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YOUNG COMMUNIST  
**REVIEW**





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# AFTER THE PRIMARIES...

## *Analyzing the Results of the Primary Contest, the National Executive Secretary Discusses Next Steps in YCL Election Campaign Activity*

By **CARL ROSS**

FROM the banks of the Rio Grande to the Great Lakes, from the Atlantic Coast to the shores of the Pacific, the American political arena has been the scene of some of the most bitter political battles in the history of the Republic. Every primary election contest has brought to the surface the principal issue of the day: the struggle between the developing forces of the democratic front of the people and the standard bearers of rock-ribbed reaction.

*What has been the general result of the primary elections and of President Roosevelt's "purge" of reactionaries from his party?*

Unquestionably the main trend of the masses of people has been away from the camp of reaction and toward the banner of the democratic front. Where labor stood united to support a common progressive candidate together with other progressive forces, victory resulted almost invariably.

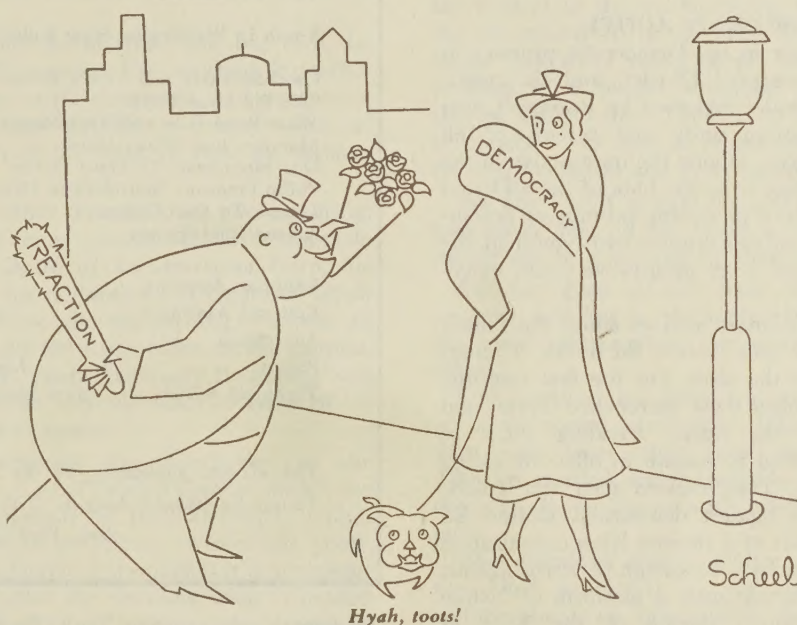
In some measure the contributions of the progressive youth movement were already registered in the outcome of these primary elections. In the California elections, which were a sweeping victory for the most consistent New Dealers in the Democratic primary (including the nomination of Downey over McAdoo for Senate though McAdoo had Roosevelt's endorsement), the young voters were an important factor. Though they endorsed no candidate, the progressive Young Democrats, who have built up a sizeable organization that has wide support among the youth, contributed to the New Deal victory. They have been able to teach young voters where their real interests

lay. Numerous independent youth clubs, and of course the California Youth Assembly, though non-partisan and non-political in character, deserves credit for helping to train young men and women in better and more progressive citizenship.

Again, in the State of Washington where New Dealers supported by the Washington Commonwealth Federation captured the Democratic primaries, the youth movement contributed to victory. The WCF Youth Section which numbers 1000, brought forth a rounded out youth program that was endorsed by all the principle candidates. Convincing young and first voters to register so as to be able to vote, and developing friendly relations with the Young Democrats, the Youth Section has strengthened the unity of New Deal youth.

The reactionary press almost "forgot" to mention that Murphy, the liberal governor of Michigan, running for renomination on the Democratic gubernatorial ticket piled up a huge vote. Murphy was endorsed a few weeks before the elections by the United Auto Workers Union "Jobs Conference for Youth" which represented 19 of the largest locals of the union. This action of militant young trade unionists certainly helped to organize solid labor support for Murphy as against the treacherous policy of the Lovestoneites who were opposed to any such action.

Throughout the once "solid South" the Tory Democrats are being challenged by the people as the victory of Barkley in Kentucky, Pepper in Florida, and the nomination of progressive local candidates in numerous



Courtesy, The Fight



localities demonstrates. The movement of the people has not yet swept out all the Tydings, Smiths and Georges. They are still entrenched behind corrupt and powerful political machines aided by Wall Street, and protect themselves by denying and limiting the rights of citizenship to Negro and white through the poll tax and terror. But the fresh breath of progress, fanned by the labor and progressive movement, is driving out the stench of the slave market and laying the basis for a great people's movement in the South.

And one of the most important features of the "new South" that is developing is the role of youth. It is evidenced in the growing progressive trends in the Young Democratic Clubs, both Negro and white, that actively supported progressive candidates in the primaries. It can be seen in the work of the Southern Negro Youth Congress against the poll tax, for citizenship rights, and other needs of Negro youth.

#### YOUNG DEMOCRATS ACTIVE

The defeat of O'Connor in the Democratic primary in New York's 16th Congressional District, and the nomination of Fay, a New Dealer endorsed by Roosevelt, was made possible by maximum unity and activity of all progressive and labor forces. Among the most active in the campaign against O'Connor were the bulk of the affiliated Young Democrats who show increasing promise of becoming an important factor in cooperation with youth in the American Labor Party and other progressive youth movements.

All the cries from reactionary sources about the failure of Roosevelt's "purge" to oust Cotton Ed Smith, Tydings and George, cannot hide the facts. For the first time the forces of progress challenged these entrenched Tories and forced them out into the open, revealing them as reactionaries who have tried to remain in office by riding the President's coat tails. They showed their true colors, disclosing how they plot against democracy. Cotton Ed Smith donned the red shirt of a revived Klan organization to celebrate a victory won by a campaign of terror against Negroes and labor conducted upon a platform of "white supremacy." The anti-Negro slogans of the Klan of reconstruction days were again heard in the South, a dangerous revival of slave-holders' methods that cannot be tolerated in America, and can be combatted by the unity of the Negro and white people in the democratic front.

#### WALL STREET INVADED MARYLAND

Tydings in Maryland hysterically howled about an "invasion" by the President, who as Chief Executive of all the people, and all the States, chose to speak in Maryland. In reality it was Wall Street that invaded Maryland and Georgia, contributing millions towards the re-election of its Charley McCarthys. And in the same tune Senator George of Georgia dragged out the old slogan of the Confederacy and the secessionists, of "state's rights," to cover up his treachery.

Now we know where they stand. The strong progressive movement that for the first time threatened their positions is only the first step that will drive them out of public office as surely as O'Connor was "purged" from the

## YOUNG COMMUNIST REVIEW

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President's party in New York. President Roosevelt has not lost prestige, nor has he failed in his purpose. By his action he has helped to accelerate the process of lining up all reactionaries in one party and the progressive majority of the people who support the New Deal, the CIO program, the American Youth Congress program, in another party.

In this development, the Young Communist League played a cooperative part, working with and helping to strengthen the progressive forces and their unity, especially among the youth.

Thus we see that in these primary struggles in all states, the democratic forces of the people and of the youth are being united on a wider scale. The maintenance and the strengthening of this progressive majority in the face of the reactionaries and the red-baiting efforts will assure a progressive victory on November 8th.

*What are some of the issues and problems in working for a progressive victory in November?*

(Continue on Page 32)



## On the Order of the Day

● **B**IT by bit, step by step, month after month, the *Review* is pushing up its circulation as part of a drive to hit the 10,000 mark by the first of the year. Good news this month comes from Chicago, which increased its order by 25% to the half-thousand mark. On the September issues, we received additional orders from Michigan, Minnesota and Philadelphia, which naturally warms the cockles of our hearts.

There is real evidence that the YCL wants the *Review*, as the analysis of our questionnaire elsewhere reveals. Although the number of replies to the questionnaire in the August issues was disappointing, we interpret the sense of the returns to mean that the League wants the magazine to continue to be a lively, well-written and colorful formulation of our policies, peppered here and there with reports of League activities, as well as stories, poems, and literary material.

That will be the whole trend from now on, with the emphasis on the seriously popular. Yes, we think it possible to be serious and popular at the same time, and we want to see whether 10,000 League members will agree with us, and resolve by the first of the year, to read the *Review* regularly.

Publication plans in other directions are also maturing. At the moment, the YCL must concentrate on the complete sale of the "*Life and Death of An American Hero, the Story of Dave Doran*," many hundreds of copies of which are still on the shelves. Now with the opening of school, all districts should drive to sell these pamphlets on the campus, and in the high schools. There are many thousands who have heard of Dave Doran and will want to know of his great life and even greater death.

All districts must organize the distribution of the pamphlet by Carl Ross . . . *Let's Pull Together*, which the YCL is distributing nationally in 100,000 copies, a high water mark in our literature efforts. While this youth primer contains much material that qualifies it as a recruiting pamphlet of value after the elections, what is needed now is a real, planned drive to circulate this pamphlet widely in the next few weeks. That's when its message will be of greatest value.

Likewise, the *Youth Edition of the National Platform of the Communist Party* is now in everyone's hands, and must be sold extensively in the five remaining weeks of the election battle. After November 8th, this little penny pamphlet, packed with so much meat for citizens who take their politics seriously, will be of less value than it is today.

In preparation, are two more pamphlets, part of an ambitious publication project for the fall, winter, and spring months. One of these, by Francis Franklin, discusses the Communist approach to Christian Youth, a serious appraisal of the differences and similarities between Communism and Christianity, as well as an analysis of current practical problems.

The second, by Phil Schatz and Al Steele, of New York, addresses the Jewish-American youth in the name

of the Young Communist League, a pamphlet which fills a long-felt need in our organization.

Among other projects are: an analysis of our approach to the armed forces, and the ROTC; a booklet on Religion, another on the Negro People and their culture; a pamphlet addressed to the youth of second-generation Americans, and a booklet on American history.

With the perfection of our literature apparatus in all districts, counties, and branches, these projects inaugurate a new day in YCL literature publication.

## School Days, School Days

● **T**RADITIONALLY, young people come back to schools swinging their school books over their shoulders, whistling the tune of "School Days, School Days," with laughter in their eyes, and cheer in their hearts. That is the Saturday Evening Post conception of the student in the public or the high schools. And from the advertisements in the press, one might think that the major concern of young people returning to college is the problem of a proper wardrobe: enough tweed jackets, cheviot Oxford shirts, trousers to match, and trousers not to match. . . as well as an assortment of hats and shoes for every occasion and every emergency.

We don't want to spoil the cover portraits in the weekly magazines, nor do we mean to suggest that gentlemen should not be measured by their clothes.

But our guess is that most high school and college students, whether in the large cities, the small towns, or the rural communities, are worried today about other things.

Our guess is that they are deeply worried about the economic system which offers them question marks rather than jobs when they have completed their studies. They are puzzled, and outraged by the events in Europe. . . observing living history with which their books can't keep pace.

The American student is deeply concerned today with two chief problems: on the one hand, the domestic considerations of opportunity for creative work after graduation; on the other, the prospect that the treacherous action of Tory leaders in England and France will give the free hand to Hitler: a course which everyone realizes will lead to European and world war.

There are deep currents of discontent on the American campus, a search for new understanding, a clue that will make the world intelligible and life hopeful.

We say that hope as well as intelligence is to be found today among the ranks of those who are fighting for democracy, for the reinterpretation of democracy and the reorientation of our economic and political life along democratic paths.

More than that, the intelligence and hope for the younger generation in the schools lies in unity with the younger generation in the factories, mines, and mills . . . in the ranks of our League, the YCL.

"Make every school a fortress of democracy" was the advice of President Roosevelt to the last convention of the



American Student Union. Without contradicting the President in any sense, we say it is necessary to make every school a fortress of Marxist thought and action, a school which prepares the student youth for the greater issues that lie beyond the campus gate.

## The Wrong Way to Youth Unity

• IT is not too soon to plan for peace actions on November 11th, the traditional day of Armistice commemorations. In fact, by November 11th, the voice of American youth, as well as the American people, may be decisive for world peace or war.

Therefore, the call for Armistice Day peace actions by the United Christian Youth Movement will be welcomed by every one.

But we call attention to this Call, not merely to praise its positive aspects but also to disclose some of its shortcomings. While the call of the United Christian Youth Movement endorses Secretary of State Hull's international trade policies, as well as the Nye-Kvale Bill against military training, it ignores the problem of halting fascist aggression in Spain and China and elsewhere.

Likewise, the emphasis on the withdrawal of American troops from China without mention of the Japanese troops who are dismembering the national unity of China, represents a distorted view of the realities and essentials in an American peace program which cannot be excused.

But even more alarming is the attitude of the *Epworth Herald*, the Methodist publication of September 7th, which

*"First and foremost, this must be a demonstration of Christian youth on behalf of a Christian program of peace. . . . Nor is there any particular gain in enlisting civic bodies the ideals of which are not aggressively Christian. . . . It will be infinitely stronger if composed only of those who have reached their conviction on peace because of their Christian commitments than if it is composed of a motley crew assembled for a multitude of purposes."*

Clearly, it would be possible to take issue with almost every phrase of this statement . . . such as "motley crew" and "multitude of purposes." And we could also underline the rather dangerous implied emphasis of antagonism towards non-Christian groups.

Certainly, no one objects to the Christian groups arriving at a peace program through their own convictions. Nor can anyone even hint at limiting the freedom of expression of all views in the American youth peace movement today.

There is, however, no contradiction whatsoever in the Christian groups co-operating from their own point of view with peace organizations of a non-sectarian character, although not necessarily of anti-Christian beliefs.

The strength of the American youth movement lies in the unity of all forces around a minimum, positive, energetic, hopeful, and co-operative program. Let's not turn the clock backwards!

## Dave Doran Honor Society

• EULOGIZING Dave Doran, comrade John Gates, present War Commissar of the 15th Brigade of the Spanish Republican Army, said that "Doran has left us a heritage which is the life of the Brigade itself, and which we can never forget."

This heritage is equally the heritage of the American YCL, and with this in mind the New York District of the League has instituted the *Dave Doran Honor Society*.

In this society, the outstanding members of the League will be enrolled, those who have proven themselves by daily work in behalf of our organization to merit the special honor which this membership in the society bestows.

Applying the concept of the *Dave Doran Honor Society* to the practical tasks of the YCL in their territory, the New York comrades are awarding membership to those who recruit two new members into the League and collect \$5.00 in the present \$15,000 financial drive of the New York League. An attractive pin has already been cast, bearing the YCL emblem outlined on a metal shield, underlined with the name of Dave Doran.

Here is an example which other districts might follow, both in form and in spirit.

Dave Doran symbolized all that is best in American youth, as well as the American Young Communist League. His was the example which will never be forgotten, the example that inspires, educates, stimulates, encourages, and illuminates the outstanding League members who will wear the pin which carries his name.



The cover photo for October was posed by Claudia Jones, a member of the National Council of the Young Communist League, and one of its leading Negro women members. Claudia Jones is a prominent YCL'er in Harlem, and is chairman of the New York County organization of the YCL.

Frankly, we have been trying to get Claudia on the cover of the *Review* for some time, and this month the matter caused some serious problems. The Editorial Board could not decide which photo of Claudia to use, and with some misgivings finally decided on the one which appears on the cover, taken by the famous German exile, Miss Lotte Jacobi.

Just to make sure, however, we print a photo of Claudia Jones, taken at the World Youth Congress by Georg Heyer. Any one of them, we think you'll agree, does the *Review* equal justice.





# AMONG THE CHRISTIAN YOUTH

IN every community of America, in every small town and large city, there have been for many years large numbers of Christian young people for whom church activity is an established, vital part of their lives. Sunday morning has meant Sunday school classes for millions. Sunday or Wednesday evening is reserved for a young people's group devoted to social, religious, or intellectual activity. From time to time there is a church bazaar or social of some sort in which the young people take part. In the summer, Church schools, young people's camps, and conferences are organized all over the country. The International Council of Religious Education, representing 41 denominations in the United States and Canada, has a department to guide this work nationally, and estimates that some 20,000,000 young people are engaged in such projects in these two countries.

This traditional picture of Christian youth activity has been altered in the last few years. The classes and socials and conferences continue. But in addition, Christian youth groups appear in local youth councils to meet and work together with trade union young people and students on urgent community, national, and international problems. In some cases, like California, they have taken the initiative in establishing such councils. They contribute a significant share to national youth gatherings such as the American Youth Congress, and they constituted an important section of delegates to the World Youth Congress.

## INDEPENDENT YOUTH MOVEMENT

At the same time, in many places young people from the various churches hold their *own* gatherings, discussing the Christian approach to their urgent personal and larger social problems. They send delegates many miles to national conferences on both a denominational and interdenominational basis, where Negro and white young Christians, and youth from every type of community background, grapple with these same issues.

There is indeed a Christian youth movement in America. It represents more than the customary activities sponsored by the adults for the youth. It rather expresses the growing interest of Christian young people to find their own solution to the questions posed by a changing, shifting, problem-ridden world.

The first great inter-denominational conference of Christian Youth in America, sponsored by the Committee on a United Christian Youth Movement in 1934 spoke of its own movement as "Christian Youth Building A New World." Its Statement of Christian Conviction expresses the protest of a generation seeking a just and peaceful society confronted with the realities of a decaying social order:

## *Discussing Some of the Facts and Trends Among Christian Youth and Their Organizations*

By CELESTE STRACK

*"We have taken the world of beauty which God has provided and filled it with ugliness and marred its splendor; with all the knowledge we have gained we are still living in darkness and our science has often been used to exploit man rather than to free him.*

*"While appreciating the contribution our nations have already made to civilization, we must not be blind to the fact that millions of our fellows are unemployed and supported by charity; millions more live in the constant shadow of insecurity and fear; the majority even in prosperous times dwell in poverty, while the wealth of the world is controlled by the few. Youth are denied the chance to prepare for a life work, or if they do prepare, they frequently find themselves in the long line of unemployed . . .*

*"Professing to follow the Prince of Peace, we blindly follow the militarists from one war to another, emerging from each with ghastly losses and nothing gained. Growing up to believe in the sacredness of personality and the value of the Christian home, we find ourselves denied the opportunity to establish homes of our own . . .*

*"We declare our purpose to join with those who would bring this strife and suffering to an end and build a world of brotherhood, where God-given resources are used to serve all mankind, where co-operation replaces competition, where peace abides in place of war, and where special privilege gives place to justice and equal opportunity for all."*

Up and down the geographical ladder, into the states, the cities and towns, this sentiment proceeds. Christian Youth Councils on a county, city and state scale have been formed, and every two years since 1934 a National Christian Youth Council has been meeting, representing various denominations and state groups, while every four years there is a larger Conference of the same sort.

Among the inter-denominational groups the Methodist youth movement has been one of the most active both in terms of social issues and in terms of the degree of interdenominational cooperation. Youth groups and social activities have been sponsored for many years by the three divisions of the Methodist Church—the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Protestant Church, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; (these three



divisions are now uniting into one Methodist Church).

The Epworth League is a well known Christian youth group in most communities. Wesleyan Foundations have been established in the major state universities as well as other secular institutions attended by Methodist young people. Missionary societies, like the Queen Esthers, have existed for some years, while a special youth publication, the *Epworth Herald*, is issued by the department of young people's work.

In 1934 these youth groups held the first meeting of the National Council of Methodist Youth, initiating a movement by the youth themselves to interpret the significance of Christianity in present day community, national, and world problems. Recently this movement has been influenced by such YPSL'ers as Al Hamilton, who attempt to give an ultra left, "socialist" character to its work.

As a result large sections of Methodist youth who are progressive, but certainly not socialist in conviction, as well as many adults in the church, have not found it possible to cooperate with the National Council. There is at present a trend towards eliminating the ultra-leftism fostered by Hamilton and the group around him, a step which is essential if the movement is to activate the several millions of Methodist youth it today claims to represent. This step is doubly important because of the active role the Methodist youth play within the United Christian Youth Movement, where Hamilton and others are attempting to introduce a "socialist" tone that would only narrow and divide a movement that actually holds a very liberal position on current problems.

At the same time there are conservative and even reactionary forces within the Methodist Church who wish to prevent the young people from carrying out a progressive program, and they have already removed from leadership certain progressive adult leaders. The ultra-leftism of Hamilton and those around him plays into the hands of these conservatives and has been used by them as an excuse for limiting the influence and impeding the work of the National Council.

#### BAPTIST ACTIVITY

The Methodist Church and the Baptist Church youth movements, the two largest Protestant denominations in the United States, are of special importance, since they include in their membership probably the highest proportion of workers and small farmers. The Baptist Young People's Union is as well known as the Epworth League, particularly in the Southern section of the land. Although there is a national movement of Baptist Youth, it emphasizes chiefly denominational activity rather than the inter-denominational Christian youth cooperation in which the Methodists have been so active. While the BY PU tends to deal chiefly with religious and social activities for youth, current economic and political problems are gradually receiving greater consideration.

Christian Endeavor groups, existing within many denominations as well as on an inter-denominational basis, share with the Baptists and Methodists a central place in the organizations of Christian youth. Christian Endeavor is also international with special strength in the United

States, England, and the Dominions. Recently the Congress of 10,000 leaders, meeting in Australia, sounded a strong note of protest against the crimes of fascism in China and Spain, a sentiment which arises naturally from the interest of Christian Endeavor in the "world wide mission of Christianity" and in the missionary work of the churches.

Recently too, the Congregational and Christian Churches have initiated a youth movement, the Pilgrim Fellowship. Moreover, most of these denominations have developed an extensive student program through foundations and clubs in the state universities and other secular schools, coordinated on an inter-denominational basis through the University Commission of the Church Boards of Education, also centered in Chicago.

#### SOCIAL ISSUES RECOGNIZED

The general development of the Christian youth movement has been a healthy one. It increasingly tackles urgent social and economic problems. Recognizing the economic difficulties facing youth, it holds a positive, sympathetic attitude toward the labor movement and toward measures that will provide a higher standard of living for all. It realizes the oppression of the church under fascism and seeks the maintenance and extension of democracy. It believes in the Brotherhood of Man and wishes to establish world peace.

Especially is the Christian youth movement grappling with the development of a positive peace program. The fundamental and historical attitude of Christian youth was expressed this summer in a statement drawn up by the peace commission of the National Council meeting of the Christian Youth Movement, which said:

*"The alternatives today are 'world order or world anarchy.' As Christians we must act for the reestablishment of loyalty to the international community and for international cooperation to bring about the brotherhood of man. To accomplish this we must build toward universal moral bases which will lead to universal respect for international law and justice."*

The commission went on to endorse such projects as the World Youth Congress, entrance of the United States into the World Court and non-recognition of gains made through aggression. Later, at the World Youth Congress, this position was extended by Carroll Morris, Chairman of the United Christian Youth Movement, to an endorsement of the 7-point program of the American delegation, in which all the other Christian delegates concurred.

There is at present a trend among Christian youth to draw the logical conclusions from this position in regard to the necessity for halting fascist aggression in China and Spain and preventing the spread of such aggression, as a prerequisite for a peaceful settlement of all economic and political problems facing the world.

There is, moreover, a developing understanding that Christian ethics themselves demand the condemnation of aggression and positive action to halt it. The experience of Christian missionaries in China has helped to arouse the conscience of Christian youth. For example, at the fall conference of the National Intercollegiate Christian





Poster of International Council of Religious Education

Council (the Student Christian movement) the following statement accompanied a call for economic withdrawal from Japan, and assistance to the victims of aggression in China:

*"Love itself demands of us a clear recognition of the wrongs committed and of the necessity of exerting every effort short of war to make wrongs cease. Vigorous condemnation of the aggressor coupled with a realization and fulfillment of our own moral obligation are a necessity if world peace is to be maintained.*

*While we must confess our own sins and try to right the wrongs we have done and are doing, it is not in the interests of permanent peace to fail to condemn ruthless aggression. The fact that many nations have in the past committed such aggression does not mean that the same thing should be excused today."*

But there are still certain sections of the Christian youth movement who are confused on these issues. For instance, the National Council of Methodist Youth recently declared that "We believe in international morality and law, in the

sanctity of treaties, in the Good Neighbor policy . . . and in the principle of the association of nations."

At the same time, the Methodist youth, among whom there are many prominent Socialists, endorsed the Oxford pledge and called for an embargo on all countries at war, including Spain and China. This represents a really reactionary isolationist trend that will only encourage further fascist aggression. Christian youth must realize that a mere personal refusal to have anything to do with war offers no real solution to the problem of ending violence; genuine preventive action is essential to halt further conflict. And where are the Socialists, from whom we have not heard one word of criticism? Are they not in favor of lifting the embargo on Spain?

Another trend among Christian youth is typified by those religious young people who favor international cooperation but feel that the practical application of this policy entails "ganging up" on certain nations, a continuation of "power politics" of another era. Feeling that the guilt of the World War lay equally upon all imperialist powers, they insist that the democracies should "appease" the fascist nations, since these nations were wronged after the World War.

#### POSITION OUTMODED

The trouble is that these people argue from a premise granted long ago by all progressives, who realize that the "settlement" of the last war sowed the seeds of future conflicts. But they should remember that the principle of collective security, elaborated in Articles XI and XVI of the League of Nations Covenant, expressly provides machinery for international arbitration, and the peaceful settlement of all international disputes. They forget or ignore the fact that the fascist powers were given the chance to utilize this machinery on every issue which they took into their own hands and "solved" through the use of force. It was the *fascist bloc* which deliberately undermined all the instruments created for peaceful international collaboration.

For the last five years, every effort at "appeasement" of fascism has led only to further violence, enlarged aggression—Manchuria, Ethiopia, Spain, China, Austria, Czechoslovakia! This type of "settlement" can never bring peace. In this situation, only the halting of wilful aggression can lay the basis of "reconciliation" and peaceful collaboration to solve international problems.

Finally, the cooperation of all peace forces to halt such aggression involves not "power politics," but exactly the reverse. It is precisely the power politicians like Chamberlain who have been selling peace down the river. They are the worst enemies of collective security. Against such politicians are increasingly arrayed the peoples of the world together with the Soviet Union, endeavoring to determine democratically the foreign policy of their governments in such a way as to halt fascism and save peace.

Increasingly, the Christian youth lend their strength to the youth movement as a whole. In the coming months, their strength, especially on the issue of peace, will be needed as never before.



# A NEW YOUTH SHALL RISE...

*Excerpts from an Address to  
Fifty Thousand French YCL  
Members at Douai, in June;  
Raymond Guyot Presiding*

*By MAURICE THOREZ*

**I**N the name of the Central Committee, in the name of the entire Communist Party, I am very happy to greet this magnificent demonstration of youth under the banner of the Young Communist League of France, the banner of Communism, the banner of Leninism.

First of all, it is a great joy for an active Communist to see the constantly growing number of young people who are being won to the cause of Communism, the noble and high ideals of social justice and human fraternity for which generations of proletarians have fought, and which henceforth, the progress of science and the capability of the working class are making possible, certain and inevitable, in the Soviet Land.

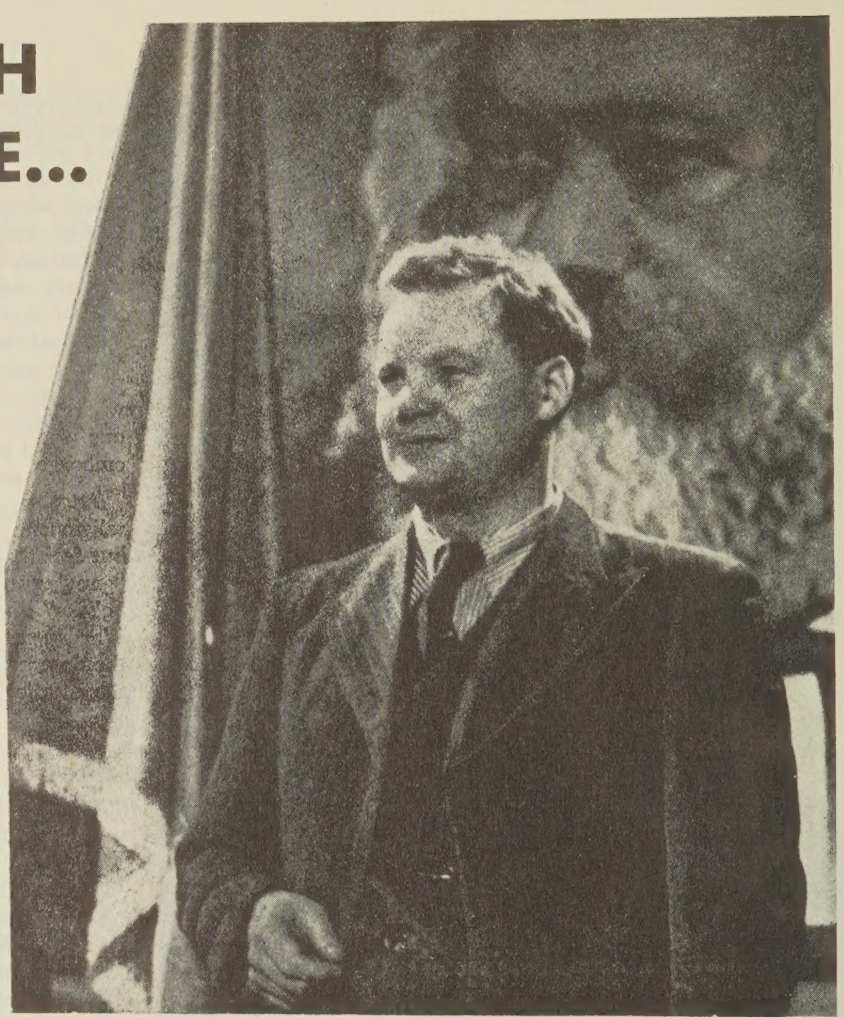
And then, too, I, personally, (pardon me, comrades) feel a great emotion, which you will understand, in speaking before the youth, in the North, here in Douai, only a few miles from the village where I was born, and where I again meet the many faces of friends among the miners, my first companions in the hard battles fought under the banner of Lenin and Stalin.

## CHILDHOOD MEMORIES

Standing before these young people, how can I avoid recalling my childhood memories . . . skipping around the Gayant at the Barlet Square in Douai; the way we raced across the fields of Noyelles and Courcelles in order to be the first to see the airplanes flying from the airdromes of La Brayelle in 1908 and 1909?

How can I avoid remembering my earliest jobs, first in the fields, and then handpicking coal in pit no. 4 of the mines in Dourges, and that first strike, in 1913. Then came the mournful days of August 1914; war, evacuations, weeping processions of our people, long separations from parents, and then the return, four and a half years later to a country which was desolated and devastated.

But even at that time there was confidence in our hearts, We had heard the call of Lenin and together with our elders, we answered it. We answered the call of the Third International along with those who were still covered with



the blood and mud of their trenches, carrying the marks of multiple wounds on their bodies, and in their breasts the scars of illnesses which were to take them from us prematurely.

I am thinking of Raymond Lefèvre, Henri Barbusse, our cherished Vaillant-Couturier, and of those veterans who remain with us, at the head of our party, like our dear Jacques Duclos.

We answered along with many more, with that proletarian soldier, the courageous revolutionary, the fighter of the Black Sea and the soldier of Republican Spain, that genuine hero, who in other times would be a legendary knight: André Marty; and with many who were younger. We all went to the Communist International, and we, the youngest, joined the Young Communist International.

## STIFF BATTLES

But it was not always easy. We had to fight many stiff battles. We had to put up with reprisals from the bosses, we were chased out of the mines, we were thrown out of work. We were prosecuted, suppressed, convicted, insulted and beaten. But we fought with courage, with faith, and with enthusiasm.

I met our Raymond Guyot, more than fifteen years ago,



at a Congress of the Communist Youth. I was a young worker of Pas-de-Calais. He came from Yonne and worked at Troyes. We met. Like a great many of you here, we became attached to each other by more than friendship, by more than affection. The feeling which binds us to each other in our Party and in our YCL is the feeling of brothers who are fighting the same battle, and who shall continue to be in it to the end, *to victory*. We were united behind our banner which we always raised higher by fighting for the workers' most urgent demands, for bread; fighting for peace against the military occupation of the Ruhr; against the war in Morocco and in Syria; against the provocative tactics levelled at the Soviet Union.

We struggled for unity, and by our tenacity and perseverance contributed towards bringing together Communist and Socialist brothers, who until then, were separated, to the great joy of the bosses and reactionaries.

Then, after achieving the unity of the working class, we brought about the unity between workers in the cities and those of the fields, unity between manual and white collar workers, unity among Communists, Socialists, Trade Union members and Republicans.

### NOT YET SATISFIED

And now, Comrades, we can state, that even if our balance does not consist entirely of satisfactions, if we have known some false hopes, if in the workers' ranks there is some restlessness, perhaps fears, just the same we have changed things a bit. Perhaps more for the young people than for their elders. Now one goes to the factory or mine to work at the age of fourteen. That is still too young and the Young Communist League and our Party demand that schooling be continued up to fifteen years of age. But formerly, children went to work in a factory or mine at the age of ten, eleven or twelve.

I have heard the tale told many times of how my old grandfather would leave his village of Hasnon early in the morning to go to work in the mines of Vicoigne, and how he would carry my mother, then a child of ten, still asleep, on his shoulders, and leave her, scarcely awake, at the mine gate. And I, myself, didn't I begin to work, when only twelve, handpicking coal at a place five miles from here?

Not long ago, one worked twelve hours a day, then eleven, and finally, before the war began, ten hours a day. I recall little girls separating coal, and little collierboys of thirteen and fourteen, and the young barrowmen of sixteen, not one of whom could see the light of day for two whole weeks, with the exception of Sunday. Like old miners, they went down into the pit before daybreak, and did not come up until night had fallen.

To-day, thanks to collective bargaining, workers are guaranteed higher wages, and the wages of the young workers have increased, in proportion, still more. Indeed, what our young people have today, is a real improvement over what their fathers and their grandfathers had, but all of this, is still far from enough. We demand that all young people who are less than eighteen years old, should work only six hours a day.

We want our young men and women to really learn a trade, under the best possible conditions, and we ask that sufficient assistance be given their parents. While I see these charming groups from the Association of Young Girls of France, I also think of those among them who go each morning from the mining districts of Lens and Henin-Lietard, and sometimes even further places to the textile factories of Lille and its suburbs, so that the greater part of their wages go into the cash registers of the railroad companies. I think of our young unemployed workers, of those who must find a job, if our old workers are going to finally get the rest which they have so well earned. Retirement for the aged! Work for the youth! That is the common slogan of both the Young Communist League and the Communist Party.

I think of those young college graduates, whose parents went through great sacrifices so that their children could study, and who now, with their degrees and their diplomas, can find no work, some of them becoming porters in the Paris Subway system.

We must give our youth, who have more leisure, the opportunities to study and educate themselves. The system of family endowments should be extended so that it shall be no hardship to keep a big boy or girl at school, up to the age of fourteen at present, and to-morrow, up to fifteen.

Schools must be built, so that there will no longer be fifty, fifty-five, sixty and sometimes even seventy little children in one class room. The continuation of study must also be made easier. Guarantee jobs to the youth, have post graduate courses, arrange lecture series, develop a taste for reading in the youth by helping them to buy their own books. Guide them, show them motion picture houses where they will find productions superior to those which, unfortunately, usually grace our screens. And our youth must have the opportunity of hearing the excellent music in concert halls and over the radio.

### OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE

Learn, learn all you can, young people. Learn, study from books and study from life, the greatest of books.

This little country of ours, the North, and the Pas de Calais, which calls to mind the people's centuries of strivings, labor and love of liberty, has also produced wealth and art. We possess admirable museums to which our youth do not go often enough, filled with treasures still undiscovered. They still are not acquainted with all our great painters and sculptors who immortalized our ancestors, the peasants and citizens of Flanders.

Comrades, I beg you, make a visit, if you haven't done so already, to the Town-Hall of Douai. Visit the powerful old belfry. Return to your cities of the North, go to Valenciennes, Bethune, Commines and Arras, go and meditate in front of these monuments which will remind you of the exertions of your fathers, of their love of independence and freedom, of which we, we men of the North, are so jealous.

How can you help being overcome by anguish at the idea that all these young people may also know the hor-



rors of the battlefield? You, the older ones, you remember the soldier's sufferings, the mud and blood of the trenches for four and a half years. You remember your brothers and your comrades who were left at Vosges in the North Sea. A million and half from our country, a million and a half dead. Their names are written on all the monuments in the big cities as well as in the little villages of France. Ten million from all of Europe, rivers of blood, mountains of corpses, piled up ruins, our entire region desolate and devastated. We made an oath that we would fight with all our hearts and all our strength so that our children should never know war.

I can tell you, we have never failed in keeping this oath. We fought against war and for peace in 1920 by joining the Third International. We fought against war and for peace in 1923 when Marcel Cachin and the leadership of our Communist Party were thrown in prison, when we called for fraternization with the young German workers, when we fought against the stupid politics of those who did not want to make peace with the young German Republic, and who now prostrate themselves at the feet of Hitler and are ready to deliver our country to him in order to keep their special privileges.

### CONSISTENT ANTI-WAR STRUGGLE

We fought against war and for peace in 1929, by denouncing Tardieu's conspiracy against the Soviet Union. We fought against war and for peace in 1932, against this same Tardieu, who when the President was assassinated by a White Guard Russian, tried to make us responsible for this murder, and called for our, and our Party's persecution, an act of provocation against the Soviet Union.

Also, in July 1932, we fought against war and for peace, when, at the moving call of Romain Rolland and our regretted Henri Barbusse, we were the only ones to go as a Party to the Amsterdam Congress and then to the Congress at Pleyel.

We fought for peace and against war by launching and achieving our great idea, the People's Front.

Yes, comrades, we shall do everything to avoid the horrors of a new war, for the youth, for our children, ourselves, our great people!

It would be more terrible, a great deal more terrible than the war of 1914-18. For then, according to the bitter words of our regretted Raymond Lefevre, "there will be croix de guerres for the cradles." War is the slaughter of children, women and old men, as in Madrid, Barcelona, Lerida, Guernica, and Almeria. Our great Pasionaria was right when she said before the meeting of the Central Committee of our brother Communist Party of Spain last May 23:

"The blood of the slain women, children and men during these tragic months stains not only Hitler and Mussolini. There are many people in Europe, who, no matter how hard they try, will never be able to wash their hands clean of this innocent blood."

Yes! Fascism is war, we said it, and there were some who laughed at us. Fascism is war. We saw it in Mus-

solini's aggression against the Ethiopians. Fascism is war, we see it in the aggression of the Japanese militarists against the Chinese. Fascism is war, we see it in Hitler's repeated provocations, the day before yesterday obliterating little Austria, yesterday, menacing Czechoslovakia, and always menacing our country and peace.

Yes, we Communists were right, and we are right, in insisting that the insolence of the fascist dictators grows in accordance with the defaulting of the governments of the democratic countries, in direct proportion to the politics of appeasements and capitulations before fascism.

Though we are slandered, never have we asked for military intervention in Spain. We demanded along with the entire C.G.T., along with the League of Rights for Man, numerous Socialists, Radicals, the entire Socialist Labor International, and with the International Federation of Labor, for the respect for international law which allows freedom of trade for Republican Spain. . . .

We are here, we, the young people of Flanders and Artois, inspired by the history and glory of the struggles of our ancestors, who established communes, the first free republics of France. We are in the tradition of proletarian internationalism, fighting for liberty and for peace, and love of our country. We are proud of our country, proud of the best and highest traditions of the French people, who fought shouting, "Death to the tyrants, peace to all people!" . . .

And here Jaures' beautiful thought comes to my mind, "A little internationalism estranges one from one's fatherland, a great deal of internationalism brings one back to it. . . ."

### OUR TRIUMPH INEVITABLE

The inevitable social transformation is written in the facts. The objective conditions are more than ripe; there is considerable accumulation of capital, concentration of all the important means of production and exchange, and labor is organized collectively and socially while property remains the privilege of a parasitic minority. The objective conditions are ripe for Socialism, for Communism, but Marx teaches us that men make their own history, that the privileged classes hang on desperately, that decaying capital, after it has reached its final stage, still hopes to save itself by brutal dictatorship, by bloody fascism.

Very well, young people! just as our ancestors fought in 1789 to assure the success of the bourgeoisie and to abolish feudalism, so you shall fight to abolish capitalism and prepare the triumph of Communism.

Go, young people. Be strong, calm and sure. Fight for the unity of youth. Do your utmost to bring to your side one united army of your brothers, your sisters, Socialists, Communists, Republicans and Catholics. Go, and sing: "Soon a new youth shall rise in your front ranks."

Young miners, young metal workers, young coal pickers, young textile workers, raise your banner always higher, our banner, the banner of Lenin and Stalin.

*March in the front ranks of life! March in the front ranks of happiness!*



# Two YCL Branch Presidents Tell Their Story

**“O**F course I don’t mind talking about myself, if you’re interested. I’m working right now on a big mass meeting for Spain. We’ll probably hold it in the Italian Cooperative on October 21st. I think we’ll get every progressive and religious organization in North Hudson County to attend. Its really the biggest thing we ever tried. Maybe the Spanish Ambassador—”

“Maybe something more personal . . .” began the interviewer.

“Well, if it’s biography you want,” she said, “You might put down that the Tom Paine Branch of West New York, Hudson County, New Jersey, is going to begin active united front work in the near future. We’ve got the branch on a smooth running basis, and most of the executive will attend the Dave Doran Training School. You know, it’s going to be held right here in these headquarters. Of course, we’ll take down those decorations you saw. They’re from the last barn dance. And we’ll repaint the place. Anyhow, when those comrades come back, one or two of us are going to go into Cliffside to build another YCL branch there. We can—”

“That’s swell,” said the photographer.

“Look, couldn’t you maybe talk about something more, eh, personal? Say—how did you get into the movement in the first place?”

Yetta Rakoff, attractive brunette president of New Jersey’s Tom Paine Branch of the YCL, was obviously at a loss. She looked around the kitchen of the headquarters, which was soon to be the kitchen of New Jersey’s YCL Training School; she looked through the open door at the meeting in progress, where a young Labor Poet was earnestly addressing the members, and hesitated.

“That’s hard to say. I’ve been in it Chinese tapestries, and things like that.

## *The First of a Series of Articles on How the YCL Branch Works, Beginning with an Interview with Two Young Ladies from New Jersey*

By FRED ANTON

so long. Oh, no, I’ve been in the League for only four years, but my mother’s in the Progressive Women’s Council, and my father’s in the Party. By the way, he’s one of the best dress operators in New York, and he—”

“Oh, I know,” said Yetta, smiling, “You want me to talk about myself. I don’t know just what I can tell you. Maybe you’d like to know that I’m running for Assemblyman from this County.”

“A new kind of Assemblyman these days!” said the photographer.

Yetta laughed.

“You should see me making a speech. I’ve been making speeches now for four years, but I’m always nervous. Once I start talking, though, I’m O.K.”

“You’re O.K.,” said the photographer.

“Let me talk about the branch, please. We’ve really done some swell things lately. On Mother’s Day, Mother Bloor came down and we had a party for her. We had mothers from the neighborhood and we served refreshments—”

The photographer lifted his head at the word ‘refreshments’.

“—and another thing we did,” continued the inflexible Yetta, “We had a swell China night. We had a woman down who was a real authority on China, lived there ten years. She brought down costumes, art novelties,

Know what we did? We served rice cookies and iced tea and lychee nuts—”

“Our branch has a rep for running novel affairs,” boasted Yetta, “and we’re the best money-raisers in the district, too. We go from store to store, house to house; we visit doctors, but we always make our quotas. And once we raise the money, we know how to keep track of it. We use a real book-

keeping system, petty cash receipts—”

“Look, Yetta,” said the interviewer, “You don’t seem to get what I’m driving at.”

“He means you should use a lot of sentences with ‘I’ instead of ‘we’ in them,” explained the man with the camera.

“All right, shoot. I’m twenty-four. No I’m heavier than that. I weigh 125. Put down 115. That’s from eating ice-cream, and all the ping-pong I play doesn’t make me thin. For a living? Well, I operate a basting machine in a Weehawken dress factory—”

“How do you spell that?”

“D-r-e-s-s.”

“How about that nice young financial secretary? I noticed you two were pretty chummy before the meeting. Can’t fool a reporter, Yetta, heh, heh. Might as well let down your hair.”

“Him? Oh, he’s my husband.” The photographer suddenly became very silent and clowned around with his bulbs and lenses.

“He’s a garment worker too. He made this dress I’m wearing. And my father makes my coats. Isn’t that nice?”

“That’s fine. How about your ambitions, Yetta?”

“Well, I told you about the Cliffside branch we want to build. And we’re going to start Sunday forums again and use films—”

“Look, Yetta. . . .”

“Oh, all right. I haven’t got any



particular personal ambitions. Someday I want to join the Communist Party, work for it, and die on the battlefield, so to speak."

"With your boots on?"

"Shoes—size 7AA," she added.

Then Yetta signified that the audience was at an end, not by pitching the interviewer downstairs in the manner of the Tsars of old, but by walking him to the door and asking him to revisit the branch when it was converted into the Dave Doran Training School.

"I'll do that," said the interviewer, but the photographer said nothing.

Selma Skoloff, President of the YCL Student Branch of Newark doesn't like Clark Gable.

"It's not really a carefully thought-over decision," she admitted, "It's more of a snap judgment. By which I imply—why don't you ask me something more significant?"

"Sing me a song of social significance," hummed the photographer.

"What's the matter with him?" asked Selma. The photographer tried to look foolish, with immense success.

"Look, Selma, suppose we work it this way. I'll ask the questions, huh? And you give the answers, huh?"

It turned out that Selma, despite her poise, is only nineteen years old, a student at Essex Junior College. She has long curly brown hair, shining eyes, a frank smile and a yen for building the ASU.

"Wot the hell," says Selma, "Everything helps."

"Language, Selma!"

"I'm sorry. I'm not a very good subject, am I?" Selma, suddenly sounding very contrite.

"Maybe you can tell us about your branch work?"

Selma leans forward eagerly.

"Now you're talking. We're doing some swell work, here. We raised our branch membership from eight to forty in the last school year. Eight to forty! And we built branches of the American Student Union in four out of Newark's seven high schools. We've actually gone so far that we feel justified in forming an ASU federation in the county. It makes us feel stronger and more sure of ourselves."

Selma speaks earnestly and quickly, forming her words crisply, and fixing you with the compelling gaze of her wide brown eyes. She emphasizes each point with a quick, throwing-out gesture of her right hand. When she hesitates, she looks down at the desk for a moment, thinking. When she raises her head, you know her sentences, as well as her thoughts, will be clear.

"One thing you must say—the executive committee of the county has given us excellent leadership and help. Our recruiting wouldn't have been possible without them. Do you know, we have actually grown unwieldy. We're going to re-organize our branch into two branches, one high-school and one college. That's keeping me pretty busy right now. Of course, our big job is the fight for ASU recognition. And if you think that's not hard in a city practically owned by Morgan's Public Service and run by Hague rubber-stamps, you're mistaken. Although, as a matter of fact, one of our branches is recognized."

"Newark University?"

"Newark!" Her eyes narrowed. "Didn't you hear what happened in Newark U? Don't you ever pick up a paper by mistake? The Trotskyites got control of the ASU there and there isn't enough left of the branch to pick up on a blotter. Regular meetings are a thing of the past. And in the last peace strike only fifty came out. Fifty, in a school of two thousand! But we're doing our best to expose them, and rebuild the branch, there. It's a big educational job. Say, don't point that thing



YETTA RAKOFF Photo by George Heyer

at me—it might go off!"

This was addressed to the photographer, who was becoming entangled in his equipment.

"Oh, that's all right. That's fine. I mean, it's all right," said the cameraman.

"Now, Selma, how about some of the highlights in your own career?"

"Oh, nothing ever happened to me. Gee, I wish something glamorous would happen. But it never does. Now a friend of mine—"

"We'll take that later. Suppose you tell us how you joined the Young Communist League in the first place."

"Well, it happened this way," said Selma serenely, "I was visiting some friends in New York. That was three years ago. They were picketing the Hearst Metrotone News on Southern Boulevard in the Bronx—know where that is?"

A sentimental expression appeared on the photographer's face.

"—and before I knew it, I was in the picket line, shouting and carrying a sign. After, my friends, who were all YCLers, got to work on me, and here I am."

"By the way, Selma, are you carrying a torch—eh, that is, do you have any—you know—boy friends?"

Up went the eyebrows.

"That's a foolish question!" By now photographer and interviewer were both convinced that it was a very foolish question, indeed.

"Of course I have! How can you go through life without boy friends?" Just

## EDITOR'S NOTE

This article on two New Jersey branch presidents was supposed to relate: "How Our Branch Presidents Work?"

While we print it, as valuable to the *Review*, we want to receive comment from at least a dozen branch presidents throughout the country on what their problems are and how they solve them. The *Review* will print the best answers.

Also, for November, the *Review* will feature an article on "How Membership Secretaries Work" from Chicago.



as she tossed out her hand in her characteristic gesture, the flash-bulb exploded. The photographer had "shot" her.

"You might have waited at least till I combed my hair! I suppose you'll write underneath the picture, 'Selma Skoloff Hammering Out the YCL Line'."

"What do you consider the main job of a branch President, Selma?"

"The main task, I guess, is one of guidance. You see, it isn't only the Literature Director who's responsible for literature. It's me, too. And the Educational Director isn't solely responsible for education in the branch. It's my job, too. That's also true of finances and membership. I meet with these comrades informally, or in executive meetings, and I try to help them. That is, I try not only to clear up technical questions, but to coordinate all their individual work towards the betterment of the branch."

"And your personal ambitions, Selma?"

Selma looks retrospective for a moment.

"I once wanted to be a scholar," she says slowly (for her), "Devote my life to books and studies . . . but it's the old story. I'm a private secretary. Try to pound a typewriter all day and go to a school at night, and still be a scholar! But right now, all I want is to build the ASU and the YCL. And I'm determined to do it, too." You know from her sincere expression that she means what she says.

At this juncture, it became very obvious that interviewer and photographer were artificially prolonging the interview for the sake of Selma's charming company. They were both escorted to the door, very politely. As they took their leave, once more to face the horde of Public Service busses on Newark's busy Broad Street, Selma called after them.

"I just thought of something personal you might be able to use."

"What?"

"I like the color green, but I can't stand blue."

"Imagine that, for such a pretty Red," the photographer said.

# Youth in Washington State Builds the Democratic Front

By JIM WEST

"Of central importance is the deepening struggle of the progressives against the reactionaries within the Democratic Party."

—EARL BROWDER in  
*The Democratic Front*

"The organizational expressions and forms of the Democratic front will have to be flexibly adjusted to the concrete situation in each state and Congressional district."

—Resolutions of the 10th  
National Convention, CPUSA

THE development of the democratic front in the Washington State primary elections thoroughly confirms the truth of these statements. The main battleground of the struggle against reaction has been within the Democratic Party. The New Deal forces, organized and led by the Washington Commonwealth Federation, were opposed by a coalition of reactionary "copperhead" Democrats and Republicans, headed by Governor Martin, leader of the right-wing Democrats.

This coalition movement was the response of the anti-New Dealers to the growing volume of progressive and New Deal sentiment and to its increased strength, reflected in the large progressive vote in the Seattle City elections, attained in spite of the split labor movement of Seattle.

## RANK AND FILE DEMOCRATS

Even more plainly was this shown by the state convention of the Democratic Party, at Tacoma in July. Here the Martin machine had prepared an elaborate plot to take over the convention, stifle the New Deal aspirations of the delegates, and introduce an anti-New Deal program and a chairman who had publicly accused Roosevelt of "ruining the country." The delegates, however, elected by rank-and-file caucuses in the precincts, after ejecting the Martin-appointed chairman and making their own rules, proceeded to pass unanimously a thorough New Deal state platform. In this forward step, the Washington Common-

wealth Federation played the decisive role, supported by all the other New Deal forces.

The chief organizational expression of New Deal sentiment, the Washington Commonwealth Federation, is a movement of labor, social security, and progressive organizations federated together for political action and now embracing a large following of otherwise unorganized voters who support the New Deal. The largest group in the WCF are the trade unions, about equally divided between CIO and AFL. The Workers Alliance, the Washington Old Age Pension Union (the largest organized pension movement in the state), progressive community and Democratic clubs, youth groups (affiliated to the WCF Youth Section Council), some farm, Technocratic and women's groups comprise the rest of its affiliates.

## REACTIONARY OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the reactionary camp in the elections were (1) The defeat of Washington's New Deal delegation in Congress and the election of anti-New Dealers, (2) the election of a reactionary state legislature which would support Governor Martin's attack upon labor and further reduce social security, (3) the election of anti-labor local officials and Democratic Party precinct committeemen who would support a fight against the New Deal, and (4) preparations for the passage of *Initiative 130* in the final elections in November.

*Initiative 130* is a referendum measure introduced by the reactionary vigilante Associated Farmers, designed to reduce unions to a company union status through forced incorporation and restriction of the right to strike, picket and bargain collectively.

The reactionary coalition had the support of the Dies Committee, regular radio broadcasts by the hastily-formed "Democratic League," and nearly the entire daily press, in a campaign of in-



tense red-baiting against the WCF and the New Deal forces. Lavish use was made of Trotskyites, Lovestoneites and other spies. Stool-pigeons and degenerates, expelled from the Communist Party, were given front-page spreads in the metropolitan dailies to "swear" to Communist Party membership of the WCF leaders and to red-bait "from the left." They had the use of Washington's blanket primary for a mass invasion of the Republican "coalition" vote into the Democratic primaries. They had the financial backing of the powerful "Industrial Associations" of the West Coast open shoppers and financial overlords (a DuPont agent spent \$150,000 in the attempt to defeat Congressman John M. Coffee in the Tacoma Congressional district).

### PROGRESSIVE OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the progressives and New Dealers were: (1) the reelection by overwhelming majorities of a Congressional delegation that would support the national New Deal, (2) the election of a progressive legislature to bring the New Deal to Washington in state matters, (3) the election of local officials and Democratic Party precinct committeemen who would safeguard labor's rights and the civil liberties of the people and who would support the New Deal in the Party, and (4) to prepare for the defeat of *Initiative 130* in the final elections.

Comparatively lacking in financial support and publicity, the progressive forces had on their side the tremendous progressive and New Deal sentiment of the people, the wide awareness among labor and labor leaders of the need of unity to defeat *Initiative 130*, the organized strength of the Washington Commonwealth Federation and its leadership.

Also, the Communist Party and Young Communist League of Washington, whose members have constantly championed the unity of all progressive forces in the trade unions and other organizations of which they are members, were a factor in the New Deal victory.

The success of the progressives rested upon *unity*. In the effort to achieve the widest possible unity of progressive forces and to bring about political unity of the labor movement, the WCF

was taking another step towards developing the Democratic Front in Washington State.

In the primary race for the State Legislature, WCF-endorsed candidates for some 40 places in the House were nominated, as well as for the Senate. Progressives won the Democratic nomination for most of the King County (Seattle) offices, and about one-third of the precinct committeemen in King County will be New Deal progressives.

The results of the primaries undisputedly establishes the WCF as a major political force in state and city politics. This increased strength, reflecting the correctness of the policy pursued by the WCF, places that organization in a position to extend the organized boundaries of the democratic front to include ever wider sections of the progressive population.

The primaries revealed new possibilities. The CIO and AFL have found it possible, through parallel action, to cooperate on the political front. But the big vote for Agnew, reactionary Republican open shop candidate for the office of Prosecutor in King County (a position he would like to use against the trade union movement) reveals that not only was there a coalition of reactionary Republicans and Democrats behind him, but also many confused, unclear, well-meaning citizens. This shows the necessity for clarifying and sharpening the fight against *Initiative 130* in the finals, strengthening the unity of labor so far achieved, and extending that unity to include the farmers, middle class and professional people.

### PRIMARY WEAKNESSES

In legislative districts where progressive candidates were defeated, the responsibility may be placed on a number of factors; especially in one district upon the disruptive and insidious work of the Trotskyites, together with a certain over-confidence on the part of the progressives and lack of clarity about the reactionary, anti-labor, anti-people's character of Trotskyism. In other districts, lack of a coordinated progressive election apparatus, working in conjunction with the central apparatus of the WCF contributed to defeat; weaknesses that will have to

be overcome if the progressives are to retain and clinch the gains made in the primaries.

At the same time, while the Martin machine and its red-baiting was repudiated, the Republicans recorded a sizeable increase in their vote, which, however, cannot be considered as a solid reactionary vote, representing as it does a good many confused liberal and otherwise progressive voters who must yet be reached for the democratic front.

### YOUTH PARTICIPATION

Against the background of this general struggle between progress and reaction, let us briefly examine the activity and participation of young voters. The WCF Youth Section encouraged its members and progressive youth generally to get right into the general progressive election apparatus, rather than to set up a separate and special youth election machine as had been done in the past.

The central thought permeating youth activity in the primaries (and which must continue right through to the finals) was that in harmony with all the progressive forces, giving all towards the fulfillment of the main task of uniting behind the progressive candidates for office; in this lay the best means of fighting for youth's needs in bringing them forward, and in helping to achieve their fulfillment.

The correctness of this approach is seen in the real response most of the progressive candidates gave to the needs of youth. Not only did they endorse the WCF Youth Section election platform, but their Number Two point in the platforms and all printed matter, featured the following plank:

"2. *Protect Washington's future by restoring opportunity to Washington's youth.*

Appropriation of state matching funds to enlarge National Youth Administration and provide education, vocational training and jobs for young men and women."

Never before in any Washington State elections were youth's interests so prominently brought forward, which can be attributed in part to an approach which does not place youth's needs as a separate and narrow concern



## Election Program of Washington Youth

*Adopted by the Youth Section of the Washington Commonwealth Federation*

1. Jobs on public works at trade union or prevailing wages for all young people out of school and unemployed.
2. Scholarships or part time jobs at prevailing wages to enable all young people, who so desire, to go to school.
3. Expansion, and permanent stabilization of, National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps under a single, *civilian* administration, with main emphasis being placed on education and vocational training in the projects and camps.
4. The equalization of educational opportunity in all parts of the state.
5. Democratic administration of schools, with academic liberty guaranteed.
6. Financial assistance to young married couples in establishing homes.
7. "Homestead" assistance to young farmers to give them a start on their own land.
8. Severe penalties for acts of discrimination of any kind against Negro youth or youth of any national or religious group.
9. Abolition of child labor.
10. Wages and hours legislation to protect young workers in agriculture and in domestic service.
11. Combating of juvenile delinquency by providing adequate social and recreational facilities in every neighborhood.
12. End of discrimination against young people on relief and W.P.A.

*Pass the American Youth Act! Enact the recommendations of the President's Advisory Committee on Education! Pass the O'Connell Amendment to the Neutrality Act!*

of the youth alone, but which deals with the problem of youth's requirements as a concern of all the people.

In passing, it must be noted that the youth problem as such cannot be the central issue in electing progressives. Warner, Democratic candidate for prosecutor in King County, who received a much lower vote than Agnew, the reactionary, made juvenile delinquency the basis of his whole campaign. Agnew dealt with more general and decisive issues, appearing as the more "just and capable" candidate, while Warner's campaign on the right of unions against incorporation was "softened" by his concentration on juvenile delinquency alone.

The question of building Young Voter's Clubs, decided upon in the early days of the campaign, resolved itself to whether or not such activity in certain districts would contribute to the election of progressives. Where it was felt that it might hinder the fulfillment of the main task, the idea was dropped. This was not advanced as an argument against "youth activity" but

as an example of the need for timing the relation of youth activities to the major objectives in the short time provided by campaigns. In the midst of an election, in which the attention of youth is focused on the main issues, and in which they see the progressive candidates stumping for their needs, it is necessary to use the youth issues and such youth organizations as may be built, to advance the general progressive movement and not the narrower interest of youth alone.

At the same time, one must be wary of tendencies to neglect the building of youth organization during the election campaign. Thus, the WCF Youth Section, while its influence and prestige has greatly increased (to a point where prominent Young Democratic leaders willingly consult and cooperate with Youth Section leaders), has not made any appreciable numerical growth in the last period and still has - approximately 1000 members.

Of particular importance is the need for interesting young people in the fight to defeat *Initiative 130*, especially

because reactionary propaganda declares that "unions are responsible for the impoverished conditions of young people." During the primaries, the Youth Section of the WCF itself issued educational material against *130*, and helped the Young Democrats understand the *Initiative's* reactionary role. However, since the *Initiative* did not come up for vote in the primaries, major attention was directed towards the nomination of progressive candidates. Now that the primaries are over, much more attention will be given to the struggle against *130*.

The plans of the Youth Section call for a broad Youth Committee Against *130*, composed of AFL and CIO youth, and wide sections of non-union youth, which would conduct a campaign of educating the youth about the *Initiative*. The Youth Section will employ dramatic skits, presented before unions and other mass organizations, and already the WCF Youth Section drama groups has a listing of 20 showings before organizations.

Having campaigned effectively for the registration of first voters, the Youth Section now plans to get out the biggest possible youth vote. The Youth Section is also faced with the problem of achieving some parity between its increased influence and its organizational strength. The leadership of the WCF Youth Section has worked out the following program for itself as the organizer of the New Deal sentiment among the young people of Washington State:

(1) Extension of community clubs affiliated to the WCF Youth Section; working to secure new affiliates among clubs and organizations which are supporters of democracy and New Deal.

(2) Community clubs of the WCF Youth Section will build Community Youth Councils of youth groups based on issues of concern to the youth in these organizations.

(3) To elaborate ways and means of working with the large number of youth in the trade unions affiliated to the WCF and those as yet not affiliated, giving organized expression to their New Deal aspirations.

(4) Strengthening and extending collaboration with the Young Democratic Clubs on the basis of support of the New Deal and its Youth measures.



# CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND

**W**HATEVER happens in Europe, whatever the resolution of the deadlock that may bring death to thousands by October 2nd, it is our duty to develop a program of action in the Czechoslovak crisis on the basis of a longer range view than the headlines allow.

Even if hostilities should develop by the time this article is read, our policy for halting aggression will be the same as that which might have prevented war. Just because the situation is so explosive, because so much history is being condensed in so short a time, it is essential to see these developments historically, and assess them accordingly.

Our policy of collective security is under attack from two enemies. The reactionaries of the Chamberlain category base their entire appeal, as well as their diplomacy, upon the illusion, which they spread among the masses, that collective security has failed. Likewise, the Trotskyists direct their main fire against the integrity of Czechoslovakia, placing the responsibility for the present situation upon those within the democratic world who favor concerted action for peace.

The important question is "Has Collective Security Failed?"

If we answer this question in the affirmative, we must revise our perspectives fundamentally, and because politics, like nature, abhors a vacuum, develop a new peace policy.

But the important thing to say, is that the policy of appeasement of the aggressors has failed, the exact opposite of our own policy has led the world to the brink of war, if not to war itself.

It is not the basic policy of our movement which must be examined. Rather this policy must be applied energetically and now, as the only program of action which will prevent the outbreak of war, and defeat the forces which carry on war.

Everybody is asking: what shall we do? and how shall we do it? Millions of Americans experience a deep revulsion against the treachery of Chamberlain and Daladier, as well as an intensified hatred of Hitler. These millions want a policy which will keep America out of war, but will at the same time, throw the wrench into the fascist works, and gum up the oily manoeuvres of the pro-fascist politicians in the non-fascist world.

The powerful mass movement in Britain and France against the policy of appeasing the aggressors represents the realization of the will of the people for collective action

*By JOSEPH STAROBIN*

on an unprecedented scale. The uncompromising resistance of the Czechoslovak people, strengthening the hand of certain of their faltering leaders, represents the potentialities and fulfillment of the policy of concerted action.

The unequivocal stand of the Soviet Republic, maintaining what Bishop McConnell of the Methodist Social Service, called "the most honorable position in Europe" expresses the decisive share that the Soviet Union is willing to contribute to make effective the policy of concerted action.

The deep concern and reaction of the American people, stepping forward in hundreds of mass meetings, in spontaneous radiograms to the Prague government, in virtual demonstrations at the movie houses, in millions of politicalized discussions at the factory gate, in lunch hours, trolley cars, and social gatherings . . . all this indicates again that the upsurge of the masses, as Earl Browder put it in his address to the special National Committee Meeting on September 26, is the decisive factor in the situation.

More than that, the active intervention of the President, in his messages to Hitler, calling upon the aggressor to abide by international morality, by the Covenant of the League of Nations, as well as the Pact of Paris, proves that the policy of collective security not only animates the masses, but is accepted as the

only course by the responsible head of the American government.

It is up to us to make clear to the American people, even as events do from day to day, that the policy of concerted action meets their two-fold desire: to stop the fascist war-makers and keep America out of war.

But the new feature of the situation lies in the fact that the reactionary leaders in the capitalist democracies have been exposed as completely unreliable for effecting the policy which the masses desire.

It was Chamberlain who elaborated the original deal for the dismemberment of the Czechoslovakian republic, calculating that by allowing Hitler's expansion at the ex-

## *The Policy of Collective Security Remains the Only Guarantee of Preventing War, As Well As the Hope of Halting War Where the Fascist Powers Have Provoked It*



# WORLD PEACE

pense of Prague, and all of Southeastern Europe, and the Soviet Union, the British imperialists might stave off Nazi and fascist pressure at Suez, Gibraltar and elsewhere in the British empire.

It was Chamberlain who compelled the French Cabinet, undermined by the treachery of Daladier and Bonnet, to endanger and virtually nullify the Franco-Czechoslovakian pact, and thereby also the pact between the Prague Republic and the Soviet Union.

Today, it must be said more surely than ever, that collective security depends upon our struggle against the leaders of the Daladier-Chamberlain caliber. While the pressure of their masses may still force these "power politics" leaders into line, they have been exposed as, at least, untrustworthy. With a new realization of their strength, the British and French peoples will not for long tolerate such leadership at the helm of their respective governments.

Moreover, in this crisis, the great Soviet Union emerges as the powerful Socialist force for peace. The Soviet's diplomacy, as well as its forevision in smashing internal espionage, expressing its fundamentally peaceful character, was a powerful partner to the upsurge of the masses that prevented the Chamberlain-Daladier sellout.

Litvinov's calm, adult, and serious voice from Geneva at the darkest moment, when Hitler seemed to have achieved by blackmail what he must now take by force, if at all, was the clarion call that heartened millions who have heretofore been blinded as to the true nature of Russia's peace policy. In every American movie house today, the "shots" of the Russian Red Army, or the sober countenance of Stalin, draws forth applause that is rivalled only by the applause for the Czechoslovakian Army and its leaders. The American people are comprehending the basic differences between the policies of the Socialist democracy and the fascist dictatorships despite the barrage of reactionary propaganda whose very intensity is a sign that it has been unavailing.

To the question "Where Was the Soviet Union?" everyone now knows that the reply is: The Soviet Union, at the right time, was solidly behind, if not in the leadership of, the popular peace forces of the whole world.

But we must not feel that the Soviet Union can accomplish alone what the other democracies are unwilling to do together. We must combat the Trotskyist virus, which, on the one hand, defames and seeks to undermine the Soviet republic and on the other hand, taunts the Soviets because they steadfastly refuse to precipitate a war by taking on the fascist bloc all by itself.

If it is true, then, that our basic policy of collective security needs no re-examination, it is also true that it is our job to help American young people apply it. There would be no value in a theoretical estimate of the situation without underlining the practical steps that the Young Communist League should undertake. This is no time for abstract speculation that paralyzes action. It is exactly the time, however, for a thorough discussion which banishes panic and pessimism and outlines the basis for action.

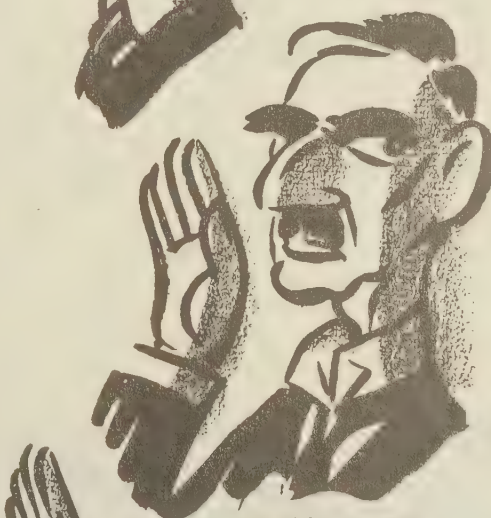
First of all, the new awareness and interest of the people in the events in Europe must be directed into concrete channels and practical

*(Continued on Page 27)*

1904



1914



1938





# THE BIG ISSUE IS JOBS

**T**ODAY, the most pressing problem facing the youth, is jobs. The single common denominator, uppermost in the minds of millions of the younger generation, is the question, "Why Haven't I Got a Job, and How Can I Get One?". Around the answer to this question revolves the hopes and aspirations of the nation's youth: marriage, recreation, education,—an opportunity to enjoy life.

Authoritative government surveys bring this to our attention sharply. Young men and women, aged 16 to 24, compose one sixth of the population and account for one third of all unemployed. The percentage of unemployed in this age range is much higher than in any other, reaching 40% of the total in some states, particularly, New York.

According to the best available data, published by the National Youth Administration, four to five million young men and women are out of school and out of work, exclusive of 5,000,000 attending schools and colleges: potential job seekers, in the near future, and two million youth forced to get along on part time work. It should be quite clear that we must

provide a direct and simple answer to the question posed by youth "Why Am I Out of Work and How Can I Get a Job."

That the reactionaries are aware of the job issue can be seen from the tricky appeal to the youth of the nation by Bruce Barton, reactionary Republican Congressman from New York. In a recent speech widely publicized, Mr. Barton declared:

"We must have the young people. They want to get married. They want to rear families and that means they must have jobs. All right. In our party, are the men who are leaders in the financial and industrial activity of this country; they are men of good will and patriotic purpose. Let them help us to work out a program by which more jobs will be supplied for young people, more security, more hope for them. Let us do that and millions of them will enroll with us."

Combine this shrewd appeal with the recent arguments, advanced by the reactionaries, that the policies of the Roosevelt Administration have increased unemployment and are mort-

gaging the future of the youth, or their propaganda in the steel and auto industries, especially, that trade unions, have caused youth unemployment through seniority rulings, and you have the serious danger that unemployed youth will swallow the reactionary "hook, line, and sinker."

*This danger is intensified precisely because the progressive youth movement has not informed the youth consistently and clearly why they are unemployed and how they can get jobs, while the reactionaries are presenting their answer to these questions.*

## WHAT IS OUR ANSWER?

The responsibility for the perpetuation and extension of the widespread unemployment among youth today must be placed squarely on the gilded doorstep of the "big bankers, financiers, and industrialists," whom Bruce Barton represents.

We have a liberal President in the White House who has acceded to the powerful pressure of the youth movement, accepting the principle of Federal responsibility for jobless youth.

Since June 1935, the Roosevelt Administration has appropriated \$160,000,000 for the National Youth Administration, giving part time jobs to over 210,000 young people on NYA projects at salaries ranging from \$12 to \$25 per month. In addition, 240,000 high school students and 102,000 College students have been permitted to continue their studies through these grants. For the fiscal year 1937-8, the Roosevelt Administration appropriated the largest single amount in one year, namely, 75 million dollars. Moreover, the Civilian Conservation Corps, has provided over 300,000 youth with jobs at \$30.00 per month, in addition to room and board.

The underlying principle in this unprecedented social legislation has been to provide jobs outright to the unemployed; to protect and increase the purchasing power of the people, thereby stimulating a demand for industrial products. The Wages and





Hours Bill seemingly applicable only to those at present employed, has, however, a great effect upon the youth. Minimum wages of \$11 and maximum of 44 hours work per week are job-creating measures.

#### THE SIT DOWN CONTINUES

The Administration pump priming program has already stimulated a slight upturn in Business. There has been a marked increase in retail sales and increased production in industries producing consumers goods. There has even been an upturn in steel production, to about 45% of capacity.

But heavy industry continues to lag. An editorial in the *New York Times*, Sunday, September 18, couched in learned, cautious language, reveals to the careful reader that the Sit-Down Strike of Big Business still handicaps recovery and will give the upturn a temporary character if these obstructions are not removed. Heavy industry is living a hand to mouth existence, refusing to invest, refusing to put workers back on the job, refusing to replace old machinery, merely satisfying itself with filling current orders in marked contrast to previous periods of crises, when bankers and industrialists made huge sums of money available for stimulation of heavy industry.

"Commercial and industrial enterprises continue to lag," says the *New York Times*, "Their failure to increase is a *measure of business's appraisal of the future*. (Read, fear that progressive legislation will be extended—P.S.) *Granted a solid and extended upturn*, (Read, lower wages, lower living standards, lower taxes, no restraints on business, return to Hoover philosophy,—P.S.) *much replacement and expansion of business plant and equipment would be necessary, to the great benefit of the nation's major industries*. Business leaders, however, evidently do not yet see sufficient prospect for a real expansion of business activity, to feel justified in tying up large sums in new capital investments, and our heavy industries, and therefore

recovery, are retarded accordingly. (Read, they want to make matters much worse, place the blame on Roosevelt, and force Roosevelt and the progressives to kill all progressive legislation—P.S.). The question, as so often, comes largely down to one of confidence."

#### LEGISLATIVE SABOTAGE

Bruce Barton's pals, the "financiers and industrialists" also operate from within Congress, through a bloc of reactionary legislators in the Democratic and Republican Party. Through the obstructionist tactics, particularly of O'Connor, Chairman of the House Rules Committee, the Wages and Hours Bill was delayed for 18 months

## ***"Why Haven't I Got a Job, and How Can I Get One?" Is the Major Question Which Young People Are Asking***

***By PHIL SCHATZ***

after its introduction, and passed only with a reduction of wage scales from \$16 to \$11 minimum and increase of hours from 40 to 44.

Likewise, the reactionary legislators delayed such legislation as the Relief and Recovery Program, working feverishly to bring about a reduction in the appropriation to help the jobless. Representative Taber, reactionary Republican from New York, denounced the National Youth Administration and proposed a reduction in the appropriation from \$75,000,000 to \$50,000,000.

It is clear, then, that "the bankers, industrialists and financiers" and their reactionary bloc within both parties of Congress, are really the *False Friends of Youth*.

They will never respond to Mr. Barton's sage advice.

#### HOW CAN WE GET JOBS?

The young generation must be told

in clear, simple language that the fight for jobs is tied up with the destiny of all Americans, and cannot be carried on separate and apart from the struggles of the American people. Those measures which will help to stimulate Recovery, through a wider spread of purchasing power, must be actively supported by the youth as measures which will help them, also. Legislation which curbs the high prices of the monopolists, extends the Social Security system to include those at present unemployed, expands the WPA and National Youth Administration, passes the American Youth Act and improves the Wages and Hours Bill—must become the rallying banner for the youth movement. In this way, the struggle for jobs will be carried out in a realistic, practical and effective manner.

#### CHANGED METHODS— LEGISLATIVE STRUGGLE

Clearly, this represents a *shift in the form of struggle* for jobs today, as compared to the period after 1929. The emphasis has changed from widespread demonstrations, sit-ins at relief bureaus, hunger marches, etc., to long term legislative struggle.

The spectacular demonstrations of the early '30's definitely served their purpose. They established *permanently* the government responsibility for those whom private industry could not employ, which marked the death of the do-nothing philosophy of the Hoover and many State Administrations.

The reactionaries would like a return to a former type of unemployed activity, only when it will serve to embarrass progressive administration. Where reactionary officials are in office, if we are to judge by their violent outbursts against the unemployed in New Jersey and Ohio, they oppose militant action of the unemployed.

Reactionary forces within the National and State Legislatures are pressing to curtail and eliminate all the gains made by the unemployed, and are talking more and more of the elimination of WPA and a return to State-administered direct relief. The



unemployed must therefore direct their main fire against those who are blocking the expansion of the New Deal program, and not against progressive New Dealers.

Misdirected energy, in progressive states like New York, aimed against LaGuardia, for instance, an outspoken liberal-pro-New Dealer, would definitely split away from the unemployed many of the powerful trade union and community supporters who look upon LaGuardia as a friend of the working people.

### NEW ANGLES

In short, there are some new wrinkles to consider. While the form of the struggle for jobs today is characterized less by open, direct clashes resulting from mass actions, it must, nevertheless, be *spectacular* and *effective*, rallying millions.

For instance, the slogan, advanced by John L. Lewis, "Every Worker Has The Right To A Job," has galvanized the entire trade union movement. Unemployed committees have been set up, cooperating with the Workers Alliance in securing relief or WPA jobs, for union members made idle by the recent recession.

It is clear that the main struggle of the unemployed today is on the political field. Draw up a concrete program for jobs . . . rally the millions in support of the program . . . secure the defeat of reactionaries, opposed to the New Deal measures . . . unite the youth behind progressives, regardless of Party labels, on National and State scale, and there you have the pattern for a powerful unemployed movement!

### WHAT THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE CAN DO

In New York State, our League has drawn up a Legislative and election program. It lists the legislative demands which can be adopted by the whole youth movement on a national scale. In New York State, we point out, in the clearest fashion, that young voters can help secure passage of progressive legislation by electing candidates of the Democratic Front, to replace the reactionary Tammanyites and Upstate Republicans who have too long

blocked the passage of such legislation.

In New York State, we say to the young people: If you want jobs you've got to elect progressives and put pressure on the legislature all year round to get the following program passed:

1. Extend the State's 30 Hour Week Law and Minimum Wage Law To All Business and Industries. Shorter hours on the job will mean more leisure and better health for employed young people. It will open up more jobs to the unemployed. Higher wages for everybody means more purchasing power—and thus, more demands for products and for workers.

2. Pass the Child Labor Amendment. Put the youngsters back in school—let *Us* go to work!

3. Increase WPA and NYA aid. Provide a quota of all WPA and Public Works jobs for unemployed young people on a non-relief basis. When young WPA workers are supporting their families, there should be supplementary relief so that the young people can keep a part of their salary for their own needs. Amend the public welfare law so that single, unattached young people can be certified for relief. Increase NYA allotments over their present inadequate levels. No discrimination against young people in assignments to white-collar and professional projects.

4. Help Us Learn A Trade And Work At It. More and better Vocational Training. Open up more jobs by putting more government positions under *Civil Service*. Establish Free Training Schools for civil service examinations. Establish many more *Free Public Employment Agencies*, especially for domestic workers, to end the "Slave Markets" where many Negro girls today have to seek domestic employment.

5. Plan the Future of Our Generation. Establish a State Youth Department to coordinate all programs for youth aid. This department should see to it that vocational training leads to *ap-*

*prenticeship*, and that apprentices, graduate regularly into their trades or industries. Labor and youth should be represented in this department to insure fair standards for our generation.

Here is a simple and clear program, self-explanatory, understandable by all unemployed, a program for the whole progressive youth movement.

If the League helps to organize the unemployed into the Workers Alliance, and sets up unemployed committees in the unions, which become the center of the job-struggle for young trade unionists many of whom are now "disappointed" in the union, then we will be conducting a realistic struggle for the unemployed. If this is combined with more detailed knowledge about the technicalities of the NYA, WPA, helping youth to get on both, and additional practical information about where to register for jobs (public employment agencies and those in Y's and Settlements), the youth will be impressed with our practical and understanding approach to their problems. We will appear in the eyes of the unemployed youth as the most conscious, consistent fighters for their interests.

### WHERE THE SOVIET UNION COMES IN

Finally, there is no better method of arousing the interest and curiosity of the unemployed in the Soviet Union, than through the issue of jobs. Surely, millions of jobless youth will want to know more about the land where every young person is subsidized by the government while going to school in preparation for a job at decent, steadily rising wages, without fear of unemployment. Surely, the unemployed will want to know about this land of opportunity, where nearly one half million youth hold government positions with the highest responsibility, where 30% of the young people in heavy industry are youth, where the crews that battle the turbulent Polar seas are composed largely of young people.

This, then, is a program to answer the most vital problem which confronts the youth . . . the problem of jobs.



# What Readers Say of Our Magazine

THE August issue of the *Young Communist Review* contained a questionnaire and a request for letters with suggestions for improving our magazine. We had a twofold purpose in taking this step. From the answers we hoped to get an idea of how the last six issues were received. And on the basis of this criticism and the suggestions, we intended to make plans for the future.

To date, twenty-three questionnaires and thirteen letters have been received. Every letter was read carefully. Every questionnaire thoroughly tabulated. Although replies are still coming in, we can already discern definite trends of opinion among *Review* readers. In studying the results, we are keeping in mind the fact that the number of replies is far too small in proportion to our circulation. But many of the answers from widely-separated sections of the country coincided, many readers made the same or similar suggestions, expressed like preferences, which makes us feel safe in drawing certain conclusions.

## ARTICLES NOT "HEAVY"

The first question was: "Do you think that the articles in the *Review* have been too 'heavy'?"

The majority of those who answered thought not. Eighteen answered "no" and only four checked "yes."

For those who thought the articles 'heavy', we made up a list of lighter reading. And almost all those who had answered in the negative, also checked items on this list. Short stories, poems and sketches were selected seven times each. Humor received six choices and sports and popular science three each.

One reader wrote that in his opinion the articles themselves were not 'heavy', but that a preponderance of political articles without lighter features made the magazine as a whole 'heavy'. The statistics, in our opinion, bear out this view.

The second part of this same question asked whether, *instead* of the

By JOSEPH GREENE

lighter features, "you would like to see more political articles"; and a list of subjects was presented. Twelve readers wanted more political articles and seven were opposed. Many thought that the number now carried was "just right." Several objected to the use of "instead" in wording the question. The majority wanted lighter reading matter *in addition* to the present extent of serious articles.

Of the subjects suggested, "studies of youth elsewhere" received the largest number of votes, thirteen. National and international affairs were checked by eight each; and statistical studies by seven.

One reader suggested short stories as the form in which studies of youth elsewhere should be presented; another recommended that statistics be used only to illustrate various articles.

In answering the second question, seventeen were in favor of having serious articles on sex. Five were opposed and one suggested that such articles be printed only occasionally.

## FAVOR ARTS CRITICISM

An overwhelming number wanted to see criticism of the arts as a regular feature of the magazine. Of those who answered the question, seventeen were decidedly in favor and only three opposed. One reader wanted criticism of a political nature only. Book reviews were most favored with sixteen votes and movie reviews second with thirteen. Art reviews received four votes and

## *Analyzing the Results of the August Questionnaire as a Basis for Measures to Improve the Review*

theater eight. In view of the national character of the magazine, it is interesting to note that five of the eight who checked theater reviews were from New York City and one from New Jersey.

Nineteen readers were in favor of having the *Review* reflect YCL organizational life more than it does at present. Eighteen checked "reports of what branches are doing"; fifteen selected "detailed discussion of particular branch problems"; and eleven wanted photos and stories of branch life. Only two readers asked for branch gossip. Most of the answers showed that they did not want branch gossip because it was not suitable for a national YCL monthly.

## MORE BRANCH ARTICLES

This question, we realize, gives us a key to the method of presenting the material on branch life rather than the type of material. Obviously, readers want to know what is happening in other branches. A good report of the life of a branch must include a detailed discussion of the particular problems which confront the branch in its activity. Since we want the article read, we must present it in an interesting manner, and it must be illustrated. Stories to bring out certain activities of the branch would keep the article from becoming dry and monotonous. Photos would liven up the appearance of the reading matter. There is even room, within certain limits, for gossip which could help to make the article more personal. All in all, the answers to this question proved extremely helpful.

In the last detailed question, we asked the readers to list specific articles under the following four headings: best liked, best written, contained most information, and articles the reader would like to see more of.

Under the first heading, fully eleven different articles were listed. "What about the Catholics" by Gil Green was mentioned seven times, and "In Clarification of a Policy" by Joe Starobin four times.

"In Clarification of a Policy" was



considered the best written article in the August issue.

The fact that so many articles were mentioned and that opinion on which was the "best written" article was so divided, showed that the issue, as a whole, attained a high standard.

"Events of the Month" by Carl Ross was selected by the readers as the most informational article. The important thing about the selections here is that "Fascist Inroads in Latin America" by R. A. Martinez received as many votes as "Events of the Month." The selection of this article over the others emphasizes that the *Review* must give more information on conditions in Central and South America.

The last part of this question gave the readers an opportunity to suggest the type of article they would like to see more often. Here it is impossible to give the results in full. Fully eighteen different subjects were listed. Heading the list, however, were demands for more articles on the Catholics and other religious youth groups and letters from Spain. Articles on the Soviet Union, on Latin America, on the history of the American youth movements were mentioned a number of times.

There are many reasons for the selections of these articles. In proportion to its importance, there has really been very little information published about the progressive youth movement in Latin America. Religious youth movements are playing ever more important roles in the front against reaction. "In Clarification of a Policy" was selected as best written for the simple reason that it took a complex problem and discussed it in easily understandable terms.

This brings us to the last question: "Has the *Young Communist Review* helped you understand YCL policies?" In reality, this boils down to "Do you want the *Review*?"

And the answer here was emphatic: "Yes"—22; "No"—1.

In forthcoming issues, we intend to print some of the letters received in response to the questionnaire. These, letters, representing as they do the mature opinion of our readers, are being carefully studied and will influence the future form and subject matter of the *Young Communist Review*.

# Marxism and Materialism

**M**ARXISTS take the position that natural science logically leads to a materialist view of the universe.

Materialism declares that the world exists outside of, and independently of human knowledge. Matter, it asserts, exists independently of and prior to, though inclusive of, mind. The impressions that we have of the world, according to materialism, are produced in our minds by the world, more or less copies of the world. It is not mind which produces the world, but the world which produces mind and makes impressions upon it.

The more we study animal bodies and intelligence, the more we see that thought is a property of nervous systems and brains. Destroy the brain, and you destroy the mind. Thought, in other words, is the functioning of a brain; and mind is the property of that highly complicated form of matter known as brain.

## IS THERE A GOD?

All thoughts of which we have any knowledge exist in the consciousness of animals or human beings with brains, and cease to exist with the destruction of this material organ. No one ever had an idea whose origin cannot be found in the world in which that person has lived. Furthermore, nervous systems and brains have never been found outside of animal bodies. If thought is merely the function of brains, then clearly it is absurd to think that there can be any great mind governing the universe. Otherwise, we would find somewhere the vast nervous system through which that great mind would be functioning.

The more we study the world the more the conclusion is forced upon us that there existed a time when there was no life. For countless centuries there must have been only inorganic (or lifeless) matter, but that out of the innumerable chemical changes which were constantly going on in the earth while cooling from an intensely hot molten mass, some of these changes resulted in the formation of living organic matter, from which have evolved

## *The Fifth of Our Series On Marxism and Science De- veloping the Basic Concepts Of Our Philosophy*

**By FRANCIS FRANKLIN**

the great hosts of plants and animals now covering the surface of the earth. If this picture is correct, then certainly mind did not produce the world or has not even always been found in the world, but was rather itself produced by the world.

## KNOWLEDGE OF TRUTH

This is the view of materialists, accepted not because the materialists desire it to be true (desire has nothing whatsoever to do with truth) but because the study of science forces that view upon us. We believe that man needs to know whatever is true, for it is only knowledge of the truth which enables us to fashion for ourselves a life more in accordance with our human needs. We believe with Socrates that man should "follow the truth whithersoever it may lead" and with Jesus that "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall set you free."

Idealists, on the contrary, have always asserted that mind is more fundamental than matter. They maintain that thought produced the world, and that thought now governs the world.

## IS THERE A SOUL?

Idealism (the doctrine that the world is governed by ideas) arose naturally from the efforts of primitive man to explain nature. It was natural for early man to believe that everything which moved was alive. Just as we move because of our own feeling or thought, so it seemed natural that the movements of other bodies were produced by feeling or thought. The whole universe seemed alive to primitive peoples.

Afterwards, the doctrine of souls complicated this picture. The only way



man could understand dreams was to suppose that within man dwells another tiny and invisible man, "small like a grain of rice," according to the Hindu Bible, which in times of sleep escapes from the body and roams at will. Since in death and sleep, the body is motionless, it must be the soul which causes all movement. Therefore, every moving body in the universe (and what does not move at times?) must possess within it a soul.

Behind or within the physical world of appearance, therefore, there must exist an invisible or spiritual world. Philosophers refined and developed these primitive ideas into systems of idealistic philosophy.

### RULERS USE IDEALISM

Teachings of idealism have always aided the ruling classes. The oppressed classes could not *always* be kept under the watchful eyes of the actual armed forces of the exploiting classes. Consequently, if the people could be led to believe that there existed all-seeing, though invisible beings, who could pierce even the inmost recesses of the hearts of man, and who would punish severely even mere thoughts of rebellion, not to mention actual deeds, then, the population could be terrified into submission through its fear of the spiritual world. Through teachings that this life is but the prelude to the eternal life of the soul in the spirit-world and that the evils of this world would be adjusted in the life to come, ruling-classes have been able to turn the minds of their subjects from thoughts of changing the actual world to thoughts of the more important world of eternity.

As a consequence, exploiters have throughout history furiously opposed the full development of natural science, and have persecuted advocates of the philosophy of materialism, which has always accompanied the growth of natural science.

We have already seen that the early capitalists were primarily interested in the development of science in the interest of trade, navigation, manufacturing, mining, and warfare. They were especially interested in mechanical motion, developing simple machines both for manufacturing and warfare. The laws of mechanics, therefore, assumed

overwhelming importance for them. Biology, psychology, and sociology were greatly neglected, and the view of the world held by the early materialists was tremendously oversimplified. They looked upon the world simply as a huge machine or clock, which, having been set in motion, continues to run by itself until it runs down.

### ROLE OF THE MECHANISTS

The mechanistic materialists of the eighteenth century played an enormously revolutionary role in criticising and demolishing the idealistic and superstitious doctrines by means of which the minds of men had been enslaved. They helped undermine the theoretical base of feudalism, and cleared the way for the further development and acceptance of the teachings of science.

However, the picture of the world formed by these early materialists was too crude and simple. To portray the world as a machine is to overlook and leave unexplained all the intricate and complex characteristics of life and human thought. Life and thought can not just be explained purely in terms of mechanics. As a result, large numbers of people rejected materialism altogether and looked to idealism for an explanation.

If the world is a machine, there can be no room for growth or development, for the emergence of new forms. A machine goes on repeating the same

old motions. There is no room for growth or progress. There is only movement in cycles. It was, therefore, an inconsistency for revolutionists, who wished to usher in a totally new society, to hold to purely mechanical doctrines. The limited development of physics at the time, however, made it impossible at that time to advance beyond this mechanical view of the world. The philosophers saw the whole world in terms of the new means of production which the capitalists were beginning to introduce, and when sensitive individuals saw the whole world portrayed as a lifeless machine, they were aghast.

Science in its early stages was necessarily concerned with classifying the world. It broke the world into elements. It was busily engaged in making definitions. This was the only way in which the world could easily be analyzed at the time, for it is difficult to study objects in motion. If we have studied them in repose, it is easier afterwards to study their movement.

### MECHANISM INADEQUATE

Thus, anatomy, the study of the body, preceded physiology, the study of the movement and functioning of the organs of the body. Biology at first classified plants and animals into species, genera, and the like. Only later was it able to see that the different kinds of plants and animals are not eternal but have evolved the one from the other and are still in a process of evolution.

Classification, the breaking up of the world into its parts, deepened our understanding of nature. But by itself it was not enough. The knife of the anatomist *kills* the animal he is studying. Tables of classification fit only one moment in the course of the evolution of the world. As the world moves onward, they become outdated.

Tables of classification may thus be described as frozen moments, snatched out of the never-ending movements of the universe. The narrowness of mechanistic materialism arose from its origin during this period of scientific classification. Its view of the world had to be changed when science found that there is nothing fixed or static, but that everything is in constant motion, that out of the ceaseless motion of all exist-





ence new qualities are constantly coming into being.

The physics of this period gave a limited and narrow definition of matter, which the materialists claimed was the substance of all existence. Matter was described as composed of atoms, which were then conceived as tiny and *inert* bodies. The atoms possessed as their sole characteristics mass, weight, and extension in space. Absolutely everything was described as being composed of atoms which possessed *only* these characteristics. Now if matter is entirely inert, how can we explain motion, life, and intelligence? If mass, weight, and extension are the only real properties of matter, how can one explain all the properties of the world which we perceive and feel—color, warmth, feeling, thought?

In order to overcome the first difficulty, some philosophers fell back on the explanation that there must have been a conscious first mover, who set the world in motion and then left it to run its course. This clearly contradicted the basic principle of materialism.

#### DOES THE WORLD EXIST?

In order to overcome the second difficulty, the mechanistic materialists declared that the only properties of the world which really exist are mass, weight, and extension. These are the *primary qualities*. Everything else which we see or feel belongs to the world of appearance and is an illusion. The things which we see and feel—color, warmth, emotion, thought—are not real, but are only *secondary qualities*. We see and feel them only because our sense-organs are so constructed that in viewing the world, our senses distort the image of the world which they are supposed to reflect, just as when wearing rose-colored spectacles we see the world in rosy hues. That which we know most immediately—our own consciousness—actually does not exist! It is an illusion.

Mechanistic materialism broke down, because it could not give an answer to this question. No consistent philosophy can leave unanswered so basic a question.

But when the capitalists had defeated the aristocracy and themselves gained power, they also found that they needed a philosophy with which to enslave

the minds of the masses. They tried to establish new state-churches of their own; they began to look for new philosophical arguments for idealism, and soon took advantage of the shortcomings of mechanistic materialism.

#### LOCKE AND BERKELEY

John Locke developed the theory of primary and secondary qualities described above. Following him, there came Bishop Berkeley who sought to extend Locke's teachings and who used the very same principles set forth by Locke as an argument for idealism. Berkeley posed the problem that if the sense-organs deceive us in regard to secondary qualities (color, warmth, etc.), how are we to know that they are not deceiving us in regard to primary qualities (mass, weight, and extension)? All that we know immediately consists of our own sensations. How do we know that the external material world exists at all? Berkeley maintained, therefore, that matter did not exist. It was only an illusion of the unphilosophical mind which had not criticised the perceptions of the sense-organs. The mind, which only *thought* it saw matter, was all that really existed for Bishop Berkeley.

In this way, idealism took advantage of mechanistic materialism as a result of its narrow and limited definition of matter. Bishop Berkeley revealed the desire of the ruling-class for idealism by declaring in one of his writings that even if materialism were true, surely all good men would *wish* that it were not!

Marxism arose at a later date in the history of science, when science was turning its attention more to movement and process, when more attention was being given to organic chemistry, biology, and psychology. Marxism, as the philosophy of the revolutionary working-class, directed its attention mainly to the development of social science. This enabled it to overcome the weaknesses of mechanistic materialism, which had considered primarily mechanics and astronomy. Focusing its attention upon human life and society, Marxism could not fall into the error of viewing the world as a machine.

Analyzing social *movements*, the disruption of old societies, and the revolutionary establishment of totally new societies, it could not fail to give more

attention to development and the emergence of new characteristics. Therefore, it took a dynamic view of the world.

Instead of defining matter as an inert substance possessing only mass, weight, and extension, Marxism offers a broad definition of matter, which leaves room for the greatest possible deepening of the conception of matter with every new advance of physics. During the twentieth century, the great advances of physics have completely upset the older definition of the mechanistic materialists. As a result, many scientists, knowing nothing of the dialectical materialism of Marxism, have concluded that materialism as a whole has been discredited.

#### MARXISM DEFINES MATTER

However, far from discrediting materialism, the new discoveries of physics have merely further substantiated the teachings of dialectical materialism, whose conception of matter has not been shaken in the slightest by these discoveries. Marxism defines matter merely as that which exists objectively. Matter is *that which exists objectively*, independently of and prior to, though inclusive of, mind, which is merely the property of certain of its highly complex forms, specifically nervous systems and brains. Any new discoveries concerning the nature of matter will serve merely to deepen rather than shake the Marxist conception of matter.

Thus Marxism avoids like the plague any tendency toward oversimplification of the world, which was the great error of mechanistic materialism.

It is clear from the above that Marxism does not outlaw secondary qualities. On the contrary, it recognizes them as properties of more complex forms of existence, and they cannot be ignored if we are to obtain an adequate picture of the world. In the same way, consciousness is certainly not an illusion, but is rather the property of the most complex of all material forms. As a dynamic philosophy, every scientific advance in any field serves merely to deepen and enrich the Marxist view of the universe.

Having seen how dialectical materialism avoids the pitfalls of mechanistic materialism, we shall see in the next article why it is called *dialectical* materialism.





## CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND WORLD PEACE

(Continued from Page 19)

forms. Mass meetings, picket lines, radiograms, radio programs, leaflets and bulletins . . . must involve broader groups of young people than have been involved before. The entire American youth movement, in its most diverse components, must be galvanized into practical and demonstrative activity around the issue of Czechoslovakia, especially those hundreds of thousands of young people, second generation Americans, who feel the edge of this issue most keenly.

Especially should all expressions of opinion throw the full prestige and anxiety of the American people behind the masses of France and England, recognizing and approving their initiative as distinguished from the vacillations of their governments.

While the YCL must cooperate with, and broaden the activities of trade union, church, student, and peace organizations on this issue, it must also come forward in its own name, independently carrying out a series of spectacular mass actions, on a neighborhood, county, and city wide basis.

While supporting the initiative of President Roosevelt, as do all progressives, we must point out that there is room for even more decisive measures, namely, the cutting off all trade relations with Nazi Germany. It will be remembered that Presidential discretion, according to Paragraph 338 of the Tariff Act permits the President to impose discriminatory tariffs of 50 percent upon the imports of any government. In calling for the embargo upon Germany we must remember that there is ample precedent in American history for such an inclusive step against an aggressor nation.

Thirdly, our insistence upon American economic withdrawal from Japan must become firmer, now that the fascist offensive looms upon a world scale. If America is taking steps to halt aggression in Europe, there is no reason

why America should continue to support the Japanese war machine in China to the tune of some 50 percent of all Japanese imports of raw and war materials. Cessation of shipments of raw materials, together with an intensified boycott of Japanese finished products, will be the kind of body blow to Tokyo all along the sensitive axis which is anchored in Berlin.

Fourthly, the acuteness of the issue in Central Europe must not obscure its relationship to Spain. Today, our work for Spain, together with the work of all progressives, takes on the character of shipment of food supplies from America. Such action has already been undertaken by the American Red Cross. It must be extended and related to the domestic considerations of reducing surplus foodstuffs in the United States. The fight in Spain, as always, is the central front in the struggle against fascism. But as fascism seeks to widen its front to Czechoslovakia, a flank movement on our part, by intensified help to Spain, can force a fascist retreat everywhere.

Finally, we must make clear to ourselves the constructive measures which the Czechoslovak government has taken to solve its minorities problems. While defending the self determination of all peoples, we must make it clear again and again that Hitler is mocking true self determination in the Sudeten crisis. He is using the fact that 3,500,000 German speaking citizens live in Czechoslovakia as the excuse for grasping the rich sugar, steel, glass, brewing and other industries of western Czechoslovakia in the drive toward the wheat, cattle and oil of the Eastern European plains.

As the map above indicates, there is no continuous stretch of Germans in Czechoslovakia. There are only regions in which the large majority of people speak the German language. They were Bohemians, before Germany was unified as a nation, but never Germans. Czechoslovakia is a national entity, its people as cosmopolitan as those of the United States, where despite all our unsolved sectional problems, we do not think in terms of Virginians, Pennsylvanians, or Minnesotans, but only Americans.



# Our Monument to Dave Doran

THE Dave Doran Membership Drive, lasting for a period of six weeks, was an endeavor to build an everlasting monument to the memory of our own beloved hero, Dave Doran. The national drive is over but with the exception of New York, the drive will last until Thanksgiving Day, and California, whose drive began Aug. 1st.

In all districts, the Dave Doran Drive was the beginning of a perpetual process of League building as expressed in Illinois which is now conducting a Gil Green Recruiting Drive, and is involved in a tri-state competition with California and Michigan. The St. Louis District is involved in competition with Colorado, and similar socialist competition pacts are being drawn up between other districts throughout the country.

## RECRUITING RECORD

The Dave Doran Membership Drive, taking place against a background of world-shaking events, has done more than anything else to stimulate our League towards mass recruiting. We can now record that we have four districts with a membership over 1000, and five districts with a membership of over five hundred, accomplished as a result of the drive initiated by the National Council. The five districts which have a membership of over five hundred are now each striving for a membership of over 1000 by January 1st. Their plans for further League building involve constant, week-by-week planning. With proper political attention given to the branches, without a doubt these plans will be carried through successfully.

The Chicago League with a membership of 1400, has as its chief goal, the achievement of 2500 members by January 1st. Cleveland and California with a membership of 1100 and 1200, respectively, are striving for a membership of 2000 by January 1st. The idea

## *A Discussion of Some of the Results of Our Recruiting Campaign, and Problems of Neighborhood Branch Work.*

*By HENRY WINSTON*

of continuous League building is penetrating our entire ranks. Competition between states, counties, branches and individuals within branches, bids fair for the future growth of the YCL.

## MORE MASS WORK

During the drive some 1700 new members were brought into the League. While this is the greatest number of recruits that have been brought into the League during summer weeks, we cannot be satisfied with the results. But it does show our recruiting capacity when involved in mass work, indicating that during the fall and winter months, through full attendance at branch meetings, and through active work to satisfy the needs of youth, our League can be multiplied manifold.

Of interest is the fact that a greater number of industrial young people were drawn into the League, coming from such industries as auto, steel, marine and many others. I wish to single out for consideration a district that was outstanding in the drive and overfulfilled its quota, the Seattle District. They set themselves the objective of recruiting during the Doran drive, 75 members. They recruited 178, establishing an example for all districts in the country. It is interesting to examine the composition of the recruits in Seattle: 88 employed, 36 unemployed, 54 students. The 88 employed workers came from such diversified industries as lumber, marine, railroad, building, machine and a host of others. 108 of the recruits were male and 70 female. The Seattle League is aiming for a membership of 1000 by

January 1st and writes the National Office:

"We overfulfilled our quota without a Party month on League building running concurrently. The Party month comes in October here. Our aims are to have a League of 1000 by January 1st, and our new slogan is: '*Every new member a dues paying member from the start! Every old member catch up with the new members!*'"

For leading the country in relative recruiting the National Council of the YCL is proud to give the Seattle District the *Dave Doran Banner* for outstanding work in the League building drive.

## WEAKNESSES OF DRIVE

But if there are positive features in the drive, there are at the same time many weaknesses, which if corrected, will enable the League to go forward with greater mass recruiting. The drive shows that while bringing into the League these new members, we have a serious problem of adjusting them to branch life. More serious attention must be given to the problems of the individual helping that person to find his place, seeing to it that every new person attends group classes organized by the branch, and receives the *Declaration of Principles and By-Laws* of the League.

All of which raises sharply the need for greater attention to membership work on the part of our leadership, helping to consolidate the branch and its activities in the community, and integrating the individual into the whole of branch life. This requires in each branch a membership director, equipped to perform this job which is so paramount in increasing our mass work. With more attention to this problem, the League will in turn consolidate itself and will be in a better position to carry on greater recruiting.



More than ever will we have to give attention to the local problems where the branches work. The branch program and its activities must flow from the concrete conditions in each territory. The League leadership will have to give more attention towards the development of neighborhood unity of all existing organizations around a common program, expressed concretely, taking as a starting point the level of understanding of young people. We must keep in mind that even in an election ward or assembly district which is broken up into various precincts, there are certain peculiar and distinct problems that the young people are faced with which are not expressed in the same way throughout the area. Yet the task of the branch is to help solve the problems of youth; to serve them requires concentration of efforts, program, and issues.

It is true that we cannot speak in terms today of dividing up our branches into various precincts. But if we begin to concentrate our work in several precincts, to solve the problems of youth, we can further extend our work throughout the ward. In working this way, we will help to strengthen the general progressive youth movement in the various wards, by mobilizing the very core of all the youth organizations. What this means in terms of the general fight for peace and democracy, is the bringing into the struggle of tens of thousands of new young people who are vitally concerned with these issues but who have not been actively engaged in their achievement.

Thus the need for greater attention to the neighborhood unity of the youth is the way to draw the masses of youth into the struggle for peace and democracy. We must take this struggle to the wards, to the precincts, to the homes, to the street corners, as well as to all organizations where the young people are. This requires that the YCL branch must speak more and more

to young people in the form of branch papers, leaflets, street corner meetings and forums, consciously working to involve them in the struggle for their immediate needs. On the basis of their specific needs we can help to raise their general level of understanding and activity.

A branch working in such a way can enjoy a mass popular base and at the same time recruit members. In the present critical situation, our leadership must develop a system whereby it consciously directs the branch towards the achievement of this aim. Of course, the branch will need finances

League membership. Here also, the proper solution to this question requires people who have the designated responsibility of dues-secretaryship, and together with the branch leadership will see that the branch is a model insofar as dues payments are concerned.

Good dues payment is a barometer of the political mass work of our League. Bad dues payment is a criticism of the lack of mass work. Hence the need for greater attention to this most important problem of YCL growth. If our League leadership in the coming months will give this type of leadership to the branches, we will then be able to speak in terms of rallying tens of thousands of American youth in defense of the Spanish and Chinese people, electing progressive candidates to office on a national, state and city scale.

The problems with which our movement and our Young Communist League are confronted grow in complexity and gravity from day to day. All of us should appreciate that both domestic and international developments place upon the shoulders of the progressive forces, the responsibility for guiding the American people through thick and thin. This is, of course, doubly true of the Communists and Young Communists who have set themselves the noble task of consciously influencing history.

Ours is the "oath of Hannibal," of which Lenin spoke, not to be content while "one Roman is left standing."

Simultaneously with the sharpening of everyone's political alertness and flexibility, comes the task of improving the technical aspects of our work, what sometimes appears to be merely routine. However, the technical problems of our League, such as finances, recruitment, activation of our members, etc. is intimately related to our political problems. We must solve one and the other, in order to win.



*Henry Winston Presenting the Dave Doran Banner*

to carry on its work. But the solution to the financial problems of the YCL is more and greater mass work, based on the specific needs of the youth. Therefore, our leadership must help the branch solve many of its practical organizational problems which now tend to hamper its mass work.

#### POOR DUES PAYMENTS

In this connection I wish to call to the attention of the comrades that dues payments do not keep pace with the

# PHILIP FRENEAU: Stormbird of Democracy

## *Father of American Poetry*

By ALAN CALMER

THE Spirit of 1776 has been preserved not only in the speeches of Patrick Henry and the pamphlets of Tom Paine, but also in the verse of Philip Freneau, the American revolutionist who is known as "the father of American poetry."

Born in 1752, Freneau was a junior at Princeton when the Boston Massacre occurred. His first poems dealt with the usual "timeless" themes; he wanted to dedicate his life to "pure" art, to write about gods and goddesses, the beauties of nature and other traditional subjects. But the pressure of the revolutionary age in which he came to manhood soon turned his muse to issues of the moment, to current political questions. Before long he was lambasting the Tories, the British governors and the King himself in satiric couplets. As early as the summer of '75, he defied the Crown, urging the Americans to stand up for their rights and to be unafraid of being called rebels—or "reds" as they would be called today:

*If to protest a tyrant's laws,  
And arm for vengeance in a righteous cause,  
Be deemed Rebellion—'tis a harmless thing:  
This bug-bear name, like death, has lost its sting.  
Americans! at freedom's fane adore!  
But trust to Britain, and her flag, no more.*

"Such daring lines as these," writes one critic, "quickened the minds of the colonists and did much to create the sentiment which made the Declaration of Independence possible."

Freneau was in the West Indies when the war actually got under way. Learning that independence had been proclaimed, he returned to his New Jersey home as fast as he could. He served for a while as a private, quickly rising to the rank of sergeant; however, as soon as the center of hostilities shifted from his neighborhood, he put down his musket to begin a military campaign with his pen.

### A LITERARY MINUTEMAN

He wrote verses for every crucial occasion: he directed metrical offensives against the enemy. He saluted every heroic deed of the patriots on land and sea. He issued martial appeals to the people to keep fighting for the final victory which he said was inevitable. Whenever the situation seemed darkest, usually after a major defeat, Freneau would try to cheer the masses at the front and behind the lines, often by poking fun at King George and his generals, Gage, Burgoyne and Cornwallis.

Here is one of the best samples of the doggerel which Freneau tossed off for popular consumption:

*When a certain great king, whose  
initial is G,  
Shall force stamps upon paper,  
and folks to drink tea;  
When these folks burn his tea, and*

*stamp paper, like stubble,  
You may guess that this king is then coming to trouble.  
But when a petition he treads under his feet,  
And sends over the ocean an army and fleet;*

*When that army, half-starved, and frantic with rage,  
Shall be coop'd up with a leader whose name rimes to  
cage,  
When that leader goes home, dejected and sad,  
You may then be assur'd the king's prospects are bad:  
But when B and C with their armies are taken,  
This king will do well if he saves his own bacon. . . .*

Frequently his slapstick rimes were printed as "broad-sides" or leaflets as well as in pamphlet form, and were distributed everywhere. His satiric jingles were copied on scraps of paper and posted on army bulletins, or passed among the soldiers; they were memorized and recited around the campfire. As one biographer says, they helped "to revive the flagging spirits of the Revolution" during the blackest years.

### TAKES TO THE SEA

Freneau had learned navigation during his trip to the West Indies, and in the middle of the war he went to sea again. In an effort to resist Britain's overwhelming naval superiority, the Continental Congress issued licenses for privateering, and Freneau, according to one source "took out letters of marque and reprisal . . . and sailed far out . . . to catch all the British ships he could find." According to the same source, he "played havoc with the English merchantmen, capturing and destroying many." A small sloop, which he fitted out with his own money, was captured by a British man-of-war, and with captain and crew Freneau was consigned between decks on a prison ship in New York harbor. He came down with fever, barely survived and was finally released.

Immediately, he resumed firing with his pen, his denunciation of the enemy becoming sharper and more vehement. Writing about traitors and Tories, his verse fairly sizzled with invectives. When Benedict Arnold escaped in a ship to England, Freneau printed a piece of vituperation calling upon all the elements, the wind and the waves, to wreck the departing vessel.

Sometime after Yorktown, as the war dragged to its close, he turned away from strident political topics to serene themes and moods. He loved to write of the natural beauties of the new world, the quiet of rural life in America, the loveliness and mystery of the ocean. Had he lived at a later period, or in a country like England, his native



poetic gifts might have been richened and disciplined in a maturer literary atmosphere. Unfortunately, there was no place for a poet in frontier America. So he had to make his living in other ways. He became a sea captain, carrying freight up and down the coast and to and from the West Indies, and during the years when the Constitution was being framed and the national government established, he was mostly at sea.

#### JEFFERSON'S EDITOR

In 1790 he returned to the States to work as a newspaperman. The Tories had been defeated, but a new upper-tier of reactionaries, the Federalists headed by Alexander Hamilton, was usurping power. Once more the surging political tempest of the age swept Freneau into partisan warfare, this time as a journalist as well as a poet. He became a staunch supporter of Jefferson, and an important figure among the rising Democratic forces. He founded the *National Gazette*, the unofficial organ of the Democrats. Almost at once he trained his guns on the enemy, riddling the Federalist policies and leaders with every kind of literary missile from profound argument to burlesque, from scorching editorials to lashing lampoons. The *National Gazette*, Jefferson wrote years later, "has saved our Constitution, which was galloping fast into monarchy." "The monarchial plot of the arch-Federalists," he continued, "has been checked by no one means so powerfully as by that paper."

Freneau also shared the opinions of Benjamin Franklin and Tom Paine. When they died, he wrote impressive verses to their memory. Like them, Freneau was an unswerving revolutionary democrat—and therefore a stout partisan of the Great French Revolution. He wrote numerous poems urging the French masses to follow in the steps of the American people and liberate themselves from tyranny. The principal republican slogan of the hour was popularized not only in Paine's *Rights of Man* ("From a small spark kindled in America, a flame has arisen not to be extinguished") but also in Freneau's rimed editorials:

*From the spark that we kindled, a flame has gone forth  
To astonish the world and enlighten mankind:  
With a code of new doctrines the universe rings,  
And Paine is addressing strange sermons to kings.*

#### CHAMPION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

On July 4, 1792, Freneau used the occasion of recent events in Europe—the white terror in Paris and the feudal coalition against the French people—to drive home to his countrymen the lesson of eternal vigilance against reaction. "Then keep the paths of dear-bought freedom clear," he warned, "Nor slavish systems grant admittance here." On July 14, 1793, he celebrated the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille. At a time when domestic reactionaries, backed by feudal interventionists, were threatening to de-

stroy the French Revolution, Freneau voiced a fervent desire to throw his pen aside and join the French people in their fight for democracy:

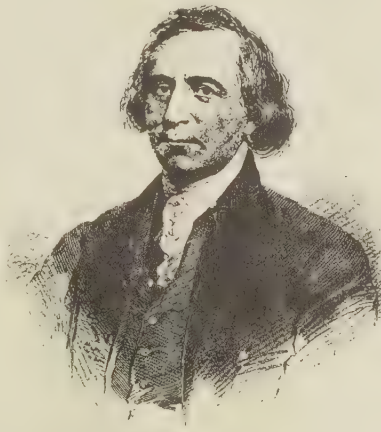
*Ah! while I write, dear France Allied,  
My ardent wish I scarce restrain,  
To throw these Sybil leaves aside,  
And fly to join you on the main:  
Unfurl the topsail for the chase  
And help to crush the tyrant race!*

Freneau also aided the French cause in an organizational way. He used the office of his newspaper as a center for revolutionary sympathizers. He collected money and was an agent of the French Society of Patriots of America.

He made the *National Gazette* one of the chief organs of French revolutionary doctrine in the United States, one of the chief sources of democratic propaganda in this country. Frequently he printed one-paragraph editorials

commenting upon current ideas and events, and never missed an opportunity to assail privilege and defend the rights of man. His firm belief in the masses is shown in this typical sentence from an editorial written at the end of '92:

*From the melancholy example of  
past ages may the world learn, that  
power only belongs to the people, and  
that every individual to whom it is  
delegated, ought to be held immediately  
and continually responsible to them,  
the fountain of all authority, for the  
exercise thereof; a neglect of which  
precaution has given birth to myriads  
of crowned and titled monsters, the disgrace  
of human nature in every century  
that has passed, and the bane of  
nineteen-twentieths of the habitable globe, in this hour.*



Philip Freneau

Like Tom Paine, Freneau was a true internationalist. This is evident not only in his abstract generalizations against monarchy and for the people, and in his defense of the French Revolution, but likewise in his statements of solidarity with oppressed nations and his assaults upon reactionary governments of the time. He also stood shoulder to shoulder with Paine on numerous social problems.

Until his death in 1832, Freneau remained a revolutionary champion of freedom, democracy and progress. For future generations he left this message:

*Ye heirs and owners of the future age  
Who soon will shove old actors from the stage,  
To you the care of liberty they trust  
When Washington and Gates are laid in dust—  
When Jefferson, with Greene, in long repose  
Shall sleep, unconscious of your bliss or woes,  
Seeming to say: Be wise, be free, my sons,  
Nor let one tyrant trample on our bones.*

# AFTER THE PRIMARIES

(Concluded from Page 4)

We must avoid being duped by the "liberal" mask that the reactionary Republican Party and its Tory Democratic friends are assuming. They are past masters at the art of dressing wolves in sheeps' clothing. The Republican Party is pretending to come forward as a "new," "liberal" party that has eliminated the "old guard." In a number of instances it has selected young men to run for office. Their candidate for Governor in Minnesota is about thirty, while his running mate for Lieutenant Governor is about twenty-six years of age.

But more dangerous still; the reactionaries recognize that the younger generation does not consider WPA jobs, relief, or even an American Youth Act as a final solution for their future.

The story is told of the university graduation class last year that adopted as its class motto, *WPA, here we come!* In those few words is summed up the immediate prospects for the great majority of youth who have dreamed of a prosperous and secure future. But let us not forget for one moment that the New Deal measures for youth, the NYA, the CCC, WPA and other progressive legislation offer youth at least limited security and opportunity. If a Hoover were in office today the graduating class of this year could adopt the slogan, *Breadlines, here we come!* It is no wonder that the majority of the youth support the New Deal.

But the reactionaries try to use all dissatisfaction with the limitations of the New Deal, and the desire of young people for a real job in industry or business. They try to fasten the blame upon Roosevelt for the fact that there are 5 to 8 million unemployed youth who must depend upon the government for their livelihood.

Neither are we satisfied with the prospect of a WPA job and with the lack of opportunity for our future that exists today. We too desire permanent jobs in industry and business, we too want security and happiness, and the opportunity to marry and build homes. And as a means of securing even limited opportunity, we support the progressive features of the New Deal and work to extend them, because there is a vast difference between a Roosevelt New Deal and a Hoover program.

We want the enactment of an American Youth Act, and extension of NYA, and passage of other social legislation such as advocated by the American Youth Congress. These are immediate necessary measures until Big Business ends its sit-down strike and puts America back to work. We want to build a democratic front of the people against reaction; to force the huge monopolies and trusts to end their sabotage of recovery, now conducted under the false pretense of "lack of confidence."

And now is the time to find out where the candidates for November election stand on these issues. Every aspirant for Congress should be put on record with relation to the passage of an American Youth Act to provide jobs and education for needy youth through a broad extension of NYA; continuation and expansion of the CCC program

under a civilian administration including a democratic program of education and vocational training; enactment into law of the provisions of the President's Advisory Committee for federal aid to education and for a permanent National Youth Service Administration.

Every candidate for state legislature should be put on record for or against a state program of such points as: state appropriations to match the NYA funds; increased state aid to education, especially equalizing opportunities for rural areas; a state program of health facilities such as clinics, dental care, and a planned program of building much needed community and recreational centers.

The youth movement would do well to take this opportunity to call upon every candidate, especially those for Congress, to state his stand on the question of "how to keep America out of war." The outstanding reactionary O'Connor has campaigned on a program of isolation that plays into the hands of the fascist aggressors and prevents America from acting to preserve the world's peace, as well as our own. Let's put the O'Connors on the spot.

Surely the Youth Congress movement can call upon candidates to endorse the seven point program of the American delegation to the World Youth Congress, so we will know where they stand on a program approved by the majority of American youth. Other groups that stand for concerted action for peace should take similar steps with reference to their programs. The reactionary isolationists will be exposed and the progressives encouraged to take a bolder stand. This opportunity must not be allowed to slip.

In the work of uniting the young people everywhere for the democratic front, the Young Communist League is more than ever before garnering rich experiences in preparation for the hard work ahead.

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# LETTERS TO OUR EDITORS

—What Our Readers Think and Say—

You have no doubt seen the following clipping, which was printed in the *Daily Worker* of September 13th. Many YCLers to whom I have spoken have not seen it, and inasmuch as it is of special interest to them, it would be appropriate if you reprinted it.

*Daily Worker* Sports Editor:

The scene is YCL Club Barron; the game is called "Brazilian." It's really ping-pong, but the demand is so great for our home-made table that we play in teams of five or six on a side, and call it "Brazilian" for some unknown reason.

But it wasn't until last night that one of our brilliant YCLers yelled out "Losers pay a nickel a man for our election campaign fund."

O.K., we said and between 9 and 11 P. M. we collected two bucks—it was surprisingly simple.

But that's only the beginning—watch us after we have announced this to our 175 members on Thursday night. Time is short, Roy, and we want the other branches to cash in on this idea, so we would appreciate it if you kinda spread the word around . . . What say?

Our slogan "WE GO" is a masterpiece of understatement.

Comradely yours,

Y.C.L. CLUB BARRON 862 Tremont Ave., Bronx, N. Y.

I want to thank you for the excellent September issue. I was thinking of something that might still further improve it. Wouldn't it be possible to have Alex Bittelman's "Review of the Month" (from *The Communist*) included in the *Review*? Most of our members do not read *The Communist*, and if the *Review* carried through our suggestion, this valuable feature would be more widely read, to our own advantage. It would be an excellent addition to Carl Ross' "Events of the Month," and serve to give us a deeper understanding of current events.

I think a long, well-written article on how the branches conduct their individual newspapers would be in order. Club Barron has already published its first issue and is working on the next one, which will be out October 6. It's a 6-page mimeographed affair. We had seven ads, charging 50 cents for  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a page. It sells for two cents, and we make money on it, too. As yet, we have not decided on a name, the first issue being headed with a "?". Suggestions are welcome. If you know of other branches that have newspapers, please let me have their addresses so we can benefit by each other's experiences.

We have been thinking of trying to get *Life* magazine to come up to the Bronx and photograph our club life. What do you think of the idea? Can you make any recommendations as to how to approach them on this?

Yours for a better *Review*,

ALFRED KOLKIN Club Barron, New York

Editor, *Young Communist Review*:

The boys and girls who created the so-called Minority Group in the American delegation at the 2nd World Youth Congress have been endeavoring to create the impression that they speak for large organizations and many millions of young people. Unfortunately the article by Dave Grant in the last issue of the *Review* erred in the same direction by stating that there were "14 isolationist groups" who tried to influence the direction of the Congress. Observations at the Congress, familiarity with the organizations included in the list, and inquiry at the office of the World Youth Congress explodes the blue-sky figures which are being bandied about in various publications.

The Minority grouping credits itself with speaking for the Auto Workers Union. This Union never applied for a delegate at the Congress and unless he was there incognito did not send one. The individuals who claim to speak for the union do so because they know someone who worked for the Union and his opinion, had he been at the Congress would have been such and such. A statement issued by Al Hamilton and appearing in various newspapers the day after the Congress had the minority speaking for the Board of Education of the Methodist Church. This is not a youth organization, was not represented at the Congress and authorized no-one, least of all Al Hamilton, to speak for it.

The Minority leaders seek to speak in the name of the Farmers Union. Although the delegate of this organization frequently voted with the minority or abstained we have learned that the responsible leaders of the organization have reversed the stand she took.

Inquiry at the office of the World Youth Congress has further revealed that both the Pilgrim Fellowship of the Congregational Church and the Evangelical Church youth group have dissociated themselves from the attempt to line them up with the isolationist forces. Finally, a letter from the delegate of the National Council of the YMCA states that the Vassar Pact is definitely in the spirit of the decisions and resolutions of that body.

The Minority Group is therefore left with the following organizations: Student Peace Service, a committee without membership but consisting of several hundred volunteer organizers during the summer and a small group of full-time organizers during the rest of the year; the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a religious pacifist group with little youth membership, most of its strength being among adult ministers; the Epworth League and the National Council of Methodist Youth. The Womens International League for Peace and Freedom, an important international organization has not up to the present had the opportunity to consider the Congress at its Executive Board but even if it should continue its past isolationist stand it is well to



remember that the world body of the WIL very definitely favor concerted action for peace.

In its application for a delegate to the Congress the WIL claimed between 100 and 200 youth members. There is the YPSL whose leaders are giving the WIL a close run in the number of members and the Youth Committee Against War which claims to speak for some of the organizations listed here. Truly a very impressive list of names but with the exception of the Methodist groups, which are important and large organizations, very little else as far as youth members.

Articles written by members of the Minority Group lay claim to support from colonial delegates and those from smaller countries for isolationism. Here is their support: one Indian delegate out of five, the Hungarian delegate, who as soon as the Congress was over repudiated the position he had taken at the Congress, the delegate of the Puerto Rican Young Socialists who later apologized for having been confused by the attentions bestowed upon him by his American comrades. The YPSL claims the support of the delegate from Bulgaria, because the latter refused to sign the Vassar Pact. But the Yipsels have picked the wrong horse again. This delegate comes from a country the government of which has repeatedly tied itself with Hitler's foreign policy and as such he has favored collective security with the reservation of revising Bulgaria's boundaries. He represented the League of Nations Union. So there's the colonial and small country support which our Minority members boast of.

The Minority group or several of its members worked hard getting themselves heard. Lyn Smith, who claimed to be a delegate from the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, although no-one authorized her to represent this body, was appointed special publicity director for the minority weeks before the Congress. But as to work for the Congress itself, a report at the last meeting of the World Youth Congress Arrangements Committee showed that they had purchased exactly one ticket at 25 cents for the Randall's Island Meeting and collected no signatures for the Book of International Fellowship.

It is very unfortunate that these lines have to be written but scurrilous attacks appearing in newspapers and magazines demand an answer. Delegates who represented millions of young workers, farmers, students and religious people want good faith and honesty to be mutual if there is to be united activity for peace.

A YCL'ER WHO GETS THE FACTS

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## Among Contributors

Carl Ross, the author of the new pamphlet *Let's Pull Together*, is the National Executive Secretary of the YCL. . . Celeste Strack is one of the *Review* editors, and chairman of the National Student Committee of the YCL. . . Maurice Thorez is a French miner who became general secretary of the great Communist Party of France. . . Fred Anton is a young YCL member who has been volunteering odd-jobs on the magazine.

Jim West, who writes wrote the article on the election results in the state of Washington together with several comrades on the District Committee, is the League organizer for the Northwest region. . . Phil Schatz is in charge of educational work for the New York State organization.

Francis Franklin is the National Educational Director of the League and concludes his series on *Science and Marxism* in the November issue of the *Review*. . . proposal is to issue them all in pamphlet form.

Henry Winston is the Administrative secretary of the League and a member of the *Review* editorial board. . . Alan Calmer is one of the editors of International Publishers, the author of a book on Albert Parsons, the Haymarket martyr. . . his new book on Philip Freneau, called *Stormbird of Democracy* will be published by International next month. . . Joe Greene is the managing editor of the *Review*, of which Joe Starobin is the editor.

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via trans-Atlantic telephone for fifteen minutes.



# *“I dashed it off...*

I'm mad, Joe—

It always seemed to me that the *Review* lacked the touch of my fine Italian hand. So I dashed off an article (all right—it took me two weeks) and sent it to you. And then the *Review* came out at long last, and me without a fingernail left! I bought myself ten copies for posterity (and my relatives) and then traipsed around to the different branches in my neighborhood to get the audience reaction to my “stuff,” as we reporters term it. I asked fifty people how they liked it. . . .



## *but no one read it—*

Why, those—! Would you believe it? Forty-seven of them hadn't even read my fine article! And it wasn't just because I was competing Raymond Guyot, Carl Ross and those three prize-winners, Etta Jaye, Lucy Rosen and Mother Bloor. The awful truth is—they hadn't read the mag at all! So I had a little talk with myself and said, “Dave, don't you waste your talent (and, son, you got it) on a magazine that your own pals don't read.”

Speaking seriously, I recently saw something which delighted and yet worried me. At a party I attended, a comrade was selling the *Review* and I noticed that quite a few non-League members bought it without any high-pressure salesmanship being used.

Now, about the “worry” part. These non-League members out-bought the YCLers 3 to 1, and we had YCLers galore at that party. I won't write any blurbs for the mag—it's the voice of the League and speaks quite capably for itself—but consarn it! If people outside the YCL are spontaneously interested, certainly our own people should be first to buy it. After all, the *Review* is ours, and we ought to have a good healthy interest in *ourselves!*

Joe, the *Review* should be built! How can we build it?

## *Here are my ideas—”*

1) Let's see that Literature is stressed in every branch, and that the Lit Director presents the *Review* in a lively, exciting way to the boys and gals.

2) Have that Lit Director get the names of the wide-awake young people in trade-unions and social clubs, etc., and send them to the *Review* office, so that those people get a copy of the *Review* each month.

3) The leading branch comrades should discuss the *Review* and make it what it deserves to be—a vital part of the day-to-day branch life.

4) The *Review* money should get back to the National office toot sweet, so that the editors can concentrate on editing, instead of finances.

5) Every Branch President and Literature Director with a conscience should get to work and make these suggestions a reality.

Sincerely yours,

DAVE SLOAN

Ocean Hill Branch YCL, New York City

# LET'S PULL TOGETHER

In an indispensable penny pamphlet, *Let's Pull Together for Jobs, Security, Democracy and Peace*, Carl Ross, National Executive Secretary of the Young Communist League, analyzes the forces behind the scenes in the coming Fall elections, and explains the meaning of the Democratic Front—what it offers every young person in the mills, mines, farms, factories and schools of America.

To everyone interested in politics (and who isn't these stormy days?) *Let's Pull Together* is easily the biggest penny's worth on the market today.

*Order from the National Literature Dep't.*

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