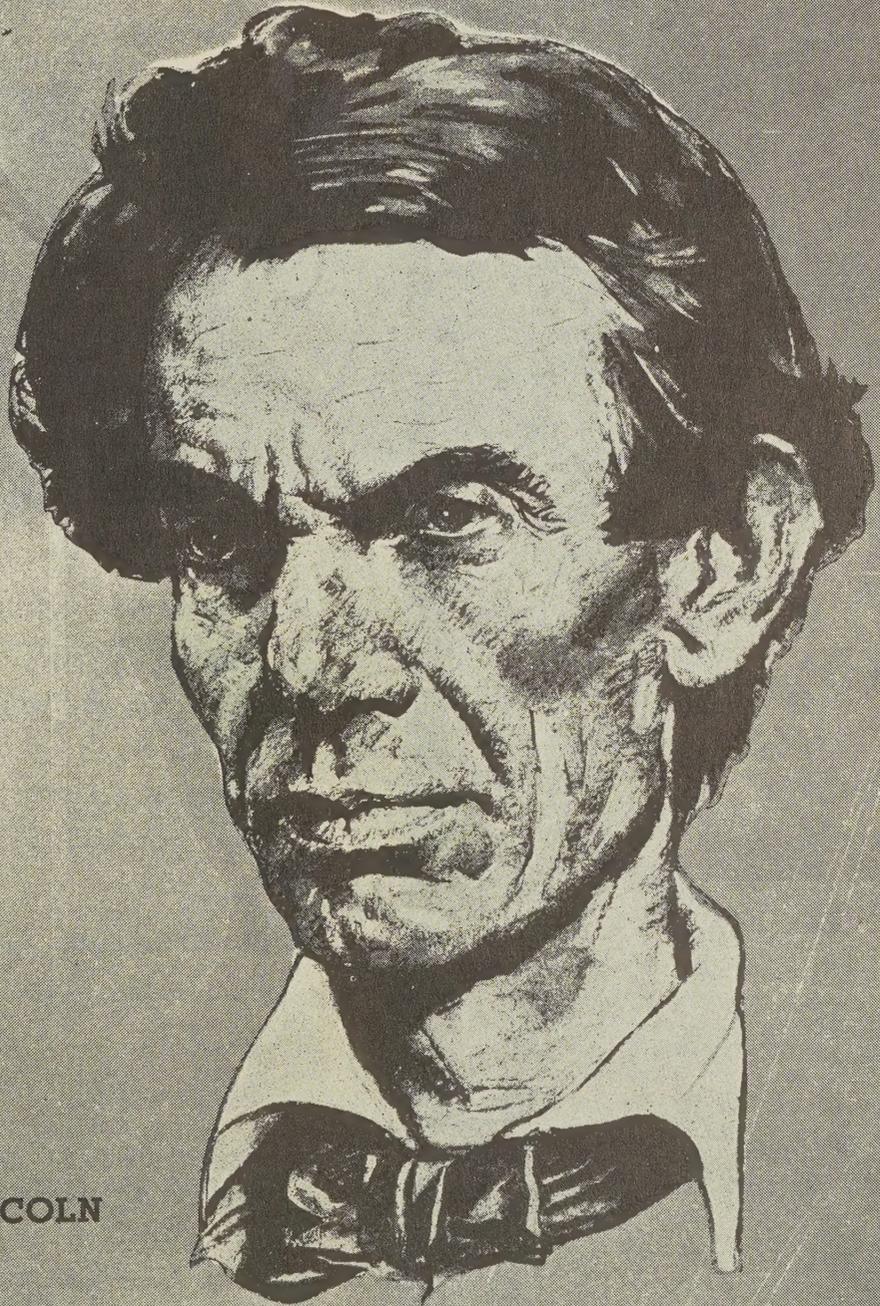


YOUNG COMMUNIST
REVIEW



THE YOUNG LINCOLN

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YOUNG COMMUNIST **REVIEW**

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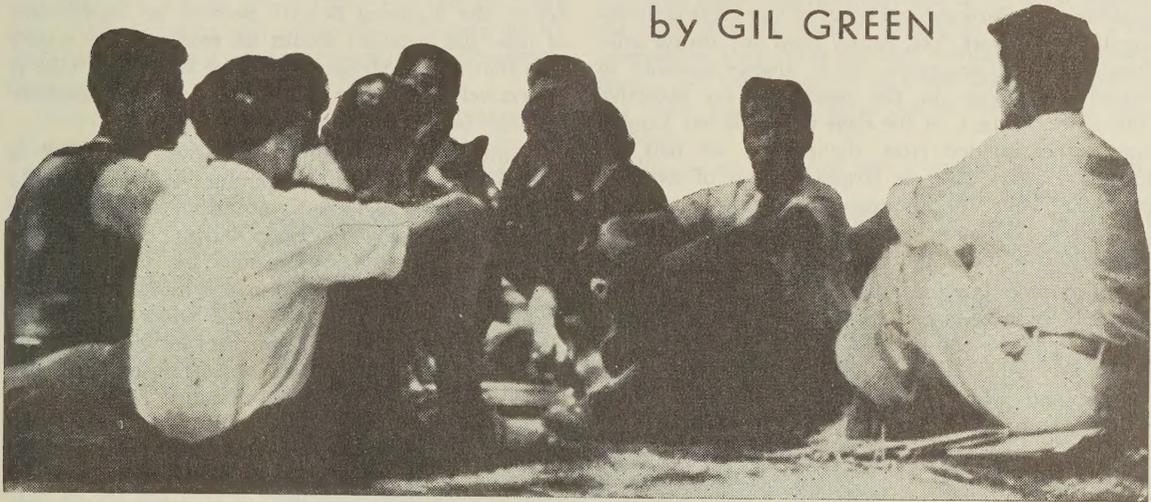
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*GIL GREEN, whose article on the opposite page is the
abridged text of a speech to the National Council, Dec. 1938.*



LEADERSHIP AND INNER DEMOCRACY

by GIL GREEN



THE starting point in my discussion will be the recent lessons of the Soviet YCL, the lessons of the removal of Kossarev and three other secretaries from leadership of the Soviet YCL. I am sure that all the comrades have already read the editorial of the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* which was reprinted in our Party press.

What happened did not come as a surprise to those of us who have studied recent developments in the Soviet Union. Eighteen months ago, the leadership of the Soviet League was very sharply criticized for lack of vigilance, for bureaucratic methods of work. The recent removals took place because the leadership of the Russian YCL failed to correct its errors.

What was the background upon which the original errors took place? For a number of years, during the first two Five-Year plans, the Soviet YCL played a tremendous role in the economic life and in the industrial development of the country. YCLers were in the front ranks of the factory shock troops, of the Stakhanovites, who were building giant plants, who were turning backward agricultural Russia into a land of modern industry and collectivized farming. Their efforts won for the YCL and its leadership great applause. Nearly all the leading comrades were honored with the *Order of Lenin*. But in this period in which the entire organization concentrated on economic problems and the mastering of technique,

there developed a political and ideological softness expressing itself in lack of vigilance. The leadership failed to master Bolshevism, to become rooted in the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

The criticism of the leadership of the Soviet YCL can be summed up as follows: the applause and honors bestowed upon them went to their heads. They got "dizzy from success." They developed what can be characterized as Communist vanity as against Communist modesty. The leadership functioned like a "mutual adoration society." They covered up one another's weaknesses, tolerated personal shortcomings, and began to live a life separate and apart from the masses of youth. Not only did they fail to practice self-criticism: they stifled criticism from below, which resulted in the growth of a bureaucratic tendency to ignore the sentiment and will of the rank and file. Finding fertile ground for its work in this atmosphere, the enemy succeeded in worming its way into sections of the leadership and carried on its anti-Party and anti-Soviet activity.

These things were possible only because the leadership failed to understand its main task as that of *mastering Bolshevism*, to see the League as being, in the first place, an educational organization. Only through learning can one deflate one's ego, see one's weaknesses, and acquire the necessary vigilance to overcome all attacks of the enemy.

What does all this mean for us? There are some comrades who may think it far-fetched to draw comparisons between the Soviet League and the problems we face in our own League. Of course it would be stupid and dangerous to draw mechanical comparisons. If we draw any parallels at all, they must be based on the entirely different stage of development of our League and the movement in this country.

First, can we say there is a danger of susceptibility to flattery in our leadership? Of course, no one could possibly come forward and boast of any great achievements on our part. Yet, vanity need not always arise from great achievements. It is always possible to blame weaknesses on the masses or on objective difficulties. In fact, in the days in which our League was a sect isolated from the masses, we had the loudest boasters, and the largest number of strutting peacocks. Thus, the question of learning to work in a modest fashion, the question of Communist modesty, is also one that confront us.

Let me take one example. For a long time I have felt that we must put a stop to this business of standing ovations at meetings at which our leading League comrades speak. I'll tell you why I think they're wrong, and why they're a form of flattery that doesn't help the leadership and the movement. They're wrong because not a single of us as yet deserves such honors. Can we place ourselves in the same category as the outstanding leaders of our Party who have the spontaneous love and respect of larger and larger masses? No! They are, therefore, artificial demonstrations and harmful. Of course they're not organized; they take place as a matter of habit. But they are not natural and should be discouraged because I don't think it's the way to train our League leadership and membership in a spirit of modesty. By flattery of this kind we are only preparing a strong wine which, when taken, immediately goes to the head, and once in the head, has the remarkable quality of expanding, and with it the head itself.

Practices of this kind make harder the development of criticism of leadership within the organization. They throw a halo around the leading people, making them, in a sense, irrefragable.

Lesson No. 1 to be drawn is: far more modesty! We have as yet accomplished little. We are not yet accepted by the broadest masses of youth of this country. We have much to learn, and far to go.

* * *

Now what about this question of mutual adoration, of criticism and self-criticism? Here, too, one must speak about leadership first. We're not going to get criticism from the branches, from the members, until the leadership has created the proper atmosphere for it. At the present time we can note a tendency towards resisting criticism, especially if it comes from some one in a position slightly lower, with the result that hardly any criticism comes from the bottom up.

A short while ago I received a letter from a leading comrade of the Chicago district expressing dissatisfaction with one phase of the work of the national leadership. The criticism was certainly justified. This comrade confided that for many months he had wanted to write such a letter but had hesitated, and when he finally did, he was quite apologetic about his criticism. I'm sure the letter would never have been sent had not this comrade known me personally.

Why did he hesitate? Why did he not get the Illinois leadership to place his and their criticism before the National Board? Because he wasn't sure of how the criticism would be received. He wasn't sure that some individual or other would not take it subjectively. In other words, the proper atmosphere had not been created for it.

Within the leadership itself we also find a reluctance to criticize one another, to speak frankly of each other's weaknesses and mistakes. Often when a leading comrade is spoken to sharply, he even begins to sulk, thinks someone doubts his integrity and loyalty, and takes the entire matter most subjectively. Let me say here, comrades, that when we criticize and criticize sharply, it is not because we have little regard for the comrade we are criticizing; it is not because we get any special satisfaction from publicly discussing his or her weaknesses. I want to say frankly, that so far as I am concerned, the comrade for whom I have the least regard is often the one I give the least criticism; and, just as often, the comrade who gets my sharpest criticism is the comrade I regard most highly—because through that criticism I know he will grow, will learn, will develop.

Our class and people need new types of leaders, leaders superior to those of the bourgeoisie in every respect. These can be produced only through our own individual efforts and through the collective efforts of our organizations, through criticism and self-criticism.

Lesson No. 2 is therefore: a far greater alertness on the part of the whole leadership—an atmosphere in which criticism is not only tolerated but encouraged—an atmosphere in which we each strive for a qualitative improvement in our work and guarantee it by a frank critical approach to each other. This alone can help overcome the tendencies towards self-satisfaction—can help transform us into the kind of people we want to be and need to be if we are to be worthy of Communist leadership.

* * *

We have heard much about branch life, about inner-democracy. Why do we have to talk about these matters today? Because, we, the leadership, have to a great extent, unconsciously it is true, been stifling the initiative of the membership and lower organs by our own bureaucratic methods, by our leadership through directive and command. All of us share in this guilt and it will continue as long as we fail to

develop criticism and self-criticism throughout the organization.

If the members and branches knew their rights, do you not think they would in time force a change on the part of the leadership? We often speak against leadership by command and yet the By-Laws adopted at our last convention establish certain rules which would end leadership by command and permit normal branch life to develop. But how many branches and members of our League know for example, that Article III, Section 6 of our By-Laws says: "All decisions and proposals of higher bodies shall be submitted to the membership for consideration and action," and not as instructions.

Lesson No. 3. If we want inner democracy, a change in our branches, and criticism from the bottom up as well as from the top down, we must religiously respect our democratic procedure, have confidence in our membership and the masses of youth. Let them know their rights as members, and yes, let them be educated to know whenever their rights are violated.

The key to the solution of all the above problems is, in the words of Comrade Stalin, the *Mastery of Bolshevism*. What does the mastery of Bolshevism mean for our League and its leadership?

It means that we must carry into life the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the youth and the YCL. Lenin declared that the first task of the youth is to "learn"; that the YCL is first and foremost an educational organization. And this means that we must really make education the heart of all the work of the YCL.

If the League is to be an educational organization it must be led by people who can educate and lead. This means leadership which is constantly acquiring more knowledge, which is mastering the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Stalin, of Bolshevism. This will help to deflate egos and will compel the leadership to teach instead of command.

Why do we often have leadership by command? It is because we constantly are driven by the pressure of events. The needs are always stupendous, the tasks great. We must get action today. Time refuses to wait. And because the leadership has not learned how to teach, how to convince the lower cadres and the branches, how to make the League respond to these problems and to understand their significance, we often have to use the whip to get results. And you

will find that in those districts in which the whip is used most frequently, it is because the leadership, in spite of the best intentions and earnest desire for good results, is incapable of convincing the membership, and can only get results by shouting and commanding.

If the YCL is to become an educational organization, a training school for youth, we must create the atmosphere for study and consciously stimulate hunger for knowledge. We want more and more comrades filled with the desire and ambition to master our revolutionary theory—Marxism-Leninism. This necessitates that every leading comrade think more deeply, get to the bottom of every slogan and policy put forth, and work them out to their logical conclusions.

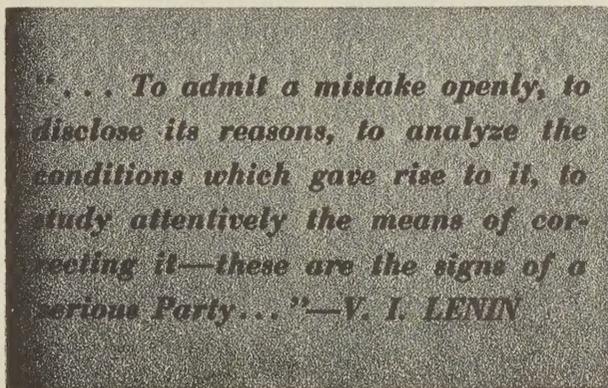
Why do so many of our comrades always counterpose study to practice? Why is it that we so frequently get the argument: "I'm too busy with practical tasks?" Because the comrades do not understand the need for deeper thinking, the need for understanding, the why and wherefore of every policy enunciated by our Party and YCL. If they did, they would have to study.

This is true if our comrades are to understand our position on armaments, on the good neighbor policy, on trade union unity, on youth unity, or on anything else. And we do not want comrades merely to memorize the arguments they hear. We want all of our leading comrades to find the reasons for our policies through their own *independent* thinking. We want a situation in which hundreds of comrades will think so deeply of their practical problems, trying to answer them on the basis of the combined theory and practice of our movement, that, independently, they will be drawing the very same conclusions as the leadership. When we have this, then we will have a real corps of young Communists—young Bolsheviks.

It is for this reason that I say to those comrades who pose practical work as against study: God help your practical work! Theory is not something separated from practice. The study of theory is indispensable to you in your practical work, it alone can illuminate the path you are following. It is not, therefore, a luxury. It is your bread and butter, your light and air. Only when we get this understanding, will we get actual study.

I think the posing of this problem also sheds light on how to study. Study, if it's to mean anything at

(Continued on page twenty-six)



EDITORIALS

THE 76th Congress of the United States is in session. Grave decisions are being made affecting the welfare of our nation, and the fate of peace and democracy everywhere.

The President's message, reflecting the mandate of the people, placed the major issues before Congress and put the responsibility for action upon its shoulders. President Roosevelt vigorously asserted that America must be defended against the danger of invasion from abroad as well as from reaction at home, that the people's security is bound up with the nation's security.

A group of reactionary Republicans and Garner Democrats are organizing an assault in Congress against every proposal to extend the New Deal. In their slashing attacks upon the WPA deficiency measure, they reveal their full intention: to smash the New Deal as a whole, if they can.

These first weeks of the Congressional session are a contest to determine whether Congress bows to the will of a reactionary minority or carries out the progressive will of the people. Therefore, these are decisive weeks. Already the measures for aid to youth such as NYA and CCC hang in the balance. If the people mobilize now to make their position known, they are also providing the guarantees for carrying forward the New Deal on all fronts, for extending youth aid measures, for passing anti-lynching legislation, for more adequate farm measures, etc.

Those who desire to see action on Roosevelt's promise to give "our youth new opportunities for work and education" must see that their first line of action is defense of every New Deal proposal challenged by the reactionaries in Congress.

FIRST in importance of the issues before Congress today is foreign policy and national defense. No national defense program can be effective without a foreign policy that will put an end to a "neutrality" which, in the words of the President, "may operate unevenly and unfairly—may actually give aid to an aggressor and deny it to a victim." The "instinct of self-preservation should warn us" that the embargo must be lifted!

Spain, fighting heroically to defend Barcelona as she defended Madrid nearly two years ago, has been denied our aid. The people of Spain are paying the penalty for the embargo which our country has fastened on its Republic in violation of all treaty obligations. The people of Spain are paying in ruined cities, in shattered lives.

What honest American can desire to share the guilt and responsibility for the fascist invasion? If there was doubt in any mind as to who benefits from the

embargo, that doubt should now be ended, for Father Coughlin, Hitler's mouthpiece, is telling America that his master wants the embargo.

Every peace-loving democratic citizen must speak out—*Lift the Embargo!*

AN open market in the United States would give food to Spain from our abundant stores, would give her the means of resistance and defense against the merciless bombardment by the fascist mercenaries of Hitler and Mussolini. Lifting the embargo on Spain would indeed be a response to our "instinct of self-preservation." It would help close a broad highway for the fascist invasion of our hemisphere which a fascist victory in the motherland of Latin America would certainly open.

The duty of Congress is plain to see. It is: Lift the Embargo on the Spanish Republic! Amend the Neutrality Act so that the United States will embargo the aggressors and aid their victims!

Every citizen, every young people's organization must make its voice heard in the halls of Congress and in the hearings on the Neutrality Act. Write or wire your Congressman today!

MARTIN Dies, having squandered the tax-payers' money upon the testimony of numerous finks and stool-pigeons, has submitted his report emphasizing a request for more funds. Reactionaries of all stripes are gathering around Martin Dies, finding him a fount of wisdom, spouting slander against everything progressive. It is clear by now, and generally recognized, that the aim of his Committee and its report has not been to uncover subversive activities, or even to attack the Communists. It has been to smear the New Deal.

Congress must answer: not one penny for Martin Dies, no extension of the Dies Committee in any form. A genuine investigation of the subversive forces seeking to undermine American democracy is needed, and can be conducted as proposed by the Attorney General and the LaFollette Committee. The Communists will fully support a genuine inquiry of the charges which the Dies Committee has made, to seek out the spies and agents of the enemies of Americanism.

These issues: foreign policy, social security, the Dies Committee, are paramount today. If the democratic majority of the people organize and exert their full influence upon Congress, these issues will be decided favorably in the interests of the people. The road to new gains will be more secure. Many issues, some of specific interest to the youth, will come to the fore in Congress and the State Legislatures. Let

the youth be vigilant in defending their interests, in organizing their democratic unity around these issues in preparation for the battles ahead in the elections of 1939 and 1940.

THE American Student Union set an ambitious task for itself at its recent Convention. It declared its intention of becoming the channel of New Deal action on the campus, rallying and awakening the student body for the decisive struggle of 1940.

It should be inspired with greater confidence in its ability to achieve that objective by the recognition of labor and progressive groups, symbolized in the messages of greeting from Mayor LaGuardia, John L. Lewis, William Green and President Roosevelt.

Undoubtedly this Convention was a new high water mark in the development of progressive student unity and organization. This was reflected in the size of the Convention, the largest student gathering ever held. It was best expressed in the appeal to students to stand up and be counted in the Student Roll Call for Democracy and the decision to culminate this campaign with a national student assembly next Christmas of all students prepared to support the New Deal.

With exemplary unanimity the Convention endorsed a positive peace program. The complete bankruptcy and impotence of the Trotskyist policy of the Young People's Socialist League within the A.S.U. was demonstrated by the fact that they could muster no more than a handful of votes against its peace program.

YET the same discussion revealed some unclarity in the A.S.U. on the peace question, particularly in relation to the proposal for training 20,000 student pilots through the N.Y.A. This proposal did not meet with the unanimous and immediate approval of the delegates.

Such a measure can be sanctioned by the people because it means that greater responsibility for the defense of the country is placed in the hands of the people themselves. Surely this also holds true for the student movement, where there should be no hesitation. Of course, in expressing their approval, the people must make certain that the funds shall not be allotted at the expense of other N.Y.A. projects. The President's proposal that for this purpose \$10,000,000 a year be taken from the defense budget is a step in the right direction. The people should request that all colleges and universities, and particularly the Negro students, share in the program, regardless of race, color or creed. Obviously, for those who believe that national security rests upon greater democracy, it is clear that the training of pilots under supervision of a civilian agency, rather than by the military forces themselves, is such a democratic measure.

Both in making a central point of demanding the equal right of Negro students to participation in the

student pilot training plan, and the R.O.T.C., and in putting forward a rounded-out program of struggle for Negro rights, the A.S.U. fell short of expectations. This insufficient attention to the Negro students' problems was reflected in a relatively small delegation of Negro students.

The A.S.U. emerges from this Convention with a clear-cut program and enhanced prestige. It has a difficult job cut out for it. All progressives extend it good wishes, and support.

IN contrast to the A.S.U. there was the Columbus conference of the Youth Committee Against War, which even to its sponsors proved "disappointing." Of the 600 delegates announced in advance, scarcely 150 attended, leaving something of a flop on the hands of its ambitious promoters.

RECOGNIZING the dangers of the Hoover policy adopted by the conference, and in protest against its undemocratic procedure, "two dozen delegates walked out, censuring the conference leaders for referring to President Roosevelt as a fascist" according to the Columbus press. Five of these, among them a Cleveland S.W.O.C. delegate, and delegates from the Czechoslovak Youth Committee and Rotary Playhouse Negro Settlement of Cleveland, declared they withdrew because "the sessions have been marked by undemocratic procedure and repeated refusal on the part of the sponsors to give any consideration to delegates who desire to present the program of their particular organization" on peace.

They state that "in direct opposition to the stand of organized labor, both A. F. of L. and C.I.O." President Roosevelt was "attacked as a fascist by leaders of the conference" and "the same individuals presented vicious criticism of the peace policy of organized labor" which had been presented to the conference in the form of a request to approve the position of the C.I.O. Convention on peace.

The declaration points out that plans were discussed "for organizing YCAW groups in unions in opposition to the adopted policies and leadership of these unions." Finally the statement asserts that "the conference seemed pre-committed to a policy of isolation, in approval of the appeasement policy of Chamberlain and the aggressions of Germany, Italy and Japan. There is a pre-conceived viewpoint of disdain for the national interest of the American people. The Conference also advocated abandonment of our military defenses in the face of these ever-widening fascist aggressions."

Obviously the Youth Committee Against War stands condemned for what it is by these representatives of youth and labor. It failed to achieve its objectives, but sincere friends of peace must be on guard against its dangerous policy of surrender which has particularly influenced sections of the leadership of Methodist and farm youth organizations. C. R.

Tom Returns to Frisco

by EDWIN ALEXANDER

THE weekend really opened for us while we waited for a street car. It was early dawn Saturday morning on Market Street, the way to Sacramento. A lonely cop on his beat drew up to talk. "It's sure a big day," he said, "I betcha Tom Mooney could be elected President next year."

We got to Sacramento at about nine o'clock, two hours before the hearings were scheduled to start. What a crowd already filled the lobby of the State Capitol! Something new was in the air. The ornate halls were crowded with working people: Negroes, Spanish, Mexican. A few "cow-country" senators, with paunches and broad brimmed hats, idled in the corridors, uncomfortably. Two years ago you walked into these halls timidly, awed by the important, dignified-looking Republican legislators. Today we strutted as if we owned the place, and the paunchy senators looked a little awed. At every corner and in the central rotunda, newsboys peddled the *People's World*, while the Hearst papers took a back seat.

As eleven o'clock, the hour for the beginning of the hearing, draws nearer, the crowds gather in a tighter knot around the entrance to the Assembly chamber. There is nervousness and expectancy on every side, applause as New Deal representatives appear, a cloudburst of applause and surge of people as uniformed attendants clear the way for Governor Olson.

We dropped into a nearby coffee joint to hear the proceedings, since only a few hundred could get into the chamber. One radio broadcast had already begun. Again Governor Olson told the story of the trial, told how every major witness had since been proved a perjurer and how the entire original jury admitted the frame-up. The Governor finished his speech. The moment for which the world had waited twenty-two years was now at hand.

Silence for a few seconds. The Governor was about to issue the pardon. More ceremony and formalities. And then, before you could realize that this was it: "Tom Mooney, I am handing you your pardon. You are now a free man. If you wish, you may say a few words. Tom Mooney, would you like to speak?" A few seconds of silence were followed by cheers and the cries of newspaper photographers. In those few seconds you nudge yourself, "*Remember this scene, remember waiter and waitress listening with elbows on the counter, remember the position of the hands on the clock—here is where you were at a great moment in history. Remember every detail.*"

There is nothing magical about it. You know Mooney is free. You know Mooney is a human being. You know what is going on in his mind. The tension eases as he speaks; speaks in a clear, cultured, gentle voice, with a firmness and simple beauty that stuns the little group of people listening to the radio in the restaurant. In that second, you can see the distortion, imprinted by twenty-two years of anti-Mooney propaganda, fade away. You can see the surprise in their faces. "Gee, I didn't think he'd sound like that. Why, he must be a fine man!"

Few people will ever forget that speech. Here was a man just released from twenty-two years of hell. Without a written note, he talks for ten minutes, saying hardly a word about himself. His clear, organized speech explains the decay of our social system, the menace of fascism, the need for solidarity with the Jews of Germany, for the united labor movement as democracy's best hope. Then and there, he launches the struggle for the release of Warren Billings, J. B. McNamara, King, Ramsay, Connor, and the other political prisoners of California.

All through it you try to wake yourself to a full understanding of the stature of this man: a giant of labor. As he vividly repeats the details of his first trial, he breaks down in sobs. Someone in the audience breaks the tension, calling: "That's all over, Tom. Happy New Year!" Then he gets control of himself again.

You are proud of the moisture in your eyes. You try to imagine what twenty-two years in prison is like, how it feels to receive freedom after that. Your eyes are filled with tears of pride that labor can produce such a man, tears of exultation at the tidal wave of labor progress that Mooney's release is sure to bring. Through it all you think to yourself again and again: here it is, here it is, *Tom Mooney speaking to the whole world, damning fascism, calling for a new democracy, Tom Mooney repeating old familiar words to the listening world, speaking from Sacramento where our comrades were hushed by terror just a few years ago; Tom Mooney speaking to the whole world, when just a few years ago even mention of his case was forbidden to be broadcast.*

Then back to the Capitol to see Mooney when he leaves. A cry, and a few start running to the main entrance, soon followed by the thousands. Attendants

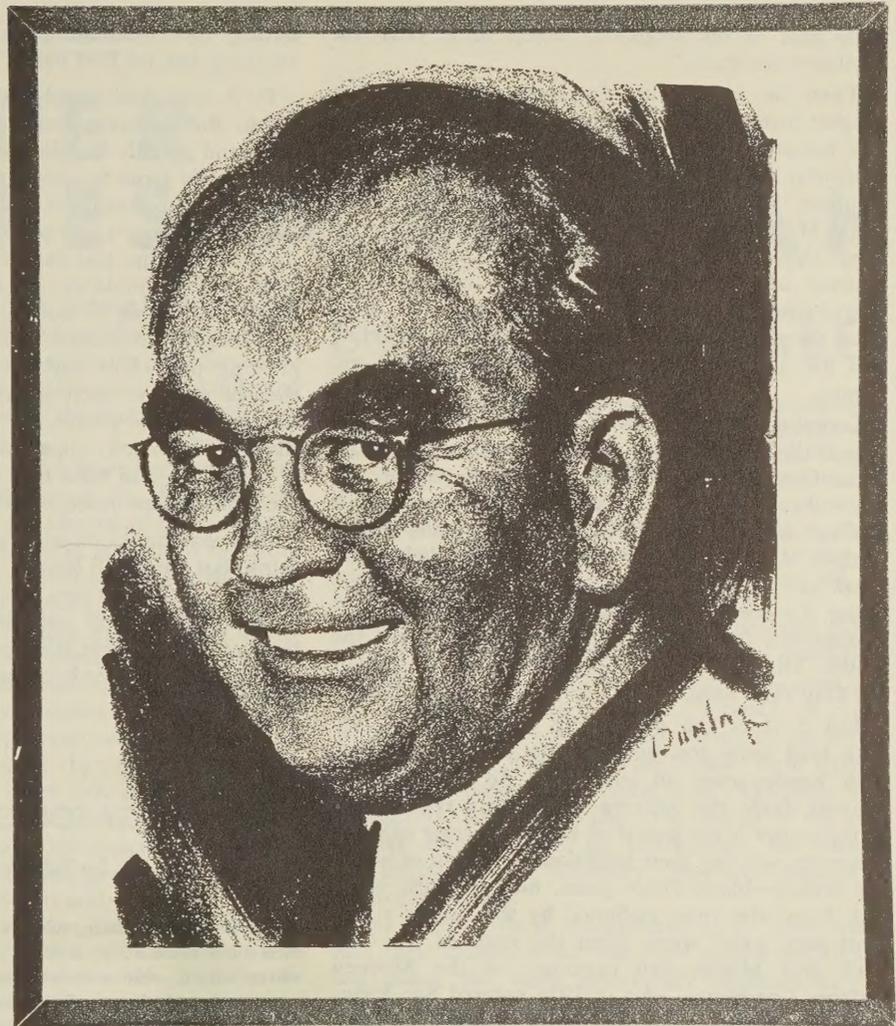
herald Mooney's appearance at the top of the white stairs. His face at that moment is something to remember. He cocks his head a little to the side and smiles—smiles so genuinely that it reaches every one in the crowd in a deeply personal way. It seems he would like to stand there forever and kiss and shake hands with everyone over and over and over again. These are the people that freed him. These are the people back of Governor Olson's signature on the pardon!

That afternoon Governor Olson inaugurated a new political institution at the Fair Grounds—the Governor's Barbecue for all of California. In a town of about 100,000 close to 150,000 people turned out! There were no political speeches, but the crowd spoke volumes of politics. They were plain, proud working-people. Ranch hands with ten-gallon hats,

miners from the nearby Mother Lode, Mexican, Spanish, Filipino and Negro agricultural workers, serious middle-aged men and women, many with their whole families. There were no riots, no rushes. No one was cynical about "political handouts." Nor did anyone take this as charity.

Thousands waited patiently in line for the barbecue for two and a half hours. From the genial smiles of people who got shoved around, from the fraternal way you stood ankle-deep in mud together, from the whole atmosphere of quiet pride, you could see that the people of California were celebrating what *they and the Governor had done together*: kicked out a 45-year old Republican machine rule, brought a New Deal to the State, and freed Tom Mooney.

And on Sunday, the celebration parade began to gather even before noon, at the foot of Market Street on the waterfront, in front of the old Ferry Building. By noon close to 50,000 men and women were gathered. Banners massed under the viaduct.



TOM MOONEY

Portrait by Dunlap

A loudspeaker system carried the words of Henry Schmidt, Maritime Federation president, who organized the parade. The Ladies' Auxiliary were colorfully dressed in blue and gold outfits, the Auto Union in overseas caps, the majority just in their Sunday best.

Not a policeman can be seen. Everything is taken over by men with Committee armbands, mostly long-shoremen. Union men keep the traffic going. Union men organize the lines. Fifty thousand people crowd a few square blocks. They form into ranks, swing up Market Street. Perfect order is maintained, *not by policemen*, but by the discipline of union members with armbands.

In the midst of it the great siren atop the Ferry Building tower sounds, probably the first time in history it has sounded except for noon and one o'clock. Now it announces the arrival of Tom Mooney's car. Even then the crowds keep back and let him walk through to the head of the line. Every-

body says to his neighbor, "Keep back. Give the brother some space."

Then we swing into the traditional march up Market Street. It is a parade without uniforms, with few banners, with few bands, just plain, ordinary every-day people walking up Market Street in wide columns. You miss the gayety and color of a New York May Day parade. But the impressiveness of these thousands of plain people, in plain clothes, pouring into Market Street, orderly and sober, is overwhelming. The only outbursts here are huge boos when the parade passes the Hearst Building and the strike-bound Kress and Newberry Five and Dimes.

Looming up ahead is the Roman dome of the City Hall. Here is Labor marching on to what should be its City Hall. Tom Mooney is in the center. On one side Jack Shelley, president of the AF of L Central Labor Council. On the other side, Harry Bridges, West Coast CIO director! The parade ranks break and scores of thousands of people stand there filling the great avenue. Banners go up front to be reassembled on the ornate balcony high over the crowd. The speakers file up on the stand on top of the City Hall steps.

Just 5 years ago during the General Strike, the City Hall gang tear-gassed these workers, smashed their headquarters all over town. In 1939 Labor's banners drape the balcony of the City Hall. Right in the center is the guard of honor—a crew of longshoremen wearing their traditional uniform of working clothes—black Frisco jeans, hickory shirt, white cap. Men who were maligned by the papers a few years ago, today speak from the steps of the City Hall. Bob Minor—first organizer of the Mooney Defense Committee, who in 1916 entered San Francisco with threats to his life; George Kidwell, veteran AF of L labor leader, now Director of the State Department of Industrial Relations; H. C. Carrasco of the Railroad Brotherhoods, now Labor Commissioner of California; Lieutenant Governor Ellis E. Patterson, representing the State of California, who calls for labor unity.

Then a high spot. Jack Shelley is presiding. He is president of the Labor Council and State Senator from San Francisco county. "I am extremely glad and proud to present the next speaker. My doing so is in the best spirit of Tom Mooney's release. It is a fine thing that I, president of the AF of L here, can read to you a telegram of greetings from John L. Lewis and introduce to you Harry Bridges. That is as it should be." The crowd goes wild. All around, people murmur, "Yes sir—that's what we need—one single labor movement. And Tom Mooney is the man to lead it!"

In deference to Mooney, the speakers cut themselves short. And then Mooney takes the mike. There is no hero-worship in the ovation. Everyone familiarly yells, "Hello, Tom—welcome back, Tom." Not once

during this weekend has anyone called him by anything but his first name.

It is cold and windy here on the unprotected green. But Mooney speaks for an hour, maybe an hour and a half. People are packed tight—standing with hardly room to move an inch. Yet they stand all through with hardly a trace of noise or nervous shifting. Mooney starts out with his political message. As he warms up, you can almost see the prison years drop off his shoulders and he is again, just a labor organizer, talking to workingmen, as he did 22 years ago, simply, punctuated with local, salty anecdotes of grafting politicians and corrupt labor leaders. And then he seems to open up what has been in his heart for twenty-two years—the scenes of his trial, his thoughts in prison; apparently he abandons the plan of his speech and talks to a crowd of nearly 100,000 about his closest personal feelings.

Everyone hangs on his speech, tired, yet hating to think that Tom will have to stop talking soon. When he does end, you see the eyes of longshoremen reddened, some still with tears. Two old timers in back of us say, "He still looks the same, except his hair is gray. Remember how black his hair used to be?"

ELEGY FOR OUR DEAD

by Edwin Rolfe

There is a place where, wisdom won, right recorded,
men move beautifully, striding across fields
whose wheat, wind-marceled, wanders unguarded
in unprotected places; where earth, revived, folds
all growing things closely to itself; the groves
of bursting olives, the vineyards ripe and heavy with
glowing grapes, the oranges like million suns; and graves
where lie, nurturing all these fields, my friends in death.

With them, deep in coolness, are memories of France and
the exact fields of Belgium: midnight marches in snows—
the single-file caravan high in the Pyrenees: the land
of Spain unfolded before them, dazzling the young Balboas.
This earth is enriched with Atlantic salt, spraying
the live, squinting eyelids, even now, of companions—
with towns of America, towers and mills, sun playing
always, in stone streets, wide fields—all men's dominions.

Honor for them in this lies: that theirs is no special
strange plot of alien earth. Men of all lands here
lie side by side, at peace now after the crucial
torture of combat, bullet and bayonet gone, fear
conquered forever. Yes, knowing it well, they were willing
despite it to clothe their vision with flesh. And their rewards,
not sought for self, live in new faces, smiling,
remembering what they did here. Deeds were their final words.

*(Taken from SALUD!, literary pamphlet issued by
International Publishers.)*

HITLER SWIPES A SLOGAN

by HELEN VRABEL

AFTER the Munich betrayal a tremendous movement of nationalism developed in Central Europe. A wave of nationalist agitation swept through countries such as Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia, carried on under the slogan of self-determination.

Some of the questions which have been asked are: Now that the fascists are raising the slogan of self-determination, have we, the Communists, abandoned it? Another question: Since large sections of the Hungarian people have been moved to call for the unity of the Hungarian nation, should we not join in this movement? Are we not "lagging behind" if we don't?

The final attitude encountered: Yes, we still believe in the right of self-determination of nations, but now that the fascists have raised it, we'll lay low, and when the time is opportune, we'll raise it again.

It should be stated again that the right of self-determination of nations is not only a working slogan, but it is first of all a *Marxist-Stalinist truth*. We cannot regard the right of self-determination of nations as a tactic or strategy which changes as events change.

Just to repeat, Joseph Stalin said:

"The right of self-determination means that only the nation itself has the right to determine its destiny, that no one has the right *forcibly* to interfere in the life of the nation, to *destroy* its schools and other institutions, to *violate* its habits and customs, to *repress* its language, or *curtail* its rights.¹ . . . The right of self-determination means that a nation can rearrange its life according to its own will. It has the right to arrange its life on the basis of autonomy. It has the right to enter into federal relations with other nations. It has the right to complete secession. Nations are sovereign and all nations are equal."²

The movement for the right of self-determination expresses itself in a struggle for national liberation, usually involving all classes of the oppressed nation. The national liberation movement liberates, to begin with, the national bourgeoisie of that nation, and brings with it greater rights for its working people. It is the precondition for the development of the working class struggle against its bourgeoisie. But it is not of itself a movement which liberates the working masses.

Comrade Stalin says that it is necessary for the proletariat vigorously to support the national liberation movement of the oppressed and dependent peoples, and continues,

1. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, p. 18. 2. *Ibid*, p. 19.

" . . . This, of course, does not mean that the proletariat must support every national movement, everywhere and always, in every concrete instance. The point is that support must be given to *those* national movements which tend to weaken imperialism and bring about the overthrow of imperialism, and not to strengthen and preserve it. Cases occur when the national movements in certain oppressed countries come into conflict with the interest of the development of the proletarian movement."³

After the World War, the national liberation movement was a progressive, and, in a sense, a revolutionary struggle. The semi-feudal autocracies, especially the Austro-Hungarian empire, composed of many separate nations, were shattered as part of the defeat of the Central Powers by the Allies. New nations such as Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia were established. And due to the co-operation of the progressive middle classes, the intellectuals, the workers and sections of the peasantry, these were bourgeois-democratic states.

But each of these independent states soon found that their independence was only superficial. In the first place, the more reactionary elements in the bourgeoisie, in alliance with Western capital and the native landowners, soon suppressed all the independent, basically democratic aspirations of the workers and the peasants. This found its clearest expression in the defeat of the Hungarian Soviet revolution and the successful reactionary dictatorship of General Horthy. It was shown again in the rise of General Pilsudski in Poland. In fact, only Czechoslovakia emerged as a full-blown bourgeois democracy.

Moreover, these states were economically dependent on the imperialist Allies, England, France and the United States. Large sums of money were loaned by Western bankers for the economic reconstruction of these countries, which merely guaranteed the domination of imperialist economic interests.

Each of these new states was established on the basis of defensible borders rather than nationalities. They had within them sections of other nations. Czechoslovakia was made up of two dominant nations, the Czechs as well as the Slovaks. They had three national minorities: the Germans, Poles, Hungarians; and the autonomous republic of Carpa-

3. *Ibid*, p. 193.

tho-Ruthenia. These new states, in coping with their problems, gave greater rights to the national minorities within their borders. Their languages were developed and the people of that nation had greater equality in processes of government. In the sense that the new bourgeois democracies gave greater liberties to the nationalities than the old autocracies, progress had been made. But the democracies could not hope to solve the problems completely and fully. Only Socialism could give these nationalities their full rights and could give them opportunity for full development.

The Soviet Union, which has already achieved this highest form of democracy, stands as the best example of the harmonious collaboration of a family of over 150 nationalities. Through socialism, these nationalities have developed their cultures, their language, their press; in many cases, for the first time in their history. They have voluntarily bound themselves into an indivisible union of free nations.

But in general, it was quite apparent that the slogan for the national liberation of the nations of Central Europe was a progressive slogan, and meant progressive action—which we led and supported.

But the advent of fascism brought with it repression of all democratic rights. In dealing with the national minorities, fascism employs the same repressive measures used by the autocracies before the World War. It goes them one better, as seen by the absorption of Austria, and as proved by the oppression of the Tyrolean Germans in Italy.

Fascism utilizes the contradictions of the bourgeois democracies in order to maintain and extend its hold. In the same sense it utilizes for its own gains the fact that the bourgeois democracies have not been able to solve the problems of the national minorities.

In this assault upon national minorities, fascism corrals the most reactionary nationalist leaders. It promises them help in their "national liberation" movement, and in their various efforts to "unify" the nation. It promises them posts of leadership in the "liberated" states. For example, Esterhazy of Hungary was an easy recruit for Hitler. After the World War he declared that he would not rest until Hungary would be re-united and worked under the slogan of "No, No, Never." Father Hlinka of Slovakia, is another instance of a super-nationalist leader who continued his movement for autonomy of the Slovaks even after the Czechoslovak republic was established. He was another such recruit for Hitler. Henlein was an example among the Sudeten Germans. The Ukrainian White-Guards who have their headquarters in Berlin, and are working for the "unity" of the Ukrainian people, by uniting the Western Ukrainians in Poland, the Carpatho-Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia, and if possible, the Ukrainians of the Soviet Union, are still others. In exchange for the help that Hitler will give these nationalists in the "liberation" of their people, the nationalists promise that the first thing they will do is outlaw the Com-

munist, destroy the trade unions, dissolve democratic organizations and join with him in fighting the "Bolshevik Menace." All this, in the name of self-determination!

Let us recall the statement of Comrade Stalin. Does this kind of a national movement help the proletariat? It doesn't. Therefore, we don't support it. This is not the right of self-determination. This is enslavement of the peoples of the oppressed nations and minorities. This is a demagogic use of the desire of the nationalities for liberation. This is a betrayal of the people by their national leaders. The masses of the national minorities are easy prey to this demagoguery, because their problems have not been fully solved by the democracies. It is for this reason that the working class of the dominant nations must join with the people of the oppressed nationalities in a fight for the extension of their democratic rights *within the structure of the democratic state.*

In each state our attitude varies according to the form and expression of national oppression. Comrade Stalin approached this problem by asking:

"How are we to explain the difference in attitude toward nationalities in different states? By the difference in the degree of democracy prevailing in these states. When in former years the old landed aristocracy controlled the state power in Russia, national oppression could assume, and actually did assume, the monstrous form of massacres and pogroms. In Great Britain, where there is a definite degree of democracy and political freedom, national oppression bears a less brutal character. Switzerland, for her part, approximates to a democratic society, and in that country the small nations have more or less complete freedom. In short, the more democratic a country, the less the national oppression, and vice versa."⁴

Therefore, our answer to the Hungarian Irredentists is correct when we say that we are for the unity of the Hungarian nations. However, Hungary *must first be democratized.* It must be removed from the orbit of fascist Germany, if the Hungarian minorities of Rumania and Yugoslavia are to be united with the Hungarian state at all. Otherwise these minorities have nothing to gain.

The rise of nationalism in the post-Munich world might have been expected, because it is part of the set-back suffered by democracy as a whole. For that reason, it is necessary for us to know how to answer the arguments of the nationalists. It is necessary to study how we shall show the people that the struggle of the Hungarians in America must be fought for a democratic Hungary. Those Hungarian comrades who feel that we are "lagging behind the Hungarian people" when we do not join in a nationalist movement are really panic-stricken. Instead of answering and solving problems, they are on the verge of falling into the same trap as the Social Democratic Party of Hungary when it proclaimed that the annexation of the Hungarian minority of Slovakia was a victory for self-determination.

4. Ibid, p. 62.

Those comrades who feel that we have abandoned that part of our Communist program which stands for the right of self-determination of nations simply do not understand it fully. They believe that every movement for secession is the consummation of our program for the right of self-determination of nations.

On this, Comrade Stalin said,

"The question of the *right* of nations freely to secede must not be confused with the question of whether a nation must *necessarily* secede at any given moment. The latter question must be settled by the party of the proletariat in each particular case independently, according to circumstances. . . . A people has the right to secede, but it may or may not exercise that right according to circumstances. Thus we are at liberty to agitate for or against secession, according to the interests of the proletariat, or the proletarian revolution."⁵

The short period since Munich has shown the people how fascism "liberates" oppressed nations. Slovakia, now an "autonomous" republic, has won the following "freedoms": All free masonry has disbanded. The workers' organizations have been smashed. The *sokols*, a gymnastic organization, has been dissolved. The Communist deputies have been deprived of their seats in Parliament. The trade unions are being coerced into "unity" with the reactionary Catholic trade unions. All political parties have been "unified" in this same manner. And the most revolting bit of the "liberation" is that people are "asked" to greet each other with a "Na Straz—Heil Hitler! (On Guard—Heil Hitler!).

Larger numbers of Slovak people are realizing that they have been callously betrayed. Letters coming to America express anger and indignation with the new government. Is it any wonder, therefore, that Hitler agents have been stoned by the people in Slovakia whenever they were recognized?

In America, too, the Slovak people who have given so generously for the establishment of the republic and for its preservation, are refusing to give a cent to the Hlinka government. They say, "What guarantee have we that this money will not go to Hitler?" Moreover, if the curtailment of democratic rights is not called to a halt, the Slovak people of America say they will boycott all goods made in Hitlerized Czechoslovakia. We must make it impossible for the fascists and nationalists to use the national aspiration of the people for their own fascist aims, and instead, we must channelize these aspirations into the fight against fascism.

5. Ibid, p. 64.

But this does not mean that we have abandoned the slogan of self-determination. As Lenin declared:

"The fact that the struggle for national liberation against one imperialist power may, under certain circumstances, be utilised by another "Great" power in its equally imperialist interests *should have not more weight in inducing Social-Democracy to renounce its recognition of the right of nations to self-determination than the numerous cases of the bourgeoisie utilising republican slogans for the purpose of political deception and financial robbery.*"⁶ (My italics—HV).

To show that we have not abandoned our position on the right of self-determination of nations we need only look to China where our Party is fighting most actively in the struggle for the national liberation of the Chinese people. Our brother Party is fighting for the unification of the nation, for its economic development, at the same time ousting the aggressor who endangers China's liberation. Likewise, in Spain, our Party is working unceasingly for greater rights to the nationalities. The rights already won by the Catalans during the last two years are greater than those won during any time previously.

From all of this it follows that we must look at every movement for liberation, examine it critically, and if it helps the progressive movement of the people today, we support it. If it does not, we fight against it.

In our work among the national groups questions about our position on the national problem are being asked, and they must be answered. When the young people of various national origin in our country are clarified on the national question, they will be won for the progressive movement, at home and abroad.

At a time when all sorts of distorted plans are being spread

about how the national problem is to be solved, it is more necessary, now than ever, to fight for greater democratic rights for the Negro people. If we are to defend our democracy effectively, it must be made impossible for such breaches of democratic practice as disfranchisement, lynching, and discrimination in economic and social standards, to continue.

It is the duty of the Negro and the white people of our country to make democracy work, if we are to make it impossible for the fascist demagogues to arise as the false prophets of the Negro people leading them to a "Hungarian liberation. By fighting for the extension of democratic rights to the Negro people, we help them approach the day of their final liberation. This will be both a part of, and a stimulus to, the liberation of the white people as well.

6. Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. V, p. 272.



WEST COAST WARNING

FROM its very inception the YCL has distinguished itself among American youth groups as an organization that serves labor. But labor's right to organize was not always recognized as the law of the land. The industrial form of organization was not always championed by millions of workers. And it is not so long ago that the open shop held unchallenged sway over the lives of the majority of the workers in the basic industries. Under the earlier conditions it was the task of progressives, young Communists included, to organize the unorganized, to build the small organizing groups in plants of the mass production industries. These served as the nucleus around which powerful union organizations were built. Service to labor under such conditions meant primarily to help plant and cultivate the seeds of militant unionism.

During the past few years the labor movement has undergone tremendous change. A strong CIO has arisen. Powerful unions have effectively challenged the open shop. The mass of A.F. of L. workers have more and more asserted their desire for a militant and progressive policy in their organization, trends which are very obvious in San Francisco. Since the general strike of 1934 the longshoremen, seamen, warehousemen and other trades have been solidly organized. New, younger leaders have come forward, both CIO and A.F. of L. who are keenly aware of the need of labor unity, who actively work for the defeat of reaction on the political front and who act energetically to protect and consolidate labor's gains.

How can we be of best service to Labor under these changed conditions? Our main task is to help strengthen the existing unions, to help organized Labor overcome the numerous attacks of its enemies. Every concern of the trade union movement (whether it affects young or old) is our concern. But we shall contribute to Labor most if we help the youth become an active factor in the trade unions.

In our experience, even an enlightened trade union leadership is alarmingly negligent of the youth problem, thereby leaving one of the flanks of Labor exposed to the enemy. The youth problem as it affects the labor movement in San Francisco is first of all the problem of the young workers already organized into trade unions. Thousands of them have been newly recruited into the labor movement, but they lack education on labor fundamentals, they need to be involved in the many-sided activities of the union. Since the newer, and in most cases, the younger members feel the effects of unemployment most keenly, more attention must be paid to their job problems. A progressive labor movement cannot operate in the

by JOHN MARKS

manner of the old, antiquated, craft organization dominated by people of the William Green and Hutcheson caliber. The present role of labor in the economic and political life of the country demands that the rank and file, including its youth, be actively involved in the affairs of the union.

The employers in San Francisco have not taken the rise of progressive unionism lying down. They have tried frontal attacks to destroy the gains of Labor at the same time that they work to disrupt its unity by means of Trotskyites and other spies and disrupters. In San Francisco they have created a potential internal threat to the unity of Labor, the Mantle Club, an organization with national affiliations, which has a membership of 3,000 in San Francisco and equal strength in Oakland and Los Angeles. The Mantle Club is organized on a semi-secret, very disciplined basis. It professes to offer opportunity, character building, recreation and education to its members. Its program, as expressed through its official organ, is a re-hash of Liberty League rantings against the New Deal. It charges that the New Deal curbs private enterprise by placing an unequal tax burden on industry, that America is subjected to too much reform, that the key to economic welfare is individual effort. The bureaucratic head of the organization has his headquarters in Delaware, the Du Pont domain.

The Mantle Club in San Francisco and the Bay Area has succeeded in recruiting many hundreds of young trade unionists (500 in the progressive warehousemen's union alone) and has developed an extensive sports program. Unquestionably a disguised threat to organized labor, the fact that the Mantle Club had successfully fooled young trade unionists into joining is ample proof of the low level of trade union education. Its success in building a well organized sports movement gives evidence of the value of sports if properly understood.

In view of the impending struggle over contracts among warehousemen and clerks, the YCL correctly concluded that by taking the initiative in calling this club to the attention of organized labor we would be rendering a distinct service. The first steps have been taken by the progressive forces. A hearing was conducted on the Mantle Club in the Warehouse Union. A series of articles on the club were featured in the *Peoples' World*. As a result, at least a section of the trade union movement is not only aware of the danger of the Mantle Club, but is taking a greater

interest in developing its own sports and educational program.

To help emphasize the need and value of cultural activity in unions, the YCL prepared a Labor Review "*Swing Behind Labor*" which has already been shown to A.F. of L. and CIO union groups. The indications are that the sports and cultural activities now organized among the youth of the warehousemen and culinary workers will be extended elsewhere. Such activity, if continued, will enable the unions to better rally their members in support of youth legislation and political campaigns. An active youth membership is likewise the best guarantee that trade union youth will become a great factor in the building of the unity movement around the California Youth Model Legislature.

The second outstanding youth problem is the need of winning unorganized young people in support of Labor. A recent WPA survey in San Francisco shows that unemployment is less prevalent among youth here than elsewhere, due mainly to the shorter hours and higher pay that progressive unionism has achieved. On the other hand, the very fact that so many trade unions have the closed shop or preferential hiring, has created difficulties and misunderstanding between organized labor and a section of youth. The WPA survey revealed that many young people attribute their difficulties in getting work to the existence of unions. They say in essence, "I can't get a job unless I'm in the union, but I can't get into the union unless I have a job."

Not all of these youth are hostile to Labor, but unless they understand the problem and unless the trade unions display a more sympathetic attitude toward them, they may become a pawn in the hands of the employers. Already the employers have aggravated the differences between these youth and the trade unions, agitating on the theme that organized labor is a barrier to jobs and opportunity for youth. For example, in the recent clerks strike, the employers made the seniority issue the main object of controversy.

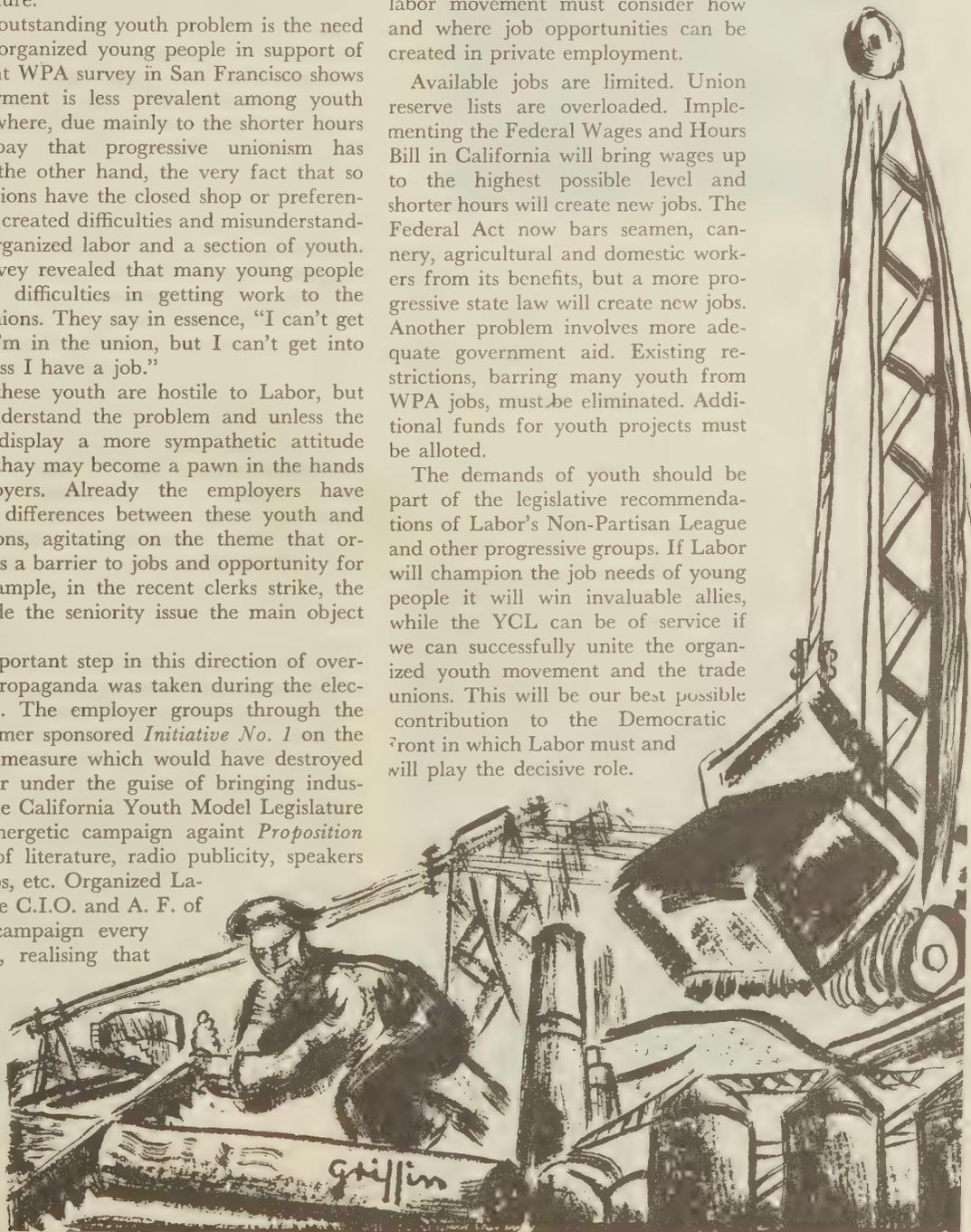
The first important step in this direction of overcoming such propaganda was taken during the election campaign. The employer groups through the Associated Farmer sponsored *Initiative No. 1* on the state ballot, a measure which would have destroyed organized labor under the guise of bringing industrial peace. The California Youth Model Legislature initiated an energetic campaign against *Proposition No. 1* means of literature, radio publicity, speakers to youth groups, etc. Organized Labor through the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. gave the campaign every encouragement, realizing that the farm and youth population were decisive if *Proposition No. 1*

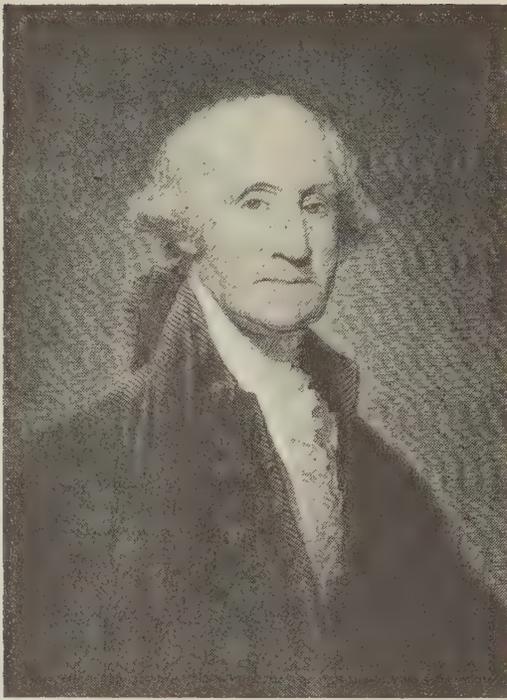
were to be defeated. The campaign served to educate thousands of youth on the need of being loyal to labor, and the *Initiative* was defeated by a very encouraging margin.

The second phase of the labor campaign has already been begun by the CYML. A series of conferences are being launched between the leaders of the CIO, A.F. of L. and the youth organizations of San Francisco to consider how youth can further aid Labor and how organized Labor can help youth. Labor is being shown that its serious neglect of the youth problem can only bring harm to itself. The trade unions must answer the employer's lie that organized labor is responsible for youth unemployment and pin responsibility where it belongs. The labor movement must consider how and where job opportunities can be created in private employment.

Available jobs are limited. Union reserve lists are overloaded. Implementing the Federal Wages and Hours Bill in California will bring wages up to the highest possible level and shorter hours will create new jobs. The Federal Act now bars seamen, canneries, agricultural and domestic workers from its benefits, but a more progressive state law will create new jobs. Another problem involves more adequate government aid. Existing restrictions, barring many youth from WPA jobs, must be eliminated. Additional funds for youth projects must be allotted.

The demands of youth should be part of the legislative recommendations of Labor's Non-Partisan League and other progressive groups. If Labor will champion the job needs of young people it will win invaluable allies, while the YCL can be of service if we can successfully unite the organized youth movement and the trade unions. This will be our best possible contribution to the Democratic front in which Labor must and will play the decisive role.





L I N C O L N D O U G L A S S W A S H I N G T O N

FEBRUARY, the month in which George Washington, Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass were born, dawns this year upon a world vastly different from that in which they lived. Yet, though we have new problems to solve today, we continue to find inspiration and guidance in their lives and work.

This is so because, as Lenin very aptly said, in referring to the American Revolution, "the history of modern civilized America opens with one of those great, really liberating, really revolutionary wars." And, he added, "What a pedant, what an idiot is he who denies . . . the greatest, world-historic progressive and revolutionary significance of the American Civil War of 1861-1865!"

Today we Americans are involved in a crisis as our forefathers were in 1775 and 1860. The overwhelming majority of our people suffer economic privation. One-third are ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed. At the same time, we are faced with a fascist barbarism that is bent on world domination. The threat of fascist aggression from without, aided by the reactionary traitors from within, is real and immediate. Social and national security, developing upon the basis of an ever increasing extension of democracy, is the need of the hour. One cannot be achieved without the other. Each depends upon the other.

This is not the first time in our history that we have faced similar problems. This is not the first time that social and national security, and the extension of democracy, have been inseparably intertwined. In 1775 and 1860, for entirely different causes, our social and national security were also at stake. Under

the inspired leadership of such men as Washington in 1776, and Lincoln and Douglass in 1861, America kept her rendezvous with destiny and advanced toward the new dawn of democratic liberty. In a larger sense, the service these great Americans rendered was of value not only to their own country, but to the entire world. Our Revolution in 1776 inspired the French Revolution in 1789. Our Civil War stimulated the birth of the modern international labor movement.

In those days of Washington, our country had for decades been chafing under the yoke imposed by the British monarch. Restriction of manufacturing, unjust taxation, curtailment of commerce and trade, denial of colonial legislatures, supercession of the civil by the military power, all these tyrannies oppressed the American colonies. Economic and social progress were at stake. Greater democracy was needed to assure the well-being of the people. It was clear that battle was inevitable. But the American people were never cowards. Never were they victimized by the disgusting philosophy that the Munich betrayal seeks to elevate to a religion today—better to be slaves than to fight.

Barely on the threshold of nationhood, the struggle against the British oppressor, begun in 1775, welded the American people into unity. What had once been thirteen separate colonies, torn by jealous rivalries, now became, through the integration of the struggle for social and economic progress with national salvation, the United States of America.

Let us re-read the Declaration of Independence.

"When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal stature to which the Laws of Nature and Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to separation."

Then the Declaration—one of the most brilliantly logical documents ever written—proceeds to state the general principles of its philosophy:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

Thus, in the battle for democracy and liberty, in

by ALFRED STEELE

the battle for social and economic security, it was impossible for the American people to right their social and economic grievances except by integrating them with the fight for the birth of a nation.

It must be remembered that several distinct classes cooperated to oust King George's Red-Coats from the American colonies. For the more ambitious merchants and landowners, their class interests dictated liberation from the hampering bondage of the British Empire. It was only by a final struggle to achieve national independence that the merchants, landowners, shipbuilders, etc. could take hold of the undeveloped colonies and transform the wilderness into a fully developed capitalist economy. So their own class interests coincided with the national interests of the people as a whole.

And for the independent farmers, the artisans and workmen in the towns, it was only by alliance in the same struggle that independence could be achieved. As a matter of fact, even during the struggle for national independence, the artisans and the impoverished agricultural classes were able to secure social gains for themselves. And it is clear to us now that only through the birth of the nation could the conditions ripen for the growth of a workingclass and the development of its struggle against its exploiters.

It is for this reason that one cannot judge some of the leaders of the Revolution because they were wealthy, or because they came from the upper classes. While some of the wealthy planters and merchants preferred to sell out their nation to the English (these were the original Tories) a larger number appreciated the significance of national liberation in terms of their own future and the future of the whole people.

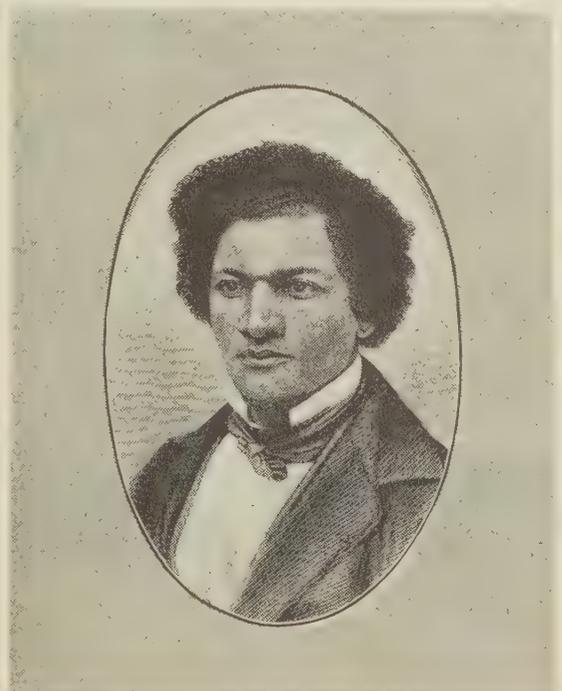
That is why George Washington, who could have been remained an idle, opulent gentleman, undisturbed by the historical tasks confronting the farmers, the mechanics, and the merchants, preferred to oppose the Tories. Offered the leadership in the fight to free his country he did not hesitate, and endured great personal hardship and sacrifice until the victory was won.

On February 12, 1809, ten years after Washington's death, Lincoln was born. In his day new dangers to national and social security became evident. Rather than allow the inevitable industrial and social progress of the nation to go unhindered, the Southern

bourbons worked to destroy democracy and the Republic.

One by one, by means of the Missouri Compromise, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Dred Scott Decision, and the Fugitive Slave Laws, the slave-holders had removed earlier restrictions to the expansion of slavery. Requiring constant expansion, because of the land-deterioration accompanying plantation agriculture, the slave system had forced the Mexican War upon the American people. The struggle for the territories was also a political struggle for a majority in the Senate. When the Federal Government passed out of the hands of the slave-oligarchy, the latter had no further need of the Union, resorting to secession.

The rebellion could not possibly end merely with the independence of the ten rebel states. The Confederacy claimed as its own all the border states—Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, and all the territories west to California—fully two-thirds of the nation. If the South would have been victorious, its control of the greater part of the Atlantic coast, the Gulf, Mississippi, and much of the Pacific would, by economic pressure, produce such a "vortex of secession" that only New England might possibly remain.



During the Civil War, those in charge of the destinies of the nation (and Lincoln was at first included amongst them) attempted to separate the national salvation of the country from its social salvation. They tried to wage the war against the Secessionists purely on constitutional grounds, on keeping the Union intact. They refused to wage war in a revolutionary manner. They refused to proclaim the purpose of the war: the ending of slavery. They refused to arm the people, particularly the Negroes. Thus, for more than the first year and a half of the Civil War, the North fought poorly and lost battle after battle. It became increasingly clear that if the people were to be aroused to a high pitch of enthusiasm, then *death to slavery* must become the battle cry of the North, and the Negroes must be given arms to fight.

Moreover, it was not until the people of the North, especially the workers, were convinced that this war was going to be prosecuted to its finish, that they enlisted. And it was during the war that the first national trade unions and national labor party began to take shape, as the workers established a unity in their own mind and action between the national interests of the whole people against the slave system and their own interests against the rising capitalist class.

"Honest Abe" Lincoln viewed this war with hesitation at the beginning. "There is a Civil War within myself," he often declared. But in this vacillation, he was simply expressing the hesitation of the Northern ruling class, uncertain, at the start, that only by a complete defeat for the slave system could democracy and economic progress be assured.

Once decided, however, Lincoln persevered.

Lincoln's struggle against the Supreme Court and the Dred Scott decision on a high moral plane of principle is further proof of his advanced, progressive ideals. Let us here quote from Lincoln's reply to Judge Douglas (not Frederick Douglass), uttered a few years before the Civil War:

"The purpose of the Dred Scott decision is to make property, and nothing but property, of the Negro in all states of the Union. It is the old issue of property rights versus human rights, an issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall long have been silent. It is the eternal struggle between two principles. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same spirit that says, 'You toil and work and earn bread, and I'll eat it.' Whether those words come from the mouth of one who bestrides his people and lives by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men who seek to enslave another race, it is the same tyrannical principle.

No greater dramatic proof of the role the Negroes played in their liberation from slavery can be given than to cite the career of Frederick Douglass. Born as a slave in the month of February (the exact year is unknown, but is commonly believed to be 1817),

this man lifted himself up from slavery by his own efforts. Yet in his 'teens he made his first effort to escape. He learned a trade, taught himself to read, and developed a great talent for speaking, writing, and organizing. He finally achieved his escape, and immediately entered the Abolitionist movement. In the words of James Ford, "Douglass . . . travelled north, east and west, to stir the people into action. He took the issues across the broad Atlantic into Europe. . . . He exposed them (the American enemies of the Negro people), defeated them on the platform and won great support for the cause of the Abolitionists. Douglass carried the fight against slavery to the American masses." This great man, this great American, this great Negro was not only concerned with the fate of his own people, but was concerned with the universal struggle of people everywhere for their freedom.

During the Civil War, Frederick Douglass was a veritable dynamo of energy. He saw more clearly than did Lincoln the interweaving of social and national issues in the outcome of the war. He wrote:

" . . . From the first I reproached the North that they fought the rebels with only one hand, when they might strike effectively with two; that they fought with their soft white hand while they kept their black iron hand chained and helpless behind them; that they fought the effect while they protected the cause and that the Union cause would never prosper until the war assumed an anti-slavery attitude, and the Negro was enlisted on the loyal side."

When Lincoln finally realized that national salvation was impossible so long as the social causes of the war were blurred over, Douglass was able to be of even greater service to his country and his people. He issued flaming appeals to the Negroes, calling them to arms. He constantly stressed the need for the unity of Negro and white in the common struggle to destroy slavery and save the nation.

Here then is the answer to those self-styled "revolutionists" who pose as followers of Marx and Lenin, but deny their teachings with reference to armaments and war. Here is an example in which Marx and Engels supported a "bourgeois" war, urged the German Socialists, who emigrated here, to support it with arms, and even gave the Union advice on military matters!

The lives of Lincoln, Washington and Douglass are testament that in the days of great crisis our people do not fear to take drastic measures so long as they are necessary to achieve justice. Their work is proof that there are just wars.

Despite American participation in wars of conquest such as the Spanish-American War, the World War, and the expeditionary forces that were sent to Mexico, Cuba, the Philippines and Nicaragua, our history is studded with really liberating, really revolutionary events, such as the Revolutionary War of 1776 and the Civil War, whose results represent the real foundations of true Americanism.

SLAVE SONGS OF PROTEST

BOOKS on the history of the western world rarely take note of the part the Negro people have played in the development of cultural life. When they mention the Negro at all, the chauvinistic historians deprecate his native gifts and minimize his influence upon the mainstream of our culture.

This neglect of Negro achievement and consequent falsification of history is likewise to be found in those books which are regarded as standard texts on American literature. For example, in *The Cambridge History of American Literature* there appears an article on Negroes as portrayed by white writers. In it there is the remark: "The Negroes themselves, by the way, can show an orator (Douglass), two prose writers (Booker T. Washington, DuBois), and one poet (Dunbar) of merited eminence." But the writer then points out that Washington and DuBois are not of unmixed Negro blood. This is typical of the treatment given by reactionaries to geniuses born of oppressed minorities. "Pushkin was not really a Negro, Disraeli was not really a Jew . . ." etc. By such means have the forces engendering prejudice and race hatred succeeded, all too often, in keeping from us the contributions of the Negro people to our culture.

Despite their beauty and the vital part they have played in our history, the songs of the American Negro in slavery have, for the most part, met the same fate. More, perhaps, than any other aspect of American culture, these songs are the native and original product of the remarkable musical talents of the Negro people. To understand the nature of these songs a knowledge of the history of the American Negro is essential.

Torn from his tribe and his family, the Negro was transported to the colonies. Very little of his African civilization was retained. In the seventeenth, and particularly in the eighteenth century, the slave-owner's paternal attitude toward the Negro often allowed him to share the culture of the whites. Especially its religious phase taught him to fear God, to fear the Master. But after 1800 slavery had become completely shorn of its eighteenth century "humanitarianism." Before that time, it had often been unprofitable to keep more than a few slaves, and "good slaves" were frequently given their freedom. The cotton gin and later inventions, however, made the ownership of large numbers of slaves extremely profitable. With this expansion of the system came an increase in exploitation.

by ALEX KOLB

Under its weight the slaves cried out:

"Wai', my brudder, better believe,
Better true be long time get over crosses,
Wai', my brudder, better true believe,
An' 'e get up to heaven at last.
O my body rock 'long fever,
O wid a pain in 'e head!
I wish I been to de kingdom,
To sit alongside o' my Lord!"

They longed for peace and rest and sang of it simply and beautifully, as few poets have ever done:

"I know moon-rise, I know star-rise,
Lay dis body down,
I'll walk in de graveyard, I'll walk
through de graveyard
To lay dis body down.
I'll lie in de grave and stretch out my arms;
Lay dis body down.
I'll got to de Judgment in de evenin' of de day
When I lay dis body down.
And my soul and your soul will meet in de day
When I lay dis body down."

But if the plaintive note of resignation in the yearning to "lie in de grave and stretch out my arms" was justifiable when resistance had proved abortive and freedom was unknown, the enslaved Negroes came to combat such sentiments vehemently. They turned the religion their masters had taught them to their own purposes.

This is evident from the nature of their religious gatherings in the woodlands bordering the plantations, which were announced with the following song:

"Jesus call you. Go in de wilderness,
Go in de wilderness, go in de wilderness,
Jesus call you. Go in de wilderness
To wait upon de Lord.
Go wait upon de Lord,
Go wait upon de Lord,
Go wait upon de Lord, my God,
He take away de sins of de world.
Jesus a-waitin'. Go in de wilderness,
Go in de wilderness, go in de wilderness,
All dem chillen go in de wilderness
To wait upon de Lord."

That this spiritual had a special significance for the singers is clear from the way it was later sung. It was the favorite marching song of the Negro troops during the Civil War.

Somewhat similar is the following spiritual. We see in the reference to a peculiarity in a "garment," or in the way it was worn (rendering the wearer one of the initiate) that the meetings were held in secret:

"I take my text in Matthew, and by de Revelation,
I know you by your garment,

Dere's a meeting here tonight.

Dere's a meeting here tonight. (Brudder Tony),

Dere's a meeting here tonight, (Sister Rina),

Dere's a meeting here tonight,

I hope to meet again.

Brudder John was a writer, he write de laws of God;

Sister Mary say to Brudder John, "Brudder John, don't
write no more."

Dere's a meeting here tonight, Oh! (Brudder Sandy),

Dere's a meeting here tonight, Oh! (Sister Rosie),

Dere's a meeting here tonight,

I hope to meet again."

Every addition to the ranks was greeted with enthusiasm, and "soul" was changed to "soldier" in this introduction of a new "believer":

"One more valiant soldier here,

One more valiant soldier here,

One more valiant soldier here

To help us bear the cross.

O, hail, Mary, hail.

Hail, Mary hail.

Hail, Mary, hail.

To help us bear the cross."

Throughout the meetings an unfaltering determination not to yield was urged, though one's body fell limp under the driver's lash:

"Keep a-inching along,

Keep a-inching along,

Jesus will come by and by;

Keep a-inching along like a poor inch worm,

Jesus will come by and by."

And similarly:

"All dem Mount Zion member, dey have many ups
and downs;

But cross come or no come, for to hold out to de end.

Hold out to de end, hold out to de end,

It is my determination for to hold out to de end."

The end they had in view they readily symbolized in terms of the scriptures, which was, ironically enough, the only literature to which they had access. Ironically enough, because it was the planter who disseminated this literature which inspired rebellions action and menaced his feudal set-up, though, of course, he never suspected it would have any effect other than that of furthering his own ends. The slaves preferred to read or hear the books of Moses or the book of the Apocalypse in which the references to the sublime were used by them to represent their conceptions of the Southland freed of its Pharaohs. The word "freedom" or any allusions to it were forbidden, and the religious phrases served neatly as screens for quite worldly intentions. For example, in this "shout" (a spiritual sung at a plantation dance or to the rhythm of the oars while rowing or boating), freedom is envisioned in crossing the Jordan:

"My army cross over,
My army cross over.
O, Pharaoh's army drowned.
My army cross over.

We'll cross de mighty river,
My army cross over;
We' ll cross de River Jordan,
My army cross over.
We'll cross de danger water,
My army cross over.
We'll cross de mighty Myo,
My army cross over. (*repeat twice*)
O, Pharaoh's army drowned.
My army cross over. (*repeat twice*)

And though they knew they would not obtain liberation merely by a song or a prayer, they asserted unhesitatingly:

"We'll cross de danger water."

In another spiritual the singers find liberation in "going home":

"Dere's no rain to wet you,
O, yes, I want to go home.
Dere's no sun to burn you,
O, yes, I want to go home
O, push along, believers,
O, yes, I want to go home.
Dere's no hard trials,
O, yes, I want to go home.
Dere's no whips a-crackin',
O, yes, I want to go home.
My brudder on de wayside,
O, yes, I want to go home.
O, push along, my brudder,
O, yes, I want to go home.
Where dere's no stormy weather,
O, yes, I want to go home.
Dere's no tribulation,
O, yes, I want to go home."

And, likewise, the singers who seek an end to their hardship in heaven long not so much for a happy afterlife as for a decent life on earth. For in their many spirituals about heaven they always picture themselves wearing long white robes and golden slippers: they want to cast off their rags and wear clothes that will cover them well. They want shoes to protect the burning, blistered soles of their feet. To them these are matters celestial.

The connection between these spirituals and the slave revolts of the thirty-year period before the Civil War is unquestionable. Nowhere but in "the big camp meetin's in the Promised Land" could the slaves gather to discuss their grievances. The slave uprisings of the time, led by Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, and Gabriel Prosser, though they failed because of their isolation and treacherous betrayal, had been carefully planned at many such assemblies. These secret meetings were certainly no ordinary hymn-fests or community sings.

The nature of the spirituals sung there became increasingly obvious after the planters had decided

to end by armed force the threat of the Northern bourgeoisie to their control of the nation. Realizing that if they were armed, it was in their power successfully to play an independent revolutionary role, the Negroes felt strength and saw their triumph over chattel slavery in the following spiritual. It was first sung, in secret, when the Confederate general, Beauregard, took the slaves of the Sea Island to build fortifications at Hilton Head and Bay Point. (The peck of corn and the pint of salt were the rations of the slave):

"No more peck of corn for me,
No more, no more,
No more peck of corn for me,
Many thousand go.

No more driver's lash for me,
No more, no more,
No more driver's lash for me,
Many thousand go.

No more pint of salt for me,
No more, no more,
No more pint of salt for me,
Many thousand go.

No more hundred lash for me,
No more, no more,
No more hundred lash for me,
Many thousand go.

No more mistress' call for me,
No more, no more,
No more mistress' call for me,
Many thousand go.

Even the household slaves, those who held supposedly favored positions, raised their voices and wrenched their chains. Separated for the most part from the Negro populace and in closer contact with the master's family, the household slave took elements from the cultures of both to form the secular songs which were also termed "spirituals." These are not so richly musical as are the religious songs, for the former are apparently arranged for recitation, perhaps to the accompaniment of a simple tune, rather than for group singing. The following song of the house slave indicates his well-developed understanding of the relation between the robber (his master, and the Negro victims whose lives he is always menacing with his gun at their back and whom he lets live only so long as they labor and produce enough for him to steal. Again we see the close tie between the servant humming these half-defiant lines and his people in the fields:

"The big bee flies high,
The little bees makes the honey.
The black folks makes the cotton,
And the white folks gets the money."

The following secular spiritual also shows the victimization of the Negro, and again his is the

fullest realization of "the old steal." From the various tasks mentioned we can see that this type of song came from those Negroes who worked nearest the whites, from the household slaves or possibly those who worked in the towns:

"We raise de wheat,
Dey gib us de corn;
We bake de bread,
Dey gib us de cruss;
We sif de meal,
Dey gib us de huss;
We peal de meat,
Dey gib us de skin,
An' dat's de way
Dey takes us in.
We skim de pot,
Dey gib us de liquor,
An' say dat's good enough for nigger.

Walk over- walk over!
Tom butter an' de fat,
Poor nigger, you can't get over dat.
Walk over!

But whatever the tasks given them, the resentment of the bondmen was common to them all. That the Negro people were content in their slavery is a falsehood which their spirituals utterly belie. Their songs were calls to action, to revolt, and to the enlisting of 200,000 Negroes in the Union army during the Civil War. Many thousands of these heroically gave their lives to liberate their people and ours from enslavement.



Sports

FOR DEMOCRACY

by ROY ASHBERG

TRY to discuss the history of sports in America without mentioning the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) and you won't get very far. For fifty years, millions of young people have been running, swimming, wrestling, boxing and playing games under its aegis.

Every schoolboy who sinks spikes into cinder for dear old alma mater, every street-corner athletic team that wants to be "official," every Golden Glover aspiring to the attainments of Joe Louis, must register with the AAU or one of its allied bodies. "Buddy, show us your AAU card or you can't compete here" is the story.

It is true that the AAU has pretty well cornered the amateur athletic market. It has jurisdiction over 19 sports directly and many more through its Allied Memberships. A single Allied Member like the Amateur Softball Association in 1938 exercised jurisdiction over the play of 125,000 softball teams, involving 1,500,000 fellows and girls throughout the country.

Founded back in 1888 the AAU has sought to protect the interests of the amateur athlete and to increase opportunities for his participation in sports. When the AAU was first organized, it embarked on a campaign for public playgrounds, and also was directly responsible for the establishment of the first public swimming pool in America.

In those early days, amateur athletics was growing fast. It needed a coordinating and stabilizing force. Even as today, unscrupulous individuals, seeking gain, were taking advantage of the amateurs.

Today the AAU is the largest sports governing body in the world. It commands the respect of America's youth. Participation in its governing bodies holds great prestige.

The sports field is the natural breeding place for the spirit and love of democracy. Despite glaring exceptions such as the vicious Jim-Crow policy of professional baseball and the anti-Negro attitude on the part of Southern and other colleges, by and large, American sports have tended to break down prejudice.

The AAU, then, should be a "natural" as a leading exponent for the preservation and defense of American democracy in the face of the dangers of fascist aggression. But it isn't. Its leaders, with very few exceptions, are either too reactionary or too inept. They force the AAU to be silent in a time when even

the most passive speak up. And too many of its leaders are concerned only with the sport of establishing advantageous political and business contacts.

One need but look at the record of the Golden Anniversary Convention of the AAU held in Washington, D. C. last December. Here was a convention held soon after Munich, after the Nazi pogroms against the Jews, the renewed attacks against the Catholics and Protestants in Germany. The entire democratic world blazoned its horror and condemnation of the Nazis across the headlines. Every important person and organization felt the need of raising a voice. But the AAU had nothing to say. As far as the AAU leadership was concerned, the world revolved around the question of whether a race should be measured in meters or yards.

Meeting at a time when mankind's best instincts of sportsmanship revolted at the cowardly attacks of Hitler upon a defenseless people, America's sportsmen saw no need to utter even a tame condemnation. The AAU has nothing to say—except that the next convention should be held in Miami.

One of the reasons for the silence on the part of the AAU is that its top leadership is in the stranglehold of a group of conservative gentlemen whose only relationship to sports today is in the form of nostalgic memories of the past. The young athletes themselves have no representation in the leading councils. Here is a movement in which youth are almost the exclusive participants, but old age runs the works.

There is a growing dissatisfaction with this situation. On the 1938 Convention floor the delegate who received some of the most enthusiastic applause was Jack Rafferty of the Gulf Association. He spoke of the fact that America faces reactionary "dangers from within and without" and of the need for more emphasis in the AAU on "the democracy part of its program." He pointed to the need of popularizing the opportunities under American democracy in contrast to the denial of all rights and freedom in the fascist states. Upon Mr. Rafferty's motion the Convention resolved to recommend a *National Sports Week* to President Roosevelt, a proposal that should receive our wholehearted support.

A National Sports Week ought to be organized not only by the AAU but by a coalition of all youth

movements interested in sports and democracy. Here is an opportunity to bring the main stream of American athletics in the form of the AAU into cooperation with the main currents of the American youth movement in the form of the American Youth Congress. A National Sports Week, under the inspiring leadership of President Roosevelt, may unite in a common manifestation for democracy the Conference of Catholic Youth Organizations (CYO), which is allied to the AAU, and the great centers of youth collaboration.

The anti-democratic forces of the AAU, on the other hand, are represented by a powerful group around Avery Brundage, past-President and Chairman of the important American Olympic Committee. It was Brundage who used every means at his disposal to further Hitler's command that an American team go to Berlin in 1936. Brundage still acts like a Hitler agent. In a radio speech on a national hookup during the 1938 Convention, he defended the Nazi pogroms.

The reactionaries in the AAU prevent the organization from voicing a position in matters of national and world significance even though these directly affect the sports world itself. They use the "pure sports" approach. "The AAU should concern itself with sports only, and no politics!" Just like the art-for-arts'-sake boys.

The President of one of the large Associations confidentially expressed the opinion that there is a growing disgust with the "pure sports" theory. As a matter of fact, there is dissatisfaction with many aspects of the AAU leadership among the leaders of the regional Associations. Behind the haze of smoke and language in the private hotel room conversations, it has often been said that things should be different in the AAU.

But these important criticisms are not brought into the open. Except for Jeremiah Mahoney, who characterized the AAU as being in danger of rotting away unless it added the vital organizations of the people to its ranks, and Jack Rafferty, no one spoke on fundamentals.

Mahoney's "dry rot" analysis is correct. The AAU must be revitalized both as a sports organization and a force for democracy. The Regional Associations of the AAU are in most cases anxious to accept any organization which sincerely promotes amateur sports. At present, the most popular sports events, such as

the Golden Gloves, are monopolized by selfish newspaper and commercial interests. Few are the bonafide organizations, interested in the welfare of youth and not in the financial gain of promoting sports events.

Amateur sports should be brought back to the people and their organizations. The trade unions and progressive organizations should take sponsorship over teams and athletic events. The big industrial interests have long used their sponsorship over sports as an anti-union instrument. In Detroit, for example, the Briggs Body Corporation hires special men in their Personnel Department to run softball and other tournaments. We all know what the aims of Personnel Departments are.

In many cities the AAU is dominated by men whose main objective in organizing sports is to keep the workers away from unions. But that does not mean that the AAU belongs to them. Instead of staying out, the trade unions and progressive organizations should try to make the AAU their own vehicle, bringing it to the people and their organizations.

It is encouraging to see that such progressive organizations as the International Workers Order and the Lithuanian Workers Society have allied themselves with the AAU. Both of these organizations are fraternal orders with a well-developed sports program. But it still remains to be seen what contributions these organizations can make to the development of the AAU.

While it would seem that America is pretty thoroughly organized in the field of sports, the situation is really far from satisfactory. Many communities have no organization which will undertake the sponsorship of an athletic program. In many other communities the sponsorship is in the hands of selfish and profit-seeking individuals or commercial interests.

Sports lends itself to a program of collaboration more easily

than any other activity. The very nature of competitions makes it necessary for different organizations unitedly to plan a schedule, build a league or tournament. In other fields, such as legislation and campaigns for reform, the youth of this country have to be trained in the need for, and methods of, collaboration. But in athletics they have practiced collaboration from their childhood.

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Books

by MILTON MELTZER

OUR world is full of social and economic troubles. The people we know bear the marks of it. War and poverty are the daily business of their lives. Unhappy, and bewildered by the strange and rapidly changing conditions of present-day life, they seek the knowledge that will make sense out of chaos. Everybody wants to know the WHY of things.

Where do we look for the answers? In the newspapers, most of us. But except for our Party press, they are not much help. From the more honest ones we get a good many facts. We learn how many Spaniards or Chinese were slaughtered yesterday; what new decrees against the Jews or Catholics Hitler is ordering; how many Americans will be kicked from WPA into the gutter. Why these things happen is told usually only by the Party papers. And even they do not tell us all we want to know. In their limited space they are able to editorialize only on each major event as it occurs. From one day's issue you cannot get a full picture of the world's happenings and their basic meaning.

For the more general consideration of social and economic problems we turn to the social sciences, to the Marxian analysis of social relationships. By continuous study of the movement of history in relation to the facts and needs of our time we gradually acquire the knowledge that points the way to creating a happier life.

Because there is so much to be done and so much to be learned, a lot of us do not go beyond the newspapers and a few scientific books for our information. There isn't time to read more, we feel. Stories and plays and poems may be fun once in a while, but it doesn't matter much if we never read them. And what can you get out of them, anyhow?

That this attitude is pretty widespread is proved by the trend of sales in the workers bookstores throughout the country. They report that people buy or borrow a lot of non-fiction, of Marxian works on history, science, economics, philosophy. But the stuff that's labelled "literary" moves very slowly, if at all. And that's true of the literature written by our own writers too. Though their books are highly praised by the critics and receive the choicest prize awards, they roll up no sales records. Of course we ought not, and we do not, read progressive writers out of a sense of duty, simply because they are on our side. What they write deserves to be read because it has something true and vital to say to us, and because it says that well.

Take the work of Richard Wright, or Ben Field, or Albert Maltz. Each of these is a Marxist writer who has recently published a collection of short stories. The material of their stories does not differ from what you read in the newspapers or in social science textbooks. Like reporters or historians, they write about what is going on in the world. They write about union organization, strikes, hunger, unemployment, assembly lines, sharecropping, salesclerking, mining. This fact, that they use the same material, does not mean that they are in competition with the newspaper or scientific book. As readers, we are not put in the position of having to choose between, let us say, James Ford's

The Negro and the Democratic Front and Richard Wright's *Uncle Tom's Children*. Instead of either-or, the choice should be both.

But why? Because the first book is an historical study of the problem of America's national minority, the Negro people. It gives us scientific information about the problem. The second book is made up of four long stories of Negro life. With an immediacy and emotional intensity purposely omitted in the scientific treatment, Wright gives you the *feeling* of Negro life. Reading his stories you know in your bones and your heart what it means to be a Negro. It is the nearest thing to experiencing their tragedies and struggles yourself. Being a fine artist, Wright does not slow down the movement of his swift tales nor interfere with the development of his characters by throwing in little essays explaining the reasons for the conditions he dramatizes. But the form in which he presents his material, the direction that his people take, the pattern he sees in human relations, imply a scheme of values and a sense of social framework that make the reader feel the larger meaning of his story.

It is the difference between the general and the particular, the abstract and the concrete. In Ford you find the statistical data, the generalizations, and the program of action for the Negro people. In Wright you encounter living, feeling people who typify the problem discussed by Ford. The one book supplements the other. Reading them both, you acquire the fullest possible knowledge of the Negro problem.

The same reasons may be offered for reading the work of Ben Field and Albert Maltz. Field's book of stories is called *The Cock's Funeral*. They are about farm workers in America. Their struggle to live as men, and not as beasts or slaves, is told in direct language that has the harsh vigor of men who live close to earth. One story is about the misuse of relief funds by local politicians, another about a farm organizer, others about farmers' union meetings, country fairs, the adoption of a fighting cock by an entire community, the fight against evictions. Most of the stories have a biting humor in them and a hot spirit of resistance to oppression that gives them unusual punch and drive. You may know the figures on grain production in the Middle Western states or have mastered the provisions of the Government Farm program, but unless you are a farmer, you don't know what living a farmer's life is like until you've read *The Cock's Funeral*.

When you learn the low circulation figure of Albert Maltz's *The Way Things Are*, you wish you had the money to plug it in full-page ads in every paper. It was one of his stories, included in this book, which placed first in the O. Henry Memorial Award for the best short stories of 1938. (Richard Wright won second prize.) No lack of recognition has been given Maltz by reviewers and in the magazines. It only remains for thousands and thousands of us to read him. Mike Gold says his stories are "illustrations of the same American tragedy that President Roosevelt has dramatized in our national life. 'Candid' portraits of the one-third of the nation that is ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-

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Around the League

FROM Chicago, Carl Ross brings us an inspiring report of the Illinois Convention. Meeting over the weekend of January 6th, 7th, and 8th, some 250 delegates, fraternal delegates, and visitors from non-Party and non-League organizations heralded the growth of our Illinois League. Today we can really call it our *Illinois League*; for delegates were in from Granite City, Peoria, East St. Louis, and many other small towns throughout the state. Our Illinois organization today is entrenched in the "heart of America"—the small communities, built around the steel towns of the state.

The highlight of the Convention was the presentation of the *Gil Green Recruiting Banner* to the branch which came through with the greatest number of recruits. And thereby hangs a story.

At the time of our National Council meeting in Chicago, the Illinois branches had been competing for the honor of winning the *Gil Green Banner*. The night the banner was to be awarded, it was found that both the Calumet and South Side Chicago sections had tied for first place. With a Solomonic decision, it was agreed to extend the competition to the time of the State Convention. And so, at the State Convention, Carl Ross presented the coveted banner to Bud Blair, organizer of the South Side Section, who, as the loser, presented it to Stanley Rigges, organizer of the winning Calumet section, who in turn presented it to Vic Malles, leader of the Gary Steel Branch which had won the drive.

Good luck—Gary Branch, and let's see how long you can keep the banner! Word reaches us that the South Side is planning to go over the top in the next few months, and they've got their eyes on that banner!

The Chicago Convention elected 45 State Committee members, and a complete slate of officers. Unanimously elected were Jack Kling, as State Secretary, and Claude Lighfoot, President. George Novotnick is the new Vice President, and Phyllis Waldman becomes Secretary of the Treasury for Illinois.

Carl Ross tells us of the two things which impressed him most: 1. The full democracy at the Convention, in both procedure and elections; and 2. The acclaim and respect for Jack Kling, whose outstanding work has won him a place in the hearts and lives of the youth of Illinois.

* * *

Our New England League informs its branches of their coming State Convention. Among the problems to be considered:

"The National Council of the Young Communist League has made a very serious proposal to our District regarding our State Secretary, Dave Grant. For some time now the National Council has been confronted with a very serious situation in the Pittsburgh District. Pittsburgh is one of the most important industrial centers of the country. But unlike some of the other key industrial centers, such as Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit, the League in Pittsburgh has made no progress at all in the last year or two after

losing their District Organizer, Dave Doran, who was killed in the battle for democracy in Spain.

"The National Council has therefore felt it necessary to select one of its leading members in order to help the League in Pittsburgh. It has therefore proposed that Dave Grant shall leave the Boston District and be sent to Pittsburgh. At its meeting on December 18th, your State Committee voted by an overwhelming majority to accept this proposal of the National Council. We did so mainly for two reasons: first, we realize how important it is to build the League in Pittsburgh and that by doing this we would be helping the League nationally. We felt that it was an honor to the Boston District to be asked to make this sacrifice in order to contribute to the work of the whole Young Communist League."

* * *

Greetings to our brother Canadian League. Not so long ago, we celebrated our Sweet Sixteenth Birthday. A great big birthday card is in order on February 22nd, when the Canadian YCL comes of age. Congratulations!

* * *

The story is a bit late, but will appeal to all of our comrades. "T'was the night before Christmas"—and one of the New York Student Nurses' branches was in session.

"Is there anything else on the order of business?" And then came a novel proposal.

"Comrades, four Veterans of the Lincoln Brigade were brought into the wards this morning. Suppose we make this a real Christmas for them. How about getting up Christmas packages?"

And so the nurses rounded up all of the literature they had, bought fruit, cake, tidbits—sat up till the early hours of the morning getting up packages for the boys. Early Christmas morning, the Vets were made happy through the thoughtfulness of our student nurse comrades. Some of our branches who have comrade Vets in hospitals can take the hint—you don't have to wait for next Christmas.

* * *

It can be done! A report from Joe Clark, Detroit State Secretary, on the work of our "Cultural Ambassador"—Miriam who has been on tour through several of our Districts.

"This is just a brief report to let you know that Miriam's stay here was very fruitful. Sunday evening we had a welcome home affair for the Spanish vets. Miriam put on the same dramatic program that the Chicago League had at that meeting of the National Council. It went over swell. Typical comment of YCL members was that now they would be able to recruit new members if that was the kind of activity we conducted. Comments of the few Party people there was that the YCL is a real organization. And comment of outsiders was very enthusiastic."

* * *

A Red Star to the Colorado District of the YCL—as the first district to come through with a 100% registration for 1939.

DIANA KAY

LEADERSHIP and Inner Democracy

(Continued from Page Five)

all, if it's not to be abstract, academic and superficial, must be based on the practical, political, ideological and organizational problems we face. To understand the forces moving towards a democratic front, for example, one must study the great democratic movements in American history, the periods of Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Bryan, etc., as well as the lessons of the People's Front development in other parts of the world.

To understand the CIO, the issue of labor unity, one must study the history of the American labor movement, at least, from the 1870's to the present day. If one wants to understand our class approach towards armaments it is necessary to study the positions of Marx, Engels, and Lenin in their day towards militarism and the armed forces. In all this, the comrades must remember that Marxism is not a dogma, but a guide to action. Therefore, we in our studies must always relate the lessons of the past with the changes that have taken place since then, with the new objective and subjective forces at work.

Books will not automatically provide the correct answers. Only books related to life today will help. Therefore study is not a form of memorizing quotations. It is the process of relating what you read to present events. In other words, only independent thinking can give us the answers. Books are a stimulus, not a substitute for such thinking.

The world is becoming more complicated, the enemy more clever. Only greater understanding on our part, only deeper thinking based upon our Marxist-Leninist theory will enable us to find the answers to our problems, the means by which to overcome all obstacles, and the path to the victory of the democratic forces.

* * *

Our YCL leadership reflects within itself two tendencies or approaches to this question. These arise from the social composition of our League, from the two main currents which merge to make the YCL: the stream of young workers and working class youth, and the stream of middle class youth, especially those coming from the higher institutions of learning, those who can be placed in the category of intellectuals.

Among those of our leading comrades who come from this first stream, and it is by far the most powerful in the YCL, there is what can be termed a certain disdain for theory, connected with a special kind of snobbishness, which says: "We are young workers. Leadership rightfully belongs to us. We come from the class that is most advanced in present day society, that will take power, therefore, we are

the cream, the elite of the YCL. We don't have to know more than we know now in order to lead. We're workers and can therefore lead by pure instinct."

I think we must admit that if such views exist here and there to one degree or another, we are greatly responsible. Often we adopted a patronizing attitude towards young workers in the leadership, failed to make them realize the need for study and development, tolerated and even encouraged their backwardness, with the result that some of them, instead of growing, have on the contrary, become complacent and indifferent about self-development.

We cannot place young workers on a pedestal. We must not flatter them permit them to glory in their ignorance. Comrade Stalin spoke of this tendency in the Soviet YCL some years back. He said, "If you are illiterate or write incorrectly and are proud of your backwardness, you are a worker from the "bench" and are honored and respected. If you have emerged from your uncultured state, have learned to read and write and have mastered science, you have "become divorced" from the masses and have ceased being a worker. I think that we shall not advance a single step until we have eradicated this barbaric and savage attitude. The working class cannot become the real master of the country if it cannot create its own intelligentsia, if it does not master science." (from speech to 8th Congress YCL-USSR, May, 1928.)

I think, comrades, that we must make the young workers in our League leadership understand that after being leading comrades for a number of years, they cease to be plain young workers. They become working class intellectuals, Party intellectuals. Comrade Browder did not have much formal education. Is he a plain worker? No! He is an intellectual—the highest form of Party and working class intellectual. Little formal education therefore, is no reason for failing to master knowledge. It should act as an incentive to harder work and study that will make up for this deficiency.

Young workers should prepare themselves not only for leadership of the YCL, but for their role as leaders of the working class, our Party and our country, tomorrow. When we say that the working class will lead society tomorrow, we do not mean the working class as it is today. The very struggle for a socialist society will transform people, create new individuals capable of leading the new world. Our job in the YCL is to begin to transform our people, to prepare our young workers for leadership of their class and people.

The other day I asked a leading young worker in our League, one who had been a functionary for quite a number of years: "Do you have the ambition, not for today, but for someday in the future, to write at least an article for the Communist?" This comrade answered: "Well, to be frank, I do not."

I say that's bad. It's bad for this comrade and for the League leadership. I know that I never felt that way, and I don't want to give myself as a good example. I think I know, better than anyone else, how little I know, and how much I should know for the time I have been in the Party and the League. But I must say, many years before I contributed my first article to *The Communist*, I dreamt about the day in which I would write one. And when I had written it, I felt dissatisfied and decided to do better in the future.

We want more comrades in our League to have the ambition to develop, to advance, to dream of being members of the National Council. And for those on the National Council, we want a feeling of responsibility, a will to master theory as against the feeling that because 'I happen to be a worker, I have a claim upon leadership.'

In four months time we will elect a new National Council, and that time, we will have to judge our individual comrades. We'll have to say to some of them: 'Jack, or John, or Joan—in the last two years you have not grown. Other forces have come forward, and you no longer have a place in the National Council.'

Now, I want to speak of the second current that comes mainly from the student movement—from the comrades who have had higher education, who have gone to college or the university and who make up the intellectual strata of our League. These comrades, too, present a problem. On their part it is not so much a disdain for theory. Theirs is sometimes a snobbishness which looks down upon practical people and practical work, that fails to see that abstract learning means nothing, if it is not connected with practice.

These comrades fail to see that when we speak of learning we do not only speak of book-learning but also and especially of learning from the masses, from experience. Among these comrades we also have a great degree of subjectivity, a great reluctance to accept criticism. Some of them think that when we criticize them we violate the inner sanctity of their souls, we trample on their personalities. Among these comrades we find the greatest difficulty in developing collective work. Among these, we have to fight against petty bourgeois individualism, in the approach to all questions.

Even among those who are the most "learned" of our student comrades we see wavering and uncertainty when difficulties arise. For example, at the time of Munich some of our student leaders wavered and showed the greatest degree of pessimism. They needed

a shot in the arm before they were able to go forward again.

Their failure to establish the proper relation with practical problems, with the rank and file, and with the masses, was responsible. These comrades must acquire what the young workers in the League have, that is, faith in the masses and in themselves. And if the young workers don't become lost at every setback or temporary defeat, it's because they come from the shops and mills—they come from the masses, they know their class and they have confidence in its final victory.

Our student comrades have much to re-learn. They must understand the relationship between theory and practice, because one without the other is false and harmful. Only a combination of both is healthful and essential to the proper type of leader. To those comrades who have lived in the realm of books, I want to say that we cannot, in our Party and League, tolerate or cultivate ivory-towered intellectualism.

These comrades must learn, even if it be a painful process, to master the handling of the practical problems, the detailed organizational problems, because only then will their knowledge be put to the test. They must be able to throw overboard the bourgeois rubbish which makes up a goodly part of formal higher education.

It is necessary that the above two streams merge into one: the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the YCL. The intellectuals must become working class and Party intellectuals and must lose their middle-class moorings and ideology. Our proletarian comrades must have a greater desire to study and to become Party intellectuals in their own right, not just plain workers.

In conclusion, I want to repeat one point. The problems we are facing and will continue to face, are becoming more complicated and difficult of solution. The quality of our work must therefore be immeasurably higher. We must not make the mistake, as did the leadership of the Soviet League, of seeing economic questions and forgetting ideological questions. We must not only see the mass movements in their narrow sense, but also the greater political and ideological problems that flow from them.

These are a few of the lessons and general observations that can be drawn from the experiences of the Soviet YCL. I have not tried to dot the i's and cross the t's. I know that comrades think that the mastery of Marxist theory is a difficult task. This is not entirely correct. What is difficult is to get the will-power and determination to master theory. Once the determination, the way will be found.

Gil Green mentions two pamphlets which are vital for a full understanding of his article. One is *Mastering Bolshevism* by Joseph Stalin, which features a basic discussion of Trotskyism. The other is *We Take Our Stand*, the declaration of principles and by-laws adopted by the YCL at its Eighth National Convention in May, 1937. They cost a nickel a piece. Get them at your branch meeting or neighborhood book shop.

Pre - Convention Page

The National Council makes public the following general announcements about the Ninth National Convention of the Young Communist League, U.S.A., which will be held in New York City in the first week of May, 1949. The theme of the Convention, which characterizes it as a whole, shall be: *Reshaping the World of Today. . . Building the World of Tomorrow.*

THE GENERAL AGENDA

1. Election of Committees

- a) Presiding
- b) Resolutions
- c) Auditing
- d) Credentials
- e) Press

2. The Main Reports

- a) *Advancing the Frontiers of Democracy—Youth Meets the Challenge of 1940*
- b) *Building the Young Communist League as an Organization for Study and Action*

3. General Discussion in six panels and five commissions

A. Panels on the problems of:

- a) young women
- b) Negro youth
- c) students
- d) national groups
- e) small town and rural youth
- f) industrial and unemployed youth

B. Commissions on the YCL branch and:

- a) group techniques and methods
- b) publications
- c) schools and classes
- d) cultural activities
- e) collaboration with organizations in the community

4. The Elections to the National Council

5. Resolutions and reports of the findings of the Panels and Commissions

6. Final Remarks



Until the final day by day arrangements are completed, the National Arrangements Committee announces the general character of the events during the Convention:

Every effort is being made so that all delegates can participate in the New York May Day Parade, after which it is intended that the YCL Convention open with a Grand Meeting at Madison Square Garden, the main speeches of which will be broadcast nationally.

In addition to these features, it is planned to organize a Convention tour through the New York Worlds Fair which will open at that time. On one of the evenings, the National Committee of the Communist Party will be host to the delegates in an informal dinner at which the leading comrades of the Party will appear. On another evening there will be an international news reel with running commentary by one of our leading members who specializes in international affairs.

At another, there will be showings of Soviet and American moving pictures which are distinguished for their historical

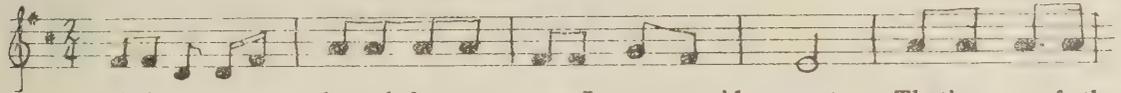
and social significance. Fraternal delegates from other lands and fraternal delegates from other American youth organizations are being invited and will, at various times, address the Convention.

The actual work of the delegates will proceed at the Panel and Commission discussions, on the basis of which the resolutions and findings of the Convention will be determined. Nominations to the National Council will be made by state delegation meetings. Each delegation will have the opportunity to question any of the nominees before placing their names before the Presiding Committee. All delegations shall have the right to oppose nominees on the Convention floor. Those nominees upon whom the greatest number of delegations are agreed shall be elected, and the Convention itself shall determine how many members shall compose the National Council for the two year period. Further details on the Convention will be announced in special communications to all branches and in the forthcoming issues of the *Young Communist Review*.

Song: I AM A WISE GUY

Words: Harry Meloff and Sam Pevsner

Music: Harry Meloff



I belong to a branch for years, I never paid a cent. That's one of the



reasons why the branch can't pay its rent. Oh I am a wise guy, a lazy guy am



I, when I should be active, I'm always on the fly. Always on the fly.

I joined the chorus
I sing and never tire
Always in the bathtub,
But never in the choir.
(chorus)

My branch holds a lecture
On subjects broad and deep.
The speaker never bothers me
For I am fast asleep.
(chorus)

The membership is lagging
My branch don't seem to grow.
When I should be recruiting
You'll find me at a show.
(chorus)

My branch holds a social
I'm dressed up fit to kill.
I sing and dance the Lindy-Hop
The others pay the bill.
(chorus)

NINTH NATIONAL CONVENTION ESSAY CONTEST

"What The YCL Means To Me"

CONTEST JUDGES:

Gil Green
(Nat'l. President YCL)

Alex Bittelman
(Editor, The Communist)

Granville Hicks
(Author, I Like America)

The Winner Gets a Trip to New York for the Ninth National Convention. All Expenses Paid or the Equivalent in Cash . . . and the winning essay will be published in the Special 48 page edition of the May Review.

Every member of the Young Communist League, with the exception of District Organizers, members of the National Office, and Editors of the Review, is invited to participate in the Ninth National Convention Essay Contest on "What The YCL Means To Me." The contest begins on February 1st and closes at midnight on the 14th of April, 1939. Manuscripts may be up to 500 words long and should be addressed to the Essay Contest Editor, Ninth National Convention Arrangements Committee, Room 919, 35 East 12th Street, New York City.

● IN FUTURE ISSUES

With this issue we begin our pre-Convention discussion. As much room as possible has been made for articles from comrades in all parts of the country for discussion of basic problems that confront the YCL as it approaches its Ninth National Convention. This is no easy job, if we are to keep in the pages of the *Review*, other articles of current interest and general educational value.

While many articles are already on hand, there is still room for contributions from any member of the Young Communist League in any part of the country who wishes to get down on paper some of the problems of his work in the branches, some of the questions that come up in carrying out the political and educational decisions of the state and local organizations. So this is an invitation . . . get your articles in by the 10th of February for the March issue, and one month later for the April issue. Make it snappy, make it brief . . . but have your say!

Some of the articles already planned or written include: Mac Weiss, on the American Youth Congress; Herb Parker, on YCL work in the rural areas and small towns; Mike Saunders on the YCL branch in the community collaboration movement; Francis Franklin on Christianity, and another on How To Study; Lou Mason, on the Illinois Literature Guild; Leon Straus on Apprenticeship; Al Steele on the YCL since the 6th Congress of the Young Communist International.

In addition to these, the following features are scheduled for publication in the March and April issues:

Angelo Herndon on Frederick Douglass

Joe North on the anniversary of Dave Doran's death

Myles McPartland on St. Patrick's Day

Joseph Starobin on One Year of the *Review*

John Little on the Empire State Convention of the YCL and of course, the usual and unusual pages on Books, Around the League, Editorials . . . and the Pre-Convention notes, which in the next issue, will give more detailed information on the Ninth National Convention. Last, but not least, an index of the *Young Communist Review*, March 1938 to 1939, prepared by Seymour Robinson of the Chicago Educational Department.—J. S.

● CONTRIBUTORS

Gil Green, whose articles have frequently appeared in the *REVIEW*, is the National President of the YCL . . . Ed Alexander, who writes on Tom Mooney's release, was there when it happened. He is State Educational Director of California's YCL . . . Helen Vrabel is a member of the National Council of the Young Communist League . . . California is again represented by John Marks, YCL Chairman of that State . . . Alfred Steele, who writes on Lincoln, Washington and Douglass, is on the State Committee of New York's YCL . . . Alex Kolb's *Slave Songs of Protest* is his first published work. He is a member of the up-and-coming Ridgewood branch of Brooklyn, N. Y. . . Milton Meltzer, who writes our Book column this month, is a frequent contributor to *New Masses* and an editorial associate of the *Review* . . . Roy Ashberg is the pseudonym of a young man who is active in labor sport circles . . . Jack Jules' regular sports page was omitted to make more room for pre-Convention material.

Sports

(Continued from Page Twenty-Three)

What better agency for collaboration in athletics is there than the center of collaboration of youth organizations themselves—the American Youth Congress?

Not only can the Youth Congress perform a beneficial community service by coordinating athletics already organized by the individual groups, but it can involve thousands of organizations not now within its orbit of cooperation in other important campaigns to secure the American Youth Act, community projects, and so forth.

The advantages are unquestionable. The American Youth Congress should cooperate with the AAU. Such a relationship will bring the vigor of the youth movement to the AAU, and the experiences of the AAU to the youth movement.

Books

(Continued from Page Twenty-Four)

housed, such stories hurt like a surgical operation. They are as necessary if America is to see and be saved."

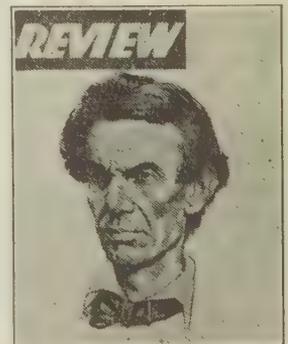
The three books I have mentioned are available in all the workers' bookshops. You can buy or borrow them there. Some school and public libraries carry them too. If yours doesn't, it would help not only you, but the writers and the great mass of people who should be reading their work, if you insisted that the library acquire copies of these books.

To meet the needs of the large number who can't afford to buy books, International Publishers is introducing a series of literary pamphlets, containing stories, poems, essays and sketches by progressive writers, that will sell for a nickel or dime. The first of these, *Salud*, is already out. The pieces are all on Spain, and the effect of the Spanish people's struggle upon the thinking and feeling of Americans. The second pamphlet will be called *Poems for the Union Man*, and should these reach a wide audience, others containing fictional and reportorial pieces on the problems and experiences of young people will be issued.

These are *our* writers. They are writing about us and for us. Their work, the enlargement and clarification of our experience, is of value in strengthening our forces for the fight against the enemy. We cannot neglect them.



THIS MONTH'S COVER is Raymond Massey as the young Abe Lincoln, drawn by Norman Rockwell. We reprint it by courtesy of the Playwrights Company, producers of New York's current anti-fascist success, "Abe Lincoln in Illinois."



KNOWLEDGE IS POWER!

REVOLUTION IN SPAIN, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. International Publishers, \$1.75.

An analysis of the revolutionary struggles in 19th century Spain, providing data invaluable for the understanding of present day events in the battle of the Spanish people against fascism.

THE NEGRO AND THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT, by James Ford. International Publishers. \$1.75.

A clear presentation of the Negro problem, setting forth its theoretical aspects and signposting the way to the elimination of "America's most bitter heritage."

WOMEN AND SOCIETY, by V. I. Lenin10c

FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM, by Joseph Stalin10c

TEACHINGS OF KARL MARX, by V. I. Lenin15c

SALUD!, POEMS AND STORIES OF SPAIN, by American Writers, 10c

A collection of literary pieces inspired by the struggle of democratic Spain, written by such outstanding American authors as Joseph North, Edward Newhouse, Erskine Caldwell, James Neugass, Vincent Sheean, and Edwin Rolfe.

DOLORES IBARRURI (La Pasionara). International Publishers, \$1.00.

The life of "La Pasionara," embodied in the speeches and articles of her daily work in leading the Spanish people in their struggle for peace and democracy.

WHAT IS PHILOSOPHY?, A Marxist Introduction by Howard Selsam. International Publishers. \$1.25.

An "inspirational" book that really bears on your everyday problems because it is written by a Marxist who understands and makes plain the relations between action and thought.

SON OF THE PEOPLE, by Maurice Thorez\$1.50

MEMORIES OF LENIN, by N. K. Krupskaya, 2 volumes\$.75 each

THE NEGRO IN THE CIVIL WAR, by H. Aptheker 10c

LIFE OF LENIN, by P. Kerzhentsev, International Publishers, \$1.75.

A new life of Lenin, which combines revealing personal sketches with a picture of Lenin as the leader of the greatest working-class party in history. Lenin is revealed to us as a political leader and as a human being, full of the joy of life.

**New Age
PUBLISHERS**

**P. O. Box 28, Station D
New York City**

Maybe we're prejudiced...

Maybe we're one-sided. Maybe we've been working on the **Review** so long that we can't see any other magazine. So maybe it doesn't carry very much weight when we tell you to clip the coupon in the lower corner and send it in to us with a dollar bill attached. You're liable to say to yourself, "Sure, these gents tell us to suscribe. That's their job. But why whould I take their word for it?"

DON'T TAKE OUR WORD FOR IT

Fish around among the pile of newspapers on the stove and dig out some copies of the **Young Communist Review**, way back to March if you can. Sit down in a comfortable chair and look them over, while the winter winds whistle outside. Do you notice how each issue has it all over the preceding one? Can you see the difference between our earnest but painfully amateurish issues of a year ago and the issue you're reading now—a meaty, attractively-designed, altogether professional magazine? Keep thinking about that for just a little while . . . and let your enthusiasm mount. Then try to picture what the **Review** will look like in another year, a fat dozen issues coming up, each one better than the one before. Then dwell for a while on the gala 48-page magazine we're going to put out for May. Our plans for this magazine read like an encyclopedia of the Young Communist movement, with articles by leading party members, YCLers and Spanish veterans—profusely illustrated by new photographs of all our leading people. When your enthusiasm is warm, don't write poetry about the **Review**. Just clip that blue coupon, reach for the dollar bill under the sugar bowl, and send them along. Then sit back and wait for your **Reviews** to roll in . . . including that extra special May issue.

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