONT, abolishing its independent membership groups and propaganda publications, to MAKE WAY FOR UNITY.

GO BUILD YOUR FRONT OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION ELSEWHERE, and cease using the Youth Congress as an instrument for propagating your ideas of imperialist sanctions, of the Olympic "Ideal," or as an instrument for ideological impositions OF ANY KIND.

That is how you can prove in ACTION that you favor the united front.



FIRST BARBED WIRE outpost of the Maginot Line, France's sinister line of hidden fortresses stretching from Belgium to Switzerland.



DEADLY COLUMN of German tanks advancing into the Rhineland. These mechanical monsters are the most modern ever produced.

The Revolutionary Position and the Immediate Problems of War

The revolutionary position on war, it is sometimes held, is one that holds true only when the working class is in a position to abolish war forever by ending capitalism. Its opponents maintain that in immediate struggles, such as the struggle to postpone war until we are strong enough to abolish it, the struggle to defend the Soviet Union, the position does not hold. It has been also charged that "the Socialist position will isolate the workers (and the Socialists) from the rest of the population." These excerpts from Gus Tyler's "Youth Fights War," are the answer to such charges.

War and the Class Struggle

The first enemy of the working class is its own capitalist class. And when the working class forgets this it inevitably finds itself in the service of its own ruling class digging bayonets into the warm bodies of fellow slaves of another country.

A working class party, by supporting a war, will be compelled to declare a moratorium on the class struggle. It will have to call for civil peace.

But whether the Communist Party or Socialist Party want it or not, the class struggle will go on. It will go on because it is part of the very nature of capitalism. It will go on because no law or decree, not even a thesis of the Comintern, is superior to the instinctive movement of the working class for bread and for freedom.

The struggle will go on. But a working class party or liberal organization, supporting the war, driven by the blind and inexorable laws of logic, will find itself because of its position in the camp of the capitalists.

And it will find itself in the camp of the capitalists, talking and breaking strikes, just at the time when it should be leading the masses into revolutionary battle. For it is in times of war that great economic crises sweep the land, that the masses turn against their old political leaders who are driving the people to suicide and fratricide, that the workers are armed, that the situation cries aloud for trained revolutionary leadership.

The party that will take the leadership will be one that has opposed the war from its beginning and has thus disclaimed all responsibility for the war, that has supported and led strike movements, that has never forgotten that it can only live while it unceasingly champions the historical interests of the working class in an equally unceasing class struggle.

There are those who place the question of war and the question of Socialism in separate categories.

They are one and the same question.

Our opposition to capitalist war just like our opposition to capitalism springs from the fact that our party is the political leader of the working class in an unremitting class struggle. Our party lives while the blood of the struggle runs through its veins. Once we declare a civil peace we turn pale, then anemic, then lifeless.

War and Peace

The Communists as well as capitalist militarists and reformist Socialists offer, as an apology for alliances the argu-

ment or minimize wars; alliances give rise to counter alliances and finally to world war between bigger and better alliances.

When the working class supports alliances it is compelled, when the war which is inevitable under capitalism breaks out to accept responsibility for the war and to urge the slaughter of one worker by another worker.

The second policy, "peace through revolutionary opposition," is wiser both for the moment and in the long run. Any capitalist class will think twice before placing guns in the hands of a menacing working class. It is unable because of the compelling contradictions of its own system to bring permanent peace; but it will hesitate to precipitate new slaughters. And then, when the war which is inevitable under capitalism breaks out, the policy of "revolutionary opposition," consistently pursued by the working class will lead to the establishment

of Socialism, the only basis for permanent peace.

War and the Soviet Union

In the long run, this policy of sacrificing the international working class revolution for the defense of the Soviet Union will not even defend the Soviet Union.

Regardless of momentary differences between capitalist countries, the capitalists of the world are united on one thing: namely, hatred and fear of the working class and the Soviet Union.

Mr. Ercoli, spokesman for the Comintern on the question of war, spoke well when he said:

"There can be no doubt for anyone that the coming war, even if it were to begin as a war between two great imperialist powers or as a war of a big power against a small country, will inevitably tend to de-

velop and will inevitably develop into a war against the Soviet Union."

But if this is true, it is equally true that when the divided struggle of the capitalist world becomes a united struggle against the Soviet Union it will be necessary to have in all these capitalist countries powerful revolutionary movements which have been built up during the war years. Such revolutionary movements cannot be built up if the working class is urged during the war NOT to strike, NOT to hold anti-war demonstrations, NOT to move against the government, NOT to carry on the day-by-day struggle which alone gives the working-class movement life and vitality. The support of the war will weaken the working class and invite the specter of Fascism to enter the fortress of labor. Then it will be too late to halt the war, which will now be directed openly against the Soviet Union.



Gus Tyler

ment that an alliance today has at least the virtue of preserving temporary peace in Europe. Let us consider this argument:

The working class may choose one of two major methods for the preservation of peace: (a) either to support alliances of one set of nations against another, or (b) to threaten in all capitalist countries to undermine the war machine and the system of profits that breeds war.

The working class may decide to pursue one course or the other, for it can not pursue both. If the working class supports alliances, it must agitate for and support wars logically following from the obligations assumed under these alliances. And if one accepts this policy, one can not at the same time declare it the policy of the working class to oppose all capitalist wars.

Now which of these policies shall the working class pursue?

The argument for the first policy, "peace through alliances," can be found in the speeches of any jingo. Alliances do not pre-

"The Winner" Liberal-

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Reviewed by

ERNEST ERBER

National Chairman,

Young People's Socialist League

ONE of the moves of those seeking to build the American Youth Congress into a Junior People's Front has been their campaign in behalf of a propaganda paper to express their viewpoint through the American Youth Congress. The Young People's Socialist League has consistently fought this move as one of the most significant features of the Junior People's Front tendency.

We said we opposed a Junior People's Front because it sought to unite the organizations on a political program achieved through compromise between the Socialists, Communists, liberals, and other groups. We oppose the publication of a paper for the same reason. A paper needs a political viewpoint. We want the AYC to be a united front. A united front has no program, no viewpoint beyond all the participating groups agreeing to unity in action. Our conception for a united front is unity in action but organizational independence for each group and the right of each group to adhere to its own program precludes the possibility of publishing a paper.

Some time ago Gil Green, head of the Young Communist League, requested an unofficial conference on the subject with the Young Socialist leadership. We met with him and John Marks

of Chicago and countered the demand of the Young Communists for a paper with the questions: What will it say? What will it favor? Upon what program will it base itself? Whose viewpoint will it present? The viewpoint of the liberals? Of the Stalinists? Our viewpoint?

What Gil Green Said

This answer, and, since then, the answers of the Young Communist League everywhere, sang one refrain: The paper will be so "broad" that it will satisfy everyone by excluding all such material upon which there are differences of opinion. We said that it was idiotic to believe that such a paper was a physical possibility. A paper that will satisfy the YPSL, the YCL, the YWCA Industrial department, the church youth groups! We pointed to the fact that, as close as even the YCL and the YPSL were to each other in program in comparison with the liberal groups, they yet disagreed upon many of the most important questions facing youth: support of the imperialist allies of the Soviet Union, sanctions, defense of small nations, the Peoples' Front, the capitalist Olympics, the National Youth Administration, and even on what the AYC itself should be. How could a paper published in this period of intense social struggles say anything at all if it evaded those matters that were controversial?

Until now our arguments were based on theory. Now we have before us the first example of this new Stalinist theory of the united press that satisfies all—

"The Winner"—a paper published by the AYC on the Pacific Coast.

Journalistically the paper is an attractive, easily readable 16-page tabloid. Its make-up is excellent. If the "Nation" or the "New Republic" were to get out a liberal youth magazine it is doubtful if even their greater experience and resources would enable them to publish a better magazine.

Stooging for Liberalism

But politically "The Winner" verifies every argument we made against the publication of an AYC organ. I ask the supporters of the united press idea to refute the charge that "The Winner," rather than doing what we held impossible, giving a viewpoint that satisfies everyone, is giving a viewpoint that represents the liberals alone. I ask them to refute the charge that "The Winner" is a liberal paper giving to youth a political education identical with the education given adults by the "Nation" and "The New Republic." Can we criticize and editorially answer the "Nation" and "The New Republic" and yet support a paper that gives the same line to youth? Are there class divisions and political differences only among adults? Can we attack the liberal politicians of the middle class and widen the gulf between them and the Socialist Party by showing their role in tying the working class to capitalism, and yet support a paper which speaks their language to youth?

Upon opening the paper the reader is struck by a quarter-

ries. They are one and the same question.

Our opposition to capitalist war just like our opposition to capitalism springs from the fact that our party is the political leader of the working class in an unremitting class struggle. Our party lives while the blood of the struggle runs through its veins. Once we declare a civil peace we turn pale, then anemic, then lifeless.

War and Peace

The Communists as well as capitalist militarists and reformist Socialists offer, as an apology for alliances the argu-



Gus Tyler

vent or minimize wars; give rise to counter alliances finally to world war bigger and better alliances

When the working class supports alliances it is co-opted when the war which is inevitable under capitalism breaks out. We must accept responsibility for the war and to urge the slaughter of a worker by another worker.

The second policy, "revolutionary opposition," is wiser both in the moment and in the long run. Any capitalist class will not place its hands twice before placing them in the hands of a menacing class. It is unable because of its own compelling contradictions to bring peace; but it will hesitate to precipitate new slaughter when the war is inevitable under capitalism. If a war breaks out, the policy of "revolutionary opposition," if pursued by the working class, will lead to the estab-

"The Winner"

THE WINNER, March 1936. Published by the West Coast Youth Congress.

Reviewed by

ERNEST ERBE

National Chairman

Young People's Socialist

ONE of the moves of the West Coast Youth Congress in their campaign in behalf of their propaganda paper to

THE EARLY 'CHALLENGE'

THIS number of the Challenge of Youth marks the beginning of its fourth year of militant existence. Throughout this time it has been a challenge in fact as well as in name, an organ of revolutionary Socialism representing the young ideas and the young people destined to lead the working class movement of the future.

It was voted into existence by the 1932 convention of the Young People's Socialist League, which virtually marked the birth of the present Socialist youth movement of America—a product of youth disillusionment in the opportunism of social democracy and the narrow self-interest of Communism, both of which had held the stage until that day.

In April, 1933 it first saw the light of day as a four-page paper of amateurish simplicity in appearance. Its contents, however, revealed its militancy from the start. That first issue carried an amazing "scoop," an exposé of a US army plan to concentrate troops in the industrial areas for use against strikes and demonstrations, which was reprinted by many working-class papers.

It also carried an editorial pointing out that the reformism of German social-democracy was largely responsible for the just-culminated victory of Hitler; news reports of the class struggle in action; items supporting progressive unionism; accounts of the fight to free Tom Mooney and the Scottsboro boys; a "Proclamation and Call to Action" calling for counter-demonstrations in defiance of the Army Day celebrations.

The May issue carried a platform of economic demands of youth which was the first attempt on the part of any labor youth group to formulate these demands during the depression era.

In the fall of 1933 came the first effects of the "New Deal,"

which the Challenge fearlessly exposed in the face of a hysteria of Roosevelt popularity. From October to January it applied itself to the task of revealing the strike-breaking tactics of the NRA labor relations boards and the conservative trade union leaders who worked hand in hand with them (in October a headline read "Miners Fight Despite



TWO WORKING GIRLS reading the Challenge as it appeared in September, 1934.

Plea of Officials"); and of unmasking the CCC camps as a part of the war machinery.

During the winter, spring, and summer months of 1934, the Challenge campaigned against war, fascism, child labor, and educational retrenchment, for the organization of workers and the unemployed, revealing the strike-breaking role and war-making plans of the government.

During this time, also, it foresaw the significance of the as yet localized anti-militaristic struggles on the campus, which

were to bring about the great student anti-war strikes and the American Student Union. In May, 1934, it carried a front-page streamer reading: "Student Protest against Militarism Growing."

It showed the same insight in predicting the present emergence of youth as a "locked out generation," and ran two warning headlines in July and September, "12 Million American Youth Face Unemployment," "3 Million Students Face 'Lock-out'."

One of the basic principles of the early Challenge was "hew to the line and let the chips fall where they may." Just as it did not hesitate to criticize the Social-Democrats for the ignominious defeat of the German proletariat, so it refused to spare any labor official guilty of restraining the militancy of the working class.

This fearless criticism is today recognized as one of the most distinctive and "challenging" characteristics of the paper and continued until a period in which the political emphasis was dropped during an experiment with propaganda technique.

Its policy of criticism was never an indiscriminate one, however. While it "let the chips fall where they may," it also gave "credit to whom credit is due." This included the Soviet Union, whose achievements were at that time largely unrecognized by the non-Communist labor press.

NEW YORK—A first step in the development of a broad trade union sports movement was seen in the invasion of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' soccer team to all other union soccer teams to become part of the same league.

Six ILG teams are already playing at Commercial Field in Brooklyn. Their schedule runs to June 28.

-The Loser Is Labor

page cartoon giving the paper's viewpoint on the war crisis. Whose position does it present? Does it satisfy all groups? Does it show youth a road to follow in the struggle against war that revolutionary Socialists can endorse? The cartoon shows the "aggressors" (Japan, Germany, and Italy) as mad dogs of war being restrained... by what? By the workers? By fear of revolution at home? No! By sanctions! "The workers?" say the Stalinists. "Why, the AYC is not a class organization. It is an organization of all good peace-loving people. Revolution? Goodness, you will antagonize the liberals." So who will restrain the mad dogs? Sanctions of course. But one section of the AYC opposes sanctions. The liberals and Stalinists control the paper and they agree on sanctions. So the AYC of the Pacific Coast takes a stand of its own for sanctions despite the opposition to sanctions by a large section of the Congress.

Misleading Propaganda

This is but the worst example of the misleading propaganda crowding the pages of "The Winner." In one of its articles the Democratic Party is praised for establishing the Civilian Conservation Corps camps, "builders of health, of morals, and of character," which Secretary of War Dern described as an important part of the government's war machine. Another article, asking young Negroes "Not to Toy with Theory" in its headline, praises the confusionist Nationalist Negro Congress, which adopted a resolution recognizing "the part Divine

Leadership plays in our life," but had nothing to say against the Negro capitalists exploiting their fellow Negroes.

Still another article defends the foremost instrument of capitalist propaganda in America next to the school and the newspaper, the motion picture industry. It tells "The Winner's" readers that Hollywood, which has met the rising tide of anti-war sentiment with pictures like "Red Salute" and "Riff-Raff," which has met the rising antifascist sentiment by suppressing Sinclair Lewis's "It Can't Happen Here," is "controlled by the public and follows it," and that "the motion picture producer is a very socially conscious person, more so, in fact, than many members of socialist movements whose boast is that very consciousness."

If the Young Socialists and other Congress affiliates disagree with the liberal-Stalinist position let them compromise their principles, let them support a program they believe will lead youth to the imperialist slaughter fields, and let them show their desire for unity by remaining in the AYC! Let them become politically dishonest, let them hypocritically support a misleading position they detest, all in the name of unity.

But the Young Socialists and, we are sure, the other organizations opposed to the Stalinist political line, will not stomach it. The problem is rapidly coming to a head. **WE REFUSE TO BE PART OF A JUNIOR PEOPLE'S FRONT.** We have seen its model in action in France, the French Peoples' Front with its

Bastille Day (the French 4th of July) celebration, its singing of the Marseillaise (French national anthem), its waving of the tricolor (French national flag), and its slogan of "Up with Doumergue" (middle class politician).

Makes Unity Impossible

The publication of "The Winner" is proof that there can be no unity through unprincipled compromise on program. Our position in favor of a united front for specific demands would remain unchanged even if we achieved mechanical control of the AYC and could be successful in imposing our program upon it despite the rest of the organizations. We do not expect any organization to adopt our program or in any way compromise their program as a prerequisite to united action with us. We expect only of them that they agree to sincerely fight for the specific demands of the united front.

We will continue our fight to make the AYC a united front of all organizations willing to fight for the economic demands of youth upon the government. We have thrown all our resources behind the fight for the American Youth Act. We will continue to give all support to the AYC as a united front in behalf of this Act and kindred youth economic demands. We hope that the present united campaign for the AYA will prove to the Stalinists that only a united front for specific demands can unite youth in struggle for their needs. We are prepared to continue and extend such united front activities. But a Junior People's Front? Never!

THE FIRST CHALLENGE, April, 1933, with a "scoop"

The Challenge Today

By E. EWALD

DESPITE its handicap in being a monthly, the Challenge of Youth has succeeded in overcoming its past limitation to general Socialist propaganda during the months since the Young Socialist Pittsburgh convention of last summer and built itself into a paper giving political leadership on every current question, and strong support to the immediate struggle of youth.

The September issue, the last under the editorship of Syd Devin, gave five-column headlines on two of its pages, despite its limitation in size, to the news of the strike of the New York shipping clerks, the largest and most significant youth strike in American labor history. It also gave a large part of its meager space to two articles dealing with war and internationalism, the first answer of the revolutionary Socialists to the Second and Third Internationals' desertion of the class struggle against war.

Immediate Response

Since then the uncompromising stand taken by the Challenge of Youth on every current question has brought response from all over the country, from within and without the Socialist movement, commending the paper as the best exponent of revolutionary Socialism in this country.

Upon the resignation of Syd Devin to complete his studies, Melos Most was elected to the editorship by the national executive committee of the Young People's Socialist League, controlling body over the paper. Most first became known as a League spokesman on international matters. He was the American delegate to the Socialist Youth International executive committee meeting in Belgium, 1934. The August, 1934 Challenge carried an article by him on Spain predicting the October Spanish revolution, while in the Young Socialist Review in October of that year he gave the first explanation of the distinction between the cultural and political European Socialist youth movements, now recognized by all the left wing Leagues.

He later became editor of the youth page of the Socialist Call,

making it generally recognized as one of the most interesting features of the paper.

The organizational progress of the League made it possible to venture tripling the size of the Challenge of Youth to twelve pages in October. Widespread enthusiasm has been evoked by the improved appearance and high journalistic standards which it has been possible to maintain ever since.

Anti-War Campaign

It concentrated most prominently on the question of war, an imminent danger in the face of which clarification was a crying need. Its campaign on this question had a far reaching effect, not only on the Socialist movement, but also on many young people outside it. In four issues it carried nine articles and eight analytical news items revealing the motives and dangers of government sanctions and alliances, and the necessity for independent working class action against war, imperialist conquest, and anti-Soviet aggression.

The October issue, put out for the international demonstrations of International Socialist Youth Week, initiated a stiff campaign on this problem, which was at that time brought sharply to the fore by Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia and the British naval invasion of the Mediterranean. It fearlessly attacked labor elements in all camps who were deserting the anti-war struggle, and reprinted the courageous anti-government War Proclamation of the American Socialist Party in 1917.

In addition to its anti-war campaign, the Challenge has been prominently featuring the American Youth Act to which it has given more vigorous support than perhaps any other existing publication; the organization and struggles of the student movement, in which it was one of the most ardent advocates of the American Student Union, at the same time discriminately making clear the tasks and requisites of such a union; and the "new line" of the Communist international, against which it has waged an insistent ideological offensive.

BUILDING THE YPSL

Beyond the AYA

By Ben Fischer



YPSL National Secretary

"Why spend so much time on the American Youth Act, comrade? Why not devote our time and money and energies to organizing for Socialism and against war and fascism?"

This question has been asked by many comrades. It is asked by friends of the Socialist movement who consider us too "left wing."

The first category asks the question because they are determined to win

Socialism and they fear that the Youth Act will divert us from the Socialist struggle.

The second group asks the question because they are in favor not only of the Youth Act but of peace and freedom and Socialism as well.

One of the most fundamental questions in left wing politics is raised by this question. Without understanding what answer to give, Young Socialists cannot sincerely carry on their work for the American Youth Act.

Fighting for Socialism is not a simple direct task. It is a complex task which requires many different types of preparation. The main preparations are education in Socialism, training in the methods of carrying on the class struggle (solidarity, worker's democracy, discipline, etc.) and the deepening of the consciousness among the masses of the role of the working class.

The third thing is the one we are interested in now. Why? Because the fight for the American Youth Act will serve to do much towards accomplishing this purpose. It will help to instill in the masses of young men and women the realization that their economic interests are bound up very closely with the economic interests of the workers. They will be drawn closer to the organized labor movement. They will begin to see their hope for liberation from poverty, war and political tyranny in terms of the struggles of the labor movement and not merely in terms of progressive thought and slogans calling for peace or progress.

We must never forget that in Germany there was a powerful anti-war movement among the youth. But it was not a class movement; it was not rooted in the consciousness that the hope for successful opposition to war was the working class. It was based on phrases, not on realistic political forces. When Hitler came he made use of the peace movement; it crumbled and became part of his armed force of Nazi shocktroopers.

There is a lesson to learn. To shout peace and freedom and plenty is not enough; it is necessary to shout—YOUTH AND LABOR UNITE!

The Youth Act assumes tremendous importance in the light of these ideas. The Youth Act is the immediate economic program of youth demands. It is the parallel in the youth movement to the basic demands of the trade unions in the ranks of workers in industry. It will serve to bring youth into motion—against capitalist government; with the working class movement; for economic betterment. It will bring the youth movement down to earth and plant it in the soil of reality. The Youth Act campaign has tremendous immediate importance.

But even from a long range point of view, the Youth Act is important. It contains certain qualities which most immediate demands do not. Even though the demands made by the Youth Act are modest, minimum demands (no workers' organization could ask for less for the army of jobless youth), the Youth Act would unquestionably be attacking the very base of capitalism.

Because it would be declared unconstitutional, it will be necessary for those who want the Youth Act put into operation to rally behind the campaign for the FARMERS' AND WORKERS' RIGHTS AMENDMENT, the bill which is being so vigorously pushed by the Socialist Party.

Because the Youth Act would attack the base of capitalism, it will be necessary for those who support the Youth Act to understand that security cannot be gained under capitalism. If the Youth Act should be put into operation, there can be little doubt that it would be necessary to adopt a capital levy in order to provide the necessary funds and resources. The capital levy is a tax not on income but on the capital possessions of the rich and the powerful. It does not cut into profits but into the basic possessions of the ruling class.

It will not be necessary for us to point out these things. As the campaign for the Youth Act develops these things will point themselves out. The opponents of the Youth Act will brand it as unconstitutional and they will prove that the money demanded for carrying it out effectively is not available at present.

Those who want the Youth Act will be faced with the concrete problem of how to answer these objections. There are only two answers. The Workers' Rights Amendment and the capital levy. And these are two of the slogans under which the Socialist Party in 1936 will go to the masses in an effort to rally support for the Socialist ticket.

The fight for the Youth Act is a far-reaching fight. It will help to build in the consciousness of both labor and youth a realization of the need for an alliance of youth and labor. It will help to train the youth in the methods of class struggle and the need for class alignment. It will bring before the mass of youth the undeniable fact that capitalism cannot even care for the immediate crying needs of the mass of youth and that Socialism in Our Time must be our slogan.

"Y" Girls Boycott "Y" Cafeteria

BUFFALO — Organization—like charity—begins at home. So when 150 industrial girls of northern New York State, meeting in Industrial Conference at the YWCA in Buffalo, learned that the local "Y" cafeteria was using "scab" products and waitresses, they walked a mile in zero cold to a union restaurant for their banquet.

Spread the truth with the Challenge of Youth

Youth vs. An Old World

LABOR SPEAKS UP

The testimony given at the Senate committee hearing on the Youth Act revealed enough facts about the ghastly condition of American youth to take care of this column for a decade. Write to David Walsh, Senate Committee on Labor and Education, Senate Building, Washington, DC, for the full text of the proceedings and you will have a mine of information as soon as it is published.

One bit of testimony that particularly impressed us was the statement of Julius Hochman, general manager of the all-embracing Dress and Waistmakers Union of Greater New York, and one of the country's most intelligent and outstanding trade unionists.

Speaking in the name of 100,000 organized New York dressmakers, Hochman said:

"The trade union movement is vitally concerned with the outcome of the hearings your committee is conducting. Most of the young people in need are workers or students who are the children of workers. Moreover, the presence of a large army of unemployed youth without means of support and consequently ready to work for any wage no matter how small, constitutes a serious danger to trade union standards.

"LABOR REALIZES THAT ITS OWN FUTURE IS INDISSOLUBLY BOUND UP WITH THAT OF THESE YOUNG PEOPLE AND IT IS DETERMINED TO DO EVERYTHING IN ITS POWER TO SEE TO IT THAT THEY HAVE AMPLE PROTECTION."

THE NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION

"Certainly we can no longer tolerate the criminal disregard for the problems of the younger portion of the community that has characterized the policies of the present administration.... The economic crisis has compelled the government to recognize its responsibility for providing for the well-being of those who though no fault of their own, are unable to maintain themselves, but the measure adopted has not fulfilled this responsibility....

"At best it can provide for only a fraction of those in need. Of 390,000 young people between the ages of 16 and 25 in New York City who are out of school and without employment, the Federal Government, through the National Youth Administration, is providing for only 5,891, or less than one and one-half per cent—and for these at wages of from six to forty dollars a month.

"What is to become of the others? Subjected to prolonged unemployment and the consequent demoralization, these young men and women are being denied the opportunity to live normal lives."

Hochman contrasted the National Administration very unfavorably with the American Youth Act.

"The American Youth Act, which has been placed before this committee, is the most comprehensive measure that has as yet been introduced. The payments for which it provides are minimum requirements. They are far from being exorbitant and the method of financing the bill is feasible.

"While the American Youth Act will not solve the 'youth problem' any more than unemployment insurance will solve the problem of general insecurity, it will make it possible for our young people to maintain themselves physically and morally."

DO YOU DO ANYTHING?

According to even the conservative estimates of the Office of Education of the US Treasury Department, out of 20,100,000 persons 16 to 24 years of age, inclusive, in the United States today:

1,000,000 are known to be in full-time schools and colleges.

500,000 are known to be unemployed and doing part-time school work.

5,700,000 ARE KNOWN TO BE OUT OF SCHOOL, UNEMPLOYED, AND SEEKING JOBS.

Twenty seven thousand dollars were spent for each person killed off during the World War. Might it not be cheaper this time to get rid of the unemployment instead of the unemployed?

At Random

by Memo

DEFAMING MILWAUKEE

With the Socialist movement and Schlitz Beer both claiming to have made Milwaukee famous, we can't help remembering an incident that occurred the last time the Young Socialist national executive committee met there. Perhaps they wanted to investigate the rival institution's claims, perhaps it was a plain case of playing hookey, but whatever the case the NEC members paid a visit to the Schlitz brewery and were shown around the place.

Everything went well until the conclusion of the educational tour, which ended up at a huge bar, where all the NEC members ordered beer. All of them, that is, except one. The solitary comrade, ...sberg of ...sburgh, innocently asked for a glass of water. And then hell broke loose. ...sberg barely escaped forcible ejection from the premises.

A MODEST PROPOSAL

In a column conducted by that self-appointed czar of proletarian literature, Michael Gold, some time ago he pooh-poohed the Socialist war position and declared himself certain that in case of an attack on the Soviet Union a special battalion of Young Socialists would be formed to go there and defend it. Which, incidentally, would not be contrary to our war position. Gold of course deliberately confused the issue of fighting for the Red Army with serving in temporarily "allied" armies which would later be used against it. But he gave us an idea.

Carrying Gold's implication to its logical conclusion, we discovered a method of completely justifying the new line of the Comintern. Why not have the entire working class of the world migrate to the USSR? Could anything be more ideal than the new line if it would do that? By this simple method we could make it both desirable and possible to build Socialism in one country without giving a hang for what goes on in the rest of the world. Nor could we be off against any other, since there would be only capitalists left to kill each other! Even the People's Front would immediately shed all its objectionable features; the liberals would have no program to dilute except their own. And the dissolution of the revolutionary youth movement could virtually take place of itself.

What do you say to this idea, Mike? Don't think that we made it up, either. It's just a combination of the Zionist idea of a mass national migration and Liebknecht's statement that "the workers are a nation to themselves."

"OUTS" VS. "INS"

Somebody sent us a Memo-Random which, though we don't believe a word of it, is too good to keep a secret. A ward politician was scheduled to address a small group of young and fairly intelligent prospective wardheelers, such as several city political machine are now recruiting in an effort to "modernize" their methods.

Casting about for a subject, he noticed the word "Push" on the door as he entered the rendez-vous. After a few preliminaries, he came around to his point.

"If you want the secret of political success," he proclaimed, "you will find it written on that door."

Turning their heads, the audience looked at the sign on the inside of the doorframe. On it was written "Pull."

THE PERFECT MODEL

Last month two hundred students from colleges in the Middle Atlantic States attended the "model" League of Nations Assembly, held annually by the League of Nations Association to further international cooperation and peace. Twenty-nine colleges, each representing a different country, send delegations.

Sponsors were thrilled by the enthusiasm of the Assembly, but unfortunately the students insisted on carrying things to their logical conclusion and created a situation which would have meant war had it occurred at Geneva. After a heated debate, the Assembly voted in favor of drastic oil and steel sanctions against Italy. Whereupon Italy, which was none other than the Syracuse University delegation, angrily withdrew from the League while the other delegations got pretty excited themselves, and expressed it with catcalls, boos, and stamping. Fortunately they had no armies to back them.

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April 22!

Student
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Vol. IV. — No. 1

APRIL, 1936



Three Cents

SCHOOLS EMPTY APRIL 22

Student Union Leader Tells of Great Progress

HIGH HOPES CONFIRMED BY GROWTH

By Joseph P. Lash

National Executive Secretary,
American Student Union

Confirming the highest hopes held out for it last fall, the American Student Union has swept through the universities and schools of the United States like the proverbial prairie fire. It is too early to make an accurate estimate of membership or even chapter figures, but wherever any effort at all has been made to enlist new people in the building of the ASU, the membership has been five times that of the old NSL and SLID combined. Vasaar, which had a Social Problems Club of 35, has an ASU of 247. Smith College has enrolled an almost equal figure. Not quite so spectacular, yet impressive, is Temple's 75 as compared with the 18 of the old Socialist Club, Cornell's 126 compared to the previous 25, Northwestern's 80 compared to the old 10, Chicago U's 150 compared to the old 70; etc.

The tradition from NSL and SLID to ASU has been accomplished without any balking upon the part of local chapters. All have been loyal to the decisions of their respective national conventions, and few have shown inflexibility in the process of compounding the old elements to produce a completely new chemical substance.

The campus is now convinced that the American Student Union is a new organization, politically non-partisan and democratically controlled by the membership. In terms of chapters the establishment of the American Student Union has had a revitalizing effect upon many moribund NSL and SLID groups such as at the University of Wyoming and Clark U. It also has inspired the development of chapters in many places which were hitherto virgin territory so far as the progressive student movement was concerned. One can safely predict that by the time of the anti-war strike the membership of the ASU will be at least triple that of the joint NSL-SLID membership, and the number of chapters over 300.

Another sign of the vitality of this fledgling organization has been the sale of the first issue of "The Student Advocate." Although most chapters were preoccupied with problems of organization and were in no position to organize magazine sales, one week saw two printings, 19,000 Advocates, completely exhausted! This compares with a combined circulation of 10,000 of the "Student Outlook" and "Student Review."

There has been a trek of campus leaders—editors, class politicians, fraternity members, etc.—into the ASU. Every effort has been made to make

(Continued on page S 5)

It's Not Compulsory—Yet



THESE CALIFORNIA STUDENTS are taking an oath of loyalty to capitalism and its American government. Jingos are trying to make the oath compulsory, but they would like it even better if they could make every student's mind as blank as the faces on the three young ladies.

Students Protest Loyalty Oath Bill

ALBANY, N. Y.—Students from 27 New York colleges and universities in New York invaded this capital city to protest passage of the revived Nunar students' "loyalty oath" bill by the State Senate.

224 strong they jammed the hearing of the Senate Committee on Education, interviewed Governor Herbert H. Lehman and other state officials, and departed from the city with the conviction that the bill would die in committee.

The measure, which would compel students in all educational institutions supported in whole or part by public funds to take an oath to support the constitutions of the United States and the State of New York, has already passed the Assembly. Students packed the floor and galleries of the Senate Chamber and applauded their spokesman as they presented the case against the bill. An unidentified member of the Senate committee declared: "this committee is wholly impartial. We are just giving these student radicals enough rope to hang themselves."

Fireworks during the hearing were provided when Joseph P. Lash, executive secretary of the American Student Union, told the Senators that if "swearing allegiance to the Constitution means that we must give up our fight against war, then we will fight this bill to a finish." Senator A. S. Feld immediately

retorted, "Fight? I thought you were against war." "Mr. Senator," Lash flunk back, "I think that is a pun unworthy of your high position." Senator Feld hereupon had Lash ejected.

The Same the Whole World Over



CUBAN STUDENTS demonstrating against militarism in their country.

350,000 MASS AGAINST WAR IN STUDENT WALKOUT; TOLD, 'NO SUBSTITUTE FOR STRIKE'

By Eleanora Deren

NEW YORK, N.Y.—Three hundred and fifty thousand students throughout the nation are expected to leave classes at 11 o'clock on April 22 in determined and militant protest against war and war preparations, was the announcement made recently by Joseph P. Lash, executive secretary of the American Student Union.

Simultaneously, chapter guides issuing directives to local chapters stressed the fact that there would be no substitutes for the strike no matter what offers of assemblies, indoor convocations mobilizations etc. would be offered to the local strike committees.

Major stress was laid also on

HEARST GOLD KEEPS STUDENT SPY AT NYU

NEW YORK—Maintenance of a student spy system kept by Hearst gold was uncovered here when one of the members of the faculty of New York University definitely established the existence of a student spy recently.

The student was evidently paid to attend several classes in the university in order to gain entrance to organizations of a liberal and radical nature. Neither the Young Peoples Socialist League, the Young Communist League or the recently organized American Student Union were aware of the existence of such a spy in the university.

the necessity of utilizing the Oxford pledge, contained in the program of the American Student Union, as the battle cry of the demonstration.

The actual perspective for the strike Call bears slogans familiar to members of the Student League for Industrial Democracy the National Student League, and those students who have participated in previous student anti-war strikes.

Large Numbers due Broad ASU

With the Oxford pledge in the forefront, flanked by slogans such as "Abolish the ROTC," "Schools Not Battleships" "Fascism Breeds War—Fight Fascism," "Fight Against Imperialist War," "Peace Before Profits," and "Strike Against War," demonstrations throughout the country are expected to rally twice the number of students that participated last year.

The great increase in the number of student strikers expected is attributed to the broadened character of the ASU over the Student League for Industrial Democracy and National Student League who have been largely responsible for the strike in previous years. It will also be due, according to Joseph Lash, to the fact that the war menace, seemingly far removed from the student body last year, has been sharply crystalized and realized in the events of the last few months.

Flood of Inquiries

Another of the factors which is expected to contribute to the increased support of the strike are the unprecedented appropriations made specifically for the ROTC in the War Budget.

The National Strike Call which is now in draft form and is being circulated among student leaders throughout the nation for endorsement will not bear the signature of the National Council of Methodist Youth. It was specifically stated, however that this does not prohibit local bodies of the organization from participating officially on local strike committee, and it is expected that this will be the case throughout the nation.

The same applies to the Young Women's and Young Men's Christian Associations who, although they have not endorsed the strike nationally, are expected to cooperate in many local strike committees.

The National Student Federation, although it again turned down the proposal to support the strike nationally, expressed its intention of encouraging local participation, and the Southern Inter-Seminary movement has just indicated that it will support the strike.

CORNFIELD SOCIALISM ASKS HELP

By Alvaine Hollister

Ivy-covered buildings in settings that seem native to New England, rather than to the flat, fertile fields of the middle-west . . . students, three or four hundred of them, from the farm villages and small cities for a radius of thirty miles . . . schools whose catalogues state that the purpose of education is to 'inculcate in young men and women those Christian virtues which are the proudest traditions of our Church' . . . college towns composed of two or three thousand small tradespeople, retired farmers, and the school's maintenance staff . . .

This hardly seems the sort of ground that would be fertile for the development of young socialists. And yet—the potentialities are there. There are student radicals, eager to work for a new social order. They are often very much alone on the campus. In almost every college we hear the same story—'This school is unusual. It is very conservative, and you'll find that—and I am the only people here who are at all interested in such things.' There are a few such people in each school. In states such as Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, where there are forty or fifty colleges, the total becomes large.

The isolation of these student insurgents is almost complete. Many of them have no way of finding like-minded people on their own campus, or in neighboring schools. They have never seen a Socialist or Communist paper, but have read the Nation and New Republic, and occasionally the New Masses. Some of them have parents who read the American Freeman or the American Guardian. They are eager to meet other radical students, and to read books and papers on Marxist interpretations of current affairs.

The implications, and sometimes the very existence of the class struggle are not easily recognizable in such a community. It is only when a foreclosure, an onion-weeder's strike, or a situation in the coal mining regions nearby occurs that the radical can really bring home his point to many of his fellow students. The growth of corporation farming, a subject about which little has been heard until now, will make his position clearer.

In almost every college one will find one or two professors who, in spite of the stifling atmosphere, still cling to radical leanings. They are eager to help in organization in every way possible, if it will not jeopardize their positions.

In schools such as these, and there are hundreds of them all over the midwest, methods of organization for Socialism must be quite different from those employed in large industrial centers and in the big universities. In the first place, there is very little chance that anything but a small, loyal group of three or four people who will study socialism, take leadership in the American Student Union on their campus, and talk Marxism in their classes can be built up. Their most important job awaits them when they graduate and return to their homes—to build up Socialist organization and sentiment. It is a much harder and more trying job to be a Socialist alone in a small community than to work in a movement with many colleagues.

The isolated college student is dependent on the Socialist publications for news of the movement. He leans heavily on them for encouragement and inspiration to carry on his work.

When 300,000 Students Demonstrated for Peace



STUDENT PEACE MOBILIZATION last November brought out 300,000 students in demonstrations such as the one shown above. The Student Anti-War Strike will be even more militant and probably larger.

Student Strike or Peace Assembly?

Yearly the question of "substitutes" for the student anti-war strike poses intricate questions before us. How far should we go in accepting alternatives to a real strike?

Let us recall a few guiding principles.

When the strike was first initiated the question was asked: Why a "strike?" Why do we ask students to cut classes? Why not hold a peace meeting outside of school hours?

Our answer: (1) Our anti-war action now is effective insofar as it means militant action when war actually breaks out. The strike is a dress rehearsal, an indication of action to be taken by students—and workers—in an immediate war situation. A "peace meeting" cannot fulfill this function.

(2) When a student goes out on strike, he is going out of his way to express his anti-war spirit. It is a more daring move on his part, and as experience showed, one that left an indelible impression on him. It brought home the potentialities of organized mass action in a way that sitting in an audience never could. He was breaking with routine. He was learning through action, through participation in a mass movement. The process of overcoming conservative opposition, from both students and administration, was a foretaste of some of the concrete problems involved in the actual struggles against war, which telescoped and concentrated a long period of education.

(3) From the point of view of propaganda its effect upon the people generally, the strike is irreplaceable. "Peace meetings" have been held on the campuses regularly, without even stirring Hearst overmuch. The strike created a sensation all over the country, which reacted favorably upon the student movement itself.

Can a peace assembly take the place of a strike? It certainly cannot have anyone of the three effects described above.

Does this mean that we believe that students should be opposed to a strike substitute on principle? No. There will be some cases where education for peace and organization of students to that end is a relatively recent and as yet weak development and with the reactionary administration, there will be, for this year, no alternative to accepting a substitute. We hope, that in this case, those students who participate in this substitute action are dissatisfied with it and become only more determined to join

But above all he needs contact with other Socialist students. Organizers, when they are available, can do part of this job, but their visits are necessarily few and far between. A conference of Ohio young Socialists in Columbus on March 7th and 8th is an example of the type of affair that will have to be initiated at regular intervals. In states where these schools are so common, such meetings serve a very definite educational and organizational function.

Socialist work among midwestern college students is important. It is important in spite of the

fact that many of the leaders may return to small towns and isolated farms. It is important that we line these young people up with us, rather than with the forces of reaction. You may not believe it, but some of them have turned to the Townsend old-age pension plan as a solution to the problems facing society. The source of much of the support for an isolationist foreign policy comes from these regions. If we are to build for Socialism, we must build an ally for the labor movement in the cornfields.

the rest of the students of the nation in a militant demonstration next year. We believe that it is only with the perspective of a strike that any substitute peace action should be accepted.

But there will be other cases, where the anti-war movement is so strong and influential that it can win any demand which it makes of the administration. We believe, however, that any cooperation which the strike committee will be offered by the administration must be accepted by the committee only if that cooperation is a show of sympathy with the students rather than that of the students' sympathy with the administration. Let the administrations cooperate on our basis, not we on their basis. Practically, student leadership in peace actions of this sort will be maintained only if the strike committees consist entirely of students. Actually, that action will only be meaningful if it is part of the nationwide demonstration; if it can be known as a "strike"; if it can adopt the same slogans, including the Oxford pledge; if it is free to tie itself with strike in neighboring circles by inter-change of speakers; if it can be an aid instead of a detraction from the solidarity expressed by the united anti-war action of students.

In this attempt to maintain the militancy of the strike, students will find themselves confronting various direct and indirect tendencies of opposition. There will be pressure from both the administration and these students who make a fetish of "broadness" in organization and action, to so dilute the exigencies of the strike in an effort to include all and any who think "peace is a rather good idea" that the demonstration will completely lose its meaning and its effectiveness. We must certainly insist on adoption of the minimum demands of the national strike . . . which are certainly so broad that no sincere fighter against war is excluded . . . and we must insist upon militancy in the conduct of the strike even though it means a loss of numbers. To sacrifice militancy is to sacrifice the real effectiveness of the strike; to demand the minimum courage of facing the disapproval of their administrations now is the only means of preparing them to show that greater courage which will be necessary in time of war.

None of these ideas are opposed to those which the ASU has in regards to the strike. If we insist that they be carried out, we are only hewing closely along the line which has been set by the organization which is sponsoring the student anti-war strike; And we firmly believe and urge that every student support and insist upon that original line regardless of the opposition of administrations or uninformed students who do not realize the necessity of carrying it out.

Oregon Students Oppose ROTC

EUGENE OREGON.—Students at the University of Oregon have initiated a movement to place ROTC on a voluntary basis there. A petition is being circulated by the Oregon Student Christian Council with 1,000

signatures as the goal.

A tie vote of the faculty on the question last year was broken by C. Valentine Boyer, Oregon president, who voted in favor of compulsory drill. Similar efforts have been conducted there for several years.

Pitt, Blacklisted, Denies Students Organizing Right

The University of Pittsburgh administration is still unchanged in its attitude toward university liberal groups in spite of its recent black-listing by the American Association of University Professors and a threat by the governor to withdraw state appropriations.

Dominated by the dean of men and several faculty members, the university's Student-Faculty Assembly finally rejected the petition for recognition of the Student Alliance, campus liberal organization, by a vote of 20-4. The petition had been signed by 255 students and 24 teachers and professors.

The reason given for the refusal was that the Alliance's objectives—organization of student sentiment for peace, support of free speech and opposition to educational retrenchment, and clarification of the student's status in society as a whole—were being carried out by the already existing Inquiry Forum, Intercultural Associates, and the SFA itself. Yet the leaders of the former two groups had signed statements saying that their groups in no way paralleled the work of the Alliance.

The Alliance had been stalled off previously for about six months with new rulings and requirements. As soon as it had applied for recognition a new

procedure was formulated by SFA, in which groups wishing to be chartered would have to pass through a period of probation before final recognition was given, instead of becoming legal immediately by the granting of a charter as before.

Then the administration ruled that two faculty sponsors were required now, instead of only one. The two sponsors obtained were strictly warned that they would have to attend every meeting of the group and be responsible for every action taken, something never before adhered to.

After the rejection of the petition, the SFA granted the group "left-handed" recognition by requesting a committee from the Alliance to meet with the Assembly's Peace Day committee to formulate plans for an April 22 demonstration. The Student Alliance is accordingly drawing up demands to be presented to the SFA committee, with the understanding that it will be an all-student program, with no control by the university administration.

Pittsburgh Yipsels have been active in organizing and aiding the Alliance, which may soon become an off-campus affiliate of the American Student Union in view of the University's action.

NSFA HEAD USES POSITION TO FURTHER ROOSEVELT POLITICS

ROTC ADMITS SPY SERVICE

NEW YORK—With the suppression of radicals and pacifists as the primary subject of discussion and planning, national leaders of the ROTC Association recently met in New York City in order to devise successful methods to curtail the growing radical tendencies of students.

Stating that the student cadet officers under his direction were being "financed by individual contributions from some of the greatest industrial leaders in the United States," Colonel Orvel Johnson, director general of the Association, further elaborated upon the student spy system.

Colonel Johnson was quoted in the New York World-Telegram as saying "The ROTC Association maintains an intelligence service to ferret out radical leaders in the schools and colleges."

"Americanism" and Leading Industrialists Identified

No mention was made of educational or physical value of the ROTC upon which is based the appeal to incoming freshmen, and with which the "usefulness" of the ROTC is defended. It was made very clear that the major job had changed from that of "education and physical development" as well as "preparation and national defense" to one of stopping the "worldwide red revolution."

Another illuminating feature of the convention was the constant and unrestrained identification of "Americanism" with the "interests of leading industrialists." The fact that the convention was immediately preceded by an editorial in the Hearst press supporting the ROTC as an instrument for the suppression of pacifists and radicals was another incident significant in clarifying the relationship between the various "Americanism" forces of the country.

WASHINGTON—One can find out almost anything about the NYA these days, any questions will be answered, except that most important one—is the NYA to be continued? No one knows whether the President expects to extend his order which in June, 1935, set up the NYA. No one knows how much money he will set aside for student and youth relief, even if he should continue the NYA. Although Aubrey Williams and other executives of the youth relief program have gone about the country admitting the dire inadequacy of the present \$50,000,000 and the urgency of the whole youth security problem, the President apparently does not read his subordinate's speeches, and seems more interested in Chairman Taussig's reports on its political value in a campaign year.

And we wonder what Mr. Charles W. Taussig, Chairman of the National Advisory Committee of the National Youth Administration, tells the White House. Does he inform it of the rebuffs he has received at the hands of all the bona fide mass youth organizations? It's about time that a little light was thrown on some of Mr. Taussig's maneuverings to bring the youth organizations into line for the N.Y.A.

Mr. Taussig has always feared one thing, genuine youth representation on the National Advisory Committee, and he has fought every attempt that might lead to the American Youth Congress's or the American Student Union's having articulate spokesmen on his board of old men. But the demands for real

youth representatives on the Advisory Committee were becoming clamorously insistent. So he cooked up a little scheme....

When the National Council of the American Youth Congress was meeting here, January 28th and 29th, sources close to the White House stated that a plan was brewing for a national essay contest among young people, the winners of which would be placed upon the National Advisory Committee! Of course every intelligent person's reactions to such a proposal would be to exclaim—well what the devil is the relation between winning an essay contest and a person's capacity to represent youth!

The next week the plan was publicly announced. And by whom? None other than Thomas Fair Neblett, President of the National Student Federation of America, who wrote a letter to President Roosevelt proposing an essay contest one of the purposes of which would be to select representatives for the Advisory Committee! The letter was published in the papers.

Taussig's Dirty Work

In other words, Neblett, unauthorized by the NSFA, undertook to do Taussig's dirty work and make it seem that the proposal was coming from the young people of America and not from Administration channels! This was not the first time that Neblett had undertaken to confer with the Administration and then make proposals as if they were the independent ones of Neblett and the NSFA, but actually were those suggested by Washington. He did the same in the November 8th Mobilization for Peace, where the statement he proposed to be read by the Mobilization Committee at the White House was the foreign affairs program of the Democratic Party-controlled State Department.

Unfortunately for Neblett he is not the only one who has friends in Washington, and two days before he released his essay contest plan the AYC had been tipped off about it as a Taussig brain-child. But the NSFA claims to be non-partisan. How does this square with Neblett's maneuvers to make it an instrument of the Roosevelt administration?

Because the essay-contest plan met such a frigid response from youth organizations, it was quickly decided to drop the contest as a method of getting a cross-section idea of what youth is thinking. To such a contest none of us has any objections. It will be a good opportunity to boost the American Youth Act.

This tale contains its own moral. One word should be added. The way to remove the problem of youth security from the arena of politics is the passage of the American Youth Act which places it under the supervision and surveillance of youth, labor and civic bodies. The way to end the uncertainty concerning the continuance of youth and student relief is pressure for the enactment of the American Youth Act which will remove it from presidential discretion.

Ohio State Jingos 'Combat' Socialists

ATHENS, O.—The struggle in the student field between reactionary and radical organizations at Ohio State University, was begun dramatically when the announcement of the formation of the Socialist League was challenged by the announcement of the formation of the Student Americaneers.

Max North, former member of the Student LID and highly active in Socialist organization at Ohio recently stated, "Many of us who were members of the Student LID recognize the need for the organization of a Socialist political youth group on the campus."

Led by Credential Thieves

"To this end," Mr. North continued "Young Socialists at Ohio State University are completing plans for the organization of a Socialist League on the campus."

The leading spirits of the Student Americaneers, organization directly and outspokenly opposed to the Socialist youth movement, are the two students who stole the credentials at the National Convention of the American Student Union last December.

ASU to Be Attacked

Clearly an organization of fascist nature, having its nucleus as well as most of its constituency in the ROTC of the university, the Student Americaneers states that its principles are "to combat radicalism on the campus" and "to oppose any attempt to weaken the armed forces."

According to this statement of principles, the Student Americaneers will not limit their opposition to Socialist youth but will also attempt to disrupt all progressive and liberal organizations, such as the Young Communist League and the American Student Union.

North, Beatty Head ASU

Socialists at Ohio State are already putting forth every effort to actively combat this viciously reactionary student organization which intends to estab-

lish itself throughout the nation.

The recently organized chapter of the American Student Union on the campus will probably prove to be another headache to the Student Americaneers. North is chairman of the chapter and Nancy Beatty, leader of the student YWCA and member of the National Executive Committee of the American Student Union, is secretary of the chapter.

Army Day Parade vs. Student Strike



WITH THE ARMY and navy going on unprecedented peace-time spending sprees, students will express their defiance to the government to lead them into war by a militant school strike.

Jim Crow In U. S. Education

How America Provides Cheap Colored Labor for Its Capitalists

are therefore prohibited by law from attending the regular schools. All told, nineteen states and the District of Columbia maintain by the law that Negroes cannot study in the same school where white students attend.

Discrimination in education, however, is not unique to the southern states. New York, Indiana, and Wyoming make segregation "permissive." Then in several states, such as Illinois, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and other separate schools are found—"despite the fact that the courts have ruled that where separate schools are prohibited by statute, or are not expressly provided for by statute, boards of education and school officials have no authority or discretion to establish them." In other northern states and portions of states it follows an extra-legal pattern. By restricting Negroes to inferior overcrowded schools conveniently placed in almost solid Negro areas, the desired result is obtained.

Discrimination Increasing

An examination of educational facilities offered to Negroes in every section of the country shows wide inequalities in educational opportunities. These inequalities, instead of decreasing, are on the increase. "In 1900," according to the Journal of Negro Education, "the discrimination in per capita expenditure for white and Negro children was 60%

in favor of the white; by 1930, this discrimination has increased to 253%. Again, despite the fact that the training of Negro teachers, today, more nearly approximates that of the white teachers, the discrimination in salaries of white and Negro teachers increased from 52.8% in 1900 to 113% in 1930."

A study made in 1930 of public schools in all of the 19 states prohibiting Negroes from attending the same schools as whites indicates the great difference in the education afforded Negroes as compared to whites. In Mississippi the average amount spent on each colored child's education was \$5.45 as compared to \$45.34 for each white. Similar discrepancies existed in the other ten states doing lip service to equal educational opportunity for all.

In some counties the differences in expenditure was as great as thirty to one. In 1932 Lowndes County, Ala., had a public school population of 995 white children as compared to 10,225 colored. \$42,787 was spent that year for the instruction of white children as compared with \$17,568 for the Negroes. Thus, despite the overwhelming majority of Negroes in the county, the white children received almost four times as large an appropriation, and on a pro rata basis, \$75.50 per white child for all school purposes as compared to only \$1.82 granted each Negro!



By Lyonel Florant

From the "Student Outlook," former organ of the Socialist student movement.

In nineteen states and the District of Columbia there is a segregated or Jim Crow school system for Negroes where per capita appropriations for a Negro child's education run as low as one-thirteenth of that for a white child. The glaring discrepancies in educational facilities apply to elementary, high school, and college training, and in only two of the nineteen states is there any provision for graduate or professional training for Negroes. In northern states where a segregated system is not provided by statute, the effects of segregation are produced by prejudice and discrimination.

This vicious system of under-education for Negroes very effectively dwarfs the Negro mind in its infancy. Its immediate effect gives status to anyone with a white skin, and in the final analysis it keeps the masses of Negroes in the unskilled occupations on the bottom rung of the economic ladder, split from the poor whites who are no better off economically.

"Repulsion" is Bunk

The American educational system for Negroes is a product of the late seventies, when, following the withdrawal of federal troops, the southern whites gradually regained power. An immediate drive calculated to fix the status of Negroes became evident in much of the legislation. First there was legislation against intermarriage, then Jim Crow laws for railroads and street cars, and finally a complete caste system was instituted which affected the religious, educational, political, social, and most of all, the economic life of the Negroes.

This system, contrary to many opinions, was not brought out by any "physical repulsion against intimate contacts with Negroes." According to E. Franklin Frazier, "The slave-owning whites in the South had been accustomed for generations to close association with the blacks; but during slavery there was no question concerning the terms of association." Superordination and subordination were fixed categories for whites on the one hand and Negroes on the other. After the abolition of slavery, "even the poor whites, who on the whole had not been accustomed to close association with the blacks, were concerned with fixing the status of the Negro rather than erecting barriers to prevent an intimacy that was physically repulsive. Therefore, these laws which attempted to maintain the separation of the two races were designed to "keep the Negro in his place."

Boss Rule Real Cause

In every southern state, an over-supply of cheap unskilled labor is a requisite if the plantation and mill owners are to retain their iron grip on the economic and political life. Negroes

State Funds Jim Crowed

There is a state-supported land grant college for Negroes in every southern state as provided by federal statute. These colleges are terribly inadequate to meet the needs of their large Negro populations, and only two states maintain additional Negro colleges. The entire appropriation for all 17 land grant colleges, is less than the annual

only a little more than the appropriations for white universities in Kentucky and Tennessee. Is it any wonder that there is only one Negro student for every 515 of the Negro population, while there is one white student for every one hundred of the white population in the south?

Other glaring inequalities consist in overcrowding of Negro classrooms, inadequate facilities, cheaply constructed structures, no transportation for Negro children where busses are provided for whites, and a less capable teaching staff due to the lower wage scale offered teachers in Negro schools.

The National Survey of Secondary Education put out by the federal government, remarks: "In the 15 states comprising this investigation, 230 counties, with a Negro population of 12½% or more of the total, are without high school facilities for colored children. These counties contain 1,397,304 colored people 158,939 of whom are 15 to 19 years of age."

In seventeen of these nineteen states, according to the Journal on Negro Education, not a single state-supported institution exists where Negroes may go to pursue graduate or professional courses. "On the other hand, in 1930, some 11,307 white students were enrolled" for graduate courses and professional training in 15 of these states, in schools supported by taxes from black and white alike.

Constitutional—Of Course!

Exactly thirty-seven cases have been taken to court in the last seventy years contending the constitutionality of the Jim Crow school system laws. Mirroring the dominant economic interests, the courts have ruled in every case: "Segregated schools are constitutional; where equal educational opportunity is offered, the Fourteenth Amendment is not abridged." (Dameron vs. Bayless, 126 Pac. 273 (1912).

These decisions imply that the Fourteenth Amendment guarantees it is obvious that any educational system with equal educational opportunity for all would be a far more expensive proposition for the states than the present setup. Also, if such were established, the objectives of keeping the masses of Negroes undereducated and of maintaining an abundant unskilled labor market would be lost. The dominant interests therefore will fight tooth and nail against any change in the present set up. Needless to say they oppose the abolition of the segregated schools which would pave the way for the unification of black and white workers having common interests.

What Students Can Do

The role of the student movement must be to stage demonstrations and hold mass meetings in order to dispel racial prejudice on the campuses, in order to force the school administrations to admit Negro students on the same basis as whites, and in order to force the courts and legislatures to repeal existing educational legislation of a discriminatory nature. In all of our action, however, we must bring home to the students the role of the courts as instruments of the capitalist interests. We must, then, instill in the Negro and white students the values of student rights.

Such a line of action in the colleges will carry over beyond the college community into the labor movement itself, giving rise to working class unity. Without the abolition of race lines in the struggle of the working class for economic and political power, the socialist society based on production for use and not for profit will in America remain a figment of the imagination.



DONALD MURRAY, Negro student, leaving the University of Maryland law school with his registration certificate. It took a legal battle for him to get it.

appropriation for one white university in West Virginia, and

Questions and Answers

Aid in Strikes

QUESTION: Should ASU chapters take an active part in the Union struggles and give direct aid to organized labor? It is all right for the ASU to give moral support to strikers, but if it goes on the picket line, would not many of its sympathizers be alienated?

ANSWER: In every period of history, there has been a rising (progressive) class, and a decaying (reactionary) class. In modern society, this progressive class is the working class, the active expression of which is the organized labor movement. The ASU cannot pretend to be a progressive movement unless it unequivocally links itself up with this fundamental progressive force in society, unless it is definitely pro-labor.

But resolutions of sympathy will not teach middle-class students the meaning of the working-class movement. They can learn this only thru actual experience and participation. One session on the picket line can strike home more deeply, and open eyes more thoroughly than dozens of lectures and discussions.

Participation, as far as possible, in the workers' movement, is an essential means of carrying out the ASU program. It must be pushed. Chapters should be urged to comply with unions' requests for strike aid, pickets, support through publicity, etc. Chapters should try to work in close cooperation with their City Central labor bodies, getting representation there if they can.

But there will be chapters whose membership will not yet

be ready to take this kind of action, perhaps for fear of alienating other students. We must state plainly that the ASU will progress, not by catering to prejudices, but by seeking to overcome such prejudices—and that the two are mutually incompatible. If a chapter refuses to picket for fear of alienating outsiders, or some of its members, these students will never be convinced of their error—rather, they will be confirmed in it. They can be won over only through a proper execution of the action itself.

Where a chapter refuses to act along these lines, it is the duty of the militant elements in the chapter to take the initiative themselves, and seek to involve as large a number of ASU members and others, as possible. In this the YPSL must take the lead.

A Socialist ASU?

QUESTION: Does the YPSL want to make the ASU a Socialist Organization?

ANSWER: The YPSL certainly wants to build up as much Socialist influence in the ASU as possible. It certainly wants to enroll as many ASU members in its own ranks as it can. But it has no desire (even if it could) to make the ASU a subsidiary of itself.

The ASU has a function of its own. It is to mobilize the largest possible section of the American Student Body in militant action for their immediate demands and interests, against fees, for greater student relief and other economic demands; against war and fascism; against trustee domination etc. As the ASU program

itself indicates, a real mass movement along these lines will inevitably find itself bucking capitalist interests, even if the participants in the movement do not realize that they are bucking capitalism.

The function of the YPSL is to ensure the militancy of the movement; to point out that the enemy is capitalism and the goal must be socialism; and to give leadership and direction for both the immediate and ultimate battles.

We believe that the ASU can effectively perform even its immediate tasks only with the aid and leadership of the revolutionary students.

Is the YPSL, then, dual to the ASU? Emphatically no! No more than the Socialist Party is dual to trade union. Its purpose is to supplement the ASU, not to compete with or rival it.

Why has the student movement in America taken a non-partisan, progressive form, whereas the mass student movement in many other countries is openly Socialist?

The European student bodies have a much narrower class basis, coming mainly from the upper classes. To a very small extent are there lower middle class and working class elements as there are in America. There is therefore no appreciable middlebody of progressive or liberal opinion. The movement has been "polarized" by its strong upper-class basis on the one hand, and powerful Socialist movement on the other.

All questions should be addressed to: Editorial Committee, Student Supplement, National Student Department, YPSL, 21 East 17th st., New York City.

ASU HOPES CONFIRMED

(Continued from page S 1) them feel that the organizations is theirs and to give them responsible position, so long as they showed themselves loyal to the program of the Union. This sudden broadening out has of course created problems both organizational and programmatic—none of them insoluble, however, and none of them overly serious.

The Administrative Committee, which meets every Saturday, has voted to undertake three national campaigns: for the Nye-Kvale Bill, for the American Youth Act and the student strike against was scheduled for April 22nd. Every chapter is being required to submit a detailed report of its plan of campaign on these issues, especially, at present, on military training. There is a general feeling that the best safeguard against pussy-footing and evasion upon the part of local chapters is this requirement of a vigorous onslaught against the ROTC.

What has been said above of the colleges is true on an equal scale of the high schools. The establishment of the ASU, has made the progressive student movement so strong in the New

Students Protest Heidelberg Invitation Acceptances

NEW YORK—Opposition to participation by American universities in the 550th anniversary of the founding of Heidelberg University is mounting rapidly among students and faculty members in leading American colleges.

Boycott by British universities of the ceremonies this June became so widespread that the Nazi government first threatened international diplomatic pressure and then cancelled the invitations.

Acceptances have been reported by Columbia, Harvard, Yale, Michigan, Cornell and Western Reserve Universities, and Amherst and Vassar Colleges. Four hundred students at Columbia who petitioned the authorities to rescind their acceptance were joined by more than 100 faculty members who urged the University to "assume once again that leadership which it is in danger of forfeiting." New York University has declined the invitation.

At Cornell and Vassar, front-page editorials in the student newspapers initiated protest movements.

York high schools, that we are now in a position to treat with the Board of Education for recognition.

On with the Challengers

By SUB CHASER

Our ambitious two-bit picker-uppers garnered a total of two hundred and thirty three subs for March. Not bad considering the weather. Now that Spring has come and the birdses and bees are ready to come out from behind the snowbanks, Sub-Chaser has fond hopes that the Yipsels will come out of hibernation and put our column in the four figure class. And talking about figures—How about a few money orders accompanied by greetings for the May issue. The bank roll needs a bit of fattening.

Let's go on the back-slapping. NEW-YORK comes in below par with a 108 for the month.

The Bronx comes into the lead neatly with a club of 7 from Leon Shantzis and another in the same figure from George Roth. Just a pair of naturals. Cyril Zimmerman of Rochester breaks into the honor roll with his first club of four. What's the matter with our veterans? Now that they've won in the primaries they ought to get in a million to make up for their zeros. And we almost forgot Irving Bellush, the strong man of Circle One Srs. Bronx who came through with seven for a starter. How about some GREETINGS, Irv?

CONNECTICUT comes into the limelight with 26 for the month.

Jane Allen of Wilton sends in 11 to make her start as one of our bright little girls and Robert Ball another new Challenger clicks with a 7. This column is starting to sound like a dice game.

PENNSYLVANIA stops counting for the month at 25 shiny new subs.

Good old Ray Strohl of Pottstown comes through with another club of four to bring his grand total to 32, and Leon Shull of the City of Brotherly Love (?) comes to bat with a club of four.

MASSACHUSETTS takes time out to send us 20.

Frederick Kaufmann comes across with a 7 from Brookline (and he's formerly from Brooklyn, N. Y.), and dependable Jimmy Kergis crashes through to drop 11 subs into our lap. (Another 7-11 combination)

ILLINOIS, 16 and trying hard. Edith Niedorf of Chicago delivers 7 and dimples sweetly as her total climbs to 32—and Bob Rogers of the National office socks home a club of four and gets a place in the sup.

INDIANA nets sixteen with the help of a travelling agent. Gene Grenling of Indianapolis stepped into Louisville, Ky. and came out with a block of 9 (total 29) and Mat Amberg makes his start as a Challenger with a club of four from Earlham.

NEW JERSEY stops swatting early spring mosquitos long enough to send us 18.

Bob Alexander leads with a club of four and a promise of more.

CALIFORNIA, 6. Willie Goldberg of San Francisco persists with a club of 5. Come on L. A., our money's on you.

OHIO—just a measly 5. Stop making wise cracks at us or we'll give you a bobby prize in the next issue.

WISCONSIN, 5. Arno Drews sends in four from Oshkosh. Good old Oshkosh!

LOUISIANA, 4. Otto Jessen sends a club of four up the river from New Orleans.

And we've also heard from FLORIDA, MONTANA, and little RHODE ISLAND.

Come on you Challengers—let's see you get in some nice juicy greetings for the May issue from all those Friends of Socialist Youth.

DO YOU WANT

the YPSL to

Carry on vigorous youth work in the 1936 presidential campaign?

Maintain the 12-page CHALLENGE OF YOUTH?

Issue 100,000 penny anti-war pamphlets?

Send 20 organizers into the field?

Maintain full-time student and industrial secretaries?

Help finance local work?

Be the organization that you want it to be?

SHACKLING the SHEKELS

by Milton Weisberg

Director, United Young Socialist Appeal

Our hat's off to you—CHICAGO, PHILADELPHIA, BOSTON and NEWARK. You made your plans materialize in the month of March. You have certainly shown that you are in the running for that typewriter and that free trip to the Party National Convention with all expenses paid.

But your present progress is not enough—because Los Angeles, New York City, Cleveland and Reading and the rest say—"Watch Us In April." At this moment the Quaker City leads with 20% of their quota, the Windy City is next with 13% and then come Massachusetts and New Jersey respectively.

We certainly think that the plans that you have made for the month of April are swell. If everyone puts their shoulder to the wheel and if we all push together—when May 1st comes around \$2,500 will have rolled into the drive till.

As we sit down to write this month's "Shackling the Shekels" we have arrived at the end of our first month of activity. We have just finished sending out an evaluation of our first month's work. We know that we can't say that we have reached 50% of our quota, but we can consider March a month of preparation for a determined and vigorous April drive.

If we are to reach our quota we must—DISTRIBUTE THE COLLECTION SHEET WIDELY—VISIT UNIONS, FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS AND SYMPATHETIC GROUPS—ARRANGE HOUSE PARTIES EVERYWHERE—ARRANGE LARGE CITY WIDE-AFFAIRS. Plans are not enough—ACTION is necessary to the road to \$2,500.

Your Drive Director is not going to use this column for more appeals. The national drive organization is going to depend on the league to realize the importance of the drive—and the necessity of reaching the goal set by the National Executive Committee.

Here's a complete list of the prizes:

To the section reaching the largest percentage of it's quota, or going over it the most. (With a quota of \$100 or more.)

A TYPEWRITER

Individuals:

To the individual Yipsel collecting the most money in the league:

A Free Trip to the Socialist Party National Convention in Cleveland with all expenses paid.

For every Yipsel turning in \$15.00—Choice of one of the following books by Norman Thomas:

- Human Exploitation
- As I See It
- The Choice Before Us

A yearly sub to both the Socialist Call and the American Socialist Monthly.

For every Yipsel turning in \$10.00—Choice of either a yearly sub to the American Socialist Monthly

or
The Socialist Call.

For every Yipsel turning in \$5.00—A complete Yipsel uniform shirt including shirt, armband and Yipsel strip

or
Choice of a packet of Socialist literature.

As Ben Fisher pointed out when discussing the various things that have been done and those that are planned and asking you to vote "Yes" or "No"—"Get behind the United Young Socialist Appeal. Follow the instructions of the national drive department and your local drive departments. That's how to vote YES."

"If you want to vote NO there are two ways of doing it. Say to your local drive committee that we don't need a 12-page Challenge and a printed YPSL and pamphlets and full-time officers and organizers. Tell the committee that you are against these things and don't want to help raise money for them. Or otherwise you can tell them we need them but you don't want to do anything about it. That means you vote NO. There is only one way to pass the proposition offered for your approval. WORK FOR FILLING YOUR QUOTA AND GOING OVER THE TOP. PASS THE REFERENDUM FOR A YPSL WHICH CAN ACTUALLY WORK EFFECTIVELY FOR SOCIALISM IN OUR TIME. How do you vote????



100,000 PENNY ANTI WAR PAMPHLETS



HELP FINANCE LOCAL ACTIVITY



If You Vote NO

then don't read any further.

If You Vote YES

then sends your contribution to the United Young Socialist Appeal, the national appeal of the Young People's Socialist League for \$2,500 by May Day.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA, 549 Randolph Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Yes I vote YES on the United Young Socialist Appeal.

Enclosed find my contribution of \$..... to back up my vote.

NAME

CoY ADDRESS

WE ENTER OUR FOURTH YEAR

The Challenge of Youth enters its fourth year of existence with this issue. This may not seem an impressive age to those unacquainted with Socialist history, who will be even more surprised to learn that the Challenge is the oldest existing officially owned Socialist organ, and the oldest existing revolutionary Socialist paper, in America.

For its birth dates back to the rebirth of the American Socialist movement, and its development has been that of the reborn Socialist movement.

Like that movement, the Challenge has a record to be proud of. From the beginning, it was in the vanguard of the revolution. From the first its pages were full of accounts of the class struggle. It was one of the first papers to make a vigorous fight for progressive unionism. It was one of the first papers to describe to America's non-Communist masses the wonders being accomplished by their Soviet fellow-workers.

More recently the Challenge has taken the lead in the realistic struggle for peace, in immediate campaigns and the Fight for the American Youth Act in particular.

The Challenge has been, above all, a revolutionary paper. It has not been just a liberal paper, or a progressive paper in which the word "Socialist" frequently appears, but a paper Socialist to the core. The timid were frightened, but their fears have been more than disproven by our ever-increasing circulation.

There is room for a revolutionary paper among the youth of America. The Challenge of Youth is that paper.

PREPAREDNESS FOR WHAT?

April 6th find the marching columns of the regular army, the National Guard, the ROTC, and other military units swinging through the streets of our principal cities. It is Army Day. It is the day the America patriots and jingoists had dedicated to preparedness. And the glint of the sun on thousands of rifles, the rumble of the artillery carriages, and the droning of the planes overhead all testify to the preparedness of the government.

Preparedness for what? Security for whom? The bulk of the people crowding the curb warm with pride for "their" army as they applaud and remove their hats for national flag and national anthem. Seven years of crisis make little difference to them when the rhythm of marching feet and martial airs beat upon their ears. They are yet the American masses who accepted the status quo as God-given and with it the army.

Yet in every city there are those in the crowds whom military display effects differently. There are more who are differently effected than ever before. Marching columns remind the longshoremen of the Frisco Bay region of their comrades who fell before these guns and bayonets. And they mourn. Not the mourning of the forlorn, of the helpless. But the mourning of strong men who respect the courage and loyalty of departed comrades and find new strength for further struggle in their memory.

Marching columns remind the workers of Minneapolis, and Toledo, and Terre Haute of the last visit from the gawky, gangling, innocent looking boys in khaki with their death-dealing weapons.

They have not studied Marx's theory of the state. But they have learned it in life. Not out of books but in the streets and on the picket line these workers have learned that the state is the political arm of the bankers and industrialists and that the armed forces exist to carry but their orders when workers dare to fight for even part of what belongs to them.

WELCOME IN OUR RANKS

In October, 1934, the Challenge carried an editorial entitled "Radicalism Goes Working-Class." It spoke of the division in the ranks of the working-class. The working class political movement, it said, was divided into three main parts, the Socialist movement, the Communist movement, and the various unattached groups that had split off from the Communist movement. These groups, it declared, "have served rather as schools of political thought than as working-class political parties." And it foresaw that their future lay with the Socialist Party. "The pendulum of radicalism in the United States is definitely swinging toward revolutionary Socialism."

In the same issue, the Challenge carried an announcement that "word comes from France that the Young Leninists, French counterpart of the American Spartacus Youth League, joined the French YPSL en masse."

The tendency was recognized by the Socialist movement as a whole. At the same time that the Challenge published its editorial the national executive committee of the Socialist Party issued an official statement on the subject.

That memorable statement decried the divided state of the American working-class. It pointed out the urgency for a strong working-class party. It did more:

"Especially do we extend an invitation to men and women of true revolutionary zeal who are now serving in the labor movement but who have not yet come into one strong, united party of the workers to give it your strength.

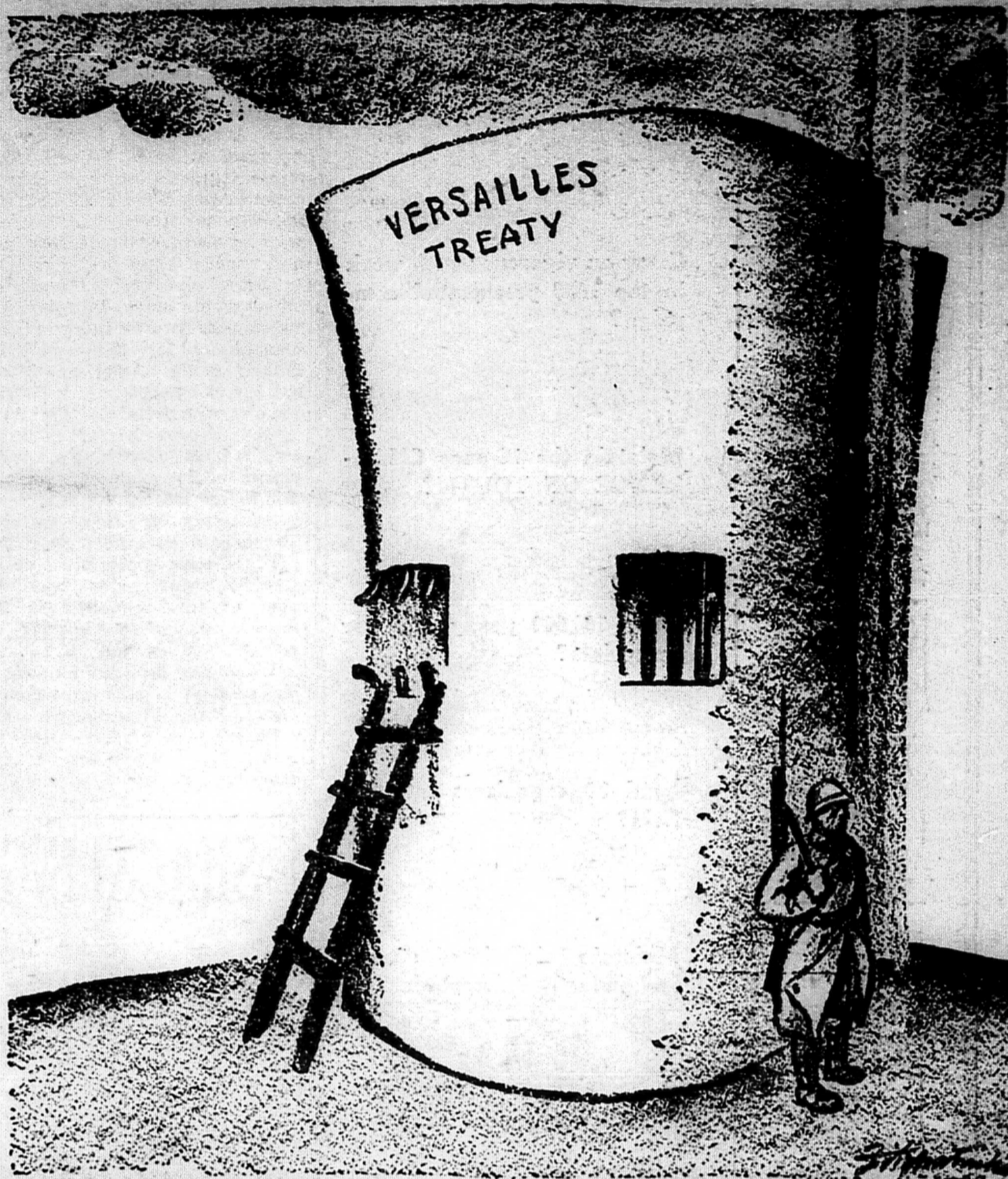
"Some of you have been members of various parties which you have been compelled to leave because their tactics have been so badly adapted to the achievement of the great end you seek. Some of you have not in recent years been members of any party. To you the Socialist Party offers a welcome, not as groups or potential factions, but as loyal comrades in the great cause of achieving Socialism in our time.

"It welcomes you into a fellowship where free discussion and criticism of differences of opinion and viewpoints are encouraged with the expectation that discussion will be carried on within the limits of party discipline."

"Come with us and help us to answer the challenge of incipient Fascism, the challenge of the continual menace of war, the challenge for the abolition of poverty and the predatory society."

Today the swing toward the Socialist movement is increasing. We welcome this swing and those responsible for it.

THE EMPTY JAIL



(Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Despatch)

Floods Bring Workers Misery

To the Challenge:

When we got to Pittsburgh at midnite it was snowing heavily. The bus station was lighted by an oil lamp, and had no heat. The city was in absolute darkness, except for the dashlights of national guardsmen who were patrolling the streets. I had no way of getting in touch with anybody to put me up for the night, so I decided to sleep on a bench in the railroad terminal, which was the only building in downtown Pittsburgh with light and heat. There were hundreds of derelicts in the terminal. They had no homes and no money. Many of them were women and children—bedraggled and ragged—bedraggled and hungry.

I spent three days in Pittsburgh, but saw little outside of the Golden Triangle. During this time, thousands of WPA workers and private employees labored day and night to get the area into normal shape. It was not until I started to hitchhike to Chicago that I really saw the flood area. In order to get out of Pittsburgh, I had to cross the bridge into the north side—a neighborhood populated by the poorest of workers—unemployed and steeped in filth. There, the story of the flood and the suffering it caused was graphically told. There I saw no WPA workers cleaning up—I saw no fleets of Red-Cross trucks bringing assistance. I saw no crews of utility workers frantically trying to bring light and heat to the people.

Instead, I saw row after row of shacks—their windows broken by the force of the flood—their walls warped and cracked—some of them leaned over looking as if they were ready to collapse. Through these wrecks wandered their occupants — hopelessly

From Our Mail Bag

wishing mops through the thick yellow mud that was on everything. Occasionally, a National Guardsman would parade dimly past with his rifle hanging over his shoulder. Most of his buddies were in the poolroom, they didn't bother watching for looters in this end of town. Here in this part of Pittsburgh most of the flood deaths had occurred. The Ohio river started here, and the combined waters of the Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers had thundered down into the flats and created havoc and panic.

Here I saw rows of houseboats, waterlogged and worm-eaten, their inhabitants too poor to get any other homes and too crushed to try, washed up and turned over a hundred yards from the river banks.

I stopped off at a gas station where large interstate trucks gassed up for their long trips, and got into a conversation with the attendant. He told me that some of the houses had been condemned years ago by the city as unsafe, not only because of their flimsy construction, but also because they were on the low land too close to the river. "But" said the attendant, "What the hell can the poor slob do—most of these places belong to Andy Mellon and his family." And after some thought he added, "Even if they wanted to live anywhere else they can't afford it."

In an alley behind the gas station stood a three story frame house with one of its

walls ripped away. The shabby furnishings of the house stood exposed to the view of anyone who cared to look. In front of it was a group of children and two adults, hopelessly picking over a mud soaked heap of refuse. It was raining, and they were soaked to the skin. I continued my walk—and saw the scene repeated hundreds of times.

Nobody came to help—there was no money for relief—except in the Golden Triangle.

I remembered that Sammie Weisberg told me that before the flood one out of seven families in Allegheny County was living on relief. I wonder how many there are now.

There are certain things people want to forget—this trip is one of them. I'll be glad when I get back to the Challenge office and work.

Frank Stern

Challenge Business Mgr.
On a tour for the Challenge.

"THE BEST PAPER"

To the Challenge:

The Challenge seems to me, far and away, the best Socialist newspaper being printed in the United States; even though laying, I think, a little too much emphasis on foreign news and criticism of the Communists.

Keep the Challenge what it is now: a neat, interesting, readable newspaper, and it won't be long before it will become a weekly.

Brendon Sexton
New York City

**The Challenge
must be spread
—not simply read**