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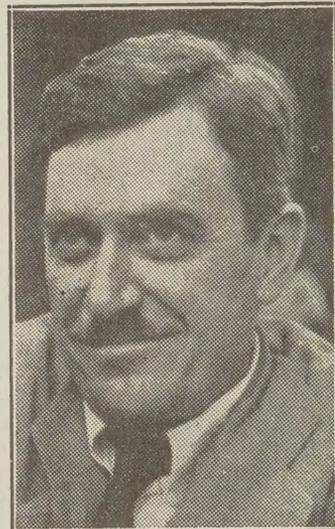
YOUNG COMMUNIST

REVIEW



ARTICLES ON RECESSION • EDUCATION • LUDLOW BILL
COLLECTIVE SECURITY • NATIONAL BOARD MEETING

MARXIST BOOK OF THE MONTH



BROWDER EXPLAINS —

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THE PEOPLE'S FRONT By EARL BROWDER

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

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all progressive organizations, better known as Trotskyites.

Necessarily, the success of these activities depends in addition to willingness and self-sacrifice of our members, primarily upon our intelligence of action, consciousness and clarity of purpose.

To improve, develop, extend, and deepen this clarity and understanding we dedicate the magazine.

THE NATIONAL BOARD OF THE YOUNG Communist League held its enlarged sessions in New York over the weekend of January 14-16, 1938.

Some 100 comrades from the major districts of the League as well as fraternal representatives from Mexico, Venezuela, Cuba, and Canada attended. Visitors from New York included leading people in the mass organizations in which Young Communists are active.

Most of the discussions revolved around the major report delivered by Carl Ross: Winning the Youth for the People's Front and the 1938 Election. Two other significant contributions to the meeting were 1) an extended report by Gil Green on "The Lessons of the Moscow Trials" and 2) a report on YCL educational work by Francis Franklin.

Paramount among the several problems confronting the meeting was the question of work among the youth in the trade unions. Comrades from Detroit, Pittsburgh, Ohio, and Chicago (see excerpts from the Board discussion) came to the gathering with the basic problems that arise out of the recession. There have been extensive layoffs of young workers in the auto and steel and other basic industries. Young workers, inadequately covered by seniority contracts have been the first to be fired. The need for a wide struggle for expanded WPA and NYA appropriations in line with the resolutions of the unions themselves emerged from the Board meeting as well as a campaign for relief to single unemployed men.

Young Communist work to help in the consolidation of the unions in this period requires not merely real branches in the industrial towns but actual participation by YCL members in the sports and educational activities of the local unions. Instances where this is being done prove the value of such work both to the unions and the YCL itself.

The importance of the 1938 elections from the point of view of youth activities in building the People's Front emerged from every aspect of Carl Ross' report. Analysing our work with the American Youth Congress and in the unions, Ross stressed the need for winning the youth through such work

for the mainstream of the people's movement this year: especially concrete actions to strengthen and build a democratic front in the 1938 elections.

The struggle against war, involving as it does one of the key actions of the Youth Congress and the student movement was clarified. There is great need for better understanding of collective security, the exposition among the masses of our position, overcoming illusions and undermining misconceptions about the Ludlow Bill. The experiences of the recent convention of the American Student Union, in particular, experiences with symposia, and model legislatures of the Youth Congress in Ohio, Wisconsin, and New York illuminate the importance of 1) a greater understanding of collective security among the YCL members, 2) extensive work among the great masses of youth for whom the question of a program against war can never be academic. The activities of the Socialists and Trotskyites in support of the Oxford Pledge were discussed while Gil Green's report on the Moscow trials re-emphasized the need for education on Trotskyism of the widest and simplest kind as well as vigilance within the YCL against spies and alien influences. Bringing specific examples of Trotskyite work from his own international experience, Gil Green's speech fortified everyone's understanding of this question.

Work among the Catholic youth, extending a friendly hand to them, involving their organizations in the Youth Congress was reported from New York, New England, Chicago, and Ohio. Thousands of Catholic youth have joined the trade unions; the general sensitivity of even sections of the lower hierarchy of the Church on social questions opens the door for cooperation between the YCL and the Catholic youth.

Several delegates reported experiences of the Negro young people in the South, especially in the Southern Negro Youth Congress, whose second conference comes in April. Here there is need for special forms of work, sometimes at variance with work in other parts of the country. There is the need for cooperation with other organizations such as the Inter-Racial forums and the NAACP.

The educational policies of the League were subjected to considerable scrutiny, for which Francis Franklin's report—a portion of which is rewritten in this issue of the REVIEW as a separate article—provided the point of departure. There has been a healthy growth in our educational procedures. However, this work still lacks substantial character, depth, and sometimes clarity on the basic questions of Marxism-Leninism applied to the present world situation, as well as to domestic problems.

Preparations are under way for a special twelve-week course of study for the branches of the League, embodying the basic theoretical problems of the Communist movement applied to American historical circumstances. This course is now being elaborated by the National Educational Committee and will be brought to the membership sometime in March.

Fraternal reports from Mexico, Cuba and Canada high-lighted the international responsibilities of the YCL. In Mexico, the new People's Front developments are threatened by imminent fascist reaction along Spanish lines, supported by the most reactionary sections of American Big Business' oil, railway and mining interests. In Cuba, the youth movement is working under severe difficulties; under the repression of the Batista dictatorship. In Canada, the flourishing labor movement is threatened by semi-fascist reaction, already undertaken with the support of the Catholic Church in the province of Quebec. This condition imposes new problems upon the Communist movement there.

Several of our comrades in Spain returned in time for the Board sessions, notably Bob Thompson of California and Frank Cook of Ohio. Concrete plans for further aid to Spain were developed, including the increased need for volunteers for the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, additional money collections for gifts and cigarettes to the boys in the trenches—a vital factor in maintaining morale, for which the correspondent of the NEW YORK TIMES credited the American YCL several days ago.

The Board meeting heralded the advent of a new year, an important if not decisive year for the League, the youth movement and the progress of the people's democratic movement as a whole. A year which has inherited two major wars in two vital areas of the world, wars that must be won in the interests of all progressive humanity. A year on whose agenda are written in large and meaningful letters the great tasks of our movement in the United States: the obligations of defeating reaction, and securing the peace and welfare of the American people.

THE AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS IS preparing its second great Pilgrimage early in March.

Embracing once again the widest possible support from organizations as diverse in character as the Epworth League and the United Electrical and Radio Workers, the Pilgrimage takes the national spotlight during the entire week of March 7-12.

Among the legislative acts which the several thousand delegates will press for in Washington

are: the Nye-Kvale Bill against the militarization of the schools; the Bernard Bill insisting upon civilian control of the CCC camps; the Harrison-Fletcher Bill and its NAACP amendment against the curtailment of educational facilities, particularly their equalization for the Negro youth; for the Schwellenbach-Allen resolution and against the Shephard-Hill M-Day plans.

The key emphasis of the Pilgrimage will be for the extension of the NYA appropriations and the passage of the American Youth Act, to which Congressional hearings will be devoted in the week of March 7th.

If it is true that the American Youth Act epitomized the aspirations of the younger generation two years ago, how much more strikingly true this is today when business recovery has given way in such a precipitous fashion to another economic crisis.

Thousands of young men who had secured jobs in industry, consolidating their advantage by dramatic collective bargaining, by the organization of unions of their own choosing under the beaks of industrial spies and the menace of tear gas and night sticks on the picket lines, now find those jobs vanished.

Students planning their courses in the hope of business expansion, or graduating with degrees in the expectation of jobs on the morrow find that hope and expectation a mirage, today, when the shadow of relief lines lengthen in every town and city of the land.

Young people coming of age, anxious for the chance of vocational education, anxious to construct some foundation for useful and productive living find that anxiety thwarted and baffled by the present state of things.

If the rights to jobs and education, and these are rights, are to become realities, permanent realities which do not evaporate as the industrial index flutters and zooms downward, the Negro youth, the rural youth, the young people of every category must merge their energies, pool the compelling pressure of their numbers and resources.

Implemented by vigor, intelligence and militancy such as is the heritage of American history and the characteristic of the American Youth Congress, these energies and resources through organized and dramatic action can win definite and concrete results.

At a moment when reactionaries are attacking every independent progressive organization with the mean, hoarse cry of 'communism', it is appropriate to reaffirm: that young Communists have the proud obligation to help in the work of the

Youth Congress. Without the slightest consideration of domination, it is this work which will strengthen and broaden the Youth Congress toward the fulfillment of its possibilities. Advising each of our members and our organizers in every state of the Union to cooperate with the Congress, we refute and deny that our cooperation is unharmonious with, or injurious to, the interest of the Congress as determined by its membership and constituents.

In this spirit we give fraternal handshake, yes, the clenched fist of congratulation to the American Youth Pilgrimage.

NO ONE DOUBTS THE SINCERE DESIRE of the Methodist Youth for peace, a desire common to people of every denomination and opinion. But the open letter to President Roosevelt adopted by the National Council of Methodist Youth at its January 28th meeting proves that honesty does not substitute for clarity. Nor can a profound desire for peace equal discussion of the real issues and an understanding of the forces at work in the world today.

We quote their letter in essentials:

"We protest with all the power at our command the manner in which you have allowed American troops and warships to be used for the protection of American financial and business interests in the Far East. Likewise, Mr. President, we protest the manner . . . in which you defeated the Ludlow Referendum measure. . . .

"Men need homes . . . Students need education . . . People need food . . . the government answers with a program of increased expenditures for war. That, Mr. President, is a criminal sacrifice of the needs of the masses of our people. . . . We say . . . if you lead us into war in the Far East, we will not support your administration in that war. It will not be our war. . . . We cannot fight it."

Basically, the Methodist Youth are ignoring the forces that make for WAR AT THE PRESENT MOMENT. Certainly, we have always said that wars arise out of imperialism. Today, such a statement REVEALS only part of the problem, and CONCEALS the course of action necessary, under present specific conditions to stop and prevent war as well as prepare for the destruction of imperialism.

The National Council of Methodist Youth feels that President Roosevelt represents the main danger and instigator of war AT THIS TIME. We say that those people who consider AMERICA the main danger at a moment when GERMAN, ITALIAN AND JAPANESE FASCISM make war in Spain and China not only ignore the facts, but such theories harmonize with the program and practice of the fascists themselves.

The fascists feed upon the despair, irresolution and paralysis of the divided democratic powers. They grow strong upon the sabotage and weakness of the states whom they invade. But they also benefit and are encouraged by JUST THIS KIND of isolationist agitation, sincere and moving as it may sound.

The peace strike this April, as the program of the ASU adopted at its last convention promises, must once and for all break with this academic and faulty illusion which the Socialists have hysterically taken unto themselves and from which the leaders of the Methodist Youth obviously suffer. Advance piety on this question does not save us all from war.

To conduct the anti-war movement with the thin reed of the Oxford Pledge means not only to prejudice the issue tomorrow but insures the demobilization of the forces for peace within this country today. It fails to help the people of Spain and China in their front-line defense of world democracy.

Yes, we want homes, relief, jobs for the American people, and every minute of our work is geared to this want. Yes, we oppose the military budget precisely as the bitter fruition of that policy for which isolation is responsible. But observe that the struggle for bread, jobs, education and peace demands TODAY the implementation of President Roosevelt's Chicago speech as well as the realization of his domestic program.

On two counts, therefore, the Methodist leaders misdirect their earnest and sincere energies; 1—the struggle against war today involves a concerted effort to cripple fascism abroad . . . while 2—the guarantee against fascism at home, the realization of our domestic needs demands struggle against the international and domestic reactionary forces that prepare war.

Is it not clear how far and dangerously afield the Methodist Youth have wandered from the mainstream of the youth anti-war movement?

FEBRUARY IS A MONTH OF MEANINGFUL tradition. Two legal holidays, the birthdays of Washington and Lincoln are recognized as significant for national observance.

Washington: responsible leader of the Revolutionary Army, the spirit of persistence and irreconcilability in the dark days of Valley Forge. Washington crossing the Delaware. Washington riding from Philadelphia to accept the presidential honor, unanimously proffered by the young, victorious nation.

Whatever research reveals of his origin, personal faults, or private perspective, Washington nevertheless emerges from history as the man who devoted his life to the central and most progressive task of his day: the struggle for the liberation of

the thirteen colonies from British dominion and their unification into an independent union.

Honest Abe Lincoln: representative of frontier democracy, self-educated, ambitious. Lincoln, who steered the Union through a bitter four year contest, the second American revolution, whose progressive outcome freed the slaves and laid the foundations for our industrial civilization. Lincoln, rough, homely, thoughtful, who came to the surface of history before the thickening and freezing of class relations, epitomizing the most wholesome American qualities, cut down by the assassin's bullet in his prime.

Observe the phenomenal changes in the seventy years since Lincoln fell. Observe the impasse which capitalism has brought the great strong democratic nation that Lincoln sought to preserve and inspire. Observe the problems on every hand: the obligations to defeat Reaction, to liberate Spain, to preserve the peace, to prepare the People's Front that confronts all America today.

There is much to be said and more to be done: but this much is essential: Our understanding of the necessary course of action arises out of our appreciation of the eternal lessons of Washington and Lincoln's work, enforced by the international experiences of the workingclass movement from the days of Marx and Engels (Lincoln's contemporaries) to the time of Lenin and Stalin (the present day counterparts of Washington in the Soviet Union).

Today, the Communists must infuse into the progressive movement of our time more than a formal observance of these holidays. New times demanding new departures require that devotion of purpose, that sacrifice for ideals, that insistence upon clarity and correctness of course, that uncompromising resolution of action for which Washington and Lincoln stand.

In Lincoln's own words at Peoria, Illinois, October 16, 1854:

"Our Republican robe is soiled and trampled in the dust. Let us repurify it. Let us turn and wash it white in the spirit if not the blood of the Revolution . . . Let us readopt the Declaration of Independence . . . and the practices and policies which harmonize with it. Let North and South . . . let all Americans, all lovers of liberty everywhere join in the great and good work. If we do this we shall not only have saved the Union, but we shall have so saved it as to make and keep it forever worthy of saving . . . So that the succeeding millions of free happy people, the world over, shall rise up and call us blessed to the latest generations . . ."

EDUCATION AS AN ART

By FRANCIS FRANKLIN

MORE than ever before young people are ready to listen to us. Confronted with the numerous problems produced by an outworn social order in the throes of general crisis, they are anxious to hear all whom they think may have answers to their questions.

At such a time, it is more necessary than ever in the past, that we pay attention to methods of approaching youth. Speaking and writing to young people are arts which many of us have just begun to learn.

How often have our comrades come before people and painted so doleful a picture of the world that they nearly frightened their listeners to death! It is true that our comrades usually eventually come to proposals for solutions; but long before, the world they have painted seems so black that it appeared there can be no solution except suicide. Because young people do not like to be depressed, most of them stop listening or reading, in such cases, long before the solution is ever presented.

A Cause for Which to Live

Is there this complete separation in life between the evils of society and the movements to change those evils? Of course not. The two are inextricably intertwined. We must so present them in addressing the youth. At the very outset of all our appeals to young people, we must show them a hope, something to live for; the movement which is rectifying evils. We must show them that there really is a great cause to which they may devote their lives!

Youth is by nature idealistic. It has faith in the world, and cannot endure to live without faith. It does not wish to have its idols shattered. Did not all of us actually try to hold on to our belief in Santa Claus even long after we had become filled with doubt? We must remember our own early dreams and not be too harsh with young people. Otherwise, we will drive them away from us. After all, our aim is not to make cynics, but to substitute a new faith based on science for the old faiths based on illusion.

Youth throughout history has desired a great cause for which to live. How many thousands of them have given their lives for movements which have elicited their devotion! We must not approach

young people as iconoclasts coming to shatter all their idols, but as people coming to show them something worthy of their devotion, people who can offer to them life with a purpose. A generation ago, young people by the thousands were fired with enthusiasm for the Christian Volunteer Movement. The ideal of "saving the world for Christ in our generation" captured their imagination. Great numbers gave their lives to service in the foreign fields to "save the heathens." Countless others gave their hard-earned nickels and dimes. It was all because these young people felt that they had a cause worthy of their efforts. I have heard many say that today the same type of young people who formerly gave their unstinted devotion to the Christian Volunteer Movement are now becoming Young Communists. This is true. All of us know that we have a cause deserving of all our sacrifices. We must so present our cause that all other young people will be moved with our enthusiasm. Let us not just point to the bleak and dreary future confronting youth, to the black storm-clouds that threaten, but let us point from the very outset to the new springtime of humanity that is rising, to that renaissance of the human spirit now transpiring in the Soviet Union and commencing under the People's Front. Let us point to the glorious opportunity for remaking the world in our own epoch. Let us emphasize that it is good to be alive today. Let us help re-awaken that emotion described by Wordsworth in speaking of the period of the French Revolution.

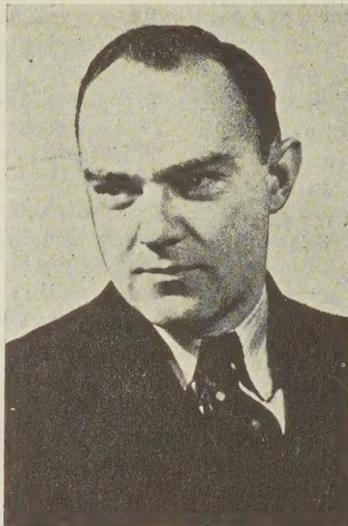
"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very heaven."

We have recently been stressing the need for visual education. This need lies deeper than the use of lecture charts or movies. These are necessary. Nevertheless, we do still have to use language—at least at times. And we need to employ a method of visual education in our words themselves. By this, I mean that our words themselves must paint pictures. How drab and colorless at times seem the words of our comrades! How often do our comrades sound like parrots repeating old worn-out phrases! **We must learn to speak and write so that every sentence we utter evokes a pic-**

ture in the mind of the listener or reader. Only then will our words be perfectly clear. Only then will we fire the imagination and arouse the enthusiasm of young people.

How many speeches commence with the words, "Comrades, during the last period of time," or how often do we hear such expressions as "Comrades, it is no accident?" Many of our comrades are learning not to use the most glaring clichés. Nevertheless, there are still far too many hackneyed phrases. Young people are quick to notice such things, and frequently with much justification mock such reiterated expressions.

It is not only in speaking to the youth as a whole that we should be careful of our language, but even in speaking among ourselves, because even here we want to be heard. I must confess that in listening to the speeches of some of our comrades I find my own mind wandering. Yet never has this been the case while listening to Earl Browder. This is because Comrade Browder does not repeat phrases, but speaks with a language fresh and vigorous, and employs originality in all he says or writes. Our League members should emulate his example.



Francis Franklin

Although Marxism is a science, we must remember that speaking, writing, and teaching are arts. This means that all of us must become artists. Science is necessary for any art. Leonardo da Vinci and others have emphasized that he who would paint the human body must possess some knowledge of anatomy, and in their paintings artists have employed their knowledge of anatomy. Yet on the canvas it is the living body itself which we see and not the underlying bones and muscles. It must be the same in all our writing and teaching. All that we say must be illuminated by Marxist science. But the bare bones of scientific terminology must not stand out.

We can learn much from the recent speech of Secretary Ickes. Why was Ickes' speech so effective? It was not only because he is an important government official, but because he pictorialized what he said. His description of the "60 families," his contemptuous reference to "Henry Ford the beneficent" fired the imagination of the people. This

was a real Peoples' Front speech. I heard an old farmer down in Virginia the other day. This old farmer, whom I have know for a number of years, had never been socially conscious before, but Ickes' speech had moved him. "I tell you," he said, "things ain't balanced right. It looks like we're gonna have to get rid of them 60 families before we're gonna be able to do a darn thing."



If we are to fire the youth with hope and enthusiasm, we must embody more of a spirit of triumph in everything that we say. We say that we are not a "lost generation." Then, we must not talk like one. American young people do not like what they call "gripes" or "crepe-hangers." There is nothing in Marxism to inspire gloom. Yet how many of the revolutionary skits, plays, and poems produced in our country embody almost altogether the spirit of pathos! Some of them fairly shriek. The works of Marx and Lenin are filled with biting satire. We know that we are the grave-diggers of capitalism, that history is on our side. Why then should we not feel triumphant? We do not merely hate the bourgeoisie. We feel a supreme contempt for them. We feel that they are unworthy of mankind, that civilization and culture are degraded by them. Why do we not embody more of the spirit of satire in our writing and speaking? I remember that when I first read *Capital*, I was constantly roaring with laughter at Marx's many cracks at the bourgeoisie. The same is true of much of the writing of Lenin and Stalin. Then, why are some of our comrades always so sober?

"Courage Desireth to Laugh"

Friedrich Nietzsche, a psychopathic bourgeois philosopher of whom we cannot think very highly, nevertheless in his poetic ravings, sometimes said a few good things. He once said, "And when I saw my devil, I found him earnest, thorough, deep, grave, sober. He was the spirit of gravity! Through him all things fall. Arise, let us slay the spirit of gravity!" Elsewhere he said, "Courage desireth to

laugh," and "Wisdom is a woman. She ever loveth the warrior only."

We need also to be more alert to the regional cultures of the United States. Wisconsin and Minnesota, New England, the South, and the Far West are all regions which have distinctive cultures of their own. The comrades in these regions are beginning to make use of their native traditions. The comrades

in Connecticut were very pleased with the reference in a letter from Comrade Browder to their "native Yankee ingenuity." They had already been making use of the tradition of Nathan Hale. In Minnesota, the comrades are aware of the services that the epic hero, Paul Bunyan, can perform for the progressive youth movement. The comrades in California are continuing their native traditions of robust frontier democracy.

Regional folk cultures are part of the very daily lives of the people. In a little article in the Branch Presidents' Manual, I told the story of how on a picnic of textile workers in Roanoke, Va., the efforts of some comrades to interest the workers in German, Italian or Russian revolutionary songs left these workers cold. But when someone commenced singing "Let Them Wear Their Watches Fine" to the tune of an old Carolina hill song, these workers, who had come from the mountains around Roanoke, picked it up eagerly. It was a part of their own native culture. In paying tribute to Vernon Snow, one of our comrades who recently died in Spain, we described him as a "true Virginia gentleman, whose courtesy and kindness were not limited to a small group of selected friends, but whose courtesy and kindness were broad and deep enough to embrace all those whose toil has helped produce American wealth and culture." These are merely small examples of how we should make our own all aspects of our native folk-cultures, making them "socialist in content, while regional or national in form."

Answering Questions On Collective Security

By CELESTE STRACK

YOUNG Communists have a clear-cut, definite answer to question, "How can we keep out of war?" We agree with President Roosevelt's proposal to quarantine the aggressors, and we insist that this be adopted in practice.

Such a policy can be realized, first, by withholding from all aggressors any war supplies, war material, loans and credits, as well as by refusing to purchase any products of aggressor nations, so that they will not have the exchange necessary to buy needed goods elsewhere. At the same time, we propose to open markets and credits to all victims of aggression so that they will be able to repel the attacks of the invader. In the United States this can be effected through passage of the O'Connell Amendment to the Neutrality Act, a measure which would end the criminal aid now given to aggressors under the guise of "isolation" and "neutrality." Moreover, the United States should take such action jointly with other democratic countries: France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and small peace-desiring powers. The action to end fascist terrorization of the world would be guaranteed and implemented by mass independent action of labor and the people's peace movement, giving direct aid to victims of aggression and undertaking such measures as people's boycott of all Japanese goods.

Let us consider the results of the policy if applied to Japan. Japan is economically vulnerable: she lacks precisely those raw materials which are essential for the prosecution of war—iron, petroleum, tin, lead, zinc, nickel, alum-

inum, manganese, antimony, mercury, potash, phosphates, cotton, wool and rubber. Two-thirds of the iron ore she uses must come from abroad, 55 percent of the scrap iron, 90 percent of the lead, 75 percent of the zinc, 90 percent of the oil, all of the mercury.

Suppose the United States and Great Britain alone undertook an embargo against Japan. These nations themselves supply 63.2 percent of Japan's imports, most of which are among the above commodities. If we add to this an embargo by France and the Netherlands, we find that concerted action by these four powers would shut off two-thirds of the goods going to Japan. Moreover, it would be virtually impossible for her to secure these materials elsewhere, since their supply is almost wholly restricted to the British and Dutch empires and the United States. Japan's allies or "neutral" friends could not aid her appreciably. Today Italy and Germany can send her only 5 percent of her total imports. They themselves have increasing need for war supplies and increasing shortages in them.

Japanese Exports

Japan is equally vulnerable so far as her exports are concerned. These revolve chiefly around textiles. A boycott on silk and finished cotton goods can have a disastrous effect on her foreign trade, making it difficult for her to secure exchange with which to purchase necessary supplies. Moreover, the United States, Great Britain and France are the main customers of Japan. Their concerted efforts could hopelessly cripple both Japanese exports and imports upon which continued prosecution of the war depends.



Japan has some reserve stocks, gold reserves, and credits in foreign countries. But even conservative sources admit that she could draw upon these for only six months or a year at most. Meanwhile, the opening of markets to the Chinese people would increase the splendid resistance they have already shown, and the combination of all these factors would bring Japan quickly to her knees. Similar considerations pertain to Italy and Germany.

We have not even considered the effect of such action upon Japan's internal economy, her social and political structure. The masses of peasants and workers are suffering great hardships imposed by low incomes, soaring prices and staggering taxes. They know that in the 1937-1938 government budget, 60 percent of all expenditures go to the war machine. The seizure of Manchuria, supposed to produce added sources of revenues, has actually

piled up further costs, to say nothing of each day's continued war on China. The fabric of Japanese economy, frail for some years, is strained to the breaking point. Resistance to war already exists among students, peasants, and labor organizations. Anti-militarists and anti-fascists in Japan state that the pressure of economic sanctions would intensify popular demand for cessation of the war, against the enormous burden of armament for which the people pay, and would aid to overthrow the present regime.

Imagine the significance of the United States undertaking such action, not only against Japan, but also Germany and Italy. The United States is a powerful, influential nation, and her cooperation with the democracies of the world, with the Soviet Union, would materially alter the course of events. Taking the initiative from the hands of fascist aggressors, such action would place it in the hands of the peace forces. To bring American foreign policy into line with the proposals of President Roosevelt at Chicago must be the major concern of the people's peace movement, of the youth movement.

The Oxford Pledge

All other questions and proposals must be viewed in the light of this main task. Because the American Student Union sought for and adopted such a program, it emphatically rejected the Oxford Pledge. Why was this essential?

First, the Oxford Pledge singles out the American government as the main danger of war today, and directs the main fight of the student peace movement against the Roosevelt administration. This means, in fact, turning the peace movement aside from the main danger of war—the crucial spot against which all our work must be directed—fascist aggression. In this way, its use



Armaments A La Carte

is objectively an aid to the fascist war-makers. It not only places no obstacles in their path but it actually deflects student opposition to their continued aggression.

The YCL has always pointed out the negative features of the Pledge, even in 1933 and 1934 when it had some mass support. We said then that it turned attention from the immediate question of maintaining peace to a negative statement of what we would not do sometime in the future when war would already be raging. However, in the five years that have passed since that time, fascist aggression has increased—Ethiopia, Manchuria, Spain, and now all China have been attacked. Other countries are threatened. In this situation, anything which distracts from the need of the hour—the achievement of a positive peace program—is criminal in its aid to fascist war policies. (The same criterion applies to the Ludlow bill which is discussed by Carl Ross elsewhere in this issue.)

We say frankly to all pacifists, to all those who do not wish to fight in any war, "The only way in which you can safeguard yourselves and guarantee peace for America, is to work for an immediate, practical, peace program. Clinging to the Oxford Pledge or the Ludlow Amendment, you attempt to bail out a leaking boat

with a sieve. What is needed is prompt action to cement the cracking seams."

The underlying assumption of those who support these measures is the conception that the Roosevelt administration constitutes the main danger to world peace and that the main struggle of the peace movement should be directed against the proposed military budget rather than for collective security. Actually, such people—the isolationists, the pacifists, and the Socialists influenced by the Trotskyites—have only themselves to blame for the present proposed military budget. They have done everything possible to prevent the United States from adopting a positive and realistic foreign policy, which would make enlarged armaments unnecessary.

Military Preparations

What are the arguments of those who uphold the large military budget? Senator Walsh, for instance, states:

"I am firmly convinced that the realities of today in the world at large admit of only one construction, namely, that a strong and adequate national defense is the best and perhaps only assurance of peace."

This is the position of others who support big navy jingoism. It is a position based upon avoidance of the basic consideration: that collective action of the peace-desiring powers, if actually carried through, would do away with the need for a larger military budget. It is a position which carries isolation to its logical conclusion by demanding a ring of steel around the United States—a huge military program. The most reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie, who condemn President Roosevelt's Chicago speech most vociferously, are the most ardent advocates of isolation and armament.

The only alternative to isola-

tion and a huge military program is the adoption of a positive foreign policy directed at maintaining the peace of the world, a policy which would make unnecessary enlarged armaments, and would thus release additional funds for relief and education.

In developing a positive program for collective security we have to answer many questions raised by students who are beginning to break with isolationism but who have not yet accepted our whole program. The most familiar of these is the cry, "Collective security means war." This fear was deliberately fostered at the ASU convention by the Trotskyites in their efforts to sabotage any real peace program. It is blustered by Norman Thomas who is now being imitated by the YPSL. It was advanced by Frederick Schuman who distorted the policy of collective security into a policy of war against fascism. It originates, of course, with the war-makers themselves, with Hitler, Mussolini and the Mikado, who storm that "sanctions mean war."

Earl Browder answered this question brilliantly in an article in the *New Republic* of Feb. 2nd, 1938, where he stated:

"It is my conviction that the fascist dictatorships can be halted only by superior force. But with concerted economic action by the great powers to embargo the aggressors and supply their victims, the superior force that will halt fascism and bring about its downfall is already in action in Spain and China. These two heroic peoples are fighting bravely and steadfastly and making a good showing despite their abandonment by Britain, France and the United States. If we help them, they will do the military job for us, though I hope many thousands more of our best American boys will go to Spain

to help the Lincoln Battalion uphold the honor of our people. If we continue to desert them to their fate, we will have no one to blame but ourselves when we have to take up the full military burden under more unfavorable conditions."

Military "Incidents"

"But," some young people may say, "even the use of economic sanctions, especially if the government protects our trade with the victims, may lead to military incidents that will provoke war." This is the argument used to insist on withdrawal of American forces from the Far East. It is a particularly odd argument, coming, as it does, from the same people who not so long ago were busily exposing the "incident" theory of history. Certainly the "Lusitania incident" was not the cause of American entrance into the World War, nor the sinking of the "Maine" the cause of the Spanish-American war. The Panay incident has been followed by other incidents, but the United States is not at war with Japan. In the Mediterranean, when France and Great Britain took a firm stand against piracy by Italian submarines, these attacks ceased. It was only when their naval patrol relaxed recently, that attacks recurred.

Such incidents have never and will never in themselves cause war. Wars are caused by the fundamental economic and political policies of states. Incidents are then seized upon or even "created" as excuses for war. What is necessary is to insure that the foreign policy of the government is directed toward maintaining peace, halting aggression and preventing war. **This has consistently been the policy of the Soviet Union, which has steadily thrown all its weight against fascist aggression and for world peace. Despite hundreds of provocations and incidents created**

by Japan and Germany, the Soviet Union has avoided war and contributed decisively to the maintenance of world peace.

Another type of argument used against collective security, aimed especially at YCL and left-ward moving young people generally, is the charge that "collective security means abandoning the class struggle, means support of imperialism and imperialist governments." What are the facts?

Certain sections of finance capital and sometimes even capitalist nations as a whole may be opposed to war at a given time. For instance, certain capitalist elements in Great Britain and especially in France and the United States do not today desire war. Moreover, the bourgeoisie of certain small countries, like Czechoslovakia, also fears fascist attack and wants peace. We want to utilize these forces in the interests of the masses of people. In some of the small countries, like Poland and Yugoslavia, a section of the bourgeoisie, together with the masses of the people, wants peace, but the most reactionary sections are working with the fascist powers against the interests of the people. In these cases, a firm positive peace policy on the part of the big democracies could pull these countries out of the fascist orbit. It is clear that any realistic and honest peace movement will work in such a way as to secure all possible allies, even though some of them may be temporary and unreliable. This is the historic policy of Lenin, the policy of the Soviet Union today, and the strategy of the labor movement itself.

But to distort this as "support of imperialist governments and of imperialism," is pseudo "Leninism" and, in the case of the Trotskyites, represents a deliberate, malicious effort to prevent effective peace action. The fulfillment of a collective security pol-



icy requires the sharpest struggle against the most reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie. In the United States, the bourgeoisie is not united in its attitude toward foreign policy. The fascist-minded camp oppose Roosevelt's proposals for quarantining the aggressor and advocate a policy of isolation and armament. Other sectors among the capitalists express themselves in favor of Roosevelt's proposals, but fear the crystallization of a people's peace movement to enforce this policy. They fear any strengthening of the democratic forces. Thus, in the United States the realization of a collective security policy means an intensification of the struggle against the reactionaries, means mobilizing and strengthening the forces of the People's Front. In Great Britain Communists are well aware of the reactionary role of the Tories, who have sold out the people and betrayed collective security. Only an aroused people's movement can nullify this betrayal and force the removal of the present Tory government.

What would collective security mean for the colonies? Does it mean defense of the *status quo*? Of the colonial possessions of the "have" nations? Consider what the halting of Italian aggression and the victory of Ethiopia would have meant to the colonies. It would have stimulated a tremendous upsurge of the Negro people

and colonial peoples all over the world, which was one of the major reasons why the British Tories, with their eyes on their African holdings and India, refused to apply effective sanctions. Norman Thomas now tells us that collective action in China today means that America would fight to make British imperialism safe. In point of fact, a China aided by the United States and Great Britain (even for selfish reasons) would be a victorious China, well able to deal with both Shell and Standard Oil after it disposed of Japan.

The final argument with which we are confronted, again from the so-called "left," is, "We are for collective action, but of peoples,



not of governments." This represents an attempt to distort the meaning of collective security. Actually, collective security rests upon the basis of independent action by labor and its allies. For instance, one of the major tasks of the entire youth movement is extending and strengthening the Japanese boycott. Its possible effectiveness was indicated by the reception which the press gave to the bonfire of silk at the ASU convention. But such independent action does not contradict the demand for a positive peace policy on the part of the United States government but, rather, leads directly to it. Once masses of people are set in motion against Japanese aggression, their natural demand becomes

that the government policy should be brought in line, so that loans, credits and materials to Japan should be completely barred. To take the position that the people **cannot** and should not influence the government, is to take what amounts to an Anarchist position. Yet the people who do this, at the same time demand certain domestic legislation from the government. Certainly pressure on the legislation of foreign policy should not be confined to the reactionary camp.

The realization of our tasks in the youth movements depends largely upon our effectiveness in explaining these and other current questions clearly and fully to the youth. The Oxford Pledge committee and other isolationist forces are making every effort to confuse the youth peace movement and turn it aside from a positive peace program. The Trotskyites are attempting to split this movement, thereby aiding their fascist allies. These forces can be decisively defeated if young Communists and other progressives favoring collective security carry on a correct and energetic educational campaign. Our perspective remains the winning of American youth for a real peace program, and for a delegation to the World Youth Congress this summer that will support a policy of collective security.



Two POEMS by the Young Labor Poets

SYMBOLIC of the many-sided activities and the cultural vitality of the Young Communist League is the rise of the Young Labor Poets and their new organ, SING DEMOCRACY.

Claiming the democratic spirit of Whitman, Shelley, Byron and Burns as their guide and inspiration, the young poets, affiliated to the YCL, issue their manifesto in the first number of SING DEMOCRACY. The present-day application of this tradition, they declare, lies in "poems that will sing out the songs of the fight for peace and democracy; poems that will sing of the CIO and the sweep of unionization; poems of the factory, poems of the field . . . poems that can stand the glare of electric lights in meeting halls and have meaning on picket lines and beat time and quicken the march of workers in demonstrations. We mean poetry for the people."

SING DEMOCRACY, a well-mimeographed magazine, is an attempt to give such poems to young America. Introducing new poets and presenting less familiar works of the democratic poets of the past, its first issue promises success and merits the support of all young progressives.

There may be no newcomer of the stature of a Whitman among the Young Labor Poets; yet if they give rise to but one new Joe Hill, they will have served their part in the educational activities of the YCL and in the building of the People's Front.

HANDS

HOW shall these restless hands be calmed
 Impatient fingers curve, the muscles weld
 An empty fist. This habit will not break.
 Harsh palms remember tools they held,
 And here are hands that gave the city shape,
 That found no rest when work was done;
 These fingers fed the rich
 That hang across the weary thigh,
 Futile, gaunt and numb, These plowed the field,
 These choked the yawning sky with stone,
 Tanned by the sun, from shore to shore
 These gave the shining impetus to steel.
 O, master-builders,
 Mason of cities, lift high the pounding wrist,
 This handiwork is yours
 When each mind moulds an iron fist!

By RALPH HAYES

LENIN

IN January Lenin died . . . in April he was born . . .
 one moment the world paused to mourn . . . one moment stilled
 his breath
 they say . . . the thunder of his heart . . . roared on . . . past
 Lenin's death.

From his rich bones the earth spread up impatient fragrant bloom;
 the lilac clung in scented dream, the trees like warriors sprang;
 the gorgeous strength of cities grew, a steel and granite span.
 From his fine eyes the plunge of stars and from his smile the song
 that flows unbroken from the throats of men who know huge hate,
 and holding . . . so . . . within their hands . . . prepare . . .
 and wait.

From his tensed finger pointed there, an upward course to life;
 from his great brain a power poured, concerted action pulsed;
 ten thousand knees stood up . . . the seven seas wove one.
 From his great heart a million blew . . . bursting into space;
 filling men with vision . . . dreams . . . foresight . . . and a plan;
 a dream a vision and a tool to build the Greater Man.
 In January Lenin died . . . In April he was born.
 Ten thousand million lift their eyes . . . and do not mourn.
 They say . . . the thunder of his heart roared on past Lenin's death.

By MARTHA MILLET



THE YOUNG LABOR
 POETS, publishers of
 SING DEMOCRACY, in-
 vite correspondence from
 young poets in other parts
 of the country. Communica-
 tions should be sent in care
 of the New York State YCL.

AGAINST A LUDLOW AMENDMENT

By CARL ROSS

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S Chicago speech for quarantining the aggressors and developments in Spain and China have created sharp division in the ranks of the youth movement on the road to peace. It is no longer sufficient to speak for peace in general. Every new proposal that is advanced must pass the acid test, "Will it keep us out of war?"

It is in this light that we should examine a new issue, the Ludlow Amendment.

This proposed amendment to the Constitution provides that except in case of invasion of US territory, the question of whether or not the United States declares war against any nation shall be decided by popular referendum. We are opposed to the Ludlow Amendment. Let us make clear why all those who are genuinely interested in preserving peace and democracy should oppose and help to defeat this proposal.

Undeclared Wars

First, we should bear in mind that wars today are not declared. Mussolini did not declare war on Ethiopia. Hitler and Mussolini did not declare war when their armies invaded Spain to aid Franco. Although Japan has been conducting military operations against China for over six months, no war has been declared. Yet fascist bombs have rained death and destruction upon the Spanish and Chinese people as effectively as if war had openly been declared. Let us recall that the United States did not declare war on Mexico in 1916, or on Nicaragua or Cuba, yet "our" troops invaded these countries and their ports were blockaded by "our" ships. The actual "declaration" of war has little bearing on the situation today in a world where fascist madmen roam at large with all disregard for international law.

Wars, declared or undeclared, are the result of policies pursued over a period of time. They are not accidental, nor do they arise from various "incidents." They are the logical result of a course of action and policies pursued by governments. The



declaration of war itself is only the last act that clinches the bargain.

If any people ever indicated their opposition to war by popular referendum, the American people did so in 1916 when they re-elected President Wilson under the slogan "he kept us out of war." Yet that popular vote of the people did not prevent Wilson from declaring war a few months after taking office. The participation of the United States in the World War was the conclusion to a policy determined not by the vote of the people but by the investments of Wall Street and the loans and credits extended to the Allies. Even as the people voted for the man who "kept us out of war," jingoistic propaganda was being unleashed by Wall Street as the first step towards changing popular opinion and making it possible to involve the United States in the war to protect imperialistic interests.

Maintaining Peace

The course that could have kept America out of that war between two groups of equally predatory imperialist nations struggling for world domination was not a popular referendum. Peace could only have been maintained if the people had stopped extending loans and credits to the warring nations, had stopped the shipments of munitions and war supplies to the Allies, had curbed American imperialist expansion. Then only would the slogan "he kept us out of war" and a popular referendum have had any real meaning. From American history we can draw the conclusion that war or peace is not determined by vote. Peace is maintained only by such policies as will stop the outbreak of and prevent the extension of war.

Therefore, it is necessary to examine the world situation and determine whether or not the Ludlow Amendment will in any respect help to preserve peace, and, if not, what then is a realistic and practical peace policy.

The threat of war comes today from a group of fascist aggressor nations, namely, Germany, Italy

and Japan. Certainly experience in the last few years should have demonstrated this to everyone. The fascist powers have pursued the policy of seizing upon their victims to crush them one by one—first Manchuria, then Ethiopia, then Spain, and now China. At the same time they seek to strengthen and extend their war axis by bringing fascism to power in other nations, as they have done in Brazil and in Rumania, and as they strive to accomplish in Mexico. International fascism seeks to paralyze the movements for peace within the democratic countries and within the Soviet Union by strengthening reaction with the assistance of fascist spies and agents. Given free reign, this aggression menaces all peoples, not excepting the people of the United States.

The policy of "neutrality" followed by the United States government today is one that encourages these fascist aggressors. The "Neutrality Act" prevents Loyalist Spain from buying the arms and munitions from America which alone will stop the fascist armies. However, at the same time Germany and Italy buy materials for war freely from duPont and other munitions makers. These war supplies are destined for Franco's war machine. Bombs, grenades and shells manufactured in the United States blast Spanish towns to bits and spill the blood of the Spanish people.

Scrap iron and other war materials are shipped to Japan. The very shells that bombed the Panay may have been manufactured out of American materials and may have been bought with credits extended by Wall Street. If the "Neutrality Act" were applied to the situation in the Far East it would help Japanese aggression and prevent China from securing the aid that will guarantee her victory.

The real issue before the American people is to change this policy which brings shame upon the traditions of American democracy.

Those who support the Ludlow Amendment, even if it be from the most sincere desire for peace, would let us decide not how we will keep America out of war **NOW** but how, once we have reached the brink of the precipice, we will jump over its edge. Support for the Ludlow Amendment inevitably means to stand by with folded arms waiting

for the moment of declaration of war when it would be too late to turn back. Support for the Ludlow Amendment would lull the people into a false sense of security rather than mobilize all their efforts to force the government to adopt a policy that would make the United States a genuine force for world peace **TODAY**.

Behind the skirts of the isolationists and behind the agitation for the Ludlow Amendment, the munitions makers and the reactionaries press for huge increases in the armaments program of the United States. They cry that if we are to maintain peace we need a larger army and navy to guarantee "isolation." We oppose the proposed increase in the armaments program as unnecessary and ineffective in preserving peace. The adoption of a policy

of collective security would make such armament expenditures unnecessary and would lay the basis for disarmament measures such as the Soviet Union has repeatedly proposed to the nations of the world.

The adherents of the Ludlow bill support it in the name of democracy. We are also vitally concerned that the people shall have a democratic voice in keeping out of war. That cannot be done by passing the Ludlow Amendment. We oppose it as being totally undemocratic. The measure concerns itself with the question of who will declare war when it is already too late to stay out, and not with preventing the outbreak of war or its further extension by action **NOW**. It focuses the attention of the people on the distant future, rather than on the im-

mediate necessity of action to stop aggression. It distracts attention from aggression raging throughout the world. Labelling the United States government as the source of danger to peace, it does not seek to change the policies of that government so as to use its tremendous economic and political strength in world affairs to curb the aggressor states.

Realistic democracy is not merely an abstract right that can be reserved for future use. It must be applied **NOW** by uniting all labor, progressive and democratic forces of the people to put pressure upon Congress to adopt a course of action in line with President Roosevelt's Chicago speech.

Program for Peace

1. Branding Japan, Italy and Germany as violators of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, as the aggressors.
2. By economic sanctions against these states: by declaring an embargo on all war supplies, war material, loans and goods until all their military forces are withdrawn from invaded Spanish and Chinese territory.
3. By cutting off all trade with these nations, both imports and exports, and all credits, thereby depriving them of those supplies with which they are today making war.
4. The opening of our markets to China and Loyalist Spain, to all victims of aggression, thus enabling them to secure the materials they need for their own defense.
5. By extending the people's boycott of all Japanese goods, as an immediate and effective measure for cutting off support to the Japanese war machine.

National Board Discussion

Recession In The Auto Industry . . .

By **JOE CLARK**
Michigan State Secretary

I have been asked to stress one point in making this report for Detroit, namely: how the recession affects young people. As Carl Ross pointed out they are probably affected more severely than any other single category of workers.

The reasons are obvious. Even under union conditions, I should say, especially under union conditions, there is the principle of seniority, which means that since young people have less seniority than others, when layoffs come, the young go first. The economic recession accentuates an already serious situation, particularly serious in a town like Detroit, a one industry town.

Job discrimination is not so acute. Once you have a job you are not likely to face discrimination as far as pay and hours are concerned. Once they get started, young people get pretty good pay. The problem is getting into the industry, of becoming an auto worker. About 90 percent, of the young people who are now trying to get into the industry cannot do so, now or in the near future.

Difficult Problem

It is not sufficient to educate young people to the question of seniority. You cannot go to a young fellow and say: "Now you're fired. But you have been fired on the basis of a good principle, the principle of seniority. When hiring takes place again, you will get a job because you

The following are excerpts from the discussion at the meeting of the National Board of the YCL held in New York City, January 14-16.

(See editorial on page 4)

have seniority." Merely a class conscious explanation is insufficient. Nor is it entirely sufficient to share the work. This has already been done by the companies themselves.

The General Motors workers are working only 24 to 30 hours a week. There is practically no full time work in the auto industry. But above sharing the work, General Motors fired about 30,000 to 35,000 workers, and here too, the young went first.

Posing the difficulty is easier than solving it, and it is a very difficult problem. One approach is to get agreements with the auto manufacturers which would give the young workers seniority after only a short time in the plant. In most places, General Motors, for example, seniority begins only six months after one has begun to work there.

Full Program

However, in some of the shops, the unions have been able to win clauses in the agreements providing for seniority after 30 days' work.

In addition to this, which seems to me to be a correct and essential procedure, the unions have to take up the young people's fight for welfare. Young people are not becoming disgusted with the union primarily because it indicates signs of doing this already.

We ought to stress not merely

the struggle for increases in the National Youth Administration and for the American Youth Act but also, and immediately, for relief to single unemployed men and women, WPA jobs for young people.

To show that the union is good, you have to show that the union can get them jobs, even on WPA if necessary. In Michigan we support the following union program:

1. Seniority as soon as possible.
2. Single unemployed men and women open to relief.
3. Extension of the WPA.
4. Passage of the American Youth Act.

Attitudes In The Unions

By **CHARLIE WILSON**

National Trade Union Director

The biggest problem before the organized labor movement in our country is unity between the unions of the CIO and the AFL.

What is the situation today insofar as unity between the CIO and the AFL is concerned? Everybody knows that the negotiations between the CIO and the AFL have broken down.

Why did the unity negotiations between the CIO and the AFL suspend? Because the AFL was not willing to give one single concession to the unions of the CIO. Matthew Woll and even David Dubinsky have recently stated that the negotiations broke down because the AFL was willing to give in to everything except taking in all the CIO unions.

The AFL proposed to take back the twelve unions that used to be affiliated to itself on the same basis as previously. This

means that any question of industrial unionism in the mass production industries remains exactly as before.

This is very important for us because if we fall into the trap of people like Woll or even Dubinsky we will come to very wrong conclusions. Unity can only be achieved on the basis of recognition of the principles of industrial unionism.

Will the Split Be Settled?

It is clear that this split will not be settled in a week or a month. The whole question will now resolve itself into several things: first, to what extent the progressive forces in the AFL will be able to mobilize the sentiment of the rank and file and of the lower officials of the AFL, of the various Councils and State Federations to fight for unity. Second, to what extent it will be possible to bring these facts to the workers in the AFL, and also how fast the CIO unions will grow and consolidate themselves.

Education in the Unions

In the CIO unions, it is important for us to realize that the majority of the workers have never belonged to unions before, that many young people who are working in industry for the first time have joined the unions; and that there is a real, conscious attempt on the part of the industrialists of the country to break up these unions wherever possible especially by a red-baiting drive.

I think that in the various unions, particularly the CIO, it is necessary to appreciate concretely in what forms sports and education should be developed. Our comrades feel that the CIO has a progressive program and that therefore we do not have to be

concerned with carrying out sports and educational work. I think that this is precisely why sports and education have been carried out only in a small way. In New York, the ILGWU spent about \$1,000 to maintain such activities last year, only a short time ago, comrades in that union told me that several sport centers have been closed because young people did not come to them. This should not have happened. All these activities should continue through the union. I know for one thing, if anybody in my union said to me that I, as a young Communist, ought to set up parallel activities, I should be against such an action. Reactionaries are making every effort to throw the Communists out of the CIO. We would be playing right into their hands. We would only be narrowing down our movement. The important thing is to get the widest number of young people to participate. For instance, in St. Louis, in the United Electrical Workers, classes have been organized to teach the workers things that they want to know, in a word; vocational training and progressive education conducted by the union.

Unions in Lead

There is a fear on the part of many comrades, and I have often heard it expressed, that if we build up all these things in the union, if the unions teach the members in the unions, if the

unions have sports and the unions have socials—what will the YCL do? It appears to me if we are successful in strengthening activities in the union we have in essence an anti-fascist youth development, because the unions are paramount in the People's Front movement. The unions are at the head of Labor's Non-Partisan League. The unions take part in the whole anti-fascist movement, and our comrades should not fear that the YCL won't grow. Where we are successful in organizing these activities the YCL will take on a better character than in our neighborhood branches. The YCL will have given these union members real Communist education.

Young People in Office

In my opinion we must begin to discuss with leaders of Labor's Non-Partisan League the possibility of getting certain young people to run for office and to carry on a campaign for these young people. The one example I know of is in Winnipeg, Canada, where a member of the YCL was elected a member of the Board of Education.

Against Discrimination

We have to carry on the struggle against discriminatory laws which prevent young people from getting relief. I am referring specifically to such laws as in Pennsylvania, which have provisions making it impossible for young people to get relief. There are ordinances in many cities which deny relief to young people who are members of a family. We must point to certain positive things which will force the government to relieve the unemployed situation, such as the program of the SWOC Convention for \$1,000,000,000 for housing. These are steps to relieve unemployment in most of the important industries of the country.



NEXT STEPS TO DEFEAT REACTION IN OHIO

By MAC WEISS

State Secretary of the YCL

For us in Ohio, the task of winning the youth for the People's Front revolves around our responsibilities to carry through the slogan first advanced by the State Committee, now taken up by the labor movement—the slogan that Governor Davey must be defeated. The defeat of Governor Davey is made necessary, first of all, by the role which Davey has played in Ohio. Governor Davey rode into office on the coat-tails of Roosevelt. No sooner did he get into office than he turn-coated, and today he is openly clamoring for national recognition as the person who can unify in the Democratic Party all the anti-Roosevelt elements. Consequently, his defeat is a matter of concern not only to the progressive movement in Ohio, a matter of vital concern to the development of the labor movement, but, as a further development of the People's Front movement in the United States.

Who Is Davey?

The youth in Ohio, in the last six months especially, have come to learn who Governor Davey is and whom he represents. It was Davey who called out the National Guard to break the strikes in steel and rubber. The young people in Ohio, in steel and rubber, joining the trade unions to gain security, saw in the Governor's anti-union stand a threat to their security. They saw in him an individual, the titular head of the Democratic Party in Ohio, making a speech in Akron in order to help defeat the candidate nominated by Labor's Non-Partisan League in the Democratic primaries.

Governor Davey has also made his position clear, not only in regard to the labor movement, but also in regard to the whole progressive youth movement, utilizing the occasion of an address before the Ohio Historical Society in New York City, to accuse the American Youth Congress over a national hook-up of having been financially supported by the Communist Party and YCL in Ohio. In this way, he has shown himself to the wide sections of youth, participating in the American Youth Congress, in Ohio, as an enemy of everything for which they stand.

Finally, Governor Davey has become the object of scorn, contempt and hatred for large sections of the proletarian and middle-class youth who are civic-minded. Corruption runs rampant in Ohio. Only a week or so ago, the public schools, church organizations etc., were treated to the amazing spectacle of a Governor of a State defending himself against charges of graft and corruption by saying that there were others who were bigger grafters, etc.

So that, from every point of view, the need and possibility exists in Ohio, for mobilizing the largest sections of the youth to lend their strength to the fight which the People's Front forces are carrying through against Davey.

How to Beat Him?

How can Governor Davey be defeated? What tasks must the People's Front youth movement, and the maturing forces of the People's Front in Ohio, carry through if they are to live up to

their obligations and their responsibilities?

The first requirement is to organize independently the political forces of labor. That means practically that the first task is the organization of Labor's Non-Partisan League on a State scale. The decision has already been made to call a state-wide convention of Labor's Non-Partisan League in Ohio in March. This convention can contribute materially to initiating that movement which, if further developed, will result in the beginnings of the People's Front youth movement in Ohio.

Next Steps

It is our opinion that the State convention of the LNPL in Ohio should establish a State Youth Committee of LNPL, to direct the work for winning the industrial youth to the aims of LNPL.

Secondly, it is our opinion that this convention should decide to promote aggressively the formation of LNPL youth clubs in the wards. We cannot gain anything practical from the simple formation of councils of youth representatives from the unions. The only practical contribution is the organization, side by side with the ward clubs of LNPL, of the youth clubs of that organization.

Thirdly, the State convention will be able to further this work if it includes in its platform a carefully worked out series of demands for the young people of the State, so that they will see in this organization the best champion of their interests and their needs.

That, I think, is a first step. Without this, it is futile to think of anything else, but also it is futile to think of defeating Governor Davey with this alone. Labor by itself will not defeat Reaction. It is essential that, in the coming campaign, the labor movement and the political arm
(Continued on first column, page 20)

ON THE SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH CONGRESS

By ANGELO HERNDON

I believe we might make the following programmatic suggestions for the SNYC.

Having already registered certain achievements in this respect, the Southern Negro Youth Congress can become more closely connected with the every day problems of the Negro sharecroppers in the South.

Efforts should be made to contact the trade unions in industry as well as the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. I am sure that once this is done, it will be far easier to arouse activity in the the Southern colleges and universities. The movement will acquire all of the characteristics of a liberation movement in the South and will give inspiration not only to the progressive movement in the South, but throughout the country.

(Continued from previous page)

of the labor movement establish an alliance with the New Deal Democrats in Ohio. The Roosevelt Administration is interested in defeating Davey. He will not be defeated without the support of the Roosevelt Administration.

Unfortunately, Davey controls the State machinery of the Democratic Party in Ohio. Unfortunately, he was able to move into Cayhoga County, into the city of Cleveland, and take control of the movement of disaffection, of revolt. Also unfortunately, included among those who were taken in tow by the Davey machine were the State leaders of the Young Democrats in Ohio.

If it is true that labor by itself will not defeat Governor Davey,

It should be possible to organize activities around specific issues. For example, the question of citizenship, the right to vote, is becoming a central problem among the Negro youth. Were the Congress to single out the question of the right to vote, and develop a campaign around it similar to the one which the NAACP has been able to organize around the Anti-Lynching Bill it will help the SNYC to become a much larger movement cementing itself with the whole progressive front.

The same could be done for legislative action against social diseases and for birth control. Were the Southern Negro Youth Congress to begin to get various state legislatures in the South interested in bills for the protection of the Negro youth,

that labor must effect an alliance with the New Deal in order to defeat him, it is equally true that we will not be able to defeat him and form an effective democratic front in Ohio, if we do not succeed also in collaborating with the farm youth organizations.

Finally, the very character of the Davey administration makes it possible to carry through the formation of youth leaders' committees from religious organizations, civic groups, etc., around even the single issue of better government in Ohio; committees taking their stand against the graft and corruption of the Davey administration.

Here then are a few of the perspectives of our work in Ohio in the near future.

tying it up with venereal diseases, and the death rate in the South, progress could be made in this direction.

Fighting Illiteracy

Another problem is the struggle against illiteracy. Steps should be taken to utilize certain lessons here in connection with the history of the Soviet Union's fight against illiteracy, developing understanding among workers who can neither read nor write. **while at the same time conducting a struggle for the extension of schools.**

The demand ought to be raised for state appropriations for this need, not merely for Negro youth but for white young people as well.

There are bills before Congress, such as the Fletcher-Harrison Bill, which although inadequate in many respects, might be the point of departure for a campaign to involve large numbers of Negro and white young people in the South. Appropriations ought to be allotted on the basis of proportion of illiteracy, size of city, etc. so that the Negro people will not suffer discrimination.

Teaching and educating, through seminars and classes, Southern young people who can lead and develop the Negro youth movement in the South is a major problem that should be given immediate attention.



A WORD FROM SPAIN!

By STEVE NELSON

Formerly Political Commissar of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and Member of the Central Committee, CPUSA.

There were tremendous difficulties in connection with the People's Front, because it was among our earliest experiences. Observe the difficulty our Party had with Largo Caballero. In the early period he was a central figure in the People's Front. We proposed certain steps to defeat the fascists in the famous eight points, which were known as the points of the CP on how to win the war. Our Party proposed to introduce a draft so that everyone who was able would fight. When our Party raised this slogan the Trotskyites raised the slogan against the draft, saying, Spain is in a revolutionary situation and we want a revolutionary army, not a mercenary one. Caballero accepted this position, and the result was that on all fronts all our lines were thinned.

Secondly, when the question of centralizing the command of the army was raised, Caballero was told by the Trotskyites that if this were done the Communists would occupy the centrally responsible posts. At that time the General of the Army was a man who had been Franco's man from the beginning, an open traitor. Therefore for the four months during which Caballero did not call a meeting of the cabinet, the ministers did not know what the decisions of the war council were—but Franco knew those decisions.

Even though Caballero refused to introduce a draft and clean out the army staff, we were able on our own to publicize the Party's program so that almost every kid in Spain knows about the eight points of the CP. And those eight points have become the program

of the people in spite of the fact that Caballero refused to accept them.

The Socialists at that time were not convinced that Caballero was following the wrong policy. What was the result? We had to wait until the situation became so ripe that we knew that a cabinet crisis in the country would not at the same time become a political crisis. This was the time when many of our comrades were at the front for as many as 117 days without relief, because no army had been built up. When the fascists had already mobilized 25,000 men at the gates of Madrid, Caballero decided to move out of Madrid, planning to issue a statement that it would mean nothing to lose Madrid. It was only at the active insistence of our Party leader, Diaz, who went to see him and asked him not to issue a statement that Caballero did not issue it.

Contrary to Caballero's plan, we agreed that the government should move out of Madrid and asked that the defense of the city be left in our hands. In that period Jose Diaz called a meeting of all Party and YCL organizers. He said, "Comrades, our city is already under fascist shells. We have not got much time to discuss this now. It is the time for action, the Political Buro has made plans." He read off names of streets and assigned each street in the city to a unit. He reminded the comrades that there was no army to come to their aid, "The defense of the city is on your shoulders. Go out right now



Dave Doran, now in Spain, the Political Commissar of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade

—the defense of the city is on your shoulders."

Although the Party was small at that time, inside of seven weeks after November 7th, 1936, we had an army. From 1800 men to 75,000 men in seven weeks' time—that was done at Madrid!

One more thing to show you how the Party worked. In the early days, the battalions were made up of different groups: Socialists, Communists, Anarchists, etc. Each group would take time off and hold meetings. Often the Anarchists, who did not accept leadership from above, did not go over the top because they wanted to take a vote. Every time they took a vote, it was not for going over the top. We Communists had meetings too, likewise the Socialists. One-fourth of the men were always behind the trees, meeting. The result was we never had a unified command.

Therefore, the Party proposed
(Continued on next page)

"SOCIALIST" SLANDER ON THE SHERMAN INVESTIGATION

By DAVE GRANT

The SOCIALIST CALL of October 23 last publishes an article by Al Hamilton concerning my testimony before the Sherman Investigating Committee of Massachusetts. The entire article attempts to prove that "the Communist Party is for war and will support American business interests abroad when they go to war."

Polemics between working-class organizations are always in order and can play a very valuable role in the development of the working-class movement. But two basic principles must always be observed in such polemics. First, that they shall not play into the hands of the class enemy

by disrupting the unity of the working-class when it is under attack. Secondly, that they shall be carried on in an honest and sincere manner.

Hamilton has completely ignored both these principles. When his article was published, the Investigating Commission was doing everything in its power to arouse hatred and prejudice against the Communists by the intimidation of witnesses as well as by preparation for court orders to force the Party and YCL to hand over their membership lists. The campaign against the Commission was also advancing, best reflected in the very successful meetings of October 24th in the

Old South Meeting House with Vito Marcantonio as the main speaker. The Socialist Party was represented by Albert Sprague Coolidge, who spoke together with many well-known liberals and with Phil Frankfeld. Indeed, during the period of the investigation, the Socialist Party gave us its whole-hearted cooperation.

At the hearings, Earl Browder and, following him, Phil Frankfeld, explained the principles of Communism in such a clear and simple manner that the efforts of the Commission were completely defeated. Millions of people, for the first time, read the truth about the Party and what it stands for. Communist spokesmen utilized the hearings as a forum for the teachings of the Party. Their effectiveness will be gauged by the fact that during the period of the investigation the Party gained more than 400 members and the YCL tripled its recruiting over previous months.

What, then, was Hamilton's purpose in his discussion of the Sherman Investigation? Was he concerned with the reactionary attack upon the Communists? Did he appreciate the relation of this proceeding to the attack upon the progressive labor movement in general?

Answers to these considerations appear in the "objective" fashion in which Hamilton estimates the position of the Communist Party at the hearings. He writes: "There appeared a party abject, willing to cooperate, a party that conducted itself in a manner that seemed to say to the legislature and reactionaries, 'We try to satisfy'."

Hamilton has completely for-

(Continued from previous page)

that all our Party meetings be done away with and insisted that all other parties do the same. We impressed those rank and filers at the front not to have those meetings. The result was that instead of asking permission to hold meetings every time an order was given, they carried out the order first. This tended to bring about unity of the army. It was the greatest contributing factor to the solidarity of the army. But you see how flexible our Party had to be in that situation. You see what difficulties the People's Front offers and how our Party was able to meet them. Do you wonder now how and why it happens that the Party grew from a membership of 35,000 to a membership of half a million?

I think that most of the comrades here know that one simple way to expose Trotskyites these days is on the question of their

role in Spain. There are eight major questions on which they adopted super-revolutionary policies. They have been discredited. Now when they put one of their slogans, "Long Live the POUM," on a wall, our comrades just add, "SAYS FRANCO." When they paint a slogan on the wall, "Where is Andre Nin?" our comrades add, "ASK HITLER," etc.

Writing to Spain

As to our American comrades. I think this meeting of the National Board of the YCL ought to take some very drastic steps. I know there are no comrades in this room who don't know a particular fellow in Spain to write to. Some of our comrades forget that the cream of our membership went over there.

Why don't we write them a letter? I received a letter a few days ago from one of the boys in

(Continued on page 29)

gotten the masses of people who followed the investigation very closely. In so far as it was a question of bringing the truth to these people the Party certainly was willing to, and did, cooperate. To have done otherwise would have been far from revolutionary, and this is exactly what the Commission wanted. When Communist spokesmen could not defend themselves in such a way as to bring their message to the masses, they did not "cooperate" with the Commission. They were rebuked by the investigators and denounced as recalcitrant. At one point, Phil Frankfeld refused to answer any questions at all, and the Commission took court action against him. All of this, Hamilton conveniently overlooks.

Hamilton says, "The CP did not object to the Commission itself, but rather to one or two members. . . ." No facts are given to support this statement. None can be given. Both the Party and the YCL opposed the resolution creating the Commission and spoke against it at a special hearing in the State House. Phil Frankfeld, to cite but one example, denounced the Commission as fascist-minded and red-baiting at the Old South Meeting House, October 24th.

National Differences

1. Hamilton writes, "On the day I visited the Commission hearings, the question was asked, 'You support dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia, you support the role of the Communist Party in Russia; do you want these things for the United States?' The answer was, 'No, we believe in American democracy'."

This is untrue. The answer was, that we support these principles as they exist in the Soviet Union, but that in the United States these same questions will be solved against the background of the specific American historical conditions. Obviously the

question implied that we want to establish in the US every detail of the socialist society in the USSR. The answer was based on the principle that

"As long as national and state differences exist among peoples and countries—and these differences will continue to exist for a very long time, even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a world scale—the unity of international tactics of the Communist working-class movement of all countries demands not the elimination of variety, not the abolition of national differences (this is a foolish dream at the present moment), but such an application of the fundamental principles of Communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat) as will **correctly modify** these principles in certain particulars, will properly adapt, apply them to the national and state differences." (Lenin.)

2. On the problem of national defense. In answer to the question, "Would you defend your country in case of war?" I said, "Yes." Hamilton thereby proceeds to draw the conclusion that the Communists have abandoned their traditional struggle against imperialist war. He deliberately neglects to give the background of this question and the questioning that followed. He also conveniently conceals that on many of these questions the Commission insisted on a "yes or no" answer and refused to allow explanations.

On the first day of the hearing Earl Browder stated that although he had served a prison sentence for refusing to fight during the last war, he would fight if the US were attacked by the fascist powers. In answer to the question, "Do you believe in national defense?," Phil Frankfeld stated, "Against the fascist powers, yes!" My answer to the above question had exactly the same meaning as the answers

given by Browder and Frankfeld. For fully **one-half hour** after I had answered that question I was asked to explain why our position is different today from what it was in 1917.

Our Position Explained

Our analysis shows that today there is a difference in the position of those imperialist powers which are fascist and those which are bourgeois democratic. For their own imperialist interests, the bourgeois democratic states desire peace **at the present moment**, while the fascist powers are striving to bring about a new world war. By building a solid people's movement against war it is possible to utilize these antagonisms among the imperialist powers for the interests of peace and, therefore, for the interests of Socialism.

For Mr. Hamilton's benefit, I quote the following:

"It is possible to conquer this most powerful enemy (the international bourgeoisie—D.G.) only by exerting our efforts to the utmost and by **necessarily**, thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skillfully taking advantage of every 'fissure,' however small, in the ranks of our enemies, of every antagonism of interests among the bourgeoisie of the various countries, among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie in the various countries; by taking advantage of every possibility, however small, of gaining an ally among the masses even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable, and conditional. Those who do not understand this do not understand even a grain of Marxism and of scientific modern Socialism in general." (Lenin.)

Coming as it does from "**Left-Wing**" Communism: An Infantile Disorder, this quotation is particularly appropriate for Hamilton.

Hamilton also assumes that the words "defend your country" can

only be given the imperialist interpretation of defending the capitalists of a country with **no other interpretation** possible. He has presented the "testimony" in such a way as to imply that we used these terms in exactly the same manner as the spokesman of the bourgeoisie did. For Hamilton's information, in every country where class divisions exist, there is not one united nation but "two." There is the America of the common people, the workingman, the farmer, the small business man. There is the America of Big Business. When we speak of "defending our country," we are speaking of defending the former and not the latter. Similarly, when we speak of "social justice," we do not mean the same thing that Father Coughlin means.

Question of Military Training

3. The matter of the ROTC, CMTC, and the National Guard. The questions were never asked as Hamilton quotes them, and the answers he quotes were never given. Hamilton made them up by giving his interpretation of the following (I quote from the record):

Q. Would you be in favor of it (military training—D.G.) in relation to the young people of America?

A. I believe that the young people of America should be trained to defend their own country.

Q. To that end do you encourage them to enlist in the various military units that we have?

A. We take no stand on that. If they wish to do so, that is entirely a personal privilege of their own.

Q. Have you any particular attitude toward the National Guard?

A. No.

Q. The ROTC?

A. No.

Q. You never encourage enlistment? No.

It should be understood that that the Commission was trying to prove that the YCL "bores from within" the armed forces. The answers were given in reply to this effort: to explain that in so far as the personal activities and responsibilities of the YCL members are concerned, the organization takes no stand. Nevertheless, I had the opportunity of stating our position with reference to the ROTC more clearly on another occasion. When questioned on the pamphlet **We Take Our Stand**, containing the principles of the YCL, I was able to get the entire pamphlet into the hearing records as the program of the YCL. Of course, in this pamphlet, on page 13, we come out for the abolition of the ROTC. Communists do not believe that military training should be monopolized by the reactionaries. All the progressives, as the experience of Spain reveals, need to avail themselves of the opportunities that exist for the education

in military arts and science

On still another occasion, I was able to state our general attitude toward the National Guard, which clearly reveals our position:

Q. You believe that the National Guard is an organization used, as far as you know, against strikers to take sides with some industrial leaders?

A. I have stated that at certain times it has been so used.

Q. That is your opinion?

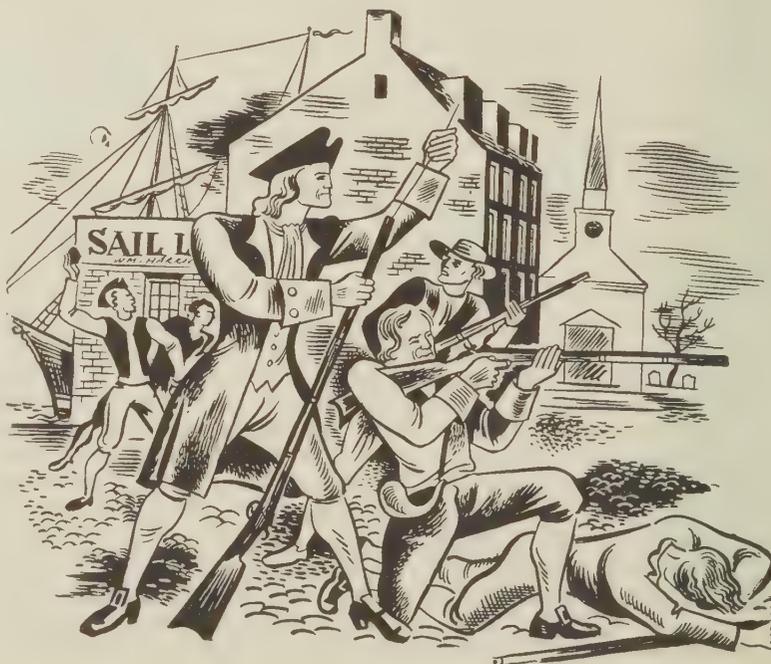
A. That's right.

Q. Have you any specific instances of this?

A. Certainly. If you will recall the textile strike in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1934, they were specifically used against the strikers. More recently in the steel strike, where Governor Davey of Ohio was criticized for using the National Guard against strikers.

Q. What is the attitude of the Communist Party itself as regards the National Guard?

(Continued on next page)



WHY THE RECESSION?

While the captains of American industry attempt to force the Roosevelt government to retrench its social program and nullify the gains which the dramatic unionization of the past two years made possible, the economic advisers, the medicine men, the mumbo jumbo artists, the voodoo doctors are plenty frightened. Worried by the inevitable social consequences of the recession, alarmed at the upsurge of anger and disgust which the people are sure to articulate at the 1938 elections, Big Business attempts to weaken and

undermine the labor and people's movement. While behind the lines, the hocus pocus specialists and professional experts chant and wail and make ablutions in Washington, frantically seeking the proper combination of mystical syllables that will pacify the people and start economic activity up again.

They have reason to be frightened.

In the four months from August to December, 1937, the index of business activity fell from 117 to 82, a drop of 35

(Continued on next page)



Joseph Starobin

(Continued from previous page)

A. I think that the attitude of the Communist Party is one of seeing that the National Guard will be used in the interests of the people.

From this, Hamilton concludes that among the youth and student youth especially, "the YCL can be expected to support the ROTC and to support the ends and purposes of the ROTC." We are quite prepared to let our record in the future speak for us as well as it has in the past. At the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, YCL members were the most active in a successful campaign to abolish compulsory military training. Several of Mr. Hamilton's close friends in Boston can tell him that we were among the most active groups in the campaign to pass the bill abolishing compulsory military training in the schools of Massachusetts and that we spoke in favor of the bill at a hearing in the State House, together with many Socialists and non-Socialists.

Hamilton continues with the following quotation:

"Holmes: Do you differentiate

as did your leader Lenin between 'Imperialist democracy and Soviet democracy' as quoted by another member of the Commission? (The Commission had quoted a speech by Lenin to the CP of the Soviet Union.)

"Grant: No, we don't differentiate."

This chivalrous defense of Lenin against the Communists who would revise him is accomplished by downright falsification of the most deliberate character.

Lies About Lenin

The above question was never asked of me. It was asked of Otis Hood, and he answered: "Yes, we do differentiate." The question asked of me was: "In building up the People's Front to fight for democracy, do you distinguish between bourgeois democracy and socialist democracy?" The answer was: "No, in the struggle against fascism we support present-day bourgeois democracy. For in the present historical period it is this struggle which will bring the people to realize the need for establishing Socialism."

Hamilton's attack on the Party and YCL serves only to sow con-

fusion and to hinder united working-class action at a moment when the reactionaries have made their initial effort to destroy the entire progressive labor movement. Hamilton has acted even as the Trotskyites, whose activity during the investigation consisted of printing leaflets attacking the Communists, without spending a line on the Commission itself. The dual nature of the campaign against the Party endeavored to undermine the support of the middle class and workers' groups to our Party during the investigation. If Hamilton had followed the cooperative policy of the local Socialists and others, such as Albert Sprague Coolidge and Robert Morss Lovett, his discussion of the hearings might have served a more notable purpose. Instead of feeding the "termites" of the working-class movement, he might for instance have helped to reconstruct the Young Peoples' Socialist movement in Massachusetts. For since Hamilton and others like him have fallen for the siren song of Trotskyism, the Socialist movement in that state has withered away.

points . . . the same drop that was spread over sixteen months in the 1929-30 crisis. In December, 1936, the index stood at 121, two points above the high mark of 1929. One year later, it was only 16 points above the mark registered in the lowest days of the economic crisis, in 1932.

Yes, they are baffled by the fact that steel operations fell from practical capacity last summer to about 20 per cent. of capacity this winter, the most precipitous decline of its history.

Let us inquire in some detail what were the elements of our recovery in the past few years. Such an inquiry will illuminate who is responsible for the crisis and how we will emerge from it.

Special Crisis

First, we quote from Comrade Bittleman's recent pamphlet (see reading references):

"The question is: Why this hesitating recovery, why this zig-zag nature of its course? The answer is: Because this recovery phase of the cycle, the same as its previous phases—depression and crisis—were of a special kind.

In this connection I want to recall to your memory a famous speech by Comrade Stalin, made at the beginning of the depression phase. I cannot quote him verbatim, but I will try to give you the essence of his analysis. He said: We are entering the depression, but it is going to be a special kind of depression, not an ordinary one. And because of that, a boom is hardly to be expected. And he gave the following reasons: He started out by saying that the depression, as well as the crisis preceding it were taking place on the basis of the general crisis of capitalism as a system. And what were the special characteristics of that? They were as follows:

1. World economy is split. There is a capitalist sector and a socialist sector. There is no longer one capitalist world economy, as we knew it before 1914-1918. Capitalist economy still, unfortunately, dominates the larger sector; but Socialism prevails on one-sixth of the earth.

2. World capitalist economy, and its machinery for world trade, as well as its financial apparatus, have been in a terrible state of break-up and disorganization since the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism ushered in by the first world, imperialist war.

3. The almost continuous wars in one part of the world or another and the always-present threat of a new world war.

4. Most acute rivalries between imperialist powers, Regular economic warfare.

Since these features were pointed out by Comrade Stalin, another disturbing and disorganizing factor has come into existence—the coming to power of fascism in a number of big European countries; fascist warfare in Spain and China, and the greatly increased menace of a new world war."

Against the dramatic background of international and domestic developments, how shall we interpret our recovery from 1933 to 1937?

First of all, there was no expansion of the production of the means of production, the heavy industries. While population increased 7 per cent. since 1929, production barely topped the 1929 levels in the winter of 1936 and fell back unusually soon. Figures for the new capital issues, the investment of money in industrial expansion, reveal that since the close of the twenties and during the recent recovery American capitalism made no advances in basic plant, heavy

equipment, etc.

Here are some figures which indicate total capital issues (exclusive of refunding operations, that is, payments to take in old bonds and stocks):

| | |
|------------|-----------------|
| 1923-25: | \$5,000,000,000 |
| 1929 . . . | 8,000,000,000 |
| 1933 . . . | 160,000,000 |
| 1936 . . . | 1,192,000,000 |
| 1937 . . . | 1,500,000,000 |

Of course, this year Big Business will make practically no new investments in expanding the industrial plant of the country. The basic reason for this contraction of our economy does not flow from the fact that the needs of the population have been satisfied. It arises because the capitalists have become a fetter upon the progress of the land as indicated above. Capitalism as a system is declining but the capitalists are able to make fabulous profits without expanding the economy. As a matter of fact, even in the prosperity years, in the 1925-29 period, one authority estimates that only 79 per cent. of productive capacity of American industry was used, and Varga says that from 1923-33 only 50 per cent. of capacity was utilized.

Foreign Trade

Moreover, foreign trade was of about 54 per cent. below the 1925-37 level, the period which all economists accept for the figure 100 upon which they base their indices. This means that farm income and all sections of industry affected by foreign trade lagged below previous normals. Besides the replenishment of old equipment, the installation of new machinery, the basis for the whole recovery movement took on a very special and as we shall see a vicious and socially harmful form. It was the machine goods industries whose index of production zoomed up in 1936 relatively greater than business indices as a

whole. The following table of indices proves this point:

| Manufactures | | Machine Tools, etc | |
|--------------|------|--------------------|-----|
| | 1936 | 1937 | |
| January | 96 | 115 | 111 |
| April | 100 | 118 | 126 |
| July | 109 | 116 | 150 |
| October | 111 | 101 | 136 |
| December | 121 | 82 | 258 |

These figures illustrate that machine tool orders jumped far out of proportion to production as a whole. This means that the capitalists expanded their plants largely by the introduction of labor saving devices at an ENORMOUS pace. New machinery, made possible by recent technological changes, provided the stimulus to recovery, and made possible the huge profits to the capitalist class. But it is precisely this type of expansion which sets the stage for permanently disemploying additional millions of American citizens. So we can say that the capitalist system revived in the last three years not on the basis of a general advance, a general increase in production, but on the basis of speed up and the introduction of labor saving devices. Recovery took on this self defeating form because it developed in a period of internal and external narrowing of the market, in a period of general capitalist crisis.

Huge Profits

But this did not hinder the exaction of unusual profits by the upper classes. We have shown that production just about reached 1929 levels and did not advance the way it always has previously despite the fact that population increased by 7 per cent.

Nevertheless, the National City Bank reported recently that 1600-major corporations showed a 49.6 per cent. increase of profits in 1935 over 1934, and a 52.3 per

cent. increase in 1936 over 1935. Moreover the companies whose stocks are listed on the exchanges (not all the companies, by any means) paid out in dividends in

1930: \$4,982,668,635
 1936: 4,122,725,360
 1937: 4,550,460,671

In short, the bourgeoisie took care of itself. Even in October, 1937 when hundreds of thousands of men were being laid off faster than Mr. Biggers could count them, dividend declarations reached a peak unequalled since the banner month of October, 1930. More than 3,100 corporations voted dividends in 1937, the highest number since the Golden Days. Nor are inflated salaries and special bonuses and other profits included in the above calculation. As we have seen, this huge profit taking does not result in the expansion of business enterprise but goes rather into the introduction of labor saving devices, in speed up and rationalization, increasing productivity of the workers and making possible more profits on fewer men.

Of course, the diamond and jewelery industry boomed again. Fashionable magazines carried advertisements as follows: "diamond bracelets . . . \$2700 . . . emerald cut rings . . . \$9900 . . . flexible bracelets made up of six carat diamonds linked together with baguettes, \$54,200 . . . Mail orders receive prompt attention . . ."

In 1930, the total national income was \$67,917,000,000 of which \$13,961,000,000 went into wages. In 1937, the estimated national income increased to \$70. billions of which only \$12,500,000,000 went to wages. In other words, the workers share in the national income dropped by 10 per cent. But observe the index for net profits compared with the above:

1926: 100 1934: 36
 1930: 89 1935: 54
 1932: 11 1936: 85
 1937: 103

This shows a fabulous rise, and represents an increase of 16 per cent. in 1937 over 1930. From still another angle, it can be shown that while the workers share dropped 10 per cent., the amount of money paid out in interest and dividends remained stationary since 1929, equal to 14 per cent. of the national income. This underlines the fact that while the bourgeoisie bettered its positions, the workers have lost out.

Cost of Living

Still another factor operated to worsen the condition of the working class. That is the insidious increase in the cost of living. For instance, the AFL Survey of June, 1937, reports that average annual wages rose from \$1082 in 1933 to \$1,244 in 1936, largely due to the class struggle against the capitalists and the widespread unionization. This is a rise of \$162 over three years time but all but \$17 of this was wiped out by the increase of the cost of living. The National Industrial Conference Board, the employers economic agency, has shown that general living costs increased from the Spring of 1933 to the Spring of 1937 by 24 per cent. Food costs shot up by 45 per cent.; clothing 26.4 per cent. and rents in 1937 were 37 per cent. higher than 1934.

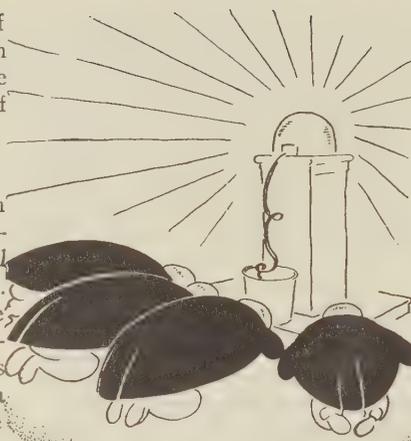
The workers were robbed of the fruits of their unionization and of recovery in general by the operation of this hidden factor of increasing cost of living.

Not Only Workers

These price boosts for which monopolies are responsible affect not only workers but small business people and farmers too. The farmers are caught in the scissors. They sell in an international market in which prices have been dropping and in a domestic market where the population does not have the purchasing power to keep production high. But they buy goods from the manufacturing industries at rising monopoly prices. This condition has forced the government to develop a farm program whose fundamental principle is to pay the farmer NOT to produce more than a certain amount, limited by the international constriction of trade and the general tightening of belts within the land.

Business and small business are hit by the fact that the basic raw materials of the country are controlled by the monopolies. This has been the chief factor in inhibiting the private construction of homes, so sorely needed by the American people.

Attorney General Jackson exposed this situation with reference to steel prices when he declared that they rose "three times as great as necessary to cover increased wages; at least twice the amount to cover increase of labor and raw materials put together." The New Republic shows in an editorial of February 9, 1938 that the increase in labor costs in 1936 amounted to \$6.66 and raw materials, \$6. But for every \$100 worth of steel which the steel trust sold to business people generally they jacked up prices equal to \$121.70 . . . or \$9.04 higher than increased costs.



Here is where profits for the trusts and their stockholders come in at the expense of the people generally. Here too is a factor which leads to crisis and collapse of economic activity.

Installment Selling

Meanwhile, there is another indication of the fragile nature of recovery. Installment selling had increased so steeply that even the bourgeois economists were alarmed. Installment selling means to create purchasing power that does not really exist, or at best, to anticipate future purchasing power. The April, 1937, Bulletin of the N. Y. Trust Corp. reveals the following trend for installment selling values:

| | |
|-------|-----------------|
| 1925: | \$5,000,000,000 |
| 1929: | 6,500,000,000 |
| 1932: | 2,500,000,000 |
| 1936: | 9,000,000,000 |

Government Spending

Thus the factors which cooperated to give us recovery in the past period were the same which conspired to prepare the way for sudden collapse. One other fact deserves mention before we conclude. That is the cessation of government spending which set in as a result of Tory pressure after the 1936 elections. Here are figures to show that government expenditures for relief and public works

narrowed to a trickle by the Fall of 1937.

For the calendar years:

| | | |
|------|-------|-----------------|
| 1933 | | \$1,856,000,000 |
| 1934 | | 3,238,000,000 |
| 1935 | | 3,154,000,000 |
| 1936 | | 4,025,000,000 |

For the year 1937:

| | | |
|----------|-------|-------------|
| January | | 237,000,000 |
| April | | 99,000,000 |
| July | | 114,000,000 |
| October | | 53,000,000 |
| November | | zero |

Total for 1937 show preliminary values of only \$900,000,000.

This shows the effects of the Tory demands for balancing the budget and is one factor that jibes almost directly with the date of the outbreak of the recession. It means that unless the purchasing power of the masses is increased by a general offensive against the monopolies there is no other alternative than government subsidy to maintain the purchasing power among the millions of jobless.

To summarize: several of the elements in recovery were:

1. Weak capital expansion but breakneck rationalization and introduction of labor saving devices.
2. Enormous profits to the capitalists, but insufficient working-class buying power with increasing unemployment.
3. High monopoly prices reacting unfavorably upon purchasing power, small business and farm incomes.
4. Installment selling of vast and dangerous proportions.
5. Cessation of government spending due to reactionary influences.

Arguments

In view of the above, what shall we say of the arguments now being advertised by the press to make recovery a reality again?

On balancing the budget, everyone admits that government

spending is essential and this has already begun in the form of WPA grants, housing measures, and the Farm Bill . . . and must be increased and continued.

There is a hue and cry about the undistributed profits tax and the capital gains tax. The capitalists promise to expand their economic machine if these taxes are repealed. But we have seen that since 1929 they have ceased to reinvest substantial amounts of capital in plant etc. not because the government takes away the excess profits but because they can make enormous profits with the present plant structure by renovating it and speeding it up. As a matter of fact, the labor and people's movement demand increased taxation upon the rich in order to make the rich pay for the social services which a declining system forces upon the government. Similar taxes in countries such as England have not influenced recovery at all.

The next cry is that high labor costs and the growth of unionization is responsible for high prices and the collapse of recovery.

I have already shown that labor costs alone made up only one third of the steel price boost in 1936, that labor as a class received less in 1937 per dollar of national income than in 1930. I could go on to show that the source of capitalist profits lies precisely in the fact that labor productivity has increased while wages have trailed behind. For instance, from 1914-1935 there has been a 103 per cent. rise in the productivity of labor in the manufacturing industries. The AFL Survey in 1936 showed that what took 52 hours to do in the earlier year took 30 hours to do in 1935. But in any case, labor costs are not the essential items in the cost of a product at all. For manufacturing generally, wages take only 17-20 per cent. of the product cost. In cases, such as

milling and refining, labor costs take only 3-5 per cent. of the product.

The last cry of the capitalists is "confidence." The old confidence game, whereby they attempt to blackmail the government and terrorize the working-class. This is the so-called psychological factor in business recovery . . . an argument which has been wrung limp and dry. Confidence does not make or unmake recovery. The general crisis of capitalism has given our recovery a special and peculiar character. All of the confidence which the capitalists had in Coolidge and the certainty they felt about Hoover did not prevent the collapse of 1929.

Current Reading References
On the Economic Crisis:

1. A. Bittleman's pamphlet. Read the Economic and Political Sabotage of the Monopolists.
2. Economic Notes of the Labor Research Association for 1937 and 1938.
3. New Masses of Dec. 28, 1937 and Jan. 4, 1938. Articles by Lowell Willis on "Why Not Recovery?"
4. Article by E. Varga in International Press Correspondence. Number 55, Dec. 18, 1937.
5. Editorial on wages in the New Republic, Feb. 9, 1938.
6. Special Supplement of the New Republic, Feb. 2, 1938.

It is now necessary to take the offensive against the Sixty Families, against the monopolists, in order to secure the welfare of the great majority of the people. It is necessary to maintain wages, decrease hours, win social legislation, defeat reaction so that the wealthy will pay for the debacle of their social system, so that the people will not suffer.

Word from Spain

(Continued from page 22)

Spain who writes, "You know how tough the tobacco question was when you were here. Now we smoke anything that lets out smoke." Do you know how it feels when you are at a meeting and get excited and ask for a cigarette? These fellows stand sometimes for hours in the dark waiting for gunfire. If they just had a cigarette they would feel so much better. What these comrades ask for are small things.

Then when the wounded fellows return to America. I don't have to tell you of the work of the Friends of the Lincoln Battalion, but these veterans ought to be given a hand to help them adjust themselves. Why don't we get them involved in some work? They went through hell, most of them. I found a half dozen of our comrades here who want to go back to Spain because they can't adjust themselves. I know they are physically incapable of returning. Why not talk things over with them like comrades?

Moreover, if you want to write the boys in Spain, don't call them heroes. They want to know what you are doing. Tell them about the progress being made here. Tell them you recruited two members into the YCL or Party since they left. I think if you consider that we have such comrades as John Gates, who is commissar at the base in Albacete, Dave Doran, who took my job over after I was wounded, and others, you will realize that the job is just beginning. It is up to you to give them a hand!

To Continue, Comrades...

Looking backward on these pages, the Editorial Board is proud but unsatisfied. Proud to have published the first issue of our new magazine, but aware that there is room for improvement.

Scheduled to appear regularly every month, the REVIEW arrives in a new format, in a clear, and vigorous language, packed full of vital and original material. Not a pictorial magazine, not even a popular magazine, in the usual sense of the word, the REVIEW will nevertheless attempt to present theoretical material necessary to the work of our membership in an attractive fashion.

Among the suggested new features for the next and forthcoming issues are:

A regular monthly collection of LETTERS FROM SPAIN . . . particularly letters which our readers are receiving from friends, brothers, sweethearts now fighting the good fight for democracy on Spanish soil. All readers are invited to send us copies of letters they are receiving. We will publish the best and most significant in a regular feature page.

A REAL BOOK REVIEW SECTION will be inaugurated in the very near future, embracing comment by authoritative comrades on books, pamphlets, and publications of interest to the youth of America, and members of the Young Communist League in particular.

A permanent addition to our editorial page will be a SURVEY OF THE EVENTS OF THE MONTH. One of the leading people in the National Office has been invited to contribute a vigorous analysis of the news events of each month. This column will underline the significant developments of youth concern during the interval between the appearance of the REVIEW, elaborating the general perspectives of our work.

* * *

The Editor wishes to acknowledge the article for the REVIEW contributed by Ben Dobbs of the California District of the League. We will use his piece for the next issue of the magazine.

* * *

Several of the contributions of the Board Discussion were too long for publication this month. They will be revised, brought up to date and prepared for future issues.

* * *

The National Office announces that two leading members of the League are off on national tours.

Celeste Strack, student secretary of the YCL, left Philadelphia after Lincoln's birthday on a three month speaking tour which takes her through New England, back to Pittsburgh, across to Ohio, the Middle West, Detroit, and the whole North West.

AMONG CONTRIBUTORS

CARL ROSS . . . is the executive secretary of the Young Communist League. Born in Michigan . . . was midwest director of the Labor Sports Union for five years . . . formerly State secretary of the YCL in Minnesota.

FRANCIS FRANKLIN . . . graduated the University of Richmond, Virginia in 1929, did graduate work in Philosophy at the U. of Virginia, and taught in the Virginia high schools for some years. Now Educational Director of the Young Communist League.

CELESTE STRACK . . . Phi Beta Kappa out in California. Expelled from the University of California at Los Angeles in an academic freedom fight. Formerly high school secretary of the American Student Union. Now Student secretary of the Young Communist League.

DAVE GRANT . . . used to be a Section organizer in Bronx County, one time educational director of the League. Now, State secretary for the YCL in Massachusetts.

RALPH HAYES . . . the younger brother of the well-known leftwing poet, Alfred Hayes. Teaches fencing and other sports on the WPA. Has written for the NEW MASSES and other publications. Twenty-two years old.

MARTHA MILLET . . . is nineteen . . . a member of the staff of the NEW PIONEER, and helps with the Children's page of the DAILY WORKER.

JOSEPH STAROBIN . . . worked as a chemist for several years after expulsion from City College in the 1934 anti-war fight. Writes for the NEW MASSES and CHAMPION between issues of the REVIEW.

She will speak chiefly on the Young Communist position against war, and is ready to meet all comers in debates on this question. She will conclude her tour as one of the speakers for this year's April strike against War in one of the universities of California.

Bob Thompson, of California, just returned from service in the Spanish Republican Army in which he was as a captain in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, left for a trip through the Northwest just after the Lincoln Day holiday. He continues along the Great Northern route to New York and New England arriving in the East about the first of April. He will tell of his experiences in Spain, and will help the campaign to collect money and aid for Spain in all of the districts.

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In the MARCH Issue:

YOUTH MAKES A FIST IN CUBA • by Joseph CADDEN
IN THE LAND OF TERROR • by Wm. E. DODD, Jr.
RAID IN A POOLROOM • a short story by Ed SMOLACK

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A story of Henry's own life, symbolizes the struggles of Negro Youth for freedom. Includes a speech to the last National Negro Congress 5c

2. GET WISE—ORGANIZE! by DAVE DORAN, with an introduction by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

A prominent trade unionist and League member, now political Commissar of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, fighting in Spain talks about the dramatic developments in steel workers organization 3c

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A NEW PAMPHLET in the very near future by GIL GREEN, president of the YCL of the United States and one of the four secretaries of Young Communist International. Deals with the lessons youth can draw from the Moscow Trials. Analyzes the counter revolutionary activities of the Trotskyists in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. Based on the author's personal experiences during travels in the Soviet Union, Spain and Mexico in the last twelve months.....

5. WE, THE PEOPLE, by JOSEPH C. CLARK.

Explains the meaning of the 150th anniversary of the US Constitution and its significance for American youth today. Indispensable study of the historical heritage of the young Communist movement 3c

3. THE SCOTTSBORO BOYS: FOUR FREED, FIVE TO GO! by ANGELO HERNDON.

Deals with the great struggle to rescue five young Negro boys, by the Vice President of the YCL, himself saved from life long imprisonment on the Georgia chain gangs 1c

6. WE TAKE OUR STAND: Declaration of Principles and By-Laws of the Young Communist League.

No one, whether a member of the League or not, can afford to be without this basic pamphlet 3c

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