

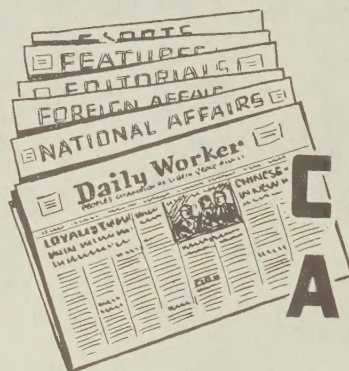
APRIL, 1938

TEN CENTS

YOUNG COMMUNIST **REVIEW**



ARTICLES ON ... MOSCOW TRIALS • SENIORITY
16TH • YCL • ANNIVERSARY • ISSUE



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SWEET SIXTEEN

BIRTHDAYS are not only occasions for celebration. They are also days upon which we draw a balance of past achievements, present policies and future goals. On April 22nd, our YCL will celebrate its 16th Anniversary. It is only fitting



therefore, that we pause from the hustle and bustle of daily activity to extract important lessons from our history so varied in experience and struggle.

Nor is the study of history a luxury. It is a prime necessity. Men learn by experience; in the first place their own experience, but also from the experience of other men, past and present. Those cynics who declare that "men study history only to learn nothing from it", merely expose their own ignorance. They, it is true, learn nothing, because they do not have the key with which to unlock the rich treasures of the past. We have that key—it is scientific socialism—Marxism.

In glancing back over the pages of YCL history the following characteristics stand out: 1) devotion to principle; 2) consistent tireless effort to educate the masses of youth, to improve their conditions, to win them for a new social order; 3) an ability to properly estimate the given relationship of class forces at every important stage of our development and a readiness to change

OUR LEAGUE ANNIVERSARY

our tactics in accordance with changing reality. Many times have we changed our tactics, but never have we changed or violated our fundamental Marxist principles.

This is not understood by many people, even some who call themselves Marxists. These latter people see Marxism as a dogma, a formula to be applied mechanically under all and any circumstances, and not as a guide to action. That is why they see constant "contradictions" in our policies and think these imply a change in our basic beliefs. They fail to see that what they call contradictions are only the contradictions of life itself, of changing dynamic existence. One can only correctly approach the study of history in general and YCL history in particular, by viewing all past policies and actions against the background of the given period in which they took place and not as though they transpired in a political vacuum.

The YCL was born in a period of great social upheaval. It was conceived upon the turbulent background of the World War and the great Russian Revolution. Its main task became that of educating youth in the lessons of these two world shaking events. The results of the World War and the victory of the Russian working class provided the means by which to expose the bankruptcy of the theory and practice

of social-democracy (the theory which led the majority of the Socialist Parties of the world to their betrayal of socialism at the time of the war). It was necessary to brand these shameful betrayals; to show that socialism could only be won by following the example and teachings of Marx and Lenin; and last but not least, to help create and build a new revolutionary vanguard of the working class—a Communist Party.

These tasks were not easy to fulfill. Following the victory of the Russian toilers and during the period of the great revolutionary struggles which broke out in Europe upon the ending of the war, many people flocked to the banner of Communism. Among these thousands of courageous men and women there were also certain individuals who were careerists, adventurists and plain opportunists, who thought working class victory was right around the corner, and for that reason got on what they considered to be the band-wagon. But victory does not come so easily. It must be fought for and won.

When the period of great upheaval (1917-1923) subsided and gave way to one of relative calm (1924-29); when it had become clear that the struggle for socialism would be a long drawn out fight raging over a number of decades,

those who were chicken-hearted dropped away, while others began within the Party itself to fight against its basic tenets. This was a period of intense inner-party factional struggle which lasted up to 1929 and finally culminated in the expulsion of the Trotzkyites and Lovestonites.

In the country itself new theories were evolving about the **permanency of American "prosperity"**, about the "exceptional" character of American capitalism. The majority of the people, and this was also true of the youth, believed in American capitalism, thought that higher standards of living, security and opportunity could and would be won without stubborn struggle. Faced with bitter opposition from within and intense pressure from without, the Party and League had all they could do to keep their heads above water and to keep on swimming against the stream.

The YCL in this period played the part of the closest co-worker and helper of the Communist Party. It played no small part in giving active forces to the Party and in helping it cleanse itself of all corrupt alien elements and influences.

It would be wrong to leave this period without saying a few words about the positive struggles of our League in the interests of the youth. Despite the tremendous objective difficulties the YCL at all times attempted and did work among the young people to improve their immediate conditions. As early as 1925-26 the YCL began its work among industrial youth, endeavoring to organize these into trade unions. Meeting up with the opposition of the labor bureaucrats who refused to organize the unorganized, the YCL in its own name went to factories and attempted to build the nuclei of trade union organizations. The YCL did not succeed in organizing the masses of youth, but it did succeed in keeping alive the spirit of class struggle, in leading (for that period) certain significant strike struggles, and in thus helping to make possible the great labor organ-

ization drives of recent years. Likewise in the fight for peace and against militarism, as well as in the fight for Negro rights, our YCL can point with pride to its pioneer efforts. The broad peace movement of today, the great movement for Negro rights, owe a great deal to those first courageous, altho modest, beginnings.

The world economic crisis with a devastation unprecedented in history swept hunger and death into every community and shattered beyond repair the old idols and myths of the era of so-called prosperity. 1930 ushered in a new period of sharpening class struggles.

It was this crisis of capitalist economy which caused a special crisis within the ranks and leadership of the YCL. The new conditions in the country necessitated a new approach; a new outlook, new tactics and perspectives. One period had come to a close. A new one had begun. The YCL did not fully understand that its continued isolation from the majority of youth could not longer be explained by ob-

Hence, when we criticize our YCL for its mistakes in this and subsequent periods, it is not because it changed its tactics, but because it was too slow and hesitant in doing so; it continued to work in old ways without sufficient regard to the new, changed conditions.

In what respect were changes in policy necessary? **First**, in regard to the character and role of the YCL itself. No longer could the YCL remain a narrow organization with the central task of aiding the Party. The YCL had to become a distinct organization in its own right, an organization of and for youth, an organization of an educational character much broader than the Party. In the period prior to 1929 the YCL feared the development of social, cultural and sport activities. In a sense it was justified in feeling there was a danger that such activities would destroy the basic struggle character of the organization. With the development of the mass movement, this was no longer true. Social, cultural and sport activity were pre-requisites for a well rounded youth program—for answering all the requirements of youth.

Second, a changed approach was necessary towards the other youth organizations. Prior to the economic crisis these were, in the main, centers of reaction. The new plight of youth, the new wave of struggle, left their imprint upon the members and leaders of these organizations. It became possible to work with larger and larger sections of them. This fact was not fully grasped

for a number of years, but by 1933-34 we were prepared to take full cognizance of it. Since then we have played an ever more important part in unifying the organizations of youth behind a progressive program. With our cooperation and



jective conditions or by the requisites of the Party situation. The factional struggle was over; the Party was united ideologically and organizationally. Sectarian isolation had become the main danger for the YCL.

help the American Youth Congress was formed in 1934 as the most important unifying center for progressive youth. Today our League has close working relations with many of the most important church, religious, cultural and sport organizations of America's young people.

Third, a changed approach to student and non-proletarian youth in general, became necessary. Previously these sections of youth had kept aloof from any issues of struggle. Vitally affected by the crisis and the general decline of capitalism, they became drawn into the stream of the progressive movement. In 1931 we made our first concerted efforts among student youth. A year later a new organization blossomed forth—the National Student League. By 1935 this organization had united with the Student League for Industrial Democracy to form that splendid militant organization, the American Student Union.

In this fashion, slowly but surely we emerged from our internal crisis, began to find our path to the masses of youth through new forms corresponding to the new conditions. These tactical changes came from a growing realization that no longer were we alone, no longer were we the sole and only active group working in the interests of the masses of youth, in the interests of progress. Millions were becoming progressive, in thought and action. These were our friends. Our job was to work in unison with this ever growing movement and through it educate and win young people for our policies and program. Instead of the Party and YCL alone trying to build trade union organizations, today we have the great CIO movement of millions of workers which together with us aims to accomplish the organization of the unorganized workers and the improvement of their conditions.

Our League which owes its existence to the militant struggle conducted against the last world war has also known how to live up to



John Groth

this heritage in the changed world of today. The offensive of fascism, its continuous aggression against weaker nations, its plans for the destruction of all democratic powers and for world domination, have resulted in our placing as our most immediate task the defeat of fascist aggression, internationally as well as the fascist reactionary forces in our own country. Without the defeat of fascism, the masses cannot move in the direction of greater democracy—Socialism. Only the mobilization of all progressive forces, only the concerted action of all democratic and peace-loving nations can stop the fascist aggressors and save our generation from another world slaughter.

Realistic, practical, sincere, our League despite all sectarian mistakes, despite numerous weaknesses and shortcomings has been fulfilling its obligations to the youth and people of the nation and of the

world. We can look back at our past with a feeling of deep pride. Our more than seven hundred YCLers fighting against fascism in Spain symbolize the spirit of sacrifice and devotion, the internationalism, that permeates our ranks.

Our League is not yet the powerful anti-fascist youth organization it must and shall become. It is especially weak as an educational organization. It still has its greatest task before it, that of unifying all democratic American youth in order to defeat fascism. But it is growing in size and influence from day to day. It has become an integral part of a great progressive youth movement. It has thousands and tens of thousands of friends everywhere.

With a clear understanding of our goal, with confidence in our program and policies, we march forward with progressive America to the dawn of tomorrow.

GIL GREEN

To All Members of the Young Communist League! To All Young People Of America!

The events in Europe create the danger of a world war at any moment. While crushing Austria, Hitler is pouring troops and supplies into Spain to reinforce Mussolini in their joint drive across the body of the Spanish people. Agents of fascism are provoking border incidents between Poland and Lithuania. The brutal Mikado is thrusting deeper into the heart of China. Criminal actions, directed from Berlin and Rome and Tokyo, create the danger of imminent war against all the democracies of Europe; against Czechoslovakia, France and the Soviet Union. Against the world!

Ordinary language, ordinary English does not convey the meaning of the recent events, nor picture the developments that are impending.

MEMBERS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE! YOUNG PEOPLE WHO LOVE PEACE AND FREEDOM!

Can you see the sky darkened by vultures that loose two-ton bombs every two minutes for hour upon hour? Do you hear the sirens shrieking—can you see children running as the pavements buckle, as ten-story houses collapse in fire and thunder?

That is happening in Barcelona every day. It happens everywhere in China.

Can you see the fascist airplanes zooming across the Austrian border, circling the towns like birds of prey? Do you see the rowdies and the bullies getting brand new uniforms to go out into the streets and tear the clothing from old men with beards, from mothers and their daughters? Can you see workers being horse-whipped in the factory yards, can you hear the vicious music of the cat-o-nine tails?

Do you realize the meaning of the headlines 'Suicides Sweep Austria' in terms of human beings, families, and friends? Can you imagine what life is like today in Czechoslovakia?

If words do not convey the meaning of these events, then surely words are not enough: **ACTION IS NECESSARY.**

The United States government must take definite steps to help democracy everywhere to stop the aggressors. The widest possible pressure from the heart of the country must demand that our own government carry out the meaning of its own declarations.

The Soviet government has called for a world-wide conference of democratic countries to curb aggressors. This is a simple measure, which the Soviet people offer to the peoples of the whole world.

The youth of America must be roused to **ANGER** and to **ACTION**. There will be no peace for anyone, anywhere, unless steps are taken **NOW TO STOP THE FASCIST POWERS IN THEIR TRACKS AND DRIVE THEM BACK.**

Organize militant demonstrations at the German, Italian and Japanese consulates, carefully planned, and publicly advertised.

Burn up the wires with telegrams to your Congressmen, to lift the embargo on Loyalist Spain. Persuade them to pass the O'Connell Bill which will halt the flow of arms and ammunition to the aggressors.

Get up on the floor of your union meetings and rally the membership to mass meetings against the fascists. Never forget that the masses of Americans hate war and only need intelligent and courageous leadership to concretize that hatred.

Stand up in your clubs and lodges...visit your ministers and professors...interrupt your classes...organize open and publicized action against the war makers.

Strengthen and spread the boycott of Japanese wares...organize meetings against the shipment of war materials and raw materials to Japan, Germany, and Italy.

Never forget for a moment that your pals, your brothers, are fighting in the most difficult spots in Spain alongside of the Spanish people. They are offering their lives in the supreme sacrifice in order to halt the fascist advance.

THEY NEED MORE THAN CHOCOLATE — MORE THAN CIGARETTES NOW.

Spain needs the personal help and determination of every man and woman in the United States.

Let nobody think that our country is safe from the ravage of Fascism. Our own progress, our own livelihood, our plans from today until tomorrow depend upon the victory of the Spanish and Chinese people, upon the destruction of fascism everywhere.

**KEEP HITLER'S BLOODY HANDS
OFF CZECHOSLOVAKIA!
AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY!
LIFT THE EMBARGO ON SPAIN!
CURB THE AGGRESSORS!
STOP NAZI TERRORISM!
PASS THE O'CONNELL BILL!**

Youth of America, let your voice be heard!

*NATIONAL BOARD,
Young Communist League, USA*

YOUNG COMMUNIST REVIEW

EDITOR Joseph Starobin
EDITORIAL BOARD: Francis Franklin, Gil Green, Angelo Herndon, Celeste Strack, Carl Ross, Henry Winston

Volume 3, Number 2 214

April, 1938

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Contributors

GIL GREEN—is the president of the YCL, one of the four secretaries of the Young Communist International,

CARL ROSS—is the national executive secretary of the YCL, formerly the League organizer in Minnesota.

BOB THOMPSON—leading YCL figure in California. Was a Captain of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion in Spain, where he was wounded. Just completed a coast to coast tour.

BUD BLAIR—member of the National Council of the YCL from one of the steel mills in South Chicago, where he is a leading trade union figure.

JOSEPH STAROBIN—worked as a chemist for several years after expulsion from CCNY in 1933.

FRANCIS FRANKLIN—is the national educational director, studied and taught in the schools in Virginia.

CARLOS SANCHEZ CARDENAS—visiting the US, a prominent Young Communist, and a leader of the Unified Socialist Youth of Mexico.

JOSEPH CLARK—once the executive secretary of the National Student League—editor of the *YOUNG WORKER* as well as *CHAMPION OF YOUTH*. Now, district secretary of the YCL for Michigan.

PHIL SCHATZ—Educational director of the League for New York State.

JIM WEST—is the district secretary of the YCL for the great North-West, which embraces Washington, Oregon, and Idaho. Formerly organizer in Buffalo, New York.

JOHN LITTLE—New York executive secretary—just left for a fraternal visit to Spain.

THE first issue of the REVIEW was favorably received and widely acclaimed as the beginnings of the kind of magazine we should have had years ago.

Frank Detke, of the Richmond Hill branch, New York, though Francis Franklin's article was excellent. From Columbia, Missouri, Bayliss Corbett sent in a dollar for his yearly subscription, although our subscription drive is not yet announced.

Bill Auer, in Cleveland, sent us an article on the Moscow Trials, but unfortunately we were unable to print it since previous assignments had already been made.

A new youth literary magazine, called Acorn, besieged us to review their first number, which we consider a tribute to our prestige among young people who want to reach the YCL audience with their message.

But there have been dissenting voices. Tony Morton, of the Harlem YCL sent us a note in which he pointed out that we did not mention Frederick Douglass, whose birthday falls in February, in our editorial discussing significant events in February. We agreed that his criticism was well taken.

Leo Tanenbaum from Chicago, Illinois, wrote us a long note, criticizing the absence of sufficient photos and engravings in the body of the magazine, and calling for a real art editor to pep up the issue, as a whole. We think that the comrade from Illinois will agree that we have made a start in that direction with the current number.

And the material is better, too. This issue will reveal a better and more general selection of articles of interest to young people in every part of the land.

Remember that we are trying to put out an educational magazine primarily for the Young Communist youth and its close sympathizers. Our slogan is "attractive in form and substantial in content."

★ ★ ★

IN forthcoming issues we have already requested an article from Dave Doran, political commander of the 15th Division of the International Brigade. Johnny Little just off the Spain, is preparing an article on his observations. Celeste Strack, on tour now, writes that she has something in mind... a bit of Americana concerning her travels. We are initiating a Question and Answer feature, in which the editorial board will answer any questions sent into the magazine on basic political problems. An exchange between Gil Green and Tully D'Ari of the Stuyvesant Branch in New York will get this column off to a flying start... in the May issue. Henry Winston will report on the great Southern Negro Youth Congress which opens

in Chattanooga on the first of April. California and Chicago are being approached for articles on problems of their work... and several ambitious members of the editorial board are working on a series of pieces tentatively entitled Marxism, a Scientific Philosophy. Mother Bloor is being invited to write about May Days she has seen. And we are assembling letters from Spain which we want to begin as a regular feature shortly.

All of this will be made permanently possible if every branch and district helps us by several small things:

1. Order as soon as they receive copies of the advance cover, which we will have in the hands of every branch in the country by the 20th of the month.

2. Order enough for the membership, really going out to sell the magazine to young people interested in the point of view of the YCL.

3. Accompany all orders with a down payment of 25%, and then pay up on the rest of the copies in thirty days.

Marx writes that the "proletariat is the grave digger of capitalism". But our magazine will go into the familiar graveyard of such ventures unless every district and branch literature department is completely responsible with reference to their bills.

THE student strike this April will be of greater importance than any other of its kind. It is characteristic of the extremely perilous world situation that these words may sound behind-the-times by the 27th of April. On the other hand, it is just this possibility which gives the strike of 1938 its meaning and opportunity.

Several things are clear. This particular action must excel all others of the great tradition in detail and scope of preparation, in the number of students involved, in its sweep and drama. Clarity and realism of the slogans are of major importance. The chief emphasis should be toward the realization of the program of the American Student Union, adopted at Vassar College, last Christmas. Whatever, its minor misconceptions, that program set the entire student movement on the path of concerted peace efforts, on the offensive against the fascist powers, who are making war in Spain and China, and threaten the peace of the whole world.

There is a definite trend away from the illusions of isolation in the country at large. Everywhere, the brutal invasion of Austria, the impending threat of war in central Europe, the enormous naval budget,

have destroyed whatever arguments the proponents of isolation ever had. The swing is toward positive peace action. While the convention of the American Student Union helped to reorientate the peace movement as a whole, it was itself an expression of that fundamental reorientation for positive peace action which proceeds at a steady pace everywhere.

That is what makes the strike this April so significant; the need for a huge outpouring of the younger generation in the schools more compelling than ever before.

The will to concrete action against war exists deep in the consciousness of the great masses of the student body and needs only dramatic and intelligent leadership to arouse and implement it.

There are still leading figures in the student peace movement who do not appreciate this fact and have been working to confuse the solidarity, and blunt the edge of the

strike preparations.

Let these people appreciate that the student body itself will respect no personalities, prestige, or position if the strike this spring is sabotaged. While the ominous headlines every morning and every evening undermine the hesitation and illusions among the millions, so will the students find new leaders who can guide their movement to strong and energetic action against war.

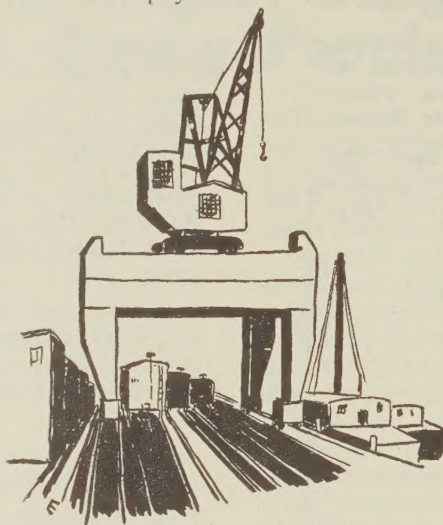
THE Young Communist League is launching a campaign to stabilize and increase its membership. Our recent census indicates that the growth of the past year did not measure up to our opportunities.

There is a great fertile field for YCL recruiting in the mass production industries where YCL members have been in the forefront of unionization struggles. There are untapped sources for growth in the schools and youth organizations where YCL members have won the respect and following of many times their own numbers.

A great recruiting drive is now under way, centered around several headline occasions: first, the 16th YCL anniversary on the 22nd of April; second, the student strike, five days later; third, the first of May celebrations; and fourth, the closing date of the drive, the 30th of May.

Our goal is to double our membership by the close of the drive: to bring the YCL membership rolls up to 30,000 by Memorial Day.

The committee of prominent League and Party leaders, in charge of this drive, stressed the following



perspectives at a recent National Resident Board meeting:

1. Improve our work where it is weakest: among the youth in the steel, mining, auto and other basic industries to whom the League has a message that will help them solve their complicated problems connected with unemployment and the recession.

2. Center our League drive around the vital problem of positive peace action. There are millions of young people who want the immediate way of fighting and defeating the threat of war.

3. Improve our work in the Negro, Italian, and Irish communities, where special activities are needed in order to solve special problems.

4. Develop educational methods to improve and stabilize our local League leadership, to raise the political level of our branch executives.

5. Better our educational work in order to hold the thousands of young people who come into our ranks and then drift away after several months because of neglect of their special problems as newcomers.

All districts are requested to work out plans for getting their recruiting drive under way by the first of April. The National Office is preparing a recruiting pamphlet which will be off the press a few days after this issue of the REVIEW. Party organizers, going out into the field, in connection with preparations for the 10th Party Convention, will help us. A special corps of speakers for recruiting meetings has been organized. Let us undertake these genuine recruiting plans, systematically and responsibly, and swell our ranks with thousands of fresh forces for the great tasks that confront us!

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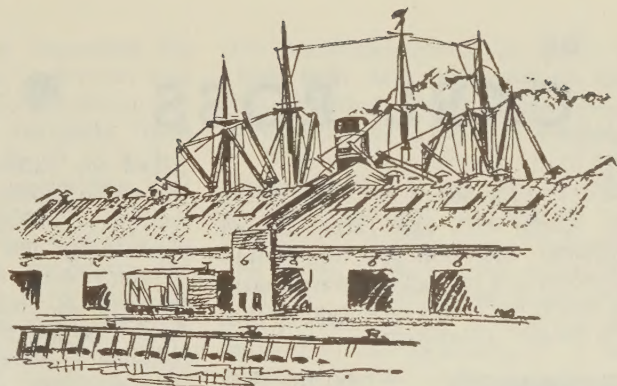
THE Second Negro Youth Conference meets in the First Baptist Church, Chattanooga, Tennessee on the first, second, and third of April, 1938.

Some 700 delegates are expected to attend from the churches, schools, trade unions and youth organizations of the South, while northern communities are invited to send fraternal representatives.

The Conference call, signed by fifty prominent Negro citizens, declares, "We invite you to meet together, to exchange ideas, to seek information, and to formulate a plan to solve our problems as a people."

Primarily, the Conference will examine the progress made since the historic first gathering in February, 1937, and plan for the growth and blossom of its work in the future.

Through a series of panel discussions, the prospectus of the Conference counts "among its chief tasks ... to win the right to vote," to guarantee for the Negro Youth the



"complete rights of citizenship, which have so long been denied it."

Secondly, the Conference underlines the absence of educational opportunity and declares "Illiteracy must be abolished, and opportunities for higher training greatly increased."

Thirdly, it emphasizes that the Negro contributions to "art, science, music, literature and technology must be made the property of the whole nation. We want the colleges and institutions of our land to give a fair hearing to every aspect of Negro life. We are desirous of having the works of our great men and women on the library shelves of every school, of every city and town in America."

The Conference notes that "a new current of progress is sweeping our country. Lynching is being recognized as the shame of America and all true Southerners are demanding that this blot on America be abolished... For the first time Negro and white workers are uniting in progressive labor unions." And the call considers that "we must take full advantage of these favorable opportunities to promote, along with the general advance of the American people, a program to meet our own special needs."

Finally, "the economic and cultural level of the South as a whole can be raised to a position of equality with the rest of the nation only by joint cooperation between Negro and white people."

Such a development is of the greatest importance to young people, Negro and white, all over the country. It embodies a position and perspective for which the Communist movement has fought unceasingly since its inception.

If there is any achievement of which our movement may be proud, it is that we have wiped out what Earl Browder called "the stench of the slave market", not only from our own ranks, but insisted that all progressive organizations, unions, churches, and lodges, do likewise. In this spirit we greet the Southern Negro Youth Conference and pledge it our full support. The message which emerges from its deliberations will find brotherly friendship and response, everywhere.



by

CARL ROSS

EVENTS Of The MONTH

THE Pilgrimage to Washington on March 11th and 12th focussed national attention on the youth problem and brought forward sharply the main issues now confronting the youth movement.



While the Pilgrimage and the American Youth Congress gave their undivided attention to the question of "Jobs and Education" it was inevitable that other problems should arise in Washington.

With delegates from about two thirds of the states of the Union, representing the broadest strata of youth, trade union and unemployed organizations, the Pilgrimage was undoubtedly a major achievement of the American Youth Congress. The three thousand young people who participated impressed Washington, and particularly Congress, with the ability of the Youth movement to mobilize forces for its program. The Pilgrimage resulted in definitely establishing the prestige of the Youth Congress movement and in cementing a firmer connection with the Administration in carrying through progressive measures affecting the youth. In so far as the Youth Congress itself is concerned, the gathering together of such broad delegations from throughout the country will aid in making it a movement national in scope, and will help to bring closer to the national movement those local organizations and councils not yet directly affiliated.

★
THE Hearings on the American Youth Act, before a sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, definitely estab-

lished the validity of the claim of the youth movement that the problem of providing jobs, educational opportunity and vocational training to youth can only be solved by a measure as comprehensive as the American Youth Act. A mass of convincing evidence was piled up in the testimony, in the form of the printed record of the Hearings on the American Youth Act which can be obtained from your Congressman or the Government Printing Office.

Although during the hearings, Senator Lee of Oklahoma laid down a barrage of red baiting, directed chiefly against the Young Communist League, in an effort to force its repudiation by the Youth Congress, the Youth Congress again demonstrated its determination to become a movement representative of all sections of young people, including the Communists. This effort to split the Congress failed. It must be made clear that participation of the Young Communist League in the Congress in no way means that any other participating organization is required or expected to endorse the full program of the YCL. Exclusion of the Communists from the Congress would defeat its very purpose, which is to act as a clearing house to bring together all strata of youth for action on common, agreed-upon, issues. Just as in the governmental bodies in the United States, the Communists are represented in proportion to their influence and vote, so in the American Youth Congress they are represented in proportion to their size and influence. They are a minority of a broad movement, and in no case do they desire to determine its policies.

The biggest concession gained by the Pilgrimage was undoubtedly a promise by Aubrey Williams, National Youth Administration head, that before the next year's program

and budget for NYA is adopted, a three day conference will be held between representatives of the Youth Congress and governmental agencies concerned with youth problems.

★

THE American Youth Congress is now assuming the responsibility for developing a comprehensive youth program designed to embody the major principles of the American Youth Act. Such a program, as outlined by the National Council of the Congress, emphasizes the following points:

1. Immediate expansion of the present year's NYA program to the full \$75,000,000 authorized by Congress, and stopping of all lay-offs on NYA projects. Appropriation by Congress of at least \$200,000,000 for the coming year's NYA program with emphasis on the need for work relief for unemployed youth as well as student aid.

2. Elimination of restrictions on WPA jobs for young people; placing of unemployed young workers on WPA in greater numbers, to meet the increasing need for jobs created, especially by lay-offs of industrial youth who are not covered by seniority rights. Support to the demands of the Workers Alliance for increased relief appropriations.

3. Immediate restoration of all cuts in CCC appropriations, bringing the enrollment back to its former level. For expansion of the CCC program and introduction of extensive vocational training in the



camps. For placing the camps under civilian administration.

4. Full support for the enactment of the program outlined by the President in his message to Congress calling for Federal aid to education and the appropriation of \$855,000,000 over a period of six years. This measure would set up a permanent National Youth Service Administration to co-ordinate the NYA and CCC and the program for government aid to education, and would take the CCC out of army control.

5. While demanding the enactment of legislation on the above principles; which are, in the main, based on the American Youth Act, to press for the adoption of legislative measures to incorporate the full principles of the Youth Act.

Naturally these proposals cannot be considered without also indicating the necessity for support to other progressive legislative measures such as a public works and housing program, a wages and hours bill, and old age pensions, which would create more opportunities and jobs for youth. Locally, and in the states, such a program for youth needs will assume even more concrete and practical form.

To carry through such a program, and particularly to safeguard the existence of NYA, serious consideration should be given to the organization of all NYA workers. The National Youth Administration itself has cooperated in developing NYA Workers Clubs, based upon a social and cultural program and the economic problems of youth. Such forms of organization should be considered everywhere. Where possible the organizations should be undertaken with the full cooperation of the Administration and utilizing its assistance. These clubs will undoubtedly express the interests of NYA workers for greater security.

★

MR. HINCKLEY, Chairman of the American Youth Congress, reports that President Roosevelt advised the delegation that met with

him that their most important job when the "Pilgrims" returned, was "to vote for those Congressmen that voted for them." Certainly those young people who begin to understand that their program can best be realized through political struggle, will accept this advice; will support those candidates for Congress in the coming elections who best represent their interests, and will strive to defeat those candidates who represent reaction and the enemies of youth.



In short, we are confronted with the problem of building the DEMOCRATIC FRONT of youth, of rallying the young people to support the program and candidates of progress. Republican party reactionaries, masquerading behind a mask of progressivism, are already angling for youth support. Henry Bubb, chairman of the National Young Republican Federation, has announced that "We can't win in 1940 with nothing. Our great problem is with those under 24 years old. We've got to find some way to reach them. We must form youth clubs, more or less for social entertainment." As an old saying goes, "Forewarned is forearmed." We have warning enough that reaction will attempt to rally young voters around its banner, using liberal and even radical phrases to influence them against any measures directed towards solving the problems of youth.

Of course, the Youth Congress movement itself cannot at this time endorse or support candidates, since this would only result in dividing the forces of the youth movement.

Those forms most suitable for organizing youth support to progres-

sive candidates should be found in every state and congressional district. Youth groups of Labor's Non-partisan league, progressive younger Democratic clubs in some instances, youth groups of the progressive political movements in Minnesota, Washington, Wisconsin and New York, can all serve the purpose. However, the most difficult problem is that of winning the support of the memberships of the traditionally non-partisan and non-political mass youth organizations such as Y's, and Church groups.

A method must be found to bridge the gap between the more politically mature youth who already support a Democratic Front policy and the young people who make up the memberships of these large organizations and compose the rank and file of the Youth Congress. Although their organizations, as a whole, cannot yet be committed to a course of political action, many of their leaders are prepared to participate in political activity, to endorse progressive platforms and candidates. These youth leaders can be brought together to form "Non-partisan Youth Committees" which can cooperate with Labor's Non-partisan League and other progressive forces. They would be able to seriously influence the young people by bringing discussions on political problems into their organizations, by sending speakers and literature to their meetings, and by their personal influence. Such non-partisan committees, "good government" movements, etc., can become the basis for forming a Democratic Front among the youth, for winning larger sections of the youth for active participation in the political struggle against reaction.

This is an immediate problem that confronts the progressive youth movement of every state. Its solution is necessary if we are to make any serious progress in the formation of a democratic front of youth during the 1938 Congressional elections.

A LETTER FROM BOB THOMPSON

Dear Carl:

JUST a line to say hello and to mention some impressions of the League's work in the North West.

I was very favorably impressed by the North West League and its leadership. Jim West is doing a fine job, one part of which is the developing of local leaders, who are growing with the local youth movement, and who are therefore the best guarantees both of the stability and the continued advance of this movement.

I attended, while in Seattle, a conference of about forty-five North West YCL functionaries. I was very pleasantly surprised by their clarity on the line of the local League. By this I mean the somewhat unusual situation where the lower city and county leadership is well aware of, and understands, the aims and policies of the top State leadership. Questions such as the YCL's relation to the Washington Commonwealth Junior movement, the youth movement's part in the current city elections, and in the general development of the progressive pro-New Deal movement, peculiarities of work in the rural areas, all those things were discussed sharply to the point and in complete conformity with the local League leadership's policies on these questions. This absence of confusion is probably due, in part, to the fact that the conditions of work are more simple and the political situation more clearly and sharply defined in Washington than, for example, in the Bay region of California. It is also, however, a very clear indication of correct forms and methods of leadership used by the North West comrades.

The second feature one notices is that the League's aims conform to the results of its work. For example, four or five months ago, the League set quotas for growth that called for

doubling the YCL membership and tripling the Washington Commonwealth Junior membership, aiming to bring about a 3 to 1 ratio between the WCF Jrs. and the YCL. At the present time the YCL has



around 250 members and the Juniors about 750. This is a little short, but nevertheless very close to the total figures in the quotas. But it is almost exactly in accord with the 3 to 1 ratio set, which, of course, expresses the League's aim to build up a broader progressive youth organization than itself. The Washington YCL seems to know correct methods of work that enable it to realize its aims.

The comrades in the North West are finding the establishment of youth recreational centers a very good means of stabilizing and building up the WCF Juniors. This is particularly true of the rural areas. In Seattle, the possibility exists of building up new centers, our own recreational centers, whereas in Frisco the problem, it seems to me, is rather one of working within

existing centers than attempting to compete with them by establishing our own.

I have only one other remark to make about the North West League. That is what seems to me a shortcoming in the general line of its work. In relation to the WCF Juniors, I think the YCL is carrying out a correct policy when it attempts to become the center of guidance, the center of higher political education, and the driving force of this broader progressive movement. However, when the tendency exists, as strongly as it does among the leadership there, to confine the League's work to the WCF Juniors, I think a mistake is being made. An indication of the strength of this tendency is the complete absence of any broad united front movement such as the Youth Congress.

The North West comrades are, of course, directing their work to the building a powerful progressive movement among the youth and in preventing the reactionary forces from winning the following of any section of young people. To do this requires the building of the revolutionary movement among the youth (Party and YCL) and the building of much broader, definitely progressive, pro-New Deal movements. I think the policies of the North West YCL are moving in the direction of accomplishing these two things. However, to prevent the reactionaries from gaining the following of large sections of youth seems to me requires a third thing. That is, the establishing of connections with, and influence through these connections, of that proportion of the youth organizations which will not, for some time, be a part of the crystallized progressive political movement.

I think the Seattle League, in particular, should begin to devote considerable attention and forces to the Y's and other established youth organizations, and should aid in the establishment of the American Youth Congress.

Give my regards to Gil if he hasn't left, and to the rest of the outfit.

As ever, **Bob T.**

SENIORITY FOR THE YOUTH

by BUD BLAIR

IN the Carnegie-Illinois steel mill in South Chicago, the management has decreed that they are "going back to January, 1935, to determine the working force." Plainly, it means that everyone hired since that date will be discharged. What does it mean to Steve Kowalski, age 22, in the mill 19 months? It means that because he is a young person, young in the industry—among the last to be hired, he is among the first to be fired. The company so rules. But Steve can ask, "doesn't the SWOC contract with Carnegie-Illinois Steel say so too?" He looks at the "seniority clause" in the contract:

Sec. 6—It is understood and agreed that in all cases of promotion or increase, and decrease of forces, the following factors shall be considered, and where factors (b), (c), (d), and (e) are relatively equal, length of continuous service shall govern.

- (a) length of continuous service.
- (b) Knowledge, training, ability, skill, and efficiency.
- (c) physical fitness.
- (d) family status; number of dependents, etc.
- (e) place of residence.

It is obvious to Steve that the other factors being "relatively

equal" (and most likely they too operate against him), this seniority provision means for him that he will be the first to go, because of fewer years of continuous service.

And so it is with thousands of other young workers, particularly in the mass production industries, who are being laid off by the thousands. Today, it would be safe to say, for example, that fully three-quarters of the younger workers have been thrown out of the steel industry in the last five months.

At the same time, the CIO announces with pride that seniority rights have been established in industry through contracts covering one million workers.

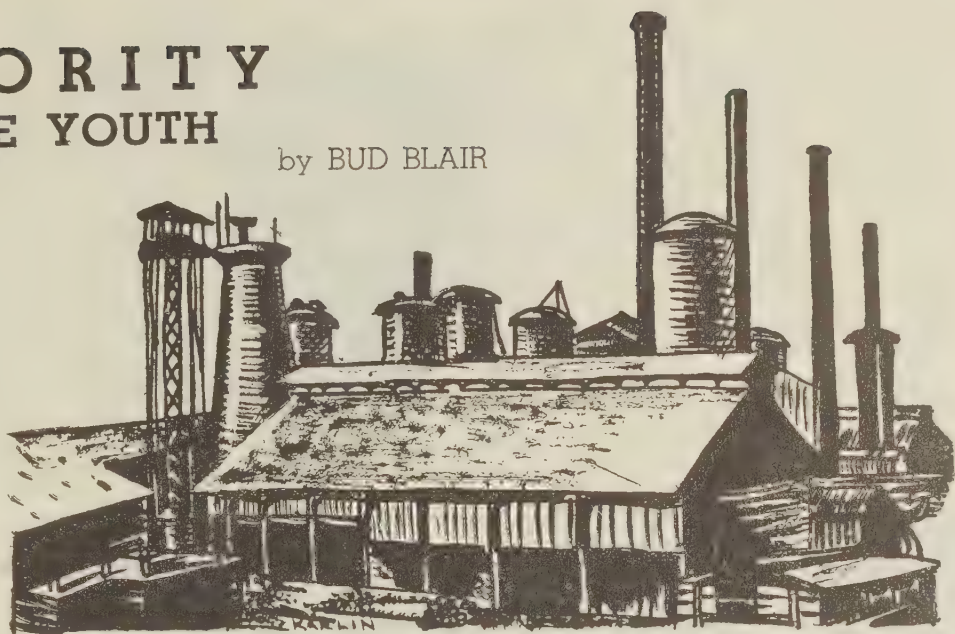
What is the meaning and purpose of this "seniority" business? How are we going to judge it in relation to the welfare of the young workers who are affected most adversely by it? How are the young workers going to be protected against these huge layoffs and unemployment?

First, we must see the instrument of seniority as a protection developed by the workers, particularly in the open shop mass production industries, to defend the meager rights of the older workers to job security under capitalism.

Secondly, the problem of seniority in relation to the youth can be solved only when we see it in relation to the basic and fundamental issue—the right of every American worker to a job—"the right to work," and the whole struggle against unemployment.

On the first proposition.

Seniority rights have not played a very important role in the craft occupations. This is especially true where the craft unions have effected a closed shop. Take, for example, the building trades. In Chicago, the Chicago Building Trades Council has a "Standard Agreement" with the Building Construction Employers Association, which has been a basis for contractual relations since 1915. There are no seniority provisions in it. One of the "cardinal principles" of this agreement is the employer's right to hire and discharge at discretion. Here, the hiring is done on the job, usually by the individual contractor. However, this right of the employer exists only within the framework of the closed shop. That is, the union has something to say about non-union, new men being hired. Furthermore, the men are protected in part by the



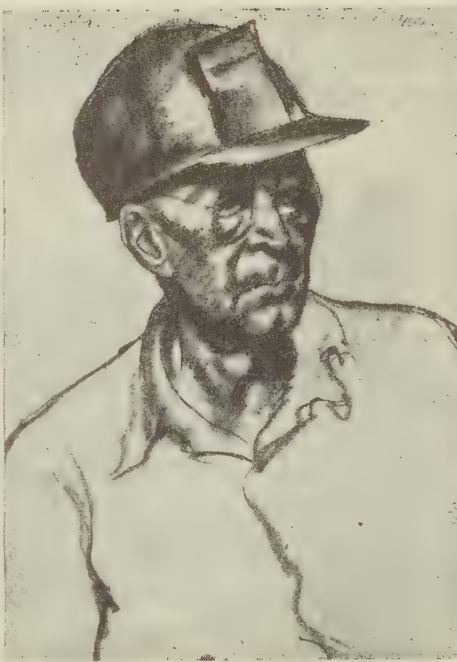
skill of their job, and by the apprenticeship systems existing.

In the mass production industries, on the other hand, where the vast majority of workers are semi-skilled or unskilled, where there has been a mass influx of youth into these industries, and where there are few important instances of completely closed shop situations, the instrument of seniority plays an important role. And here, we can say that generally, it plays a progressive role.

It prevents, for example, a company firing 5000 older workers, and hiring 5000 new workers. It acts as an obstacle to a large turnover of workers. For example, in the lumber industry (not a typical example, of course, because of its migratory character), the practice of continual hiring and firing of workers has always been characteristic. There is a turnover of workers of over 660% a year in the Northwest. The mining industry is a better example, where seniority provisions have been almost the only means of keeping the older workers on the job. The great mechanization in mining led the companies to attempt huge displacements of old workers by young workers who were better able to operate the mechanical processes, and were it not for the seniority rights for which the miners fought, thousands of workers over 45 would have been driven out of the industry. The major demand in the Wilsonville, South Illinois, strike last May was seniority. Here, the older men pointed out that it meant protection not only for them, but for their families.

The companies are continually hiring and firing men in order to have fresh crews which they can push harder and speed up, and in order to prevent organization.

The principle of seniority helps to prevent discrimination against union members. This is revealed by many of the recent National Labor Relations Board cases, a goodly portion of them centering around the rights of seniority. Militant men, union men discriminated against by open shop employers, in practically



all cases, were upheld by the board on the basis of rights to seniority (as well, of course, as on the rights of collective bargaining).

It acts as a bar against the practices of employers in open shop industries to hire relatives, friends, people with "pull," stool pigeons, and other "loyal" workers first, and fire them last. For example, the National Industrial Conference Board, an organization of employers, would like to make "efficiency and desirability" the two main considerations in making the selection of employees to be laid off. But with the recent strengthening of the union movement, particularly in the mass production industries, and the inclusion of seniority provisions in the contracts signed, they are forced to admit some social effects of unemployment.

In the stockyards in recent months, the young workers have been waging a fight in certain departments in Armour's for seniority rights. And the bulk of young workers in the unions will agree that seniority rights play a progressive role and must remain the basic demand of the trade unions. How-

ever, the reactionaries, the agents and the stool-pigeons of the employers, the out and out enemies of organized labor will raise the cry that unionization is responsible for the unemployment among youth. Instead of pinning responsibility for layoffs and unemployment on the greedy monopolies who maintain their profits at the expense of the workers, the enemies of labor will attempt to turn the young workers against the unions.

Let me make clear that open shop conditions mean insecurity for every worker, old and young. Open shop conditions mean the return to the vicious stretchout, and speedup, mean that the employers can cut wages as they please, and hire and fire at will. Through contracts enforced by collective bargaining, the trade unions protect the basic interests of the workers as a whole, including the youth. While seniority clauses aim against the open shoppers, they defend the unions and protect the interests of the youth.

But this doesn't solve the problem of the young workers. It doesn't answer the question of how to protect the young workers, severely affected by layoffs, and not protected by seniority clauses. This brings us to our second proposition: **the problem that seniority creates can be tackled only in connection with the entire question of the right of the American worker to a job; connected with the fight against speedup, against rationalization under capitalism, against unemployment and for social security.**

Apart from special discriminations, it is not seniority which threatens the young worker, but rather, the economic conditions which confront every worker.

Take the railroad industry for example. Especially in the more skilled crafts, there are practically no young people at all in the whole industry. This is not caused by seniority provisions on the roads, but rather by the consolidation schemes, the terrific speedup, technological improvements, and labor saving devices. This has affected

every worker in the industry, to the tune of 800,000 completely driven out of the railroads in the last 17 years.

In the steel industry, out of 800,000 on the rolls, 250,000 have been out of work in the last five months. In December, 1937, 57% of all steel workers were making three days a week. Technological improvements in steel are steadily driving toward the permanent elimination of more workers from the industry. Philip Murray, in his address to the recent convention of the SWOC referred to "technological developments... that threaten the present and future jobs of thousands of workers in the industry". He estimated that in the next three years, 15,000 strip mill workers will be doing the work of 100,000—an 85% reduction in man power

In other words, seniority is not at the root of the youth problem. Rather, the decaying economic base of capitalism, and the sabotage of the employers against economic recovery have aggravated unemployment and insecurity. Obviously, there would be no seniority problem if everyone had a job. It is not a problem in the Soviet Union where promotion depends upon skill and the workers contribution to the welfare of his country.

In the Soviet Union the problem does not exist because, under Socialism, the Constitution of the land provides the right to a job, and its tenure does not depend on length of service, nor need jobs be protected by "contracts". With the increasing use of labor saving devices there are no negative effects to the workers, no decrease in employment attendant upon every increase in production.

The problem of seniority must be seen in a broader light, if we are to develop an effective, positive program in defense of the standards of youth.

What are the elements of such a positive program?

1. Support of the CIO demand of the "Right To Work", with the in-

clusion of the Slogan "Equal Pay for Equal Work".

2. Intensified struggle against speedup, which endangers the health of the youth by inhuman mechanized processes, which operate to create more productivity per worker and therefore fewer jobs.

3. A broad program of social legislation: in particular, the \$5,000,000,000 housing program the CIO called for; the passage of the Wages and Hours Bill and the extension of the 30 hour week in certain industries without reduction in pay; passage of the American Youth Act and the expansion of the National Youth Administration; old age pensions; a general program of voca-

tional training and apprenticeship under trade union supervision and standards.

4. Elimination of the probationary period during which employers do not grant seniority, which runs in some cases as long as 10-12 years.

5. Against the lapse of seniority rights when the worker is laid off, and returning to work with the seniority rights maintained.

6. Special attention by the unions to the needs of its young unemployed members especially by youth participation in the unemployed committees of the union, bringing forward youth demands for WPA jobs and relief to the young unemployed.



The MOSCOW

Its Meaning

THE fourth of the Moscow trials since the assassination of Sergie Kirov in December, 1934 is now concluded. Eighteen of the defendants were executed, the three remaining received sentences of imprisonment.

The editors of the capitalist press chewed many a pencil to find new arguments against the Soviet Republic. Leon Trotsky proved very helpful with his melange of fantasy and falsehood. Not to be outdone, Eugene Lyons contributed his own twopence of 'assignments in myopia'

The press attempted to dismiss the trial as proof of the "moral and intellectual collapse of Communism", but Richard Whitney spoiled the pic by filing his own petition of collapse the next morning, proving, no doubt, the unquestionable "moral and intellectual stability of capitalism"

But Hitler, no less scrupulous than Whitney, shoved the headlines on the trial to the back page by his invasion of Austria. That is where we found the New York TIMES correspondent's dispatch of the 14th of March in which he confesses, "after witnessing two
"of the three public trials and reading the studying
"of testimony of the other, this writer is now well
"convinced that in the main outline, the cases were
"well founded even though established in ways
"strange to our ideas of justice"...

Once and for all, this trial has shattered the elaborate baloney about torture of the defendants. All the fantastic speculations about some enormous super-show, in which the defendants were elaborately coached, compelled to uniform confessions by some drug of obscure molecular composition, are now gone with the wind.

Anyone who reads the trial testimony will observe that the witnesses did not testify willingly. They wrangled, fought, made fine distinctions, argued, pleaded, and cast reflections on one another, because even rats will fight when they are cornered.

Some seemed to be telling the truth, eager to have the ugly story vomitted; others were sullen, bitter, treacherous to the end.

The integrity of the trial procedure emerges beyond question. The defendants confessed because they were guilty; because they were at the end of their rope; because the facts marshaled against them by the preliminary investigation were indisputable.

But the problem of trial procedure is secondary matter. There is nothing peculiar about Soviet juridical processes. The Bukharin-Trotsky conspirators had the full right to defend themselves, in their own right, and by official legal defense. They did defend themselves. They made long speeches, attempting to find some hairbreadth on which to plead for mercy. They engaged in lengthy philosophical orations, between cups of tea, enjoying the complete freedom of the court. There is nothing peculiarly Russian about this except maybe for the tea.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union does not permit the hypocrisy which is prevalent in bourgeois courts, whereby a defendant who is obviously guilty can hire a smart lawyer to bamboozle the judges and the jury, and in utter disregard of the testimony, free his client.

Especially in treason cases, the procedure of the Russian court is established by Continental law. As Joshua Kunitz points out in his article in the NEW MASSES for March 22, 1938, Article III, Section 3, of the American Constitution, "deems open confession in court sufficient to convict a man on charge of treason." The law says exactly: "No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses as to the same overt act, or on confession in open court."

THE DAILY WORKER and its affiliated newspapers in Chicago and San Francisco gave full trial reports. Together with Joshua Kunitz' excellent articles in the NEW MASSES, and Earl Browder's profound speech at the New York Hippodrome, reprinted in the DAILY WORKER of March 19th, very few considerations on the trial have been left unexplored.

Nevertheless, there are many people who do not yet understand even the elementary facts about the trials. Some of these are liberals, who try hard to find new

TRIAL

and Importance

ways to maintain their persistent misunderstanding of the nature of the Soviet Union. And numbers of people, with whom we cooperate on many domestic issues, are still troubled.

The trials should therefore serve as an educational opportunity to hammer home certain fundamental facts about Russian history, as well as to prepare ourselves for problems that are bound to arise in the stormy years that lie ahead.

Fred Ellis





First of all, it should be stressed again and again that the Soviet Union is the first and only socialist country, the harbinger of a new day for humanity. It is encircled by the capitalist world, which is in the throes of a final crisis. We live in a period when one system of life is giving way, in fierce and uncompromising battle, to a higher and more equitable form of human organization. We live in a perpetual war, in which capitalism uses all methods, fair or foul, to maintain itself.

This is such a simple truth that many people, especially in our American democracy, sometimes forget it, particularly in our progressive atmosphere. Stalin pointed out in his "Mastering Bolshevism" that even the Russian comrades seem to have developed illusions in this respect.

THE second problem, which we can hardly discuss at length, is the fact that all of the defendants had long histories of theoretical and practical disagreement with the Russian Party and the Russian masses. Kunitz calls them the "old non-Bolsheviks". Despite dozens of instances of theoretical or personal instability, before and during the Revolution, Lenin forgave them time and again because, as he put it, they committed

"mistakes which we now recall with reluctance. Why with reluctance? Because without special need it is wrong to recall such mistakes as have been fully rectified."

But if Lenin was lenient with them, the party under Stalin's leadership was more so. When the discussion of the fundamental issues between Trotskyism and Leninism really emerged after Lenin's death, it continued not for weeks, not for months, but for years. After Trotskyism was discredited, the Trotskyists crawled back into the Party, and were accepted, by the Central Committee under Stalin's leadership. They were all given high posts, of journalistic and diplomatic responsibility. They were completely trusted.

Whereupon the conspirators reformed their ranks, manoeuvring their own men into high places. Men like Yagoda, the former head of the OGPU, whose skillful treachery accounts for the fact that the plot was uncovered so slowly, and piecemeal. But it is the fact that they occupied such high places which makes their crime so onerous, and accounts for the swift and unrelenting character of Soviet justice.

WE cannot discuss the issues here, nor go into the pros and cons of the debate which the Russian masses decided against the plotters. Nor can we pause on the psychological aspects of their decay and treachery though this may be interesting and even help to make the whole affair intelligible to many people who do not think politically.

Personal vanity, individual corruption, ambition, self-delusion, all played a part in motivating the conspiracy. But the cardinal fact is, that their political program reduced itself to one thing: opposition to the construction of Socialism, efforts to restore capitalism, even at the cost of dismembering the Soviet Republic and destroying its achievements. Although these men came to their positions from different paths, with separate self-justification and make-believes to conceal the true meaning of their action, it all boiled down to simple counter-revolution, in cahoots with foreign nations.

Many newspapers weep crocodile tears over the "weakening" which the Soviet Union has undergone as a result of the exposure of this network of conspiracies. This is poppycock. It is true that for our movement these trials may create educational problems, but as these problems are overcome, our movement will be strengthened and clarified.

But it is unrealistic to imagine that Hitler or Chamberlain are now guiding their course of action because they think Russia reveals "internal weakness". The wise and calculating diplomats of the reactionary and fascist wing think in terms of brass tacks. The Soviet Union has crushed the fascist agents from within, and thus strengthened itself politically and practically in its fight against fascism, without.

Chamberlain and Hitler know that because they are practical men. They realize that no hope remains of

smashing Socialism from within. While the prospect of attacking it from without is thereby more disadvantageous for the fascists and their British friends.

It is in this sense that the trials have struck a blow for world peace. They have eliminated agents of corruption and treachery within the Soviet Union, on whom the fascists counted heavily.

Perhaps an even more complete understanding of this whole phenomenon of Trotskyism and its allies can be gained from a reading of American history. That is, I think, one of Comrade Browder's great contributions to our education on this question.

Recall the cases of treachery and espionage in our own history. Begin with Benedict Arnold, who, despite his personal bravery, turned out to be a British agent. Then General Charles Lee, subsequently proven a conscious tool of the British. Aaron Burr, Vice-President of the new Republic, under Jefferson, whose plots for the dismemberment of the western territory of America are well known, involving high figures in the government and the Supreme Court. And in the War of 1812, only twenty-three years after Washington's inauguration, the governors of several states openly conspired against the American cause, preparing the way for the invasion and destruction of the White House as well as the city of Washington itself. The story of the treachery of a member of Lincoln's cabinet is yet to be told in secret documents that remain sealed until 1947.

WITH respect to the history of the United States particularly when our Revolution was in its early years, the story of treason offers an illuminating parallel to what has transpired in the Soviet Union. In that first great bourgeois revolution of the 18th century there were also "great" men, distinguished in action, clever, capable, etc., who conspired against the greatest achievements of their day much in the same way as the Trotsky-Buchkarin outfit in the first great Socialist revolution of the 20th century. It will serve the Americanization of our movement to explore the points of similarity in this comparison. Just as in the Judas legend, just as in the case of Burr and Arnold, the names of Trotsky and Bukharin go down in history as men who betrayed their countrymen.

Finally, it should be remembered that we are approaching decisive events in the world struggle against Fascism. Until the balance between Socialism and capitalism is decided against the latter, until Socialism has put capitalism on the defensive in every way, and

even then for some time, the problem of internal enemies will always be with us.

If there were forty thousand industrial spies hired by the American capitalists to defeat unionism, as the La Follette Committee showed, imagine what efforts are being and will be made to hinder and corrupt the work of the Communist movement that stands for Socialism.

IT is precisely this lesson from the trails in Moscow and the experiences of the Soviet Union that is invaluable.

In this country there are still many Trotskyists, Lovestonites, and other elements at work, whose position on such questions as trade unions, the People's Front, etc., we have exposed as dangerous and destructive to the best interests of the working class and the American people.

But the guarantee against Trotskyism and other pernicious theories in our ranks in the critical days ahead involves: 1. a conscious and iron discipline within our ranks; 2. respect for the great traditions of the working class movement and humble devotion to its aims and principles; 3. higher political clarity and understanding of every single member of our movement from top to bottom, equipping him with Marxist-Leninist methods, enabling him to grapple scientifically with new and difficult problems; 4. absolute intolerance to personal vanities, ambitions, and conceits, which are the advance symptoms of alien ideas and philosophies, and prepare the way for political corruption.

Even those of us who are immersed in the work of the revolutionary movement are nevertheless encircled by our capitalist environment. Moreover, the thousands who come into our movement come "out of the whole cloth", often with prejudices and bourgeois faults.

Of course, we are, not idealists, and are working for Socialism, with and through, the human material at our disposal.

In the struggle against actual and potential corruption within our own ranks, it is necessary to pay attention to personal habits and morals throughout the movement. We should begin today to build that new morality, that generous, intelligent, modest, new human being, that new humanity which we know will emerge with the destruction of capitalism and birth of a Socialist world. J. STAROBIN.



OUR TWELVE WEEK COURSE OF STUDY

FOLLOWING the last National Convention of our League, we began to wrestle seriously with the problem of working out new forms and methods of education. As always happens when introducing needed changes, some comrades became so concerned with the method of education that they began to neglect content. In some places, the theory actually developed that the YCL as a non-Party organization, should not teach Marxism-Leninism. Some classes were organized in the YCL which did not even mention Marxism, Socialism, or the Soviet Union. A theory also appeared among some comrades that the YCL could not sell the Daily Worker!

The last meeting of the National Board sharply criticized these tendencies, and called for renewed concern with improving the quality of the content of our education. The teaching of Marxism-Leninism is the main function of the Young Communist League as an educational organization. The problem is not whether we shall teach Marxism, but how we shall teach it. All our experimentation with methods of education must continue on an intensified scale. But we must never lose sight of the fact that new methods of education are to be adopted for the purpose of teaching Marxian content, that this content itself demands the abandonment of all stereotyped methods of teaching.

The basic task that confronts us today is the education of the youth in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism during the birth and growth of the democratic front as the transitional stage to the People's Front. Education in basic Marxist theory was never more needed than today. Our enemies say that in adopting the policy of the People's Front we have deserted the position of Marxism.

Many of our own League members give evidence of not being entirely clear concerning the falsehood of these charges. Our main educational task at the moment, therefore, is to enable the members of the League to understand thoroughly that the policy of the People's Front is Marxism-Leninism applied to the present period of the menace of Fascism.

For this reason, the last meeting of the National Board decided to launch a twelve weeks course of study on the subject of Youth and the People's Front. This course, prepared by the National Office, is now being conducted in every leading district of the League. All mem-



bers of state, city, and branch executive committees are supposed to be involved. Also all leading and advanced members of every branch are expected to take it. Classes are being made available for all the members of every branch who are eligible or who desire it. It is the most ambitious educational project to be undertaken on a national scale in the history of the YCL. The most capable comrades in the various districts are being secured as in-

structors, and weekly meetings of the instructors are being held each week preceding the regular classes.

In the bulletin issued to the instructors, the general aim of this course, which can be described briefly as an **orientation course**, is set forth as follows:

"Since theory is the 'accumulation of human experience' we must study history in order to master it. Therefore, we are studying the tasks of the movement toward a Popular Front in the light of the past struggles of the American people for security, peace and democracy. One can really know an individual only if he knows the past life of that individual. In the same way, we can understand the problems of today only if we know the history which produced them. We study history, however, not in order to cram our minds with facts, but in order to learn how to make history in the future.

"In teaching the historical sections of this course, therefore, our aim is not at the moment to learn a mass of new information. Most of those taking this course have some **acquaintance** at least with the main periods in American history—the Colonial Period, the Revolution, the struggle between the slave-system and growing capitalism, westward expansion, the Civil War and Reconstruction, the growth of capitalism and imperialism, the World War, the great crisis and the intensification of the class-struggle which followed. Our aim is to help our comrades to begin to understand the **class forces** which were involved in these major periods of American history. Through interpreting those major events in the light of the Marxist-Leninist method of historical materialism, we hope to help them to learn to use the living method of Marxism. While teaching them to interpret these events, with whose general outlines they are already familiar, in the light of the **class forces** involved, we propose to begin to teach them Marxist political economy. We should strive to teach

how capitalism works by showing how it came into existence, developed, and passed into general crisis in America. We should strive to teach the Marxist theory of the state in the light of the major political upheavals in America.

"In this way, we will teach Marxism not as a body of abstract theory. But we will show how Marxist science developed as generalizations drawn from the history of capitalism—of American capitalism the same as of any other capitalism.

"In teaching the principles of socialism, our aim again is to do so on the basis of showing how socialism actually came into being in the Soviet Union. In the same way, in studying the road to socialism in our own country, we will see on the basis of experience that here, as in other capitalist democracies, the road to socialism lies through the growth and development of the People's Front. We will see that the **general course** of the movement to socialism is the same in every capitalist country, but that the **particular differences** are determined by the histories of the various countries.

"Our study of the relationships of class forces in the major periods of American history should, therefore, help us to see the forerunners of the present movement toward an American People's Front and toward socialism in America. We will see how socialism will grow up, through the strenuous efforts of ourselves and the American people, out of the whole past history of America.

"The major purpose of our course, therefore, is to study the relation between our struggle for socialism and our immediate task of **helping** to build the People's Front. This means that we are undertaking to learn clearly how we, as members of the Young Communist League, are to work within the broad, progressive movement now developing in America.

"Our aim must be to begin to train those who take this course **how to think as Marxists** and **how to study as Marxists**. We must



familiarize them with such basic literature that they will know how to continue their self-study and reading. We must also impress them with the importance of studying not only Marxist literature, but the genuine contributions of bourgeois thinkers, in accordance with Lenin's advice that our aim is to master in so far as possible the 'sum-total of human knowledge.' Our study of history, of Roosevelt's program, etc., should help produce the realization of the need for this.

"At the moment, our country is filled with rabid attacks upon everything that is live and progressive—upon the CIO, Roosevelt, the People's Front, the peace program of collective security, the Soviet Union, the Communist movement, etc., etc. A primary aim of this course is to make it possible for our comrades to meet this flood of arguments, which emanate from the open reactionaries; from the concealed allies of fascism, the Trotskyites; and from honest confusion. We must so equip our comrades with the method of Marxism that they will not memorize answers like parrots, but will be able to reason them out and to answer new and unforeseen arguments as they arise. Ability to do

'he latter will test their mastery of Marxism' "

Many confused people are now asking the question 'whether or not we are in danger of becoming lost in the broad mass movement which is developing.' It is an order to prevent individuals who want Socialism from becoming lost in the broad and often complex mass movement that we have our own independent organization. It is only the thorough mastery of the science of Marxism-Leninism that can enable us to find our bearings in the broad movement and help us to guide it on the road toward socialism, just as it is only knowledge of the stars which can enable one lost in a woods at night to find his way. This is our answer to those who are afraid that we will become lost in the movement or socialists and non-socialists. It is the primary task of everyone who wants Socialism to learn how to move among broad masses and at the same time see ahead and to guide those with whom he is moving. That is why it is so important today to study the science of human society—the science of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Dmitroff.

FRANCIS FRANKLIN

GREETINGS FROM MEXICO

by CARLOS SANCHEZ CARDENAS

MEXICO is moving forward.

For the last four centuries, the country of Mexico has been under the domination of the Spanish Empire, of France, and of modern imperialism. It has been oppressed by force of arms, by political trickery, and, today, by economic forces. It has been used to supply raw materials for the whole world, and cheap or free labor. By means of coups d'etat, insurrections and diplomatic pressure, its conquerors have set up governments, or overthrown them, made new laws, or violated the existing ones. Mexico has been systematically plundered, beaten, and exploited. And now, when the Mexican people refuse to submit to further exploitation, no one is more deeply shocked than the exploiters. Their attitude is well expressed by a question put several years ago by

Hearst, the Queipo de Llano of North American journalism, "And who is Alvaro Obregon to dare lay down terms to us in Mexico?" Alvaro Obregon was President of Mexico, but evidently that did not qualify him to defy Mr. Hearst.

For four centuries, Mexico has been an unsettled country, but it is not unsettled today. For the first time since 1900, Mexico is showing signs of a true national existence, within itself and in its international relations. For the first time its sixteen million people are setting their feet with assurance on the path that leads to authentic independence.

Mexico's struggle for national sovereignty is very closely linked to the interests of the democracies of the world. But this struggle is at present undergoing a most critical period, because of the conflict on the question of oil. In this conflict will be determined Mexico's international situation, and the national policy of its government.

For many years the oil interests have drawn fabulous profits from the exploitation of Mexico's oil. A committee of experts assigned to study the oil industry in Mexico declared: "It can be calculated in a conservative manner that (in 1936) most of the oil companies recuperated the capital invested more than a decade ago." The committee also obtained the following facts:

1931: 2.76% of the profit in relation to the invested capital
1932: No profits, only losses
1933: 1.70%
1934: 2.26%
1935: 1.44%

To produce a barrel of oil in 1935, it was necessary to invest in Mexico \$8.40 (Mexican money) while in the United States the cost was \$48.12 (Mexican money). One-sixth of the investment necessary in the

United States brought the same return in Mexico.

The British company "El Aguila" produced 59.33% of the total production. And in spite of the fact that the oil is derived from Mexico, the prices of its products in Mexico are higher than the prices in the exterior by the following percentages (1934-36):

Gas oil	171.175%
Gasoline	134.40%
Kerosene	341.18%
Lubricants	350.76%

And yet, due to the lack of new explorations, (price policy of the companies) the committee discovered that Mexico was in danger of a scarcity of oil, and would have to import it! They also disclosed the fact that the capital invested in oil in Mexico was only 0.73% of that invested in the United States.

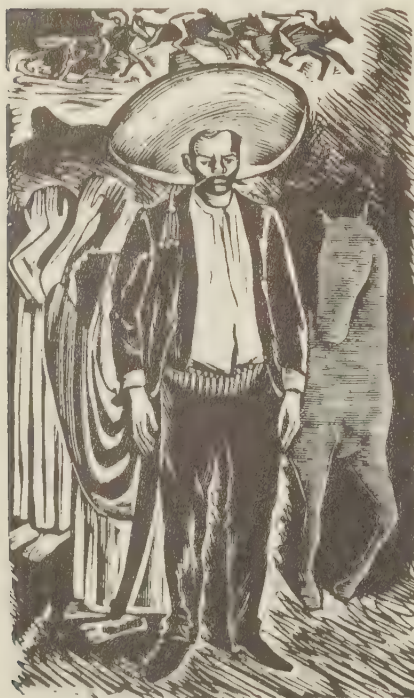
On the other hand, it was concluded that from 1934 to 1937, the cost of living of the oil workers rose 88.96%. Therefore, 1937 wages were actually about 16 to 22% less than in 1934. Yet during this period, wages in the United States increased about 7.48%.

Classifying the situation of the companies as "extraordinarily profitable", the



committee stated that with ease they could withdraw 26 million Mexican dollars. Basing their judgment on this exhaustive study, the Mexican government asked the companies to lay out for their workers the annual sum of \$26,332,756, (Mexican dollars). As a result, these companies, both British and American, have taken first place in the fight to overthrow the Cardenas government. They not only are openly resisting the laws and the national authorities, but they stirring up trouble between Mexico and other countries.

American youth is faced with this question: If American interests are



involved in Mexico, is it necessary to defend these interests? The answer is no. American youth must stand for solidarity with the people of Mexico, respect for the decisions of the Mexican authorities, and obedience, in Mexico, of the Mexican laws. It is clear that those corporations who today are attempting to set United States opinion against Mexico are the same ones who in the United States have created a crisis which has forced more than ten million men into idleness. It is these groups that prevent the people of the United States from the full development of their greatness. It is therefore patriotic to support from the United States the struggle which Mexico is carrying on against our common enemies.

In the United States the question arises: Is reaction strong in Mexico? It is answered with another question: In what part of the world is reaction weak? Fascism is a real and important menace to the whole world. It is only too ready forcibly to annex or subdue other countries.

In the reactionary conspiracy in Mexico, together with the oil trusts and the native bourgeois, the Nazis are doing their work. But they are also looking farther than Mexico. Surely it would not suit the United States to have the Nazis as neighbors. It would make it too easy for the fascist forces to satisfy their wish to submerge the United States in dictatorship and barbarism.

The fascist reaction sees Mexico as a strategic place from which to penetrate America. For this reason the people of the United States, and the government of the United States, which has condemned war, must help Mexico in its struggle against the oil trusts. For this reason the United States cannot and should not permit the least violation of Mexican sovereignty.

The people of Mexico



are not reactionary. They wholeheartedly support the government of Cardenas, which is building a model democracy. Each day Mexico becomes more and more a democratic stronghold, a symbol of democracy for the Latin-American people. There is neither religious persecution nor anti-semitic propaganda. The constitution guarantees rights for all who work honestly. Benefits, such as the agrarian reforms, or the program of education and against illiteracy, are administered in the cities in accordance with the law and without religious or philosophical distinctions. That is what the people of Mexico want today.

But Mexico's enemies want something else. That is why arms are smuggled into the country. That is why Ubico, the illiterate dictator of Guatemala, is really an agent of Nazi propaganda and plans against Mexico. That is why the petroleum interests announce that their objective is to change the policy of the Cardenas government. And why, while the common task of forging a solid union of the people is undertaken, Trotsky, provocateur of disruption, of mistrust against Cardenas, plays the game of fascism in the very heart of Mexico.

The people of Mexico as a whole are with the Popular Front, which will be formed in the beginning of spring, including all the syndicalist

centers, the peasant and popular organizations, and the progressive political parties. This spring the Mexican people will take the most constructive step in their contemporary life. They will give foundation and security to their democracy.

The greater Mexico's progressiveness and democracy, however, the greater the number of forces which will unite against it, the greater the number of methods which will be used by reaction, the more numerous the positions which will be attacked. Reaction (right and 'left') will fight the Popular Front, by working within it for its dissolution.

Mr. Cordell Hull has declared: "The American interests in other countries should submit themselves to the laws of those countries." In support and solidarity with democratic Mexico, American youth should work to prevent conspiracies from the United States against the Mexican government, against the introduction of arms into the country, to keep the oil trusts from succeeding in their efforts to overthrow the government, and to assure the amicable relationships between Mexico and the United States which the people of both countries desire.

Important events are to be seen in Mexico in the near future. The social program of the Cardenas government, its achievements and perspective, are worthy of study in the United States.

Particularly, the Young Communists, and progressives generally, have the responsibility of popularizing a wide understanding of Mexican history and culture, a deep appreciation of its progressive and popular source. If Mexican progress and democracy continue to flourish and expand, they will react favorably upon



and encourage those same developments in the United States.

IT was at a meeting of YCL members, delegates to the Student Congress against War in December 1932, that I had the opportunity to observe the "Browder" method at first hand.

Concern was expressed over the fact that among the hundreds of students assembled from all parts of the country representing diverse points of view, the Young Communists were only a small minority.

Many comrades were visibly worried that there was no guarantee that the Congress would even adopt any sort of anti-war position.

Earl Browder was present at our YCL meeting, listening attentively and quietly while the discussion raged. Finally, we asked him point blank what he thought of the matter. He paused for a moment and then answered in his typically mild and deliberate manner. There was no cause for worry nor alarm. The Communists had no intention of dominating or capturing the Congress. True, we were a small minority, but our ideas and policies were correct in terms of the situation then existing. It was only necessary to find a minimum program to unite all the anti-war elements and provide them with a realistic course of action.

In his latest book, Earl Browder, leader of a party of 75,000, outlines a program for America, a program of action which has already won the support of millions, and is influencing the destinies of the nation.

As leader of the Party whose view of the future is most prophetic and penetrating, Earl Browder gives the clearest and most practical appraisal of the issues of the present. For our Party, still a drop in the American bucket numerically, must be on watch for that strategy and tactics which will facilitate the transition between the situation of today and the goal tomorrow.

In Part One of the book, "Parties and Politics," containing Browder's speeches and articles on the last electoral struggle, we observe how



the American people were brought face to face with the issue of fascism versus democracy. For Communists, the slide rule of Marxism is ever at hand, and that is why our class analysis of parties and programs in 1936 served to dispel the fog of campaign propaganda and illuminate the real questions.

The Communists were the first to show that reactionary and fascist minded men were lining up on the side of the Hearst picked candidate, Landon. The Communists were the first to indict the cry of "Communism," the earmark of fascism everywhere, which was raised against the New Deal. The Communists were the first to analyze and expose that peculiar agreement of both Hearst and Norman Thomas that the issue for decision in 1936 was Socialism.

In Part Two of the volume Browder utilizes the sesqui-centennial anniversary of the American constitution to examine the three constitutional crises in American history.

Following the victory of the Jeffersonian Democrats over the Federalists in 1800, the Supreme Court was packed by the defeated party, from which emerged the famous Marbury vs. Madison decision. For the first time in history, the Supreme Court arrogated to itself the right to declare laws passed by Congress null and void. The second crisis arose over the slavery issue, when the Supreme Court placed its dead hand of blessing over the institution of human slavery, and the third, in our own lifetime, arose as a

**"The People's Front." Earl Browder
International Publishers. New
York\$2.25**

reflection of the fundamental struggle between fascism and democracy.

The Supreme Court had nullified most of the progressive legislation of the New Deal. The President's effort to unpack the court helped even more than the 1936 elections to stimulate a realignment in American politics.

This third constitutional crisis shattered the traditional two party system, created rifts in the Democratic and, to a lesser degree, in the Republican Party and helped create the conditions for, and the forms of, the Democratic front of the American people. For the People's Front in this country cannot count only on the existing Farmer-Labor Parties, but on the progressive elements in the Democratic Party headed by Roosevelt, as well.

"The world is my country, to do good, my religion," said Thomas Paine, and 3000 Americans in Spain have realized that adage in real life. While Earl Browder modernized and adapted this teaching to the present world situation in the words of his simple and meaningful slogan: "Keep America out of war, by keeping war out of the world!"

Browder takes considerable time to discuss the issues that confront the younger generation, especially in one chapter which is called a "message to Young America" wherein he expresses "confidence that the younger generation, the flower of our people, in this grave crisis, when the balance hangs between democracy and fascism throughout the world will put their young energies and their fresh minds to work on the side of progress."

If it is asking the impossible to summarize the whole book in the brief space of a review, it is asking very little that every member of the Young Communist League place Earl Browder's "The People's Front" on his must list of required reading

JOSEPH CLARK

THE depression years have hammered out a whole generation of American youth. Not disillusioned youth, but youth who question, youth who are practical and realistic, who are on the move, fighting for a place under the sun. These young men and women have brought about the growth of youth movements, such as Christian Youth Building a New World, the American Student Union, Methodist Youth, Youth Division of the National Negro Congress, the American Youth Congress and other progressive developments in a host of churches, settlements, Y's, Boys' Clubs and various social and athletic groups. Accompanying this has been the organization of hundreds of thousands of young men and women into progressive trade unions, particularly through the effort of the CIO.

Although these mass movements, so important in any evaluation of the status of American Youth, are hardly mentioned in "How Fare American Youth?", by Homer P. Rainey, Director of the American Youth Commission, the book furnishes an admirable statistical background for a thorough understanding of the Youth problem. In a carefully written survey of the plight of American young people, Rainey presents American's youth as an oppressed generation—part of a larger problem.

"Among the most favored class of employed youth, those in cities—the medium wage is generally in the neighborhood of \$15.00 a week," writes Rainey. "Reports come in of high school graduates who are working in homes for \$1.50 a week and living expenses." Subse-



"How Fare American Youth?"

Homer P. Rainey, and others.
D. Appleton-Century Co. New
York, 1937\$1.50

quent chapters reveal that youth constitute a third of all unemployed, that only 87,000 of 400,000 graduates in 1936 were able to enter professions for which they had been trained; that 35% of the high school population is not enrolled in school; 75% of the school children examined have physical defects.

The chapter dealing with the rural youth performs a worthwhile service to the progressive movement by calling attention to the ultra-terrific plight of the farm young men and women. Pointing out the high proportion of rural young people on relief, the curtailed opportunities for jobs, the hopeless existence of youth on marginal, uncultivable land, the lack of educational and recreational facilities, Rainey concludes that "the farms today have two million more youth than are needed." The formulation of a program for farm youth, and the speediest inclusion of these young men and women into the progressive movement, are an immediate necessity, lest this section of youth fall under the sway of fascist minded groups.

Through the pages of "How Fare American Youth?" Rainey warns American young people not to regard "Democracy as an achievement won years ago . . . handed down on a silver platter, to be enjoyed without further effort. No task at the moment appears more urgent than the thorough-going education of youth—and all the people—for Freedom and Democracy."

Elsewhere in the book, Rainey speaks of a philosophy to enlist the loyalties of youth, a clean cut statement of American ideals, to be "systematically distributed and discussed by small groups and large audiences in schools, colleges and churches, in the halls of industry, and wherever people assemble, by boys and girls, and men and women." Such a suggestion must be viewed as primarily a vague intimation that only through an integrated People's Front movement, supported by youth and adult alike, will the youth problem be alleviated. True, no mention is made of the People's Front; nevertheless this honest view of the facts, by America's foremost authority on the status of American youth, has led him to the very threshold of a People's Front position. PHIL SCHATZ



EXPERIENCES In The SEATTLE ELECTIONS

by JIM WEST

THE value of summing up youth participation in the Seattle city elections does not lie in bringing out any great or outstanding accomplishments, for there really were none. What may be of value is the **approach** developed towards the question of youth participation, since this problem is one that must receive more and more of our attention, especially in view of the coming Congressional elections.

More than ever before elections are beginning to evoke an unusual amount of political interest and activity. Particularly in the heat of the electoral struggles, when issues sharpen up around individuals and platforms, can more young people be reached for active political work on the side of progress and democracy.

Every locality and region has its own specific problems to work out in this connection, in keeping with the local general and youth situation. In the State of Washington, among other factors, the existence and growth of the progressive youth movement in the form of the Washington Commonwealth Federation Youth Section helps us determine how youth might best participate.

Certainly we cannot be satisfied with the outworn, blanket solution, "Let's run a youth candidate!" This answer was all right in the days when militant candidates were run primarily for propaganda purposes, and a "youth candidate" served to dramatize the needs and problems of youth. However, we have gone beyond this stage and today, we are confronted with the urgent need to defeat reaction at the polls in every community, and state. This is the central problem that must absorb the attention of the entire electorate.

Reactionary candidates can be defeated by progressive, democratic candidates who are, or have the po-

tentialities of becoming, **all-people's** candidates,—candidates of a democratic front. Once any candidate, be he young or old, advances a progressive record and program, that candidate can win, not by being promoted as "youth's candidate", or as the candidate of the old age pensioners", but only as an **all-people's** candidate, who can rally behind him the unified support of all sections interested in defeating reaction as locally manifested.

By this we don't mean to rule out the idea of having **YOUNG CANDIDATES**. It may be very desirable to run young candidates in certain instances. But here again, it must be remembered that such a candidate is not the property of the youth alone, but of the entire electorate in his district. Only to the extent that he can become the "community's candidate" is his victory assured.

The experiences of the WCF Youth Section in the election campaign prior to this last one shows us the importance of correctly understanding this problem. In those

elections (1936 election to state legislature), the Youth Section sought to take part by advancing youth candidates. It did. More than that, it can be said that the Youth Section went to town in a big way. After setting up its own election campaign apparatus, managers, literature and so on, it elected some five youths to the state legislature (with whom it soon lost contact. Aff—"folded up until the next campaign".) Here the WCF Youth Section campaigned as a "Party in Its Own Right", a sort of youth political party.

With this background of colorful and big-time campaigning, the Youth Section came to the municipal elections this year only to find that reactionary Dore could not be defeated if every organization went its own way. Here the Youth Section began to see that the main thing was not running young candidates, but rather to bring forward youth's problems in the campaign in such a way as to contribute to Dore's defeat.

However, before it could hope to advise young people in how to vote, the Youth Section was faced with a more immediate responsibility. There was no sense telling youth how to vote unless they were eligible

Dan Rico



for voting. That meant a drive for **REGISTERING EVERY NEW VOTER AND EVERY VOTER WHO HAD FAILED TO REGISTER BEFORE.** For a number of weeks before candidacies were announced, throughout the registration period, the WCFYS urged young people to register through handbills, radio, meetings, and personal contact.

This was, at the same time, a campaign of **EDUCATION in HOW TO REGISTER, WHERE to REGISTER, and WHY to REGISTER.** On the question of **HOW AND WHERE TO REGISTER,** groups of Youth Section members called on their friends and personally went with them to the County-City Building to register them. Many Youth Section (and YCL) members found it necessary to get these facts for themselves if they wanted to be leaders in this campaign. On the question of **WHY TO REGISTER,** the Youth Section conducted a campaign of education in the principles of democratic government, on the responsibility of youth for safeguarding democracy from reaction, and the value of the vote in behalf of democracy.

In other words, the WCFYS began to come forward as a **GOOD GOVERNMENT** organization, an organization interested in **GOOD CITIZENSHIP FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT.** Education in good citizenship means defense of democracy, and in present day conditions, good government can only mean government for democracy and the satisfaction of the people's needs, government on guard against reaction. It can now be stated that the WCF Youth Section can claim at least a little credit for the fact that of all the 14,000 new registered voters, 40% were under 25 years of age and 25%, 21 years of age. **This is a very important accomplishment in behalf of democracy.**

With the closing of registration, the WCFYS began to orientate itself toward the primaries and the problem of centering youth's attention on the need for Dore's defeat.

This was done by showing that youth had its own special reasons for wanting Dore defeated. Not only was Dore attacked for his failure to supply direct youth needs (health and recreation facilities, increased relief, etc.), but the major issues of the campaign were brought to the youth in terms of their direct bearing on them (the existence of racketeering and how it affects youth; the violation of free speech and other democratic rights by Dore and its immoral and corrupting influence on youth; the existence of a huge white slave traffic and its effects, etc.).



While centering fire on Dore, the WCFYS at the same time showed how a vote for the progressive candidates for Mayor, Council and School board, etc., would work for supplying youth needs.

The Youth Section sought to dramatize the struggle for progress against reaction in the campaign by organizing **"TEN DAYS FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY"** between Lincoln's and Washington's birthdays. The idea in itself is a good one, with or without the election campaign running concurrently, and should be extended beyond the confines of Washington State. While not every event in the week was directly connected with the campaign, the Youth Section correctly bound up the 10 days with the campaign. The general scheduled program of

the **"TEN DAYS"** is as follows:—

Feb. 12—Lincoln's Birthday Dance, at which progressive candidates spoke.

Feb. 13—City wide Youth Section rally for progressive candidates.

Rev. Lincoln S. Worth spoke on Race Relations at Greenlake Congregational Church.

Feb. 16—Food and Style Show—featuring Japanese boycott through popularizing substitutes; Mayflower Hotel.

Feb. 17—Business and Industrial Industrial Girls meeting at the YWCA featuring speaker on "Women and Fascism".

Feb. 18—Torchlight parade for **GOOD GOVERNMENT,** featuring support for the progressive candidates.

Feb. 20—Young People's Forum Program at University Baptist Church, "The Bulwark of Democracy".

Feb. 21—Rabbi Samuel Koch speaks against Fascism at Prospect Church.

Feb. 22—Open House celebration at opening of new Eastlake Clubhouse of WCFYS.

The high point of the **"TEN DAYS"** was the huge pre-primary election parade on behalf of the progressive candidates and for the defeat of Mayor Dore. Numerous unions were approached for support which they gave readily. With their cooperation as well as help from other progressive organizations, a colorful, old-fashioned **TORCHLIGHT PARADE** OF 1000 foot marchers and 100 cars and trucks (2,000 people in all) made its way through the center of the city to a monster progressive election rally. The successful completion of this big parade enhanced the prestige of the Youth Section amongst trade unionists and in the progressive movement at large, and today it has a more welcome entry into unions than ever before.

In preparation for the parade, different chapters and affiliates of the Youth Section undertook projects for the parade, and many interesting and novel "stunts" introduced by



these clubs served to brighten up the parade. The "Future Victims of Johnny Dore" were revived in all their ghostly attire; goons and racketeers stalked about; papier mache masks of Johnny Dore brought his bloated face sharply before the public; and junior groups rode their bicycles and played ball while in the march, calling for playgrounds to take them off the streets.

However, one of the biggest tasks that faced the WCF Youth Section was the very basic, yet not spectacular, precinct house to house visiting work. And here it was that one major mistake was made by the leadership. While the majority of the Youth Section members recognized the importance of this work and immediately threw themselves into it, leading Youth Section members discussed the so-called "clash and contradiction" between precinct work and youth work.

It was maintained that house to house campaign work meant completely dropping youth work, that the Youth Section would not be built, and that "our members are again becoming messenger boys". It was not seen that instead of a conflict of interests between youth and precinct work, there was actually a community of interest, that

they could very well go hand in hand. Besides this basic election work in the precincts, the members of the Youth Section were at the same time meeting the youth directly in the neighborhood for the WCF Youth Section. Thus, a Youth Section member could canvass as a member of a GOOD GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION, show the special youth reasons for having Dore defeated and at the same time popularize the local WCF Youth Section affiliate, its clubhouse or activities, etc. Incidentally, in the house to house canvassing, it wasn't only a matter of meeting the youth at home, but also of reaching the parents with the problems of youth, and through the parents, the young people of the family. In other words, we learned that youth work isn't confined to youth alone.

Precinct work is a very important side of youth participation in the elections and deserves more of our attention. It is exceptionally valuable work and affords a real opportunity of reaching large sections of young people at a time when they are aware of issues and more ready for immediate political activity. It is a matter intimately bound up with the whole problem of training youth in the principles of good citizenship and good government.

A word must be said on the problem of trade union youth participation. We have already dealt with the parade, made possible by the real support of the unions. This shows us that there are all sorts of possibilities for reaching and interesting the trade union youth in election participation when our approach to the problem is a broad and balanced one.

These are some of the more important youth experiences gained in the Seattle City elections. They will help us in forthcoming election campaigns. Looking towards the coming Congressional Elections, the Youth Section is preparing to grapple with the following measures:

1—To make itself more of a GOOD GOVERNMENT AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP ORGANIZATION. It must become an organization so known for its fine educational work on behalf of democracy, for good citizenship training, that its place as an integral and important part of the community cannot be challenged.

2—To work in close friendship and cooperation with all organizations and youth leaders who are concerned about the coming elections for various reasons of their own, but who have in common with the Youth Section a desire to defeat reactionary candidates and elect progressives. This means consulting and working with the progressives in the Young Democrats and Republicans and other organizations in a form of young people's DEMOCRATIC FRONT for the Congressional elections.

3—On the basis of these activities, to work towards a YOUTH LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE with widest possible youth participation, in preparation for a large, active and progressive youth participation in the fall elections.

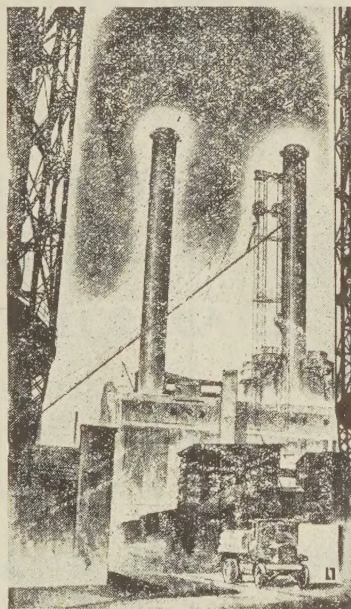
PROBLEMS Of The UNEMPLOYED

by JOHN LITTLE

The problems of the present recession and the perspectives of this recession developing into a major economic crisis are, to my mind, of prime importance. Around them hinges the future of many aspects of our work. There are hundreds of thousands of young people unattached to any trade union and working in unskilled industries, confronted with unemployment. And the question is, how are we going to develop our struggle in the face of these conditions?

Let us consider the problem with reference to the Workers' Alliance. In New York State, we have to conclude that the Alliance is essentially an organization composed of adult workers and, specifically, unemployed workers on home relief, who have family obligations. The Alliance is not in a position, as it stands today, to lead young unemployed workers.

For the Alliance to accomplish such a task successfully, there is need for a complete change (to use a hackneyed phrase) a complete policy of reconstruction. First, it does not have an adequate program with which to organize these young people. Sec-



ondly, at present it does not have the organizing ability or set-up to lead these young people. If we are to tackle this problem in the communities and, in turn, in our branches, we must discuss the problem with leaders of the Alliance on a national basis.

Special Problems

In addition to the laws regarding young people on relief, there are many special problems. As well as an adequate program for the young unemployed, there must be facilities to make them feel that the organization protects their interests and offers them a means for securing livelihood. A system of education is needed in the Alliance that will attract and enlighten the young people. Youth features such as sports, lectures and classes must be developed in the Alliance.

In so far as the concrete fight for the unemployed is concerned, one of the main tendencies among

our unemployed comrades, including many of the trade union leaders, involves looking toward the NYA alone as the solution of the young unemployed's problems. I believe that this merits much further examination on our part to work out concrete and practical demands for young unemployed workers, not only for an adequate NYA program but for jobs and relief.

NYA Plus

In the State of New York, there are approximately 9000 young people on NYA, receiving \$20 a month. The number of unemployed is approximately 1,000,000 (conservatively), of which, according to conservative figures, about a fourth—or 250,000—are young people. In my opinion, the fight for the extension of the NYA must of course be continued as part of our general fight, but emphasis must be placed on the fight for jobs. If industry cannot provide these jobs, then the Workers' Alliance must make it possible for young people to get on to the WPA. In addition, the New York relief laws which discriminate against young people ought to be investigated and a fight organized around them.

If the problem is tackled this way with reference to the Workers' Alliance, we will begin to see more clearly the role of our branches in the communities. The main job is not, as in the past, the organization of independent activity. Our branch activity should become an integral part of the fight for jobs and for the WPA and NYA.

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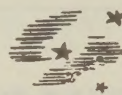
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