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The Struggle Is Real: Propaganda and Workers Songbooks Published By the Workers Music League, 1934-35

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THE STRUGGLE IS REAL: PROPAGANDA AND WORKERS SONGBOOKS

PUBLISHED BY THE WORKERS MUSIC LEAGUE, 1934-35

by

Jennifer Meixelsperger

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

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ABSTRACT
THE STRUGGLE IS REAL: PROPAGANDA AND WORKERS SONGBOOKS
PUBLISHED BY THE WORKERS MUSIC LEAGUE, 1934-35

by
Jennifer Meixelsperger

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2015
Under the Supervision of Dr. Mitchell Brauner

In New York City, the 1930s saw an explosion of artistic activity through the growth
of literary John Reed Clubs, Workers Theatres, and in music: the Composers
Collective and Pierre Degeyter Club. These music organizations can trace their roots
ultimately back to the Communist Party of the United States, and then to Comintern.
They worked together with the goal of creating a distinctly “proletarian music,”
which arguably culminated in the 1934 and 1935 releases of two Workers
Songbooks. Together, these Songbooks serve as examples of the organizations’
attempts to create proletarian music, and also as examples of neutral propaganda,
as defined in the Epistemic Merit Model of propaganda by Sheryl Tuttle Ross. This
can be shown by evaluating the writings of Collective members Charles Seeger and
Aaron Copland, and by evaluating the Songbooks according to the parts of a neutral
propaganda and an epistemically merited message, as outlined according to the
Epistemic Merit Model.
To the people who challenge, encourage, and inspire me.
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CHAPTER 1:
Communism and Music: Setting the Stage

1934 and 1935, the publication years for two *Workers Songbooks* containing a new “proletarian” style of music and primarily composed by members of New York City’s Composers Collective, can bring many images to mind. The 1930s may evoke images of the United States’ Great Depression, the dust bowl or Roosevelt’s New Deal, the rise of the Nazi regime and outbreak of World War II, and an expansion of new technologies including radio and television.

In an article published in the journal *Modern Music* near the close of 1935, Alfred Einstein (1880-1952), a German-American musicologist and music editor, pinpointed the French Revolution as a pivotal moment that allowed composers to be freed from class restrictions through independent thought. He held up Beethoven as an example representing the changing relationship between composers and society.¹ Composers had since squandered this gift, wasting the legacy by writing “inwardly dead” music that was performed in concert halls where flawed communities gather, playing outdated instead of contemporary compositions.²

The first to succeed in confronting the world as an individual was Beethoven. He was the first to have his existence assured by a few aristocrats without offering anything in return except his creative personality; and he was almost the last as well...Since Beethoven there has been little fundamental change. He completely revolutionized the relation of the composer to society. All the ties that bound the composer to the various institutions of society were loosened by his example; or rather, he is the most powerful, the clearest

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example of that loosening by the rationalistic eighteenth century and its outcome, the French Revolution.³

Einstein’s writing seems to have been dreaming of a world where a concert is a space that brings together a utopian community, which is appropriate for an article published at the dawn of the Popular Front, a policy that would be instituted at the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, or Communist International.⁴ It could also be described as a movement that brought together many different leftist parties and activists, who took the Popular Front policy to heart.⁵

Six years earlier, the stock market crash in 1929 ignited the Great Depression. As the economy declined, the working class of America came face-to-face with what was likely the most difficult time of their lives. The Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) was quick to comment on the event in their 1930 pamphlet *Why Every Worker Should Join the Communist Party*.⁶ In this publication, CPUSA pitted the working class against the bourgeois class by emphasizing the class struggles, deepened by the economic crisis. It encouraged the working class to fight against capitalism, exposed both the American Federation of Labor and Socialist Party as servants of the bourgeoisie, and finally declared the Communist Party to be “The Only Working-Class Party.”⁷

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⁷ Ibid., 13.
The Communist Party in the United States established and published their own *Manifesto* in 1919, following the establishment of the Communist International that same year. The *Manifesto and Program* of the CPUSA identifies itself as a report to the Comintern, outlines their views, guidelines, and goals as a collective American party, and illustrates some of the reasoning for the creation of the Communist Third International, which broke off from the Socialist Second International. The *Manifesto and Program* bases the creation of the Communist Party in America on the inadequacy of the Socialist Party, noting specifically that it was closely connected to the bourgeoisie, and capitalism, and was inaccessible to the masses.

The Communist International, issuing directly out of the proletarian revolution in action, is the organ of the international revolutionary proletariat; just as the League of Nations is the organ of the joint aggression and resistance of the dominant Imperialism. The Communist International represents a Socialism in complete accord with the revolutionary character of the class struggle. It unites all the conscious revolutionary forces. It wages war equally against Imperialism and moderate Socialism—each of which has demonstrated its complete inability to solve the problems that now press down upon the workers. The Communist International issues its call to the conscious proletariat for the final struggle against Capitalism.

The publication also notes that Laborism or the creation of a Labor Party, is similarly inadequate due to their compromise with Capitalism:

The practice of a Labor Party is in general the practice of the Socialist Party—cooperation with bourgeois “progressives” and reforming Capitalism on the basis of capitalist parliamentary state. Laborism is as much a danger to the proletarian as moderate petty bourgeoisie Socialism—the two being expressions of an identical social tendency and

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10 Ibid., 13-14.
policy. There can be no compromise either with Laborism or reactionary Socialism.¹¹

These Communist Party writings link exclusivism and the value of the worker over the bourgeoisie between the Manifesto from the Party's establishment in 1919 to “Why Every Worker Should Join the Communist Party,” a pamphlet issued by the CPUSA in 1930, which begins by addressing specifically “Fellow Workingmen and Women.”¹² A few pages later, the pamphlet addresses the Socialist party once more, indicating that the Socialist party has become the third party of the bourgeoisie, following the Republican and Democratic parties, and in doing so they betrayed the working class:

The Socialist Party has abandoned the struggle for socialism and become the third party of the bourgeoisie. Trading upon its reputation as an anti-capitalist party, it secures the support of some sections of the working class who are turning away from the capitalist parties, and who do not yet know the Socialist Party has betrayed the workers, has come to terms with capitalism, and now serves as the most faithful servant of the bourgeoisie.¹³

At the same time, various artistic circles began connecting with the workers’ movement, declaring themselves “revolutionaries,” and energizing the communist movement in America through the establishment of organizations and publications to further the class struggle.¹⁴ The proletarian movement dominated the literary world in the early 1930s, and writers worked to create a proletarian style of literature. This can be seen in Edwin Seaver’s “What is a Proletarian Novel?: Notes

¹² Communist Party of America, Why Every Worker Should Join the Communist Party, 3.
¹³ Ibid., 10.
¹⁴ Denning, The Cultural Front, 200.
Toward a Definition,” which was put forth at the American Writers’ Congress in early 1935.\(^\text{15}\)

In the 1920s, Lenin had declared that proletarian culture should be cultivated by the government, and must begin with experiences of the citizens.\(^\text{16}\) A struggle to determine how this “proletarian culture” should manifest itself ensued, coinciding with Stalin’s rise to power, and leading to the Soviet Cultural Revolution in 1928-29, and eventually resulting in the aesthetic known as Socialist Realism.\(^\text{17}\) This aesthetic removes the culture of bourgeois subject matter and convention from the arts, creating a distinct new aesthetic under Soviet control.\(^\text{18}\) Divisions between wealthy and working classes increased in the second half of the nineteenth century, so that by the early twentieth century there was a great amount of suspicion and push-back against the upper class.\(^\text{19}\) Since radical left-wing Americans held the Soviet Union as a successful example of communism, as illustrated in the *Daily Worker* writings of Charles Seeger to be addressed in Chapter Two, or perhaps Rahv’s *Trials of the Mind* looking back at the deceptions of Comintern, it comes as no surprise that they also appeared to desire a proletarian aesthetic for the self-proclaimed American proletariat.\(^\text{20}\)

\(^{15}\) Denning, *The Cultural Front*, 201.

\(^{16}\) Mark Endsley Johnson, “The Masses are Singing: Insurgency and Song in New York City 1929-41,” (PhD diss., The City University of New York, 2003), 34.

\(^{17}\) Johnson, “The Masses are Singing,” 34-35.

\(^{18}\) Ibid., 35-36.


In 1932, the CPUSA formed a new organization, the League of Workers’ Theatres. Its official function was to “propagandize the [Communist] Party’s revolutionary ideas and to man the barricades,” but it also sought to create a more successful proletarian theater than had previously been in existence. However, the League of Workers’ Theatres was declared a failure, and was replaced in 1935 by the New Theatre League that supported a more united front between various left-wing organizations in the war against Fascism. This was in line with the popular front policy confirmed at the 1935 Comintern Seventh World Congress.

This left-wing movement began intersecting with music and resulted in the creation of affiliated publications and organizations similar to those in literature and theatre. Music publications, including Modern Music and Music Vanguard, became forums for discussion between musicians, critics, and especially composers. Many of the participants involved in writing about music also belonged to politically affiliated associations like New York City’s Composers Collective, Pierre Degeyter Club, and Workers’ Music League. The organizations that possibly started this trend were the John Reed Clubs, a literary equivalent to the Pierre Degeyter Club. Many of these societies were deeply influenced by communist policies, which were often represented in their publications and compositions. This of course was especially true for the music groups that originated as affiliations of the Communist Party.

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22 Ibid., 34.
23 Johnson, “The Masses are Singing,” 89.
The Pierre Degeyter Club branched off of the Workers Music League, the musical section of CPUSA, and an extension of the International Music Bureau, within Comintern. Members of the Pierre Degeyter Club formed the Composers Collective, though it was never really formed a solid organization with an official member list. The connections between the groups resemble that of a family tree: Comintern formed the International Music League, which formed the Workers Music League in the United States, which formed the Pierre Degeyter Club, which formed the Composers Collective. Perhaps tellingly, Marc Endsley Johnson notes in his dissertation “The Masses are Singing: Insurgency and Song in New York City 1929-41,” the Composers Collective worked with a surprising degree of autonomy given their position within the hierarchy.

The Workers Music League published two collections of songs in 1934 and 1935 entitled the *Workers Songbooks*, consisting of compositions largely written by members of the Composers Collective. Henry Leland Clarke takes credit for composing “United Front,” published in the second *Workers Songbook*, which the *Songbook* attributed to J. Fairbanks. Clarke also credits some noteworthy music composed in the years following the disbanding of the organization to the Collective’s lasting influence.

25 Johnson, “Masses are Singing,” 92.
27 Originally in an unpublished response to Steven Gilbert’s “In Seventy-Six the Sky was Red: A Profile of Earl Robinson,” a paper read at the American
The Composers Collective of 1935 was a rate institution. It was a club. It was a camera. It was a society for the Propagation of the Good News. Rarely have creative artists worked for a common cause with sufficient dedication to make them WANT criticism from each other. Without the Composers Collective there would have been no “Abe Lincoln Song” by Earl Robinson, and without his “Lincoln Song” there would have been no *Lincoln Portrait* by Aaron Copland. Without the Composers Collective there would have been no *Cradle Will Rock* by Marc Blitzstein, and without his *Cradle Will Rock* there would have been no *West Side Story* by Leonard Bernstein.\(^{28}\)

Members of the Composers Collective also published writings that often discussed their desire to create a “proletarian music,” the most notable being Charles Seeger. He describes proletarian music as a “social force” for propaganda, which must therefore be used to further the workers’ agenda in the class struggle.\(^{29}\) Aaron Copland, another member of the Collective, also writes on the topic of proletarian music, considering the music a tool on the cultural front.\(^{30}\)

An explosion of technological improvements and mass production in the 1930s made the use of music as propaganda more possible than ever before. Commercial radio broadcasting began in 1920, by 1922, interest in broadcasting had sparked, though listeners were still suspicious of transmission over airwaves.\(^{31}\) In 1926, eighteen percent of homes had a radio, but by 1931, over half of homes possessed a set, and by 1935 when the second *Workers Songbook* was published, over sixty-seven percent had a radio in their homes, while nearly nine percent had

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Musicological Society’s annual meeting in 1976, it is cited in Tick, *Music in the USA*, 464-465.

\(^{28}\) Tick, *Music in the USA*, 464.


\(^{30}\) Copland, “Workers Sing!”, 88.

one in their automobiles.\textsuperscript{32} Clearly, radio broadcasting was proliferating in American homes, and increasingly the homes of lower income Workers, as radio sets became more affordable, dropping in average price from $133 in 1929 to $49 in 1935.\textsuperscript{33} In fact, during the 1930s, lower income families began to prefer radio to reading, and radio became so popular that regular commercially sponsored programming was more commonly available.\textsuperscript{34}

While not explicitly related to the left-wing Workers’ movement, with the rising of radio popularity, and the decreasing income of radio listeners, there was also a correlating decline in quality of radio programming.\textsuperscript{35} Radio shifted along with its audiences and provided less highbrow programming, in favor of middle or lowbrow instead. This spurred some discussion on the intelligence levels of the lower classes and whether they were less or more intelligent than radio was giving them credit for.\textsuperscript{36} This separation of bourgeois and working class, high and lowbrow entertainment certainly fits in with the ideas of class-struggle of the proletarian movement.

Continuing onward through the subsequent chapters, this thesis will look at the writings of Charles Seeger, as a representative of the musical proletariat in New York City during the 1930s, and more closely examine the discussions taking place regarding the creation and process of writing proletarian music. Chapter Three will examine the \textit{Workers Songbooks}, in order to gain a better understanding of the final

\begin{footnotes}

\item[32] Butsch, \textit{The Making of American Audiences} 175-76.
\item[33] Ibid., 176.
\item[34] Ibid., 196.
\item[35] Ibid., 226.
\item[36] Ibid., 226-27.
\end{footnotes}
product resulting from the composers attempt at proletarian music. Finally, Chapter
Four will bring together the information from the previous chapters to show that
the *Workers Songbooks* can be seen as an example of neutral propaganda, according
to the Epistemic Merit Model, by Sheryl Tuttle Ross, and by Justin London’s
adaptation of J.L. Austin’s speech act theory.
CHAPTER 2:

Writings of Charles Seeger and the Musical Proletariat

The etymology of the word “proletarian” can be traced back to the 1600s. For example, in the work of political writer Sir Robert Filmer, entitled Observations upon Aristotles Politiques Touching Forms of Government (c. 1652), Filmer references “proletarian rabble,” apparently referring to a poorer class of people. Proletarian has also been considered a derogatory term, seemingly indicating the lower class, who are lacking in education, for example in poet Samuel Butler’s Hudibras: the First Part (1663), or in the essay “The Doctrine of Devils” (1676). By 1848, the word was attached not only to a poor class of people, but specifically people of the working class, both in writings by Marx and in news publications. In this period, it also appears that the proletarian class were linked to “the masses” as a large group of working people. This chapter will focus on the desire for a proletarian music to be used in the “class-struggle,” and how it was decided this music should manifest itself, as evidenced in writings by Charles Seeger and Aaron Copland during this time.

In his Communist Manifesto, Marx describes the proletariat as the lowest working class, whom he compares to the bourgeoisie: the capitalist middle class

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38 Ibid.

39 Ibid., referencing the London Times in 1848.
who exploits the proletariat.\textsuperscript{40} This Marxist definition is the one that New York composers and intellectuals in the 1930s had connected with, especially given that these intellectuals were living in the period just before the first red scare, and following the Russian revolution and during the continued rising of left-wing movements. In fact, Charles Seeger opens his 1934 article, “On Proletarian Music,” discussed on page 8 of Chapter One, by writing that the “modern concept of the proletariat dates, of course, from Marx and Engels.”\textsuperscript{41}

In 1930s New York, many composers, musicians, and critics, came together to create forums for discussion, composition, publication, etc. about music. Arguably the best known of these groups was the Composers Collective, which was formed by members of the Pierre Degeyter Club, named for the Belgian composer of \textit{The Internationale}.\textsuperscript{42} The Pierre Degeyter Club was a branch of the Workers Music League, the musical section of the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA), and an extension of the International Music Bureau, subset of Comintern.\textsuperscript{43} As discussed in Chapter One, on page 6, this line illustrates the nature in which the CPUSA politically influenced the involved members of the Pierre Degeyter Club and subsets. It was out of this family tree that the Composers Collective sprang, although it never formed a solid organization with an official member list. Mark Endsley


\textsuperscript{43} Mark Endsley Johnson, “The Masses Are Singing,” 89; Aaron Copland, “Workers Sing!,” 88.
Johnson notes that the Composers Collective appears to have worked with “a surprising degree of autonomy,” given their low position within the hierarchy.44

Aaron Copland and Charles Seeger were both members of the Composers Collective, and each also wrote on the possibility and necessity for a “proletarian music,” further discussing what traits proletarian music should exhibit as a genre.

In 1934, Aaron Copland published the article “Workers Sing!” in *The New Masses*, a periodical of the CPUSA. In this article, Copland discusses the mass song in relation to the new publication of the Workers Music League, *Workers Songbook No. 1*, a project of the Composers Collective.45 The “workers’ song,” as it turns out, is the same mass song that Seeger references in “On Proletarian Music.” Copland also describes the workers’ song as a “weapon in the class struggle,” but he additionally considers it a cultural symbol that comes down to the level of the worker, as the CPUSA *Manifesto and Program* describes the work of the Communist Party.46

Every participant in revolutionary activity knows from his own experience that a good mass song is a powerful weapon in the class struggle. It creates solidarity and inspires action. No other form of collective art activity exerts so far-reaching and all-pervading an influence. The song the mass itself sings is a cultural symbol, which helps to give continuity to the day-to-day struggle of the proletariat.47

Although Copland does not specifically describe mass song as propaganda, he does describe it as a piece of music that connects with workers on a more personal level, as opposed to musicians on a musical level. He writes, “It gives [the composer]
a first line position on the cultural front." He proposes that mass songs cater to the working class, but also that composers attempt to teach the workers more about music through the mass songs. As an example, Copland uses *The Scottsboro Boys Shall Not Die*, by L.E. Swift (Elie Siegmeister), which he points out is not the most musically appealing work in its collection, but that it is the one worker’s seem to identify with the most.

The issue of the Scottsboro Boys is close to the hearts of class-conscious workers; to these workers the fact that the text of the song does not constitute great poetry, and that the music is effective only in a rather flat-footed and unimaginative fashion is of secondary significance.

In the March-April, 1934, Charles Seeger’s article “On Proletarian Music,” was published in an issue of *Modern Music*, articulating his view of the great role music can play as a weapon to further the proletarian agenda and helping the working class to triumph. In order for music to fulfill this role, he outlines three stages of requirements for proletarian music and provides a strong description of the communist music aesthetic within the United States; an aesthetic that was also appearing in some of New York’s politically affiliated music organizations in the first half of the decade. The three stages of proletarian music are as follows:

1. Mass Song
2. Revolutionary Content
3. Importance of Content over Music

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48 Copland, “Workers Sing!,” 88.
49 Ibid., 89.
50 Ibid., 89.
51 Ibid., 89.
The first stage is the “mass song,” a genre of music composed specifically for the worker. However, the genre of mass song and exactly what it means for music to be “proletarian” remains on unstable ground, and this is what the Composers Collective was working towards through their music and writings. According to Seeger, this is a music that works to discard the traits of bourgeois music and make room for the new.\textsuperscript{53} Seeger also points out that a new genre of music takes time to develop, but that for workers in other countries, including Germany and the Soviet Union, this musical process had already begun. He describes the transition in a way that is essentially Darwinian: “The new grows out of the old, retaining what is strong and discarding what is weak.”\textsuperscript{54}

Seeger’s second stage for proletarian music recommends revolutionary content.\textsuperscript{55} He describes bourgeois art music as having “achieved much in the twentieth century that is definitely revolutionary in character—not revolutionary as to the class struggle but as to the technique of music.”\textsuperscript{56} However, that which has been destroyed has yet to be adequately replaced.\textsuperscript{57} Seeger seems to view this as a failure on the part of the society, in a way that resonates with the CPUSA Manifesto’s explanation of the “Dictatorship of the Proletariat,” which describes a new societal structure to which Communist Party aspires, following their revolution.\textsuperscript{58}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{53} Charles Seeger, “On Proletarian Music,” 122.
\item \textsuperscript{54} Ibid., 122.
\item \textsuperscript{55} Ibid., 124.
\item \textsuperscript{56} Ibid., 124.
\item \textsuperscript{57} Ibid., 124.
\item \textsuperscript{58} Communist Party of America, Manifesto and Program: Constitution: Report to the Communist International, (Chicaago: Communist Party of America, 1919), 12.
\end{itemize}
Seeger’s final stage requires proletarian music to place textual content over musical expression. ⁵⁹ Seeger describes art that is in essence intentionally written to function as propaganda, which necessitates consciousness of the message it is sending out into society, as opposed to music that is written in negligence of its propaganda value:

Art, then, is always and inevitably a social function. It has social significance. It is a social force. It is propaganda: explicit, positive; implied, negative. The better the art, the better propaganda it makes: the better the propaganda, the better art it is. The propaganda element in recent bourgeois music has been ignored. It has ceased to have positive social value. The liberal composer who has sat in his ivory tower and said, “whether or not there is a class struggle, music has nothing to do with it,” is broadcasting negative propaganda (tacit approval) for the social system that gives him a tower and allows him to sit in it.⁶⁰

Seeger wrote another similar article, entitled “Program for Proletarian Composers,” under the pseudonym Carl Sands, for the Daily Worker.⁶¹ He made a similar explanation to the one published in Modern Music but was more forthright in his call for revolutionary music that focused on keeping workers driven toward revolutionary victory.⁶² He also provided a bit of clarity on the topic of bourgeois music, explaining that some bourgeois stylistic characteristics were necessary, because workers would favor them. However, that music needed to “contain some departures from conventional bourgeois styles—enough at least, eventually to distinguish [workers’] music from that of the bourgeois society.”⁶³ As Seeger

⁶⁰ Ibid., 126.
⁶¹ Johnson, “Masses are Singing,” 118.
⁶³ Carl Sands (Charles Seeger), “A Program for Proletarian Composers;” emphasis by Johnson, “Masses are Singing,” 118.
described it, there are two types of proletarian music: “Music for the proletariat and
music of the proletariat.”64 The first is described as music composed by
professionals who are bourgeois in origin and training, but who compose for the
proletariat either by force or their own desire. However, this is not enough, because
proletarian music must display “revolutionary tendencies” which are in
contradiction to bourgeois music.65

Seeger wrote frequently for the Daily Worker during 1934-1935, often
presenting concert or new music reviews for readers, and often including his
opinions on proletarian music. Following “A Program for Proletarian Composers,”
Seeger wrote a review of a newly released booklet of songs titled the International
Collection of Revolutionary Songs, published by the International Music Bureau.66
This seventy-page booklet, first published in 1933, includes thirteen songs from
eight different countries, with each song published in three languages: English,
German, and Russian, in addition to the language from the respective song’s country
of origin. For a list of the songs published in this booklet, see Appendix D, beginning
on page 75.

The booklet includes a three-and-a-half page note from the International
Music Bureau, which is then translated from English into German and Russian. 67
The note discusses the importance of proletarian music, quoting an issue of Pravda
in 1917, comparing the importance of proletarian song to the raising of the Red

64 Carl Sands (Charles Seeger), “A Program for Proletarian Composers,” 5.
65 Ibid., 5.
66 W. Ramm, editor, International Collection of Revolutionary Songs, (Moscow:
Moscow State Musical Publishing Office, 1933).
67 Ibid., IV-XVII.
Banner in battle, and describing it as “[calling] forth an emotional feeling which is so necessary for street demonstrations and struggles,” and to “better demonstrate and propagate the chief slogans.” In this way, proletarian music is described as a propaganda tool, which is something Seeger also frequently writes in his Daily Worker articles.

For example, in the 1934 *Daily Worker* article “The Concert of the Pierre Degeyter Club Orchestra,” Seeger (as C.S.) writes:

> Music is propaganda—always propaganda—and of the most powerful sort. Dominant minorities have always known this and have organized music to serve their ends. But often the musicians have circumvented the central control. Many of the instances in doing so are clearly recognizable. The slow movement of the Bach Double Concerto is one. Its radiant love of humanity is an absolute contradiction of the capitalist system. Therefore it has value to the revolutionary movement as has also Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony, Moussorgsky’s *Boris* and Stravinsky’s *Sacre*. But not all the old masterpieces can be so acceptable! Many are full of the poisonous propaganda of church, state, salon, barracks, and school-room. So we must pick and choose. This is one of the most important functions of such a club as the Pierre Degeyter.

Almost exactly a year later, Seeger reviewed a small songbook, *Songs of the American Worker*, written by Ray and Linda Auville, two Ohio folk song writers, and published by the John Reed Club of Cleveland, Ohio. He praises their work at publishing such a book, especially one that is not from New York City. However, Seeger takes issue with the music, claiming the style is outdated (“It would be

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68 Ramm, editor, *International Collection of Revolutionary Songs*, IV-V.
counted out by too many young workers as old-fashioned and stodgy,”) and also with “trite melodies” that perpetuate bourgeois propaganda.

Although proletarian music is somewhat loosely described in “On Proletarian Music,” as being mass songs containing revolutionary content, where the text content is more important than the music, clearly Seeger also places great importance on proletarian music functioning well as propaganda, and although the music is to be written for the masses, they must also be wary of “spontaneity,” because only a well-trained musician can understand just how low brow American musical taste is. Seeger writes (emphasis added):

There are those who say that if the workers sing and like certain songs, then these must on that account along be good songs. This is the theory of opportunism or “spontaneity” cropping up in the music field. No one but a musician widely trained in the many musical fields of our day and thoroughly conversant with the history of music and its relation to general history can realize how low and how uncritical is the present level of American musical taste. The melodies of songs like these of the Auvilles are concentrated bourgeois propaganda of a peculiarly vicious sort. For every step forward in the verse, one takes a step backward in the music. That one is unaware of it makes it all the more dangerous. 71

Seeger is referring to a certain level of predictability within the Auvilles’ songs. It is easy to see what he is talking about. For example, Figure 1 shows that of the eight songs contained within the book, four of them begin in a strikingly similar manner using an introduction of an antecedent and consequent using quarter notes followed by a half-note, with each phrase often moving in an arc motion.

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"I'm a Civilized Man"

"Painting the Old Town Red"

"Mighty Fine Country"

"Things Can’t Go On Like This"

Figure 2: Auvilles, The, *Songs of the American Worker*, Cleveland John Reed Club, c. 1935.

In comparison, Seeger’s own “Mount the Barricades,” from *Workers Songbook* 1, begins with a more striking rhythmic pattern and less concrete antecedent and consequent relationships, seen in Figure 2 below.
The note in the *International Collection of Revolutionary Songs* also discusses the use of proletarian songs by Fascists. Mentioning that there was conscious use of proletarian melodies in Germany, but with new texts. This created the desire that proletarian music and texts become so united and defined, that even when separated they remained recognizably proletarian.\(^7\)

This strikes as counter-intuitive to Seeger’s description of proletarian mass songs as putting the importance on textual content over musical content. However, one must recall his review of the Auvilles’ songbook and the importance he placed on musical content there. Although Seeger does explicitly write that, “the words are

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\(^7\) Ramm, editor, *International Collection of Revolutionary Songs*, Note, VI.
the more important vehicle for revolutionary content,” this references an earlier article in which he says:

The revolutionary critic will differ from his bourgeois prototype, however, by regarding technique as a secondary matter: to him content must be the first desideratum in a work of art. He must assume, along with the revolutionary composer, that a revolutionary content will eventually lead to the perfection of a revolutionary technique by means of which it can be expressed. Form and content, it is true, are interdependent. Ideally, they should develop side by side. But it remains a fact: we have the content and we have not yet the technique.  

This demonstrates that although Seeger professes the importance of content over musical technique, it is only because the content is what was currently available as definitively proletarian. In an ideal situation, the content and composition would have evolved in a parallel manner, but in the real situation, Seeger recognizes the superiority of the revolutionary content over the as yet un-evolved revolutionary technique. If the music is to function well as a propaganda tool, the content becomes more valuable than the technique.

Copland’s description of the mass song appears to fit in with Seeger’s three levels of proletarian music—mass song, revolutionary content, and the importance of content over the music itself—although he writes with less intensity than does Seeger. Additionally, both composers reference one another in their writings. In “Workers Sing!,” Copland writes that Carl Sands (i.e. Charles Seeger) has the best compositions in the first Workers Songbook, noting that they “display a directness of attack and a sure technical grasp,” which he finds refreshing.  

Seeger also writes of Copland, in a March 1934 review of a music recital Copland gave for the Pierre

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73 Carl Sands (Charles Seeger), “Proletarian Music is a Historic Necessity,” Daily Worker, (March 6, 1934).
74 Copland, “Workers Sing!,” 89.
Degeyter Club. During this recital, Copland cautioned the audience against comparing the music presented with proletarian music, as that was not his intent when he wrote those works. Seeger seems surprised that no members of the Degeyter Club took issue with this statement, as “Nothing in our world can lie outside of the scope of revolutionary criticism,” and the “class bias of any music can always be distinguished whether or not the composer is aware of it.” Seeger sees Copland’s view on this issue as lagging behind his music, additionally describing the recital as “very often brilliant.” Clearly these are two men who had a great admiration for one another as colleagues and fellow workers, even if their opinions on how proletarian music should manifest itself did not always match one-hundred percent.

Lawrence H. Schwartz suggests that there was an inherent difficulty in creating a distinctly Marxist aesthetic through theorizing alone, and that a Marxist approach to art must reside in practice. While it is difficult to see whether Copland, Seeger, and other musically-inclined folk involved in the discussion would agree with that statement, they did attempt to put their respective proposals into action, along with fellow left-wing composers, within the Workers Songbooks, which were published as a project of the Composers Collective.

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76 Ibid.
77 Ibid.
CHAPTER 3:

Workers Songbooks of 1934-35

The title pages of The Workers Songbooks, published by the Workers Music League in 1934 and 1935, indicate the status of the Workers Music League as the U.S.A. section of the Comintern International Music Bureau. The musical contents were largely composed by members of the Composers Collective: a group of left-wing composers that emerged in 1933 out of the Pierre Degeyter Club following a seminar on the writing of mass songs. 79 Ashley Pettis, a music critic for New Masses, and director of the Composers Forum Laboratory, indicated that the functions of these groups were “uniting forces of class-conscious and politically-minded musicians,” so that the “activities of our musical craftsmen [became] indissolubly linked with the lives of the workers in making available the best music to workers’ organizations.”80

The first book is thirty-one pages long and it had two printings: the first in May, 1934, and the second in November of the same year. It contains a two-page Foreword following the title page that discusses the creation of a revolutionary music for the working class of America. This type of music is said to have “studiously avoided resemblance to religious, patriotic, and sentimental conventions,” and show a militant spirit.81 The author describes the music as being in progress, continuing

80 Ashley Pettis, “Marching with a Song,” New Masses (May 1, 1934): 15.
81 Workers Songbook 1, (New York: Workers Music League, 1934), Foreword.
the work of Hans Eisler, who wrote catchy songs that were meant to be appreciated by the working class.

The Foreword ends with a dedication: “Workers! Comrades! To you who sing and to you who hear these songs we dedicate this our first volume.” It continues to invite criticism from the workers, to whom the book is dedicated, for the “audience sings and decides what shall be sung.”\textsuperscript{82}

The table of contents is printed at the end of the book and includes the song title and the page number. The songs included in the book, along with their respective composers, are as follows in Table 1:

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Title} & \textbf{Composer} & \textbf{Page} \\
\hline
The Internationale & Pierre Degeyter & 4 \\
Mount the Barricades & Carl Sands (1933) & 6 \\
The Scottsboro Boys Shall Not Die & L.E. Swift (1933) & 7 \\
Hunger March & Jacob Schaeffer (1933) & 8 \\
Song to the Soldier & Lan Adomian (1933) & 10 \\
Poor Mister Morgan & L.E. Swift (1933) & 12 \\
Red Election Round & L.E. Swift (1933) & 12 \\
Onward to Battle & L.E. Swift (1933) & 12 \\
Strife Song & Jacob Schaeffer (1926) & 13 \\
Lenin—Our Leader & Jacob Schaeffer (1924) & 18 \\
Song of the Builders & Carl Sands (1933) & 21 \\
Red Soldiers Singing & Lan Adomian (1933) & 23 \\
God to a Hungry Child & Janet Barnes (1933) & 28 \\
A Negro Mother to Her Child & Lan Adomian (1930) & 29 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

The list includes six composers: Pierre Degeyter, Carl Sands (Charles Seeger), L.E. Swift (Elie Siegmeister), Jacob Schaeffer, Lan Adomian, and Janet Barnes.\textsuperscript{83}

\textsuperscript{82} \textit{Workers Songbook 1}, (New York: Workers Music League, 1934), Foreword.\textsuperscript{83} Maria Christina Fava, “Music as Political and Social Statement in the 1930s,” (PhD diss., University of Rochester, 2012), 54-55.
Foreword notes that all but four of the songs were composed in 1933 as part of the Collective. The four exceptions are: the opening song “The Internationale,” written by Degeyter, for whom the Collective’s parent group was named, “Strife Song,” and “Lenin—Our Leader,” both written by Jacob Schaeffer in the 1920s, and “A Negro Mother to Her Child,” composed by Lan Adomian. With the exception of Pierre Degeyter, who was deceased, all of the composers wrote additional works included in the Songbook as part of the Collective’s 1933 project.

The text for these songs, available in Appendix A, beginning on page 51, focuses on two themes: first, painting a picture of the worker masses, and second, acting as a battle cry. The first five songs focus on the battle cry, with “The Internationale” leading the way as an example. They call out to the worker, often painted as impoverished or enslaved. “Song to the Soldier,” has families calling out to those farmers and soldiers in uniform, begging them to “come to their class” and help in the struggle. “God to the Hungry Child” describes a world created for the rich, because the poor neglected to buy stocks. Nearly every song references starvation, violence against the working class, and poverty.

The songs vary in range of musical difficulty from three simple, but energetic rounds to “Red Soldiers Singing,” an SATB, a-cappella work with some more challenging, rhythmic polyphony. The book also includes some strophic, hymn-style songs, some simple homophonic, SATB songs, and some solo pieces for voice and piano.

The first Songbook opens with Degeyter’s “Internationale.” In October of 1934, Charles Seeger writing as Carl Sands reviewed a new edition of the song in the
Daily Worker. It is unclear in the article whether this is the same edition as the one published in the first Songbook, however, a comparison of the image provided in the Daily Worker with the score in the Songbook reveal them to be the same. In his review, Seeger writes how beloved “Internationale,” is among workers around the world. He describes Eugene Pottier, the poet who authored the text, as a French worker forced to flee to the United States for a time in 1871. Seeger also provides a short biography of Pierre Degeyter, another French worker who wrote the music for the “Internationale,” in 1833, but who remained relatively unrecognized until the 1921 Socialist Congress, where the song was beloved by all in attendance.

Perhaps as an attempt to make the song more accessible to American workers, Seeger describes the new arrangement as “fuller in harmony, . . . but not difficult in any way,” as well as being of the “marching type.” This new arrangement arrives “not a bit too soon,” as Seeger worries about new worker recruits who might not learn the popular anthem. He also quotes a mysterious bourgeois musician as being tired out by the piece before the refrain, noting that workers are stronger than this and do not care much of the opinions of bourgeois musicians on workers’ music. In her dissertation, Maria Christina Fava offers the inclusion of “Internationale” and Eisler’s “Comintern,” as evidence of the political

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85 Workers Songbook 1, (New York: Workers Music League, 1934), 5.
87 Ibid.
88 Ibid.
nature of the *Red Song Book*, in addition to the political content in other works within the book, which is true of the *Workers Songbooks* as well.\(^89\)

In 1935, the Workers Music League in New York published the second *Workers Songbook*. It too contains a foreword, though this time it is only one page long. It reflects on the “intensification of the class struggle” that has taken place over the year since the previous *Songbook* and the role that music has played in this struggle, which manifested itself in the United States is manifesting through use during strikes and presumably in homes. The Foreword also recognizes the larger size of this edition, which is forty-eight pages, as opposed to the previous thirty-two. Additionally, it is noted that this collection contains “the publication, for the first time, of two original Negro songs of protest” as well as songs relating to the United Front, songs that commemorate American class war heroes, satire, and some popular workers songs from Germany, the Soviet Union, the Mongolian People’s Republic, and China.

Interestingly, there is a “NOTE TO COMPOSERS” included at the bottom of the Foreword page. This note indicates the intended publication of a third songbook. All submissions were to be received before June 1935, seemingly indicating a 1936 publication date. Of course, the Collective will have been disband by then.

The table of contents has been moved in front of the music for the second *Songbook*. While the contents still include the song title, page number, and composer, they have added the lyricist when applicable. The song list is as follows in Table 2:

\(^{89}\) Fava, “Music as Political and Social Statement in the 1930s,” 50.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Lyricist</th>
<th>Composer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>United Front</td>
<td></td>
<td>J. Fairbanks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>War is Murder</td>
<td>Conal</td>
<td>Lan Adomian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Into the Streets May First!</td>
<td>Hayes</td>
<td>Aaron Copland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Song of the Pickets</td>
<td>Karnot</td>
<td>Earl Robinson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Forward, We’ve Not Forgotten</td>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>Hanns Eisler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Comintern</td>
<td>Jerome</td>
<td>Hanns Eisler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Ours is the Future</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stefan Volpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Stop in Your Tracks</td>
<td>Quin</td>
<td>Lan Adomian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Look Here Georgia!</td>
<td>West</td>
<td>Lan Adomian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>The Ballad of Harry Simms</td>
<td>Potamkin</td>
<td>Lan Adomian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>We Toil We Work</td>
<td>Swift</td>
<td>Karl Vollmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>I Went to ‘Tlanta</td>
<td></td>
<td>Arr. L.E. Swift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Sistern and Brethren</td>
<td></td>
<td>Arr. L.E. Swift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>We Want the World</td>
<td></td>
<td>L.E. Swift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>The Red Banner</td>
<td>Korr</td>
<td>Arr. J.C. Richards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Chinese Red Soldier Song</td>
<td>Korr</td>
<td>Arr. J.C. Richards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>The First Red Cavalry</td>
<td>Ruskin</td>
<td>A. Davidenko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>John Reed Our Captain</td>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>George Maynard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>The Flying Squadron</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saul, Martin, Robinson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>The Three Brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td>L.E. Swift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Not if But When</td>
<td>Rolland</td>
<td>Carl Sands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Charlie Schwab</td>
<td></td>
<td>Carl Sands</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the list of composers from *Songbook 1*, only Carl Sands, L.E. Swift, and Lan Adomian reappear in *Songbook 2*. The list includes fifteen composers—more than double the number from *Songbook 1*, and with only three who appear in both books, that equals twelve new composers, with eighteen total contributing composers between the two collections. However, Carl Sands, L.E. Swift, and Lan Adomian wrote the majority of the songs presented in *Songbook 2*.

The text for *Workers Songbook 2*, available in Appendix B, starting on page 57, matches up well with the Foreword’s description, mentioned earlier. In particular, the addition of themes regarding the United Front carries through the
majority of the songs. The addition of Negro and commemorative songs are also striking. The song texts for *Songbook 2* are often more graphic than the previous book. The additional songs are mostly of a medium level and strophic.

Next, Chapter Four will look more closely at the pieces included in the *Workers Songbooks* and examine the *Songbook* components to establish them as examples of propaganda using the Epistemic Merit Model developed by Sheryl Tuttle Ross.
CHAPTER 4:

Workers Songbooks as Propaganda

Like the word “proletarian,” “propaganda” has a more negative connotation today than in the time of the Workers Songbooks. In her article, “Understanding Propaganda: The Epistemic Merit Model and Its Application to Art,” Sheryl Tuttle Ross notes that the definition attributed to the term propaganda in the 1930s was that it was “an expression of opinion or action by individuals or groups deliberately designed to influence the opinions and actions of other individuals or groups with reference to a predetermined end, in other words: persuasion.”

Today, the Oxford English Dictionary uses the definition, “the systematic dissemination of information, esp. in a biased or misleading way, in order to promote a political cause or point of view.” This definition could also be described as “tinkering with beliefs,” by implying negative information, similar to that employed in political advertising funded by lobbying groups. Ross describes these perceptions of propaganda as either pejorative, in the case of the current perception, or neutral in the case of the previous definition.

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93 Ibid.
**Epistemic Merit Propaganda Model**

In her dissertation “Propaganda and Art: a Philosophical Analysis,” Ross presents a new model for looking at propaganda, which she calls the Epistemic Merit Model. This model is designed to be especially suitable to evaluate situations of art propaganda, including music. After evaluating several of the most commonly used propaganda models of current research, she determines that the existing models are either too general or not general enough for propaganda analysis.\(^\text{94}\) These models included the persuasion model, which treats propaganda as a broad phenomenon that aims to persuade the populace to change their views on an issue, the ubiquity model, where everything is propaganda, and propaganda is pejorative and misleading, and finally the top down model, where only the elite are able to manufacture propaganda to pass down to the masses.\(^\text{95}\) Based on her analysis and combination of these models, and the modern pejorative sense of propaganda, Ross then developed the Epistemic Merit Model (EMM), designed to be more comprehensive and also more readily applicable to forms of art that act as a vehicle for propaganda.\(^\text{96}\)

The EMM posits that there are four properties required in modern pejorative propaganda, that together form a speech act:

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\(^\text{95}\) Ibid., 24-26, 37.
\(^\text{96}\) Ross, “Propaganda and Art,” 54; Ross, “The Propaganda Power of Protest Songs.”
1. An epistemically defective message
2. Message is used with the intention to persuade
3. Involves a socially significant group of people
4. Functions on behalf of a political organization, institution, or cause

Ross also adapted her model into a neutralized version for pre-pejorative propaganda, which is a form that was more common during the 1930s:

1. A charged, epistemically merited message
2. Message is used with the intention to persuade
3. Involves a socially significant group of people
4. Functions on behalf of a political organization, institution, or cause

The difference between the two kinds of propaganda lies in the first property, an “epistemically defective message,” versus a “charged, epistemically merited message.” Ross defines an epistemically defective message as a message that is “false, inappropriate, or connected to other beliefs in ways that are inapt, misleading, or unwarranted.” Ross uses Bayer aspirin as an example of this type of message. Their slogan that “No aspirin has been proven more effective,” leads the consumer to believe that Bayer is the best aspirin option, even though it is really only saying that other brands could work just as well or poorly. On the other hand, the epistemically merited message differs in that it must contain all three acts of philosopher J.L. Austin’s speech act theory: locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts; where locutionary acts are signs and/or symbols that express meaning; illocutionary acts are the intentions for the message to do something further, and perlocutionary acts are the audience recognition or persuasion of the

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97 Ross, “The Propaganda Power of Protest Songs.”
98 Ibid.
100 Ibid, 23.
previous acts. In other words, unlike pejorative propaganda, a charged message of neutral propaganda does not attempt to hide the fact that it is propaganda.

Given the definition of propaganda during the time period in which they were published, I will treat the Workers Songbooks as neutral propaganda, and will analyze their contents according to the Epistemic Merit Model, moving through the four properties of the EMM, finishing with the epistemically merited message.

**Intent to Persuade**

As mentioned in Chapter Two, on page 16, Charles Seeger described proletarian music as a “social force,” in his article, “On Proletarian Music.” Also discussed was Aaron Copland’s description of proletarian music as a “weapon in the class struggle,” and his perception of the music as a cultural symbol. In fact, he writes that “No other form of collective art activity exerts so-far reaching and all-pervading an influence,” as mass song. Clearly, these men saw the potential for proletarian music to persuade others to their cause.

Additionally, Seeger in particular was frequently concerned with what music would appeal to the working classes. For example, in his article “A Program for Proletarian Composers,” he writes that proletarian music should be purged of all bourgeois characteristics in order to create a distinctly proletarian music. However,

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101 Ross, “The Propaganda Power of Protest Songs.”
104 Copland, “Workers Sing!,” 88.
he also acknowledges that workers will not listen to music they do not like, and the music they enjoy would be “predominantly bourgeois in character.”  

There are also a few comments in the Foreword to the first Workers Songbook that indicate intent to persuade. On page 3 of the first Workers Songbook, the writer quotes Joseph Stalin, indicating that the composers of the Collective critique their work, according to Stalin’s words, so that they must pay close attention to the masses. Teach them, but also learn from them. The introduction also invites all who may hear the music contained in the Songbook come together to do better work: “As your call becomes clearer, stronger and more persistent by united mass action, great songs will come forth—the greatest that have ever been.”

The Foreword of the second Songbook, begins with a discussion of the escalation of the class struggle that has occurred since the previous Songbook was published. The author attributes a significant role to mass singing and proletarian compositions, indicating that the songs are functioning as anthems for the proletarian cause, specifically during strikes and demonstrations. The Collective and those involved in the publication of the Workers Songbooks are clearly intending for this music to have an effect on those who listen, uniting them to a common, proletarian cause.

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107 Ibid., 3.
Received by a Socially Significant Group

Writings of members of the Composers Collective, such as those of Seeger and Copland, repeatedly refer to the class struggle of the working class. This would be the group they are both identifying with, and attempting to persuade to their cause. They are continually depicted in the Songbooks as hungry, beaten down, but also fighting and rising up. For example, in the refrain of “Hunger March,” the singers call out:

March, March, March, see the masses anger flare
Forward march, raise your clenched fist high
Hungry, ragged, cold and haggard,
Heart the steady sound of marching feet and voices
Rouse to struggle sound the call
In common cause unite.108

They are the poor, as in “Poor Mister Morgan,” who cannot pay his income tax, because he hasn’t got a cent.109 They describe this group as hard working, but who cannot seem to make enough money to get by. This is a group that would be socially significant in the present day, but in the 1930s, during the Great Depression, they would be staggeringly significant. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that 12,830,000 people were unemployed in 1933, which accounted for about one-fourth of the civilian labor force at that time.110 This does not include those who had jobs but were not being paid enough to live comfortably.

This social group is massive. However, numbers are not the only consideration when looking at what might make a group socially significant. They

109 Ibid., 12.
are the potential receivers of the propaganda, potential supporters of the proletarian cause. It is a group of people that could come together with a common worldview.\textsuperscript{111} The members of this group has one huge factor in common, whether or not they agree with the proletarian cause, they can all be considered part of the American working class.

In another \textit{Daily Worker} article from his “World of Music,” column, Seeger as Carl Sands writes a review of Roy Harris, mentioning a lecture he gave for the Pierre Degeyter Club.\textsuperscript{112} Harris remarked that he knows what labor is, because there is labor in writing the right notes, getting the music performed, and promoting the performance, and was roughly heckled by the Degeyter Club. Sands comments, “When will Harris learn that the people he sees doing the work of this world don’t have ‘occupations,’ and are not ‘happy’ in them. They have JOBS—some of them.”\textsuperscript{113}

\textbf{Message on Behalf of a Political Group Cause}

The creators of the \textit{Workers Songbooks} originated as a politically affiliated group, even if all of its members were not formally registered with the Communist Party, as illustrated in Chapter One. The Composers Collective can be traced along with the Pierre Degeyter Club, to the Workers Music League, who published the \textit{Songbooks}. Workers Music League existed as the American branch of the

\textsuperscript{111} Ross, “Propaganda and Art,” 62.
\textsuperscript{113} Ibid.
International Music Bureau, the musical arm of the Comintern.\textsuperscript{114} The message being sent was on behalf of the Communist Party of the United States, encouraging the working class of America to ignite a revolutionary movement and engage in the class struggle.

The second *Workers Songbook* even prints the song “Comintern,” which was becoming so popular by the time of this publication, that government officials apparently made several unsuccessful attempts to keep the piece from spreading.\textsuperscript{115} The third verse reads: “The Comintern calls you: Raise high Soviet banner!,” where “Soviet” is referring to a proletariat mass, and not necessarily the Soviet Union.

In a discussion on the *International Collection of Revolutionary Songs*, published by Seeger in the *Daily Worker*, mentioned in Chapter Two, on page 21, he writes about a few pieces, including “Comintern,” being sung by Fascists, with counter-revolutionary texts.\textsuperscript{116} Seeger comments that the (Communist) International Bureau realizes that the music it has is superior to that of the Fascists, but that the proletarian music is still not on a high enough level, and that composers must persist. Seeger also declares that the Composers Collective and Pierre Degeyter Club, in particular, have been working on this very project since 1932.\textsuperscript{117}


\textsuperscript{115} *Workers Songbook 2*, (New York: Workers Music League, 1934), Foreword.


\textsuperscript{117} Ibid.
Epistemically Merited Message

In order for a message to be epistemically merited, it must possess all three aspects of philosopher J.L. Austin’s speech act theory: locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts. Locutionary acts present signs or symbols that express meaningful content, illocutionary acts present an intention for the message to do some further action beyond being received, and perlocutionary acts present as audience recognition of the message, meaning that the message is explicitly propaganda. These could be addressed fairly straightforwardly on a more surface level.

A locutionary act could be interpreted as the music itself acting as a symbol of the message and expressing meaningful content through the text. The text symbolizes the message in a variety of ways. It tells stories, like the “Ballad of Harry Simms,” which tells of the tragic death of a miner:

It was a winter Wednesday that Harry Simms was shot,
And him but still a growing lad the miners loved a lot.
And he was killed, was Harry Simms, for no dark evil thing
But only that he thought that men should live while laboring.119

The song conveys sympathy for Harry Simms, who died only for agreeing with the communist cause. It also conveys antagonism toward those who killed Harry, who represent the opposition as a whole, while painting a strong picture of injustice that could elicit an emotional response from anyone who might relate to it.

They put his friend, his comrade Green under false arrest,
While starker to the savage soil our Harry’s heart was pressed.

118 Ross, “The Propaganda Power of Protest Songs.”
They cross-examined Harry Simms, they tortured him, they grilled,
As though he were the killer and not him that had been killed.\textsuperscript{120}

Many of the song texts act as calls to action. For example, in Charles Seeger’s
“Mount the Barricades,” the refrain reads: “Mount the barricades for the workers’
cause, carry on the fight for freedom.”\textsuperscript{121} Many songs also reference a call to arms
through military references, as in “Red Soldiers Singing,” which literally calls out to
workers to join the march, reading:

Soldiers marching in the rain
Send their voices thru the night
Rolling out the loud refrain
“Workers of the world unite!”\textsuperscript{122}

This could be interpreted as an illocutionary act, illustrating the intention of the
music to unite workers to “carry on the fight for freedom.”

While the music and text alone cannot prove the perlocutionary act, which is
audience recognition of the message, it is clear by the explicitness of the text that
hiding or subverting the message was not the composers’ intention. In fact, they
wanted their representation of the proletarian movement to be easily recognized by
the listener.\textsuperscript{123}

\textsuperscript{120} \textit{Workers Songbook 2}, “The Ballad of Harry Simms,” (Workers Music
\textsuperscript{121} \textit{Workers Songbook 1}, “Mount the Barricades,” (Workers Music League,
1934), 6. This piece was written under Seeger’s pseudonym, Carl Sands.
\textsuperscript{122} \textit{Workers Songbook 1}, “Red Soldiers Singing,” (Workers Music League,
1934), 23-27.
\textsuperscript{123} Seeger discusses the need for a distinctly proletarian music on several
written occasions, including: Carl Sands (Charles Seeger), “Song of the
Revolutionary Working Class: The Internationale,” \textit{Daily Worker}, (October 31,
1934). This is discussed this at greater length in Chapter 2, above.
Musical Speech Act Adaptation

Musicologist Justin London also adapted speech act theory to account for music, representing the speech acts as tonary, intonary, and pertonary.\textsuperscript{124} In London’s version, The locutionary act, which presents as signs or symbols, becomes the tonary act, manifesting as a musical performance with an expressive property. The illocutionary act that presents the intent for further action as a result of the message becomes the intonary act, which works as the agent’s use of the performance for some pragmatic function, which the listener may infer. And finally, the perlocutionary act of audience recognition of the message becomes the pertonary acts, which occur when the agent’s intentions in affecting the listener are realized.

The songs of the \textit{Workers Songbooks} were written to be performed and sung by the workers. This may be why they named them the \textit{Workers Songbooks}. The performance of music from within these books was important to its creators. Their discussion of the importance of mass singing and of the development of a proletarian music within the Forewords of both \textit{Songbooks}, as well as within Seeger’s writings, shows the dedication contained in their work. Without the intention of the performance of these songs, there would be no point in publishing these books. This, combined with the epistemically merited message discussed previously establishes a tonary act.

The intonary act requires the agents—in this case the creators of the *Songbook*—to intend their performances to complete a function that is easily inferred by the listener, or singer as well, in the case of these songs. As established earlier, the text is very explicit in asking the singer/listener to unite with the workers of the world. Ideally, their performances persuade the listener to join their cause, and they certainly do not hide this fact.

The pertonary act is the moment when the agents' goals for the performance come to fruition. In this case, it would be the moment when the listener begins to agree with, or believe in, what they are singing. There is no perfect way to measure this completion. One could look at this growth of the CPUSA membership during this time, however this obviously would not include people like Aaron Copland who connected with the ideals, but did not make a formal connection to the party.

The concepts of Ross and Austin create a deeper understanding of music as propaganda by requiring a deeper look at the context surrounding the music. By looking at the time of history, the intentions of the creators through their writings and discussions, and the *Workers Songbooks* themselves, along with the theories of Ross and Austin, a narrative comes together that illustrates the small function these *Songbooks* were able to play and why.
CHAPTER 5:

Conclusion

In 1935, Alfred Einstein had published his *Modern Music* article describing revolution as a freeing activity that allowed composers to break free from class restrictions and embrace independent thought.\(^{125}\) The world was pushing through a global depression, marked in the United States by the stock market crash of 1929. The CPUSA was hard at work persuading the working class to their cause, proclaiming their party as “The Only Working-Class Party.”\(^ {126}\) Simultaneously, arts organizations everywhere were establishing to aid in the “class struggle,” including theatre, literary, and of course, music organizations like the Composers Collective. Lenin had already declared that proletarian culture should be cultivated by the Soviet government, but shaped by the experiences of citizens; these organizations were taking his words to heart.\(^ {127}\) Additionally, technological improvements made propaganda more accessible, particularly the growing affordability and interest in the radio.\(^ {128}\)

These elements converged to influence New York composers in the 1930s, including Charles Seeger, whose writings can now give insight into the desire of the musical proletariat in New York City in the 1930s to create a new, distinctly


\(^{127}\) Mark Endsley Johnson, “The Masses are Singing: Insurgency and Song in New York City 1929-41,” (PhD diss., The City University of New York, 2003), 34.

proletarian music to call their own. He believed there was a necessity in writing mass songs that focused on revolutionary content to accomplish this aim.\textsuperscript{129} Seeger also advocated discarding bourgeois characteristics in proletarian music, whenever possible, so that this music could be distinguished from the already existing bourgeois styles.\textsuperscript{130} He used newly published booklets of songs, similar to the \textit{Workers Songbook}, as examples of these styles around the world, including the \textit{International Collection of Revolutionary Songs}.\textsuperscript{131} Seeger also strongly stressed the function of music as propaganda.\textsuperscript{132}

In a concrete effort towards creating a proletarian music style in America, the Composers Collective teamed up with its parent organization, the Workers Music League to publish the \textit{Workers Songbooks} in 1934 and 1935. They contain a range of musical difficulty, from simple rounds, to strophic hymn-style songs, to more rhythmically challenging polyphony and also contain highly political texts, revealing many different ways the idea of proletarian music could be presented.

The songs contained within the \textit{Workers Songbooks} clearly exist as examples of neutral propaganda, as outlined by the Epistemic Merit Model described in Chapter Four. By breaking down the model into four properties, this model reveals how the \textit{Songbooks} exemplified a charged, epistemically merited message that was used with the intention to persuade a socially significant group of people on behalf

\textsuperscript{130} Carl Sands (Charles Seeger), “A Program for Proletarian Composers,” \textit{Daily Worker} (January 6, 1934).
\textsuperscript{131} W. Ramm, editor, \textit{International Collection of Revolutionary Songs}, (Moscow: Moscow State Musical Publishing Office, 1933).
of a political organization. Historical context layered with the desire of the left-wing composers to create a proletarian music in their own time, combines well with the results exemplified in the *Workers Songbooks*. These pieces intersect to demonstrate a complete picture of the function of this music as propaganda. The *Workers Songbooks* may now seem to be an insignificant piece of American history, but it took the convergence of many complex factors to make it a reality, and for these songs to be used as a propaganda tool.

However, there is much that still remains to be explored with the *Workers Songbooks*. Although they act as protest songs against capitalism and the bourgeoisie, they are rarely discussed in writings looking at protest music in America, possibly because the music has a decidedly classical music feel, instead of fitting into the popular music genres of other eras, such as those of the 1960s. For example, David M. Rosen does mention “Radical Labor Songs,” in his book *Protest Songs in America*. However, he goes into depth only a few paragraphs, and focuses on the American Federation of Labor, neglecting to connect these songs with the CPUSA and what took place in this strand of protest music beyond 1915.

The nature of many of the songs in the *Workers Songbooks* also bears a striking resemblance to both church hymns and drinking songs. Henry Leland Clarke comments on the influence he believed the Composers Collective had on

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music for decades to follow (see above Chapter Three). In addition to the amount of activity, passion, and cooperation emerging from organizations like the Collective and the Pierre Degeyter Club, there is much to explore in 1930s political music history. The 1930s in the United States of America was a deeply influential time in American history, setting up many of the prominent threads of history that were to follow, including the connections to protest music that Rosen discusses, or Clarke’s comments on the influence of the work of the Composers Collective. As musicological research centered in the later decades of the twentieth century becomes increasingly popular, a more complete understanding of music and the political messages therein in the 1930s will become indispensible.
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_____.


_____.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A (SONG TEXT FROM WORKERS SONGBOOK 1):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Text</th>
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| The Internationale     | Arise, you pris’ners of starvation!  
                         | Arise, you wretched of the earth,  
                         | **VERSE 1:**  
                         | For justice thunders condemnation,  
                         | A better world’s in brith.  
                         | No more tradition’s chains shall bind us,  
                         | Arise you slaves; no more in thrall!  
                         | The earth shall rise on new foundations,  
                         | We have been naught, we shall be all.  
                         | **REFRAIN:**  
                         | 'Tis the final conflict,  
                         | Let each stand in his place,  
                         | The International Soviet  
                         | Shall be the human race!  
                         | ‘Tis the final conflict,  
                         | Let each stand in his place,  
                         | The Internationale Soviet  
                         | Shall be the human race!  
                         | **VERSE 2:**  
                         | We want no condescending saviors  
                         | To rule us from a judgement hall;  
                         | We workers as not for their favors,  
                         | Let us consult for all.  
                         | To make the thief disgorge his booty,  
                         | To free the spirit from the cell,  
                         | We must ourselves decide our duty,  
                         | We must decide and do it well.  
                         | **VERSE 3:**  
                         | Toilers from shops and fields united,  
                         | The union we of all who work  
                         | The earth belongs to us, the workers,  
                         | No room here for those who shirk.  
                         | How many on our flesh have fattened!  
                         | But if the noisome birds of prey  
                         | Shall vanish from the sky some morning  
                         | The blessed sunlight still will stay |
| Mount The Barricades   | **VERSE 1:**  
                         | We are fighting with a host of foes,  
                         | We do not fear guns or cannon.  
                         |
**The Scottsboro Boys Shall Not Die**

**VERSE 1:**
Workers, farmers, Negro and white,
The lynching bosses we must fight.
Close your fists and raise them high,
Labor Defense is our battle cry.

**REFRAIN:**
The Scottsboro boys shall not die,
The Scottsboro boys shall not die.
Workers led by I.L.D.* will set them free.

**VERSE 2:**
By mass action we will defend
Our own class brothers to the end.
Death to lynchers we declare,
Frame-ups and lies to bits we’ll tear.

I.L.D. stands for “International Labor Defense”

---

**Hunger March**

**VERSE 1:**
We do all the building,
Our hands all the plowing;
And yet do we starve,
Have no homes of our own,
Have no homes of our own.
We do all the weaving,
Our hands all the sewing;
Our work feeds the boss,
We get only the bone,
We get only the bone.

**REFRAIN:**
March, march, march, see the masses anger flare
March, march, march, see the masses anger flare.
Forward march raise your clenched fist high

---

**REFRAIN:**
Mount the barricades!
Mount the barricades For the workers’ cause,
Carry on the fight for freedom,
Carry on the fight for freedom,
Carry on the fight for freedom.

**VERSE 2:**
Fascist promises cannot fool us
We will fight them to a finish.

**VERSE 3:**
Comrade victory is leading you
To the battle gladly marching.
Forward march raise your clenched fist high
Hungry, ragged, cold and haggard,
Hear the steady sound of marching feet and voices
Rouse to struggle sound the call
In common cause unite.

VERSE 2:
Black comrades awaken!
Come, steel your dark shoulders!
Your slave driving boss
Our foe we meet face to face,
We meet face to face.
Strong red rows are marshaled,
All comrades and brothers,
No terror, no lynch can hamper
Can slacken our pace
Can slacken our pace.

Song to the Soldier

VERSE 1:
Workers in uniform, Farmers in uniform
We are your fathers, your brothers
Say will you aim at us?
Shoot at the hungry? Shoot at the mass?
Workers in uniform Farmers in uniform
Come to your class, your class your class!

VERSE 2:
Workers in uniform, Farmers in uniform
We are your sisters, your mothers
Turn to your officers: “We will not shatter Bone of our bone!”
Workers in uniform Farmers in uniform
Come to your own, your own, your own!

VERSE 3:
Workers in Uniform, Farmers in uniform
You are our comrades, our brothers
Red flows the blood in us,
Red as our banners Blazing this hour
Workers in uniform Farmers in uniform
With us for power, for power, for power!

Three Workers’ Rounds: Poor Mister Morgan
Poor Mister Morgan cannot pay his income tax;
Pitty poor Morgan he cannot pay.
He’s dead broke he hasn't got a cent.

Three Workers’ Rounds: Red Election Round
Are you a worker or are you a banker?
If you are a worker vote with us.
Have you got a Rolls Royce?
| **Three Workers’ Rounds: Onward to Battle** | Onward to battle, Join in the fight  
This world is our world  
Let us unite. |
|---------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| **Strife Song** | Come set aflutter the banners the scarlet  
Strike up a march and set columns astir  
Come set aflutter the banners the scarlet  
Strike up a march and set columns astir  
Rouse all the toilers the starvelings half living  
Say to them, say to them,  
Say to them brothers see here we stand, here we stand  
Here we stand  
There blood handed foe, blood handed foe,  
The blood handed foe, the blood handed foe  
Here is light, here is justice,  
Here is justice and liberty  
There is the yoke, there is the night,  
There is the night, there is tyranny  
Brothers march with us, march with us this day  
Here is light, here is justice,  
Here is justice and liberty  
There is the yoke, there is the night,  
There is the night, there is tyranny  
Brothers march with us, march with us this day. |
| **Lenin – Our Leader** | Scarlet flags of struggle dip in mourning  
Masses mourn their leader gone  
Slaves oppressed hear voices ringing, asking  
“What is to be done?”  
Bitter grief grips grim and soaring steel  
Hangs o’er vast fields and mines deep.  
Workers, farmers, fighters feel  
loss of leader Lenin in his sleep  
Then the gloomy dirge and heavy footsteps  
Halt in silent hour of peace.  
And thru stillness rings his voice  
“Battle on, and never cease!”  
Till all barriers to the Soviet Rule  
Crumble and are smashed and hurled  
Till the working class successful  
Builds a free and class-less world. |

Are you unemployed by choice?  
If not, then vote red!  
If not you’d better wake up and vote red!
**Song of the Builders**

**VERSE 1:**
We are the builders, we build the future  
The future world is in our hands.  
We swing our hammers, we use our weapons  
Against our foes in many lands.

**VERSE 2:**
We are the builders, we build the future  
And he who hinders us must fall.  
Come join us comrades, our task is mighty,  
We need your help you workers all.

**VERSE 3:**
Each day of struggle, each hour of battle  
Each blow we strike brakes yokes and chains  
From limbs and shoulders, it frees the workers  
In city factories, fields and plains.

**VERSE 4:**
And we, the workers, who are the builders,  
We fight, we do not fear to die.  
“All power and freedom unto the workers!”  
Is our defiant battle cry.

---

**Red Soldiers Singing**

Soldiers marching in the rain  
Send their voices thru the night  
Left, left, one, two, left, left, left  
Soldiers marching in the rain  
Send their voices thru the night  
Rolling out the loud refrain,  
Rolling out the loud refrain,  
“Workers of the world unite!”  
The street rings with their mighty tread  
Soldiers marching pointed bayonets shine bright, shine bright  
Proud and young the soldiers head young proud.  
The street rings with their mighty tread  
Soldiers proud marching  
Their pointed bayonets shine bright.  
Soldiers marching in the rain  
Rolling out the loud refrain  
Soldiers marching in the rain  
Their pointed bayonets shine bright, bayonets shine bright  
Soldiers marching in the rain, marching  
Send their voices thru the night  
Rolling out the loud refrain
“Workers of the world unite!”

| God to the Hungry Child | Hungry child,  
I did not make this world for you,  
You didn't buy any stock in my railroad,  
You did not invest in my corporation.  
Where are your shares in Standard Oil?  
I made the world for the rich.  
And they will be rich and they have always been rich.  
Not for you, hungry child. |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| A Negro Mother To Her Child | Quit yo’ wailin’, honey boy,  
‘Taint no use to cry;  
Rubber nipple mammy’s breast,  
Both done gone bone dry.  
Mmm mmm.  
Daddy is a Communist,  
Locked up in de pen;  
Didn’ rob nor didn' steal,  
Led de workin’ men.  
Whats de use mah tellin’ you  
Silly lil’ lamb?  
Gwine to git it straight some day,  
When you is a man.  
Mmm mmm.  
Wisht ah had a sea of milk  
Mak you strong an’ soun’;  
Daddy’s waitin’ till you come,  
Break dat prison down! |
APPENDIX B (SONG TEXT FROM WORKERS SONGBOOK 2):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Text</th>
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</table>
| United Front       | **VERSE 1:**  
|                    | Fascists want our blood and sweat—                                |
|                    | That’s what they will never get.                                    |
|                    | Once we show that we’re one,                                        |
|                    | They must go—their day is done.                                    |
|                    | **REFRAIN:**                                                        |
|                    | UNITED FRONT!                                                       |
|                    | UNITED FRONT!                                                       |
|                    | UNITED FRONT!                                                       |
|                    | UNITED FRONT!                                                       |
|                    | **VERSE 2:**                                                        |
|                    | C.P., S.P., we must stop                                            |
|                    | Boss attacks on wage and crop,                                      |
|                    | All who work, heed the call.                                        |
|                    | War and hunger hit us all.                                          |
|                    | **VERSE 3:**                                                        |
|                    | No more clashes based on race!                                      |
|                    | Put the Fascist in his place.                                       |
|                    | Come, let’s join, let’s unite,                                      |
|                    | Workers get together and fight!                                     |
| War is Murder      | **VERSE 1:**                                                        |
|                    | War is murder of the masses.                                        |
|                    | Fascists feed it, give it birth.                                    |
|                    | War’s the death-wage of the bosses,                                 |
|                    | Devastating life and earth.                                         |
|                    | **REFRAIN:**                                                        |
|                    | Wake! Men and women workers.                                        |
|                    | Break: War and Fascism down.                                        |
|                    | Stop munition shipments, shoremen!                                  |
|                    | Close the death-shops, workers free!                                |
|                    | Soldiers, turn against the mad-men,                                 |
|                    | The workers’ world our victory!                                     |
|                    | **VERSE 2:**                                                        |
|                    | See the fascist profits gather!                                     |
|                    | See, the murder-pact is sealed.                                     |
|                    | Blood of child and hope of mother,                                  |
|                    | Splashed across the street and field.                               |
|                    | **VERSE 3:**                                                        |
|                    | Fascists are the bosses’ henchmen,                                 |
|                    | Traitor scabs to all mankind.                                       |
|                    | Rise you plunderers men and women!                                  |
|                    | Steel the heart and free the mind!                                  |
| Into the Streets May First! | Into the streets May First!  
Into the roaring Square!  
Shake the midtown towers!  
Crash the downtown air!  
Come with a storm of banners,  
Come with an earthquake tread,  
Bells, ring out of your belfries,  
Red flag, leap out your red!  
Out of the shops and factories,  
Up with the sickle and hammer,  
Comrades these are our tools,  
A song and a banner! |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| Song of the Pickets | On the picket line they’re singing,  
Marching strikers thousands strong.  
Hear their bitter voices ringing  
Defiantly, the workers song.  
Oh you victims of the blackjack,  
Of the tear gas and gun fire,  
Tho’ you died in pain  
You will live again  
In the actions of your comrades.  
We will carry on the battle,  
We will answer blow for blow  
Against the fascist hand of the bosses’ band,  
Bloody butchers of our leaders.  
To the boss we fling our answer:  
Workers of the world, UNITE! |
| Forward, We’ve Not Forgotten | **VERSE 1:**  
Forward, we’ve not forgotten  
Our strength in the fights we have won;  
No matter what may threaten  
Forward, not forgotten  
How strong we are as one!  
Only these our hands, now aching,  
Built the roads, the walls, the towers:  
All the world is of our making-  
What of it can we call ours?  
**REFRAIN:**  
Forward, march on to power –  
Thru the city, the land, the world.  
Forward, advance the hour!  
Just whose city is the city?  
Just whose world is the world?  
**VERSE 2:** |
| Verse 1: | Forward, we’ve not forgotten  
Our union in hunger and pain,  
No matter what may threaten,  
Forward, not forgotten  
We have a world to gain!  
We shall free the world of shadow;  
Ev’ry shop and ev’ry room,  
Ev’ry road and ev’ry meadow –  
All the world will be our own. |
|---|---|
| Verse 2: | Oh you who are missing,  
Oh comrades in dungeons,  
You’re with us, you’re with us,  
This day of our vengeance!  
No fascist can daunt us,  
No terror can halt—  
All lands will take flame with the fire of revolt!  
All lands will take flame with the fire of revolt! |
| Verse 3: | The Comintern calls you:  
Raise high Soviet banner!  
In steeled ranks to battle!  
Raise Sickle and Hammer!  
Our answer: Red legions we rise in our might!  
Our Answer: Red storm-troops we lunge to the fight!  
Our Answer: Red storm-troops we lunge to the fight! |
| Verse 4: | From Russia victorious,  
The Workers’ October**  
Comes storming Reactions regime the world over  
We’re coming with Lenin for Bolshevik work  
From London, Havanna, Berlin and New York!  
From London, Havanna, Berlin and New York!  
VERSE 5: | Rise up, fields and workshops,  
Come out, workers, farmers! |

**Abbreviation for Communist International, the world organization of all Communist Parties.
To battle the march onward,
March on, world-stormers!
Eyes sharp on your guns
Red banners unfurled
Advance proletarians to conquer the world!
Advance proletarians to conquer the world.

**Refers to the month during which the proletarian Revolution of 1917 took place in Russia.

VERSE 1:
Red Army soldiers, Red Army columns
Guard all the East, each one armed and alert.
Securing their freedom on battlefields conquered,
Securing their world which from serfdom was freed.
A land where the fact’ries, the fields and the forests
Belong now to all—and no man now is slave,
Where workers and farmers are freemen and masters,
All free and strong in the strength of each one.

REFRAIN:
The Red Army columns stand ready for battle.
They forge now the future where hope is fulfilled.
For one will unites all our millions,
Ours is the future, Ours is the might.
Ours is the future, Ours is the might.

VERSE 2:
Thousands of workers chained in the prisons,
Some of the bravest have spilled all their blood,
Some of the noblest were murdered in battle,
Still we grow stronger—the war steels our wills.
In office and fact’ry, in houses and barracks,
There spreads thru the masses the urge to the fight.
The armies of hunger are surging in millions,
For work and for bread, for the Soviet state.

VERSE 1:
Stop in your tracks, you passer by,
Uncover your doubting head;
The working men are on their way
To bury their murdered dead.

VERSE 2:
Men who sowed their strength in work
And reaped a crop of lies,
Are marching by.
The bosses’ doom is written in their eyes.

VERSE 3:
Two coffins lead the grim parade
That stops you in your tracks;
Two workers lying stiff and dead
With bullets in their backs.

VERSE 4:
We want no priests or demagogues
With empty talk or prayers,
For these were honest working men,
Not governors or mayors.

VERSE 5:
The blood they left upon the street
Was workers’ blood and red;
They died to make a better world
These are the class-war dead!

VERSE 6:
Stand back, you greedy parasites
With banks and bellies filled,
And tremble while the working class
Buries the men you killed.

VERSE 7:
This is our word to those who fell,
Shot down for bosses’ gain,
We swear to fight until we win
YOU DID NOT DIE IN VAIN!

Look Here Georgia!

VERSE 1:
Look here, Georgia! What’s that you do?
Do you know the world is looking at you!!!?
Do you know the world is looking at you!!!?

VERSE 2:
Say there, Georgia! Come, change your name,
Put on a petticoat to hide your shame!
Put on a petticoat to hide your shame!

VERSE 3:
Look here, Georgia! Who’s that dead?
And whose blood’s dripping to make you red?
And whose blood’s dripping to make you red?

VERSE 4:
Look here, Georgia! Shame on you!
For all your lying and your murders too!
For all your lying and your murders too!

VERSE 5:
Look at that worker—His skin is brown –
Hung to a cottonwood above the ground!
Hung to a cottonwood above the ground!

VERSE 6:
Look at your jailhouse – your Fulton tower  
Herndon’s courage, workers’ power!  
Herndon’s courage, workers’ power!  

VERSE 7:  
Look here, Georgia! Listen to me.  
All your jails won’t hold us when our minds are free!  
All your jails won’t hold us when our minds are free!  

The Ballad of Harry Simms

VERSE 1:  
It was a winter Wednesday that Harry Simms was shot, 
And him but still a growing lad the miners loved a lot.  
And he was killed, was Harry Sims, for no dark evil thing 
But only that he thought that men should live while laboring.  

VERSE 2:  
Indeed, so strange a thought it was where men die burrowing  
The ghouls who eat the living flesh dispatched their hirelings.  
And bade him hush the simple thought that had realized a dream  
To warm the hearts of men who brave the earth’s black inner seam.  

VERSE 3:  
Our Harry walked of eraly morn with Lawson of Brush Creek.  
They walked to miners’ meeting where Harry was to speak.  
Along the tracks that early hour, Green, Lawson and the lad  
Were walking to the miners’ place as Harry often had.  

VERSE 4:  
They stopped to let a handcar pass, the handcar came full stop.  
A bullet rang and with a cry young Harry Simms did drop.  
For hours our “little Harry” lay, the rich blood of his veins  
Ruddy forth on savage soil that only red blood stains.  

VERSE 5:  
They put is friend, a comrade Green under false arrest,  
While starker to the savage soil our Harry’s heart was pressed.  
They cross examined Harry Simms, they tortured him,
they grilled,
As though he were the killer and not him that had been killed.

**VERSE 6:**
And even when our Harry lay a-dying by degrees
No kindly act, no human word there came from dogs like these.
Oh, red's the blood of Harry Simms who died at Barbourville,
And red's the banner that will fly from each Kentucky hill.

| **We Toil, We Work** | We toil, we work, we slave in sweatshops.
|                      | Our strength is turned into banknotes and dollars.
|                      | We toil, yet we hunger, the bosses take all the gain.
|                      | But how much longer, brothers,
|                      | Till they have turned us out,
|                      | Till we too are jobless like you?
|                      | No! We'll stay at our benches,
|                      | For work is men's right.
|                      | They'll close no more fact'ries,
|                      | Nor destroy what we've created.
|                      | Oh brothers! Let's swear as one man.
|                      | Determined we will come out one day
|                      | And leave the factories empty,
|                      | On the streets and highways,
|                      | We'll strike and fight together
|                      | To build a workers country.
|                      | Come join our ranks, you workers,
|                      | We have all the world to gain! |

| **I went to 'Tlanta* (Negro Song)** | **VERSE 1:**
| *Melody from Lawrence Gellert’s “Negro Songs of Protest” | Hm hm hm
|                      | I went to 'Tlanta,
|                      | Nebber bin dere afo'
|                      | White folks eat de apple,
|                      | Nigger wait fo' co'
|                      | Catch dat Southern, grab dat train
|                      | Won' come back no mo'

|                      | **VERSE 2:**
|                      | Hm hm hm
|                      | I went to Charleston
|                      | Nebber been dere afo'
|                      | White folks sleep on feather bed,
|                      | Nigger on de flo'
|                      | Catch dat Southern, grab dat train
|                      | Won' come back no mo’ |
VERSE 3:
I went to Raleigh
Nebber bin dere afo'
White folks wear de fancy suit,
Nigger overo'
Catch dat Southern, grab dat train
Won’ come back no mo’

VERSE 4:
Hm hm hm
I went to Hebben,
Nebber bin dere afo'
White folk sit in Lawd’s place
Chase nigger below.
Catch dat Southern, grab dat train,
Won’ come back no mo’.

Sistern and Brethren* (Negro Song)
Sistern and brethren, stop foolin’ with pray,
Sistern and brethren, stop foolin’ with pray,
When black face is lifted, Lord turnin’ ‘way.
We’re buryin’ a brudder
Day kill fo’ do crime
Tryin’ to keep what was his all de time.
When we’s tucked him en under
What you goin’ to do?
Wait till dey arousin’ fo’ you?
Yo’ head’taint no apple
Fo’ danglin’ from a tree,
Yo’ body no carcass
Fo’ barbecuin’ on a spree!
Stand on yo’ feet
Club gripp’d ‘tween yo’ hands,
Spill their blood too,
Show ‘em yours is a man’s.

We Want the World
We want the world and all that’s in it.
We want the world and all that’s in it.
Mines and railways, shops and land and fact’ries.
We built it all and mean to take it
We mean to hold it, to take it now, we will take it.
Come all who toil, come all who labor,
Unite! Unite! Unite!
In number there is might to make or break
To take the world, to make the world,
To take the world for labor.
Comrades, we want the world, the world is ours,
We'll fight to the end to conquer the world.

| **The Red Banner**  | **VERSE 1:**  |
| (Mongolian)         | Hoist the flat of revolution, |
|                    | Raise the scarlet banner high; |
|                    | Kill the traitor Naid Vanug, |
|                    | For his treason he must die! |
| **VERSE 2:**       | Take your aim and point your weapons |
|                    | With a firm and steady hand |
|                    | All the bandits and exploiters |
|                    | Must be driven from the land |
| **VERSE 3:**       | In the yoke of fear and bondage |
|                    | They have kept us all too long; |
|                    | Now we've ousted the invader, |
|                    | We are Mongols free and strong! |
| **VERSE 4:**       | All the power to the workers |
|                    | Who create with brain and brawn |
|                    | Hail the red flag proudly waving |
|                    | In the glory of the dawn! |

| **Chinese Red Soldiers’ Song**  | Farewell, darling, I must go, Let me not be late |
| (Sun-cin-lan)                  | With the Reds I’ll meet the foe at the northern gate. |
|                                 | Gentry fiends will be slain, China’s soil we will gain! |
|                                 | Fellow workers, one and all, We must obey our duty’s call. |
|                                 | Let’s embrace, dear wife, once more; Kiss our baby son, |
|                                 | Tell him dad has gone to war, carrying a gun. |
|                                 | We will fight for the soil, for the products of our toil; |
|                                 | Fellow workers, one and all, We must obey our duty’s call |
|                                 | With the workers of the world in a union strong, |
|                                 | China’s Reds with flags unfurled staunchly march along. |
|                                 | Workers’ rule cannot fail, Soviet China shall prevail. |
|                                 | Fellow workers, one and all, We must obey our duty’s call. |
|                                 | We must obey our duty’s call! |

| **The First Red Cavalry**  | **VERSE 1:**  |
|                           | When shuttles weaving in the sky |
|                           | The twilight glow have spun |
|                           | Budenny’s soldiers take their way |
|                           | Along the river Don. |
REFRAIN:
Swift, trusty horse, ride like whiplash in the wind
We brook no halt, quick to assault
Destroyers in our land.
We sheathe our sword, for no White Guard
Now tramples our free sod.
Leap forward, horse, answer to the trumpet call.
Ride on to conquer, heartily and strong.
Ride on to conquer, heartily and strong.

VERSE 2:
Through centuries’ relentless toil
Our people have been bled
With pain and want and poverty
The dust our daily bread.

VERSE 3:
October days of reckoning
Avenge the years of wrong
The town, the field, the river shore
Heave with our mighty song.

VERSE 4:
Should White Guards dare to raise their head
We crush them as we ride
Defenders of the Soviet
To victory we stride.

John Reed, Our Captain
John Reed our captain
His body fills a grave
The Lion heart is patient
The warrior is bones
The grass is his brother
And his pulse once so brave
Now beats but as faintly
As atoms beat in stones
Death is for dreaming
But now the world’s in flame
And hope is ev’rywhere
The strong unhappy poor
In Communism’s name
Are writing cannon poems, cannon poems
For hope is ev’rywhere!
Dream not but chant the scarlet songs of life
Fight, sing and hope
For we are living men
Raise John Reed’s banner
In the thickest of the strife
Ere we lie down  
To dream with him again.

**The Flying Squadron**  
Make way make way!  
Oh the flying squadron’s coming thru  
The seamen and longshoremen too  
Make way for the flying squad  
Gonna be a picket! Gonna be a picket!  
And we’ll stick it! And we’ll stick it!  
Make way for the flying squad  
The seamen and longshoremen too  
Ryan, Green and Axtel too  
May send down their boys in blue  
But not a scab is gonna get thru  
Make way for the flying squad  
Oh the flying squad is coming through  
Gonna be a picket! Gonna be a picket!  
And we’ll stick it! Make way for the flying squad  
We’ll tie the city fore and aft  
They’ll have to ship their freight by raft  
Make way for the flying squad  
We’ll tie the city for and aft  
They’ll have to ship their freight by raft  
We’re going to make those bosses sign  
With an iron picket line  
Make way for the flying squad  
Gonna be a picket! Gonna be a picket!  
And we’ll stick it Make way for the flying squad  
The flying squadron’s coming thru  
The seamen and longshoremen  
THRU tear gas, bullets, clubs, and stones  
We’ll send those finks to Davy Jones  
Make way for the flying squad  
MAKE WAY!

**Three Workers’ Rounds:**  
**The Three Brothers**  
There are three brothers named Dupont.  
Patriots are they.  
They make their profits from munitions in an honest way.  
They love their country, right or wrong.  
But when yen or liras come along  
They always very cheerfully to any nation sell  
Shells that will all armor pierce  
And armor that will stop each shell.
| Three Workers’ Rounds:          | Oh joy upon this earth to live and see the day |
|                                 | When Rockefeller senior shall up to me and say: |
| Not If, But When                | “Comrade can you spare a dime?” |
| Three Workers’ Rounds:          | Schwab, Schwab, Charlie Schwab! |
| Charlie Schwab                  | Life and happiness you rob |
|                                 | From the workers in your mills |
|                                 | From the miners in your hills |
|                                 | Says you: “Bake my cake, you slaves, and I’ll eat it.” |
|                                 | We can bake and eat it too, Charlie Schwab, beat it! |
APPENDIX C (SONG TEXT FROM SONG OF THE AMERICAN WORKER):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| The Ghost of the Depression (By R.A.) | I have a funny feeling in my bones  
From sleeping on a bed of sticks and stones;  
I’m on the New Deal plan,  
I dine from garbage cans,  
That’s why I’m blue that’s why I feel this way;  
We’re twenty million Workers on the tramp  
All headed for a jungle nudist camp.  
There’s not a job in sight  
Oh what an awful night,  
I’ll swear I’m getting madder ev’ry day!  |
|                         | CHORUS:  
Oh the Ghost of the Depression’s sticking ‘round this town!  
Just see those hungry mobs a-hanging ‘round;  
There’s mis’ry on the face of people ev’ry place,  
It’s the nearest thing to hell that can be found.  
Oh see those skeleton forms move down the street  
With hungry looks and rags from head to feet;  
The Blue Eagle’s picking their bones,  
Feeding the Wall Street drones,  
Oh the Ghost of the Depression’s sticking ‘round this town.  |
|                         | At times I really think I’m going nuts!  
From searching ‘round the streets for cigar butts;  
There’s nothing left to do  
But bum a dime or two,  
And ev’rybody broke what shall I do?  
They’re feeding babies on a diet of hay  
So billionaires won’t have a tax to pay  
They stole my home and socks  
They’ve shoved me on the rocks  
How long, how long must things go on this way?  |
|                         | The rich are looking for a Hitler now,  
To bathe the land in blood and teach us how  
To root the ground like hogs,  
Live like stray cats and dogs  
And hitch our selves like mules up to the plow.  
A half a dozen men now own the land  |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Painting the Old Town</th>
<th>Come Workers and hear of Jimmy Revier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Who couldn't find a job;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(By R.A.)</td>
<td>Kept hanging 'round the shops of town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>And mingling with the mob;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>And when he would hear of comrades near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Just idling time away,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>This Jimmy Revier,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>With voice loud and clear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Would march right up and say:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHORUS:
Keep painting the old town red!
Keep knocking the social fakers dead;
Keep knocking the mugs off the fat fascist thugs
And exposing the lies they've spread;
Keep mopping up the scabs and spies,
Keep putting the Workers wise,
And don't be mistaken,
You are bringing in the bacon
When you're painting the old town red!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Miner’s Son</th>
<th>Just a boy without work, I decided,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(By L.A.)</td>
<td>Along with some pals of mine,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To answer the call of our country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>And with the Home Guards to sign.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We thrilled to the tho't of a united form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>And &quot;the Army makes men&quot; we were told;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>So I went to my father to tell him,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Before I made ready to go.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He stood with his face to the window</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>And listen'd to ev'ry word,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Then after a moment of silence,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>These were the words that I heard:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHORUS:
"I have worked all my life as a miner,
My hands are all gnarled and worn;
If you give your young strength to the bosses,
I'd rather you'd never been born.
The miners must strike from starvation,
I'll be on the old picket line;
The Home Guards will be called to break us,
If you’re with them you’re no son of mine.”

I returned to my buddies and told them what father had told me; We went straight to him with our promise That strike breakers we’d never be. How grateful were we that we first found out, Before our names we had signed The meaning of true patriotism, “The cause of the Workers is mine.” How many young men in the Home Guard Would never the boss defend, If only their fathers had spoken And Given this message to them

Red Front

Awake! You Workers of America, And onward to the Soviets!

(By R.A.)

Away with Wall Street and its hunger rule Which now our very life besets! Down with the beasts of greed and lust Who crush our rights beneath their feet as dust!

CHORUS:
Red Front! Red Front! You Workers forward march! The worldwide revolution’s here. Red Front! Red Front! In solidarity the proletariat vict’ry’s near. March on, March on in unity, And we the rulers of the world shall be, So onward Workers to the Soviet! Long live the Proletariat!

Come forth from fact’ry, office, mine and field, Come swell our ranks to might untold; Rise boldly with our hearts in struggle steel’d And break the bloody fascist hold! The earth shall tremble with our might, Unite! Unite and onward to the fight!

Unite! All native, foreign, black and white, March bravely onward to the fore; Behold the despots tremble at the sight, On high the scarlet banners soar! From out the night of slavery’s plight, March on! March on to freedom and the light!
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song Title</th>
<th>Lyrics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| I'm Not Blue Any More (Because I'm Red) (By L.A.) | I saw a Worker on the street,                                     
|                            | His face was streaked with blood;                                     
|                            | A girl was caring for his wounds                                     
|                            | Which came from fascist clubs.                                        
|                            | “Why, Man, you’re beaten blue,” I cried,                              
|                            | And sadly shook my head;                                              
|                            | The Worker turned to look at me                                        
|                            | And with a smile he said:                                              
|                            | CHORUS:                                                              
|                            | I’m not Blue any more because I’m Red, Red, Red,                      
|                            | I’m not Blue any more because I’m Red.                                
|                            | On the picket line, the hunger march, the fight for bread,            
|                            | We’re not Blue any more because we’re Red.                            
|                            | Used to be I contemplated suicide,                                    
|                            | Now a plucky little comrade’s by my side.                            
|                            | Used to be my life was only misery,                                  
|                            | Now we’re fighting for a Soviet victory;                              
|                            | I’m not Blue any more because I’m Red, Red!                           
|                            | I’m not Blue any more because I’m Red!                                
|                            | This Worker’s words meant much to me                                  
|                            | And well I think they might,                                          
|                            | For long I’d felt oppression’s sting                                   
|                            | But helpless seemed my plight.                                        
|                            | I changed my life that very day                                       
|                            | And joined the Workers’ might                                         
|                            | And now I’m singing with my comrades                                  
|                            | With me in the fight:                                                 |
| I'm A Civilized Man (By R.A.) | Now William MacRth ‘Way out in Duluth                                
|                            | Went out on election day;                                             
|                            | While walking the street a man he did meet                            
|                            | Who said “Bill come vote it my way;                                   
|                            | I’ll give you a five or maybe a ten                                   
|                            | If you’ll vote it straight for the old party men;                     
|                            | But Bill with mistrust and a look of disgust,                         
|                            | Just turned to the man and did say:                                   |
|                            | CHORUS:                                                              
|                            | I’m a civilized man, I’m a Red!                                       
|                            | I have advanced that in my head.                                      
|                            | I’d rather by far enlighten’d be                                     
|                            | Than own all the land, the sky and the sea;                           
|                            | I care not for gold any more                                          
|                            | When others around me are poor;                                       |
Of me can be said, old traditions are dead,  
I’m a civilized man, I’m a Red!

**Things Can’t Go On**  
Now folks I’ll have to say  
The dear old N.R.A.

**Like This**  
Has fallen flat and failed to save the day.  
You can see it on the face of people ev’ry place

(By R.A.)  
And as you walk the street you’ll hear them say:

CHORUS:  
Things can’t go on like this!  
Things can’t go on like this!  
This country’s in an awful, awful fix;  
Since the New Deal turned out spoofy,  
The system’s going goofy,  
I’ll tell you, boys, we’re in an awful mix.  
You can hear the people crying,  
“The cap’lalist system’s dying;  
Oh what, oh what is this world coming to?”  
The future’s dark and foggy,  
The Boss is running groggy,  
Now ev’rybody knows  
THINGS CAN’T GO ON LIKE THIS!

Without the slightest doubt  
There’s only one way out  
And that is thru the Soviet victory.  
Just look at woeful Rome and hear the Germans groan  
Beneath the heel of fascist tyranny;

Now workers if you’re wise,  
Get next to fascist lies,  
Just let Karl Marx and Lenin lead the way.  
If you’ll take their advice,  
You’ll build a paradise  
And break the worldwide crisis in a day;

**Mighty Fine Country**  
There are a million liars behind the bosses’ lines  
To hide the Soviet vict’ry and keep the Workers blind;  
You’ll read lies in the papers, the magazines and books,  
You’ll hear them flowing from the lips  
Of all the sneaks and crooks;  
You hear them on the talkies, the radios each day,  
But when they praise the Wall Street rule,  
I cannot help but say:

CHORUS:
It's a mighty fine country for the Mellons,
It's a mighty fine country for Al,
It's a mighty fine country for the Morgans
And William Green their pal;
It's a mighty fine country for the grafters,
The gangsters and their like
But it's a might bum country for the Workers
Who have their veins bled white!

But now these million liars new stories must devise
To hold the struggling Workers
Who now with strength arise;
The truth is getting over
About the five year plan
Which makes it harder day by day
To fool the Working man;
The Workers now are starving,
They see their children die,
But when we're told there's nothing better
Then we know they lie;
APPENDIX D (INTERNATIONAL COLLECTION OF REVOLUTIONARY SONGS TEXT IN ENGLISH):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Song of the Young Guards (Le chant des jeunes gardes)</strong></td>
<td>We are the rebel youngsters,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Saint-Gilles, Arr. B. Shekhter</td>
<td>The future builders of the land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>And reared in want from childhood,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>With all the working class we stand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We close our ranks and join the struggle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original Language: French</td>
<td>To liberate the human race;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No persecution nor suppression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Will ever check our forward pace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHORUS:</strong></td>
<td>Onward marching, onward marching,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We fight against a ruthless bourgeoisie;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The youth advances in solid columns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to the fight for liberty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It is the final big fight commencing,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All of starvation’s victims well avenge;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It is the final surge of the masses,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The final fight against the tyranny.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Onward marching, onward marching,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Against the bourgeoisie!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The working class is fighting</td>
<td>The working class is fighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To break the fetters of the past,</td>
<td>To break the fetters of the past,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In these historic battles</td>
<td>In these historic battles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We shall not be among the last!</td>
<td>We shall not be among the last!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Led by the principles of Lenin,</td>
<td>Led by the principles of Lenin,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We’ll smash the rotten bourgeois State—</td>
<td>We’ll smash the rotten bourgeois State—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The land, the mills, the mines and quarries,</td>
<td>The land, the mills, the mines and quarries,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shall be the workingman’s estate.</td>
<td>Shall be the workingman’s estate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They turn us into soldiers—</td>
<td>They turn us into soldiers—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We thank them for the guns alright!</td>
<td>We thank them for the guns alright!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We know how we should use them</td>
<td>We know how we should use them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And whom the workers have to fight.</td>
<td>And whom the workers have to fight.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No tears will move the ruling classes</td>
<td>No tears will move the ruling classes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To free the people and the land;</td>
<td>To free the people and the land;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We’ll turn the guns upon our masters</td>
<td>We’ll turn the guns upon our masters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And seize the power from their hand!</td>
<td>And seize the power from their hand!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The New Carmagneol (La nouvelle)</strong></td>
<td>Long live the glorious Commune,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Its arms and guns, its battle tune!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Carmagnole)  
For the Commune’s retreat  
Does not imply defeat,  
Arr. B. Shekhter  
Its day will come again, long live the fight,  
Long live the fight,  
Original Language:  
French  
Its day will come again, long live the fight  
Th’ people’s might.

CHORUS:  
Ah, it will come, it will come, it will come,  
All bourgeois friends shall swing from lamp-posts!  
Ah, it will come it will come,  
All bourgeois friends, they shall be hanged,  
They shall be hanged!  
And should they not be hanged, their heads shall then be broken  
And should they not be hanged, their heads shall then be banged.  
Let’s dance the Carmagnole,  
Long live the fight, long live the fight,  
Let’s dance the Carmagnole,  
Long live the fight, th’ people's might!

We have no use for sighs and tears,  
We’ll train the guns and point the spears,  
We clenched our fists today,  
All ready for the fray,  
Avenging the Commune, long live the fight  
Long live the fight  
Avenging the Commune, long live the fight  
Th’ people’s might.

The working class has made a start  
USSR its glowing heart  
Where workers, peasants rule,  
Where life is free and full,  
The new, the great Commune  
Long live the fight, long live the fight  
The new, the great Commune  
Long live the fight, th’ people’s might!

A Just New World  
(A Just New World is in creation,  
From war and poverty made free.  
Class victims slain for liberty  
Unite the men of ev'ry nation.)  
(Es wird die neue Welt geboren)  
By Stevan Wolpe.  
Then shall no willing, able worker
| **Original Language:** | Lie jobless in the city street.  
| | Old people shall not want for meat.  
| | No child shall die of cold or hunger.  
| | And by a million hands created,  
| | This giant work shall stand complete.  
| | Old pow’r shall meet deserved defeat.  
| | From want man shall be liberated.  
| **The Comintern March** | Arise, fellow-workers,  
| (Komintern) | March firmly and boldly;  
| | From mill, mine, and quarry,  
| | March shoulder to shoulder.  
| | Look well to your weapons:  
| **By Hans Eisler** | There’s fighting ahead,  
| | Be ready to battle  
| | For freedom and bread!  
| **Original Language:** | Ye comrades now pining  
| | In capital’s dungeons,  
| | You’re with us, you’re with us,  
| | Though not in our columns.  
| | We fear not the fascist,  
| | Their terrors of hell;  
| | The masses are surging,  
| | The world will rebel.  
| **Labour has Risen** | Our ranks stelled and hardened  
| (Felzúg az ének) | In Bolshevik manner,  
| | The Comintern leads us  
| | Beneath the red banner.  
| | Red fighters determined,  
| | We challenge defeat;  
| | We’ll never surrender,  
| | We’ll never retreat.  
| **Labour has Risen** | With Leninist teachings  
| (Felzúg az ének) | Our glorious beacon,  
| | We fight for the Soviets  
| | And never shall weaken.  
| **Labour has Risen** | Two opposite classes  
| (Felzúg az ének) | Engage in this fight;  
| | Our slogan: in masses,  
| | All workers, unite!  
| **Labour has Risen** | Labour has risen, bold and defiant.  
| (Felzúg az ének) | Tremble exploiters: here comes the giant, |
| Arr. V. Biely | Soon shall the guns on the battle field roar,  
| | Fighting and firing there shall be galore! |
| **Original Language:** Hungarian | Blood of the martyrs shall be requited!  
| | Grimly determin’d, staunchly united,  
| | Workers’ batallions march forth to the fray...  
| | Hail proletarian victory day! |
| | Hail the red banner proudly unfurling,  
| | Masters and rulers ruthlessly hurling!  
| | Labour shall vanquish the enemy soon,  
| | Workers are marching to build the Commune! |
| **The Red Flag** | The people’s flag is deepest red,  
| | It shrouded oft our martyred dead;  
| **Arr. F. Szabò** | And ere their limbs grew stiff or cold,  
| | Their heart’s blood dyed its ev’ry fold. |
| **Original Language:** English | CHORUS:  
| | Then raise the scarlet standard high!  
| | Within its shade we’ll live and die;  
| | Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer,  
| | We’ll keep the Red Flag flying here! |
| | Look round! The Frenchman loves its blaze,  
| | The sturdy German chants its praise,  
| | In Moscow’s halls its hymns are sung,  
| | Chicago swells the surging throng. |
| | It well recalls the triumphs past,  
| | It gives the hope of peace at last,  
| | The banner bright, the symbol plain  
| | Of human right and human gain. |
| **The Young Pioneers**  
**Pionier no Haru no Uta** | Pioneers we are and lusty  
| | Is our rebel song,  
| | For the cause of workers’ freedom  
| | We are standing strong. |
| **By J. Nitta** | Always ready, one and all  
| | Answering the call,  
| | We prepare for future battles |
| **Arr. An. Alexandrow** | In the cause of toil:  
| | Landlords, priests and bosses shall be  
| | Driven off the soil. |
| **Original Language:** Japanese | Fellow-pioneers, remember  
| | Soon we’ll have to fight, |
To defend our Lenin banner,  
Justice, truth, and right!  
Let us gather strength and pluck,  
Leaving naught to luck,  
But uniting closely, firmly,  
In a circle tight.  
Fellow-pioneers, remember—  
Soon we’ll have to fight!

Pioneers will never falter,  
Never yield to fear;  
Brave, courageous, and undaunted  
Is the pioneer.  
Yes, the road ahead is long,  
But the kids are strong!  
Let us then be up and doing,  
Ready for the fray.  
Pioneers are marching forward,  
Lenin’s young array!

| **The Force of Solidarity**  
(Danketsu no Chikara) | Labour and strive—they have taught us,  
Unity's force never fails;  
Staunchly we fight to demolish  
Dungeons and jails. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Arr. F. Szahò</strong></td>
<td>CHORUS:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Original Language:</strong></td>
<td>March bravely forward, comrades,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Japanese</strong></td>
<td>Closing the Ranks;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Staunchly we fight to demolish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dungeons and jails.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Treachrous knaves do not scare us,  
Mischief of spies is debarr’d—  
For, day and night we keep vigil.  
Always on guard!

Boldly we raise the red banner,  
Solidly weld all our might—  
Always prepared for the battle,  
Ready to fight.

| **Red Soldier Song**  
(Sun cin lan) | Farewell, darling, I must go;  
Let me not be late.  
With the Reds I’ll meet the foe  
At the northern gate.  
Gentry fiends will be slain, |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Arr. W. Ramm</strong></td>
<td>China shall be ours again!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chinese

**CHORUS:**

Fellow-workers, one and all  
We must obey  
Duty’s call

Fearlessly and hand in hand  
On the battlefield  
China’s Red battalions stand—  
They will never yield!  
Sons of toil, march ahead,  
Fight for liberty and bread.

Let’s embrace, dear wife, once more;  
Kiss our baby son,  
Tell him dad has gone to war,  
Carrying a gun.  
We shall fight for the soil.  
For the products of our toil.

With the workers of the world  
In a union strong,  
China’s Reds with flags unfurl’d  
Staunchly march along.  
Workers’ rule cannot fail,  
Soviet China shall prevail!

---

### The Red Banner

**(Ulan tug)**

**Arr. F. Klimentow**

Hoist the flag of Revolution,  
Raise the scarlet banner high—  
Kill the traitor Naïd-Vanug,*  
For his treason he must die!

---

### Original Language: Mongolian

**Take your aim and point your weapons**  
With a firm and steady hand—  
All the bandits and exploiters  
Must be driven from the land!

In the yoke of fear and bondage  
They have kept us all too long—  
Now we’ve ousted the invaders,  
We are Mongols free and strong!

All the power to the workers  
Who create with brain and brawn—  
Hail the Red Flag proudly waving  
In the glory of the dawn!
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song Title</th>
<th>Lyrics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Army of Hunger is</td>
<td>We march on starvation. We march against death.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marching</td>
<td>We're ragged, we've nothing but body and breath.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Lahn Adohmyan</td>
<td>From North and from South,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From East and from West,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The army of Hunger is marching.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original Language:</td>
<td>The old and the young, both Negro and White,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>The men and the women in one common fight;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Our faces are dark.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Our spirits are bright.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The army of workers is marching.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fall in fellow-workers, together we'll say:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The toilers of Russia have shown us the way.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Our march is the sign—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>There dawns a new day.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes, comrades, to vict'ry we're marching!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hold the Fort</td>
<td>We meet to-day in Freedom's cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arr. M. Jordausky</td>
<td>And raise our voices high,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We'll join our hands in union strong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To battle or to die.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHORUS:</td>
<td>Hold the fort for we are coming.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Union men, be strong!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Side by side we battle onward.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Victory will come!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Look my comrades, see the union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Banners waving high.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reinforcements now appearing,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Victory is nigh.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>See our numbers still increasing,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hear the bugle blow,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>By our union we shall triumph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Over every foe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I wen’ to ‘Tlanta</td>
<td>I wen’ to ‘Tlanta,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Negro Workers’ Protest</td>
<td>Neber been dere afo.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song)</td>
<td>White folks eat de apple,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nigger wait fo’core.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REFRAIN:
Catch dat Southern!
Grab dat train,
Won' come back no mo.'

Wen’ to Charleston,
Neber been dere afo.’
White folks sleep on feather bed,
Nigger on de flo.’

Wen’ to Raleigh,
Neber been dere afo.’
White folks wear de fancy suit,
Nigger over-o.

Wen’ to Heben—
Neber been dere afo.’
White folks sit in Lawds place,
Chase nigger down below.