

SEPTEMBER, 1936

Vol. I No. 1

Five Cents

Notes of the Month

Book Reviews

Research Notes

YOUNG COMMUNIST REVIEW

A Letter From England • by Jos. Butler

Youth Defends Spain • • by Joe Cohen

**The Path Toward
Youth Unity • by Gil Green**

Our First Issue

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THE REVIEW is the official organ of our League. It will afford us the opportunity to popularize our policy, tactics and educational problems among our membership and masses of youth. We hope to make it an interesting and informative magazine.

THE columns of the Review will be open to all League members. Our leading article in this issue, Gil Green's "The Path Towards Youth Unity", should prompt a great deal of discussion in the League. We hope that you will put your comments in writing and send them to us. We will print as many as space allows.

FOR our October issue we have a real scoop. A transcript copy of the debate between the Nazi and Soviet youth delegates at the World Youth Congress at Geneva will be rushed to us and printed in that issue. In addition we are going to have an article on the organizational drive in steel by Dave Doran, Pittsburgh district organizer.

WE HOPE YOU LIKE OUR FIRST ISSUE. Let us know what you think of it.

The Editors.

YOUNG COMMUNIST REVUE

VOL. I

SEPTEMBER 1936

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The YOUNG COMMUNIST REVIEW is published monthly by the Young Communist League of the United States, 50 East 13th Street, New York City. Price 5 cents.

Notes of the Month

The National Committee of the Young Communist League is issuing a call for a National Convention to be held in the middle of March, 1937. This Convention will be an historic one for the youth movement of America, and especially so for the Young Communist League. In order to make it as representative as possible the National Bureau proposes the following:

Instead of the regular procedure of electing delegates via district conventions, delegates be elected directly from the branches. This means a larger Convention and a more representative one than heretofore. It is suggested that delegates be elected for their work and leadership in the branches, on the basis of one delegate for each branch with less than twenty-five members and two delegates from branches with a membership of twenty-five or over.

We ask all members to send in their opinions and suggestions on this proposal.

ELECTION CAMPAIGN ENTERS LAST LAP

As the election campaign goes into the final lap, we find the lines of struggle between fascism and democracy more sharply drawn. This is accompanied by an even greater bid for the youth, particularly by the forces of outright reaction. The reason for this is apparent. It is not unlikely that these first voters may hold the balance of power in their hands in this election.

Landon forces announce the organization of "non-partisan" (!) First Voters Leagues, one of whose functions will be to give free automobile rides to first registrants. In announcing their endorsement of Landon and Knox, the organizers of these leagues stated as their reasons, a belief "that private enterprise should be restored" and "that a government should pay its way as it goes." What this amounts to, is an under-hand way of saying: "Cut off the public works projects!" It means favoring the cutting of the N.Y.A. and all youth projects. It means "balancing the budget" by cutting the appropriations for education as Landon has already done in Kansas, to the extent that his state is 48th in the matter of state aid to schools.

The role of Lemke, as the stooge of Landon, Hearst and the Liberty League forces has become more obvious in the past month. Father Coughlin, Lemke's chief brain-truster, praises Landon as an "honest but colorless man" at the same time launching a most vicious attack on Roosevelt. He openly expresses his fear that Landon is running behind Roosevelt at the present time.

But more ominous for the youth of America than Coughlin's praise of Landon is the recent proposal for the open organization of fascist storm troops of youth around the Union Party. Gerald K. Smith, self-styled heir of Huey P. Long and one of the main-stays of the Union Party, has called for the organization of a million youth in a "crusade against Communism". These aspirations of Smith, coupled with the new and Hitler-like attacks of Coughlin on the Jewish people, are evil forebodings unless youth and adult join hands to decisively check this newest advance of reaction. The defeat of Landon and his Union Party aids becomes of decisive importance.

But anti-fascist forces, including those of the youth, have not been inactive. The Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party with a youth organization that has doubled its membership during the present campaign, has joined hands with the Wisconsin Farmer-Labor movement in building a National Party. The Washington Commonwealth Federation, which has a youth organization that grew from nothing to 500 and now is steering for 1,000 members by Sept. 15th, is rallying mass support. The American Labor Party of New York (that state's expression of Labor's Non-Partisan League), while endorsing Roosevelt and Lehman, who are no barrier to reaction, nevertheless is a step toward independent political action, even though in a confused sort of way. It has potentialities for becoming a genuine anti-fascist peoples' front of the masses and can also be a tremendous force for putting pressure on Roosevelt, if elected, to carry through progressive measures in the interests of the masses.

But this rallying together of the progressives is still proceeding at altogether too slow a tempo. The consolidation of the forces of political progress among youth and the defeat of the attempts of reaction to strengthen their position among youth becomes the very important task that faces our Young Communist League in this campaign. Only the first beginnings have been made towards tackling the job. Greatest initiative is required if we are to avoid the biggest tragedy which could befall

American youth in this campaign, namely, the victory of the Landon-Hearst forces.

WAR OR PEACE IS ISSUE BEFORE WORLD YOUTH

Youth of every important country will gather in Geneva on Aug. 31st to Sept. 7 for an international youth congress.

Coming at a time when Spanish fascists, supported by German and Italian fascism, are attempting to strangle the Peoples' Front government of Spain, thus precipitating immediate danger of a new world war, this youth congress assumes tremendous importance.

The Congress has the task of very clearly establishing before the youth of the world the source of the main danger to the ambitions of youth for a world of peace, security and opportunity. Once having established this source, the Congress has the job of working out a plan of action by which youth may hope to reach their ambitions.

The central issue before the Congress will be the question of world peace. In order to reach an understanding as to the means towards world peace, the Congress must inevitably find itself in conflict with the forces of fascism who represent the leading forces making for war in the world today. If the Congress is to serve in the interests of peace and freedom it must take a position in defense of democracy as opposed to fascism.

The debate that will take place at the Congress between representatives of the two extremes of this movement, namely, German fascism, the main force for war, and the Soviet Union, the most powerful force for peace, should serve to illuminate to all youth the path to peace, freedom and progress.

THE Socialist Student International meeting at Oxford, England, from July 17th to the 21st, decided to work for organic unity with the Communist students on an international scale. To achieve this as speedily as possible the Congress resolved to distribute to its various sections a draft of organic unity between the two internationals; establish a unity commission to inform the different sections of both groups of its decision; and empowered this commission to call an international unity congress within a year to decide the form and political orientation of the new organization. The commission consists of three Socialists, three Communists and one representative of the American Student Union.

Joe Lash, the representative of the American Student Union, speaking at the Congress indicated the great potentialities of such unity by recalling to the Congress that the Student Union in the short time since its organization had grown to a membership of 20,000 with an influence over more than a half million students.

George Dimitroff, Secretary of the Communist International, greeting the decision of the Congress, stated, "Let your example inspire the realization of such necessary unity of Socialists and Communists in all capitalist countries and on an international scale."

Y.P.S.L. MUST CLEAN OUT TROTSKYITE POISON

THE confessions of 16 Trotskyite terrorists now being tried in the Soviet Union should cause every sincere member of the Young Peoples Socialist League of the U. S. to ponder over the possible effects of the union

between the Y.P.S.L. and the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites in the U. S.

The revelations of the trial in the Soviet Union are only the logical conclusion of those counter-revolutionary policies which are today being foisted on the Y.P.S.L. here. Certainly every sincere Socialist will revolt at the role played by these terrorists in the Socialist fatherland and will be more determined than ever to do his utmost in its defense. But one cannot effectively struggle in defense of the victories of Socialism in the Soviet Union as long as the veins of his own organization are being polluted with Trotskyite poison.

This poison ideology is already having its effect in the Y.P.S.L. This was only too clearly illustrated by the role played by certain of its leaders at the Third American Youth Congress. It is making the Y.P.S.L. a sectarian organization, divorced from the masses of youth, and giving moral aid to those who would obstruct the forward march of youth.

In this respect the Y.P.S.L. has much to learn from the young Socialist movement of France. They, too, experimented with Trotskyism. But they soon discovered that their organization could only become an active, revolutionary force among youth if they cut themselves off from this anchor that was holding them down.

Our comrades of the Y.P.S.L. would do well to draw conclusions from these international experiences of their movement.

WHAT NEXT METHODIST YOUTH?

ON September 2nd to 6th Methodist youth will gather in a National Conference of their organization in Berea, Kentucky.

This conference is one of tremendous importance for the future of Methodist youth. In recent months they have become the center of attack by reactionary leaders of their church because of the progressive role which they have played in the "Christian Youth Building A New World" movement. This attack has ranged in form from slander in the Hearst press to the firing of the youth leaders, Owen Geer and Dr. Blaine Kirkpatrick, by the reactionary church leaders.

Today Methodist youth are somewhat bewildered. They are reeling a bit from the blows. And in this somewhat confused state of mind they come to their conference. They have gained new experiences and a new outlook on life in recent months and they like the new way. But how are they to continue in the face of organized, reactionary opposition?

Some people mistakenly think that the easiest way to guarantee a continuance of progressive policies would be to cut the strings that tie the Methodist youth movement to the church bodies and establish an independent organization of Methodist young people; then the National Council could do whatever its leaders desired. Unfortunately however, a sober analysis of the situation shows that while thousands of young Methodists are ready to take the step, tens of thousands would be left to the mercies of the reactionaries who have the machinery, the money and experience. The anchorless progressives would move rapidly but they would leave the masses behind.

Young Methodists should fight for their progressive program and get it across to all in the church. The program and its organizational guarantees should become

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The Path Toward Youth Unity

Gil Green



SIX months have passed since the January Conference of the Young Communist League which worked out the policy for the building of a united youth organization to include in its ranks not only Communist, but also Socialist and non-party youth. It is now necessary to estimate the developments and experiences of the past half-year and on the basis of these to further concretize this policy and intensify the work for its realization.

In order to do this, let us briefly re-establish the general approach adopted at the time of the January conference. The National Committee pointed out that the united organization would be an outgrowth of activities simultaneously conducted along three specific fronts. This was stated as follows:

"If throughout the country we can broaden and enlarge our Y.C.L., if around our Y.C.L. we can build hundreds of youth clubs and organizations of non-party character, if at the same time we can improve our relations with the young Socialists and gradually convince them of the need for organic unity, then, in the near future, these three channels will merge into one mighty stream."

This statement being applicable to the Y.C.L.s of nearly all capitalist countries, the National Committee therefore made a number of other observations based on the special conditions in this country different from those in Europe.

European Conditions Different

In the first place, in most European countries the level of class consciousness is higher and the extent of working class political organization is far greater than in the United States. Secondly, the Socialist youth leagues in Europe are in most cases large organizations with great influence among decisive sections of youth.

The problem of building united youth organizations in Europe therefore, hinges in most countries, first and foremost on the question of achieving organic unity between the Communist and Socialist youth organizations. Such unity does not in itself end the process toward the development of these organizations, but is its first and most important pre-requisite.

Let us take Spain as an example. The Socialist and Communist youth organizations decided to merge. They then followed this up by making concerted efforts at winning Syndicalist and other youth for the united organization. That they have been quite successful, can be seen by the fact that, while prior to the agreed upon merger both organizations had a combined membership of about 70,000, two months later the united organization already had 150,000 members.

In the United States, however, the Young Peoples Socialist League is a small organization, far weaker than even the Young Communist League. The unification of the Y.P.S.L. and Y.C.L. would not by itself lay the foundation for the mass youth organization necessary in this country, although it certainly would be a great step forward and an important incentive in that direction.

January Statement Cited

Taking these facts into consideration, the January Conference stated the following: We desire and hope to achieve organic unity with the Y.P.S.L. as soon as possible so that our united forces can proceed to reach and win the large masses of leftward moving youth who are as yet not identified with either the Socialist or Communist organizations. However, we at the same time recognize that in this country unlike in Europe, the problem of building a united youth organization does not hinge solely nor even primarily on this question.

This is how we placed the question at the January Conference. We were extremely careful not to work out any pre-conceived pattern. In fact, we deliberately stated that we "strongly warn against any attempts to work out a blue-print for this process." We did not wish to close the doors to any unforeseen developments. It was not yet possible to definitely determine whether organic unity between the Y.C.L. and Y.P.S.L. would be the first stage in the development of the mass youth organization, or whether the crystallization of unity among large masses of non-party youth would take precedence.

We knew that the answer to this question as well as to that of the specific content, form and structure of the united organization could only arise in the course of the daily struggle and as a result of practical experience. For this reason we urged the greatest flexibility in approach. While making every possible effort to bring about the unification of the Socialist and Communist youth organizations, we at the same time urged the utilization of a variety of forms and methods in organizing and uniting the masses of leftward moving but politically unaffiliated young people and in broadening and building the Y.C.L. itself.

Looking back at the decisions of the January Conference, we can say that they in the main were correct. Today, however, these conclusions and decisions no longer suffice. It is necessary to concretize them in line with the new developments and thus indicate more clearly the course ahead.

Leagues Are Not Closer

First of all, we can speak more definitely regarding the perspective of organic unity between the Y.P.S.L. and

the Y.C.L. We must say quite frankly, that our Leagues are not to any considerable degree closer today than they were six months ago. It is true that there have been certain positive developments but these have been offset by negative ones. The positive developments are to be seen in the successful merger of the Socialist and Communist led student organizations and in an increase of united front actions on such issues as the American Youth Act, the fight for Peace, Angelo Herndon, Spain, etc.

The negative side of the picture is to be seen in the entrance of the Trotskyists into the Y.P.S.L. and the effect of their counter-revolutionary poison on the Y.P.S.L. policy and practice. This has been expressed in an increase of provocative statements towards the Soviet Union and the Communist International and in the adoption of a most narrow sectarian policy towards the mass movement in this country, in some cases even bordering on a policy of disruption—as expressed at the Third American Youth Congress.

What conclusion must we draw from these facts? Certainly it would be wrong to draw the conclusion that organic unity is impossible of achievement. But it would be just as wrong to fly facts in the face and delude ourselves into believing that such a merger is just around the corner. It will take some time for the Y.P.S.L. membership to recognize and overcome the deadly poison circulating within the veins of their organization.

In Spain and France the Socialist youth leagues went through similar developments. However, because they were healthy proletarian organizations they succeeded in ousting the Trotskyist disrupters. It is our task to help in every way to bring about the same results in this country. This can be done by developing close comradeship relations with all honest Socialist youth, by organizing united actions with them on specific actions and by intensifying our ideological struggle against Trotskyism and the narrow sectarian policies of the Y.P.S.L. leadership. Within the ranks of the Y.P.S.L. one can already discern a growing feeling of disgust towards the Trotskyites and of opposition towards the suicidal policies of the Y.P.S.L. as such. Until the outcome of this struggle, organic unity is not an immediate perspective.

Y. C. L. Growth Is Uneven

How do we stand in regard to the task of building and broadening the Y.C.L.? While we have accumulated certain positive experiences which have resulted in a growth of the organization, we must frankly admit that on this score also we have hardly begun. The best experiences and the greatest steps forward in the building of the Y.C.L. were recorded in the state of New York where our League has grown to an organization of some six thousand members. In most other states the League has no such progress to record.

Although the growth and development of the League nationally is quite uneven, it is possible to draw certain lessons from the first six months of work which are applicable nationally. First, we can say that the branch form of organization has proven itself far superior to the previously small units, but this was true only where the leading committees gave proper guidance to the branches and helped them organize both their mass work and inner life. Here rapid growth was noticeable. Where such leadership was lacking the branches with their larger membership led only to greater looseness, disorganization and sometimes even loss of membership. Thus the cen-

tral question for the correct functioning of branches is that of guaranteeing capable guidance and leadership for each.

In broadening out the work of the League we must also warn against a one-sided approach. Certain comrades see the broadening of the Y.C.L. only as a problem of improving the lighter forms of activity—such as educational meetings, sports, socials, etc. The result of such a policy is the weakening of the mass work of the Y.C.L. in a number of places which can only result in a weakening of the Y.C.L. itself. This is true for example of Los Angeles. Thus we can note in a number of places a weakening of shop and trade union work, less emphasis on the struggle for Negro rights and less reaction to the immediate issues of the youth in every neighborhood.

This must be corrected if the League is to grow as the class organization of the youth. It is also necessary to say that the educational system throughout the League is still extremely weak and does not correspond with the demand for Marxist-Leninist education on the part of the membership.

Why Growth Is Slow

The major reason for the slowness of Y.C.L. growth is due to the lack of attention being given by the leadership to the problems of the League at the bottom, to the functioning of the branches and to the education and training of the membership. In many districts there is not even a conscious line towards mass recruitment.

"However, this question leads me to another point of great importance, a point of equal importance to that of broadening the Y.C.L. itself. While building and broadening the Y.C.L., we do face the problem of bringing together and organizing those sections of non-party youth who want a class youth organization, but who are not ready and will not join the Y.C.L." (From report to January Conference.)

What have been the developments among the masses of non-party youth? These have been determined by the fact that we have entered a period of intense political ferment leading to fundamental political re-alignments. Large masses of people are breaking away from old political moorings and searching and finding new ones. In the ranks of the toilers this is expressed by the growing desire for independent political action. Labor's Non-Partisan League nationally and in the state of New York, the American Labor Party, are the first breaks of organized labor from the traditional A. F. of L. policy of so-called political neutrality. These are significant steps in the direction of independent political action even though hesitant and confused ones. In a number of states and localities real Farmer-Labor Parties have entered the field and a national advisory committee has been established to survey the possibilities for a national party.

At the same time the reactionary forces who have united their ranks to put over the candidacy of Landon are paying considerable attention to winning the support of young people. Not only are the channels of the Republican Party being used for this purpose, but under the inspiration of the Liberty League and Hearst, the unholy trinity of Coughlin, Lemke and Townsend, is trying to ensnare the masses of youth who are disgusted with the two old parties through the reactionary semi-fascist set-up

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Proletarian Unity and the American Youth Congress

M. Weiss

IMMEDIATELY after the 3rd American Youth Congress in Cleveland, the National Committee of the Y.P.S.L. adopted a resolution expressing its attitude to the American Youth Congress movement. In this resolution, it states:

"The demonstration of our united front line must take the form of a series of campaigns on specific issues, initiated outside the A.Y.C. and broader than the Congress, emphasizing trade union relationships in particular.

"Such a series of united front campaigns outside the framework of the A.Y.C., staggered one after the other, would be our demonstration of the correctness of our position; and in proportion as this demonstration is successful, the importance of the A.Y.C. diminishes and the A.Y.C. as presently constituted will lose its character as "the" youth movement."

Undoubtedly, the desire of the Y.P.S.L. to "diminish the importance" of the A.Y.C. is the continuing element in all of its manifold shiftings and turnings in policy. Undoubtedly, also, this desire to "diminish the importance" of the A.Y.C. is a modified form of the Trotskyite desire to completely destroy the importance of the A.Y.C. Fortunately, the Y.P.S.L. has not completely capitulated to the policy of the Trotskyites in its ranks. The line which separates the two policies, however, is a very, very thin one. The logic of fighting to diminish something's importance leads inevitably to the fight to completely destroy it.

Guided by this questionable ambition, the Y.P.S.L. has projected its relationship to the American Youth Congress onto a much larger canvas. Totally blinded by its sectarian policy, the Y.P.S.L. has undertaken to introduce itself into the A.Y.C. in the role of a new "C.I.O." The riotous imagination needed to undertake such a role would really be amusing did it not have such disruptive consequences. There is no need here to analyze the infantile reasoning behind this masquerade. We have no desire to add to confusion by elaborating on the nonsensical analogies with which the Y.P.S.L. attempts to bolster up its policy. We can only express regret that our comrades in the Y.P.S.L. spend their energies and ingenuity conceiving new schemes to weaken the A.Y.C. rather than working out ways and means of building and strengthening it.

Y.P.S.L. Proposals for United Front Outside of A.Y.C.

In a number of places, the Y.P.S.L. has taken the first steps toward carrying out its policy of "diminishing the importance" of the A.Y.C. by proposing united front actions with the Y.C.L. outside the American Youth Congress. It hopes, in this way, to show that the A.Y.C. is entirely unnecessary and to build up a center for united front actions outside of the A.Y.C. which will begin to compete with it and finally to replace it.

Knowing the aims of the Y.P.S.L., should we adopt a negative approach to such united front proposals on the

mistaken assumption that in order to defeat their aims, we must reject such proposals? This would be absolutely incorrect. If we did this we would fall into the error of making our policy dependent on the policy of the Y.P.S.L.; we would determine our policy by the simple, but erroneous, expedient of fighting against everything the Y.P.S.L. proposes. Such factional methods of working out policy and tactics are now very popular in the Y.P.S.L. due to the infiltration of the Lovestonites and the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites. These grouplets have developed such methods to a fine art. Their own policy bankrupt, they could do nothing but snipe at the policy of the Y.C.L. and the Communist Party. Incapable of working out any kind of policy for the masses, they engaged in a continuous Roman holiday of waiting to hear what the Party and Y.C.L. proposed and then coming out against it. In the past period the Y.P.S.L. has begun to take on more and more the color of a faction whose policy is dictated exclusively by what the Y.C.L. does or does not do. When we are *for*, they are automatically *against*; when we are *against*, they are automatically *for*. We must help the Y.P.S.L. shake off the incubus of these factional, sectarian methods. In the meantime, we must determine our Communist policy exclusively by what is in the interests of the masses of youth and not in any other way.

The following considerations must determine our policy: the American Youth Congress is a medium for the collaboration of all progressive organizations and for the carrying through of actions on issues on which these organizations can agree. For this reason, we must understand that because of the very nature of the A.Y.C. there is room for, and even the necessity for, carrying through certain specific united front actions outside of the A.Y.C. These actions, for example, would be of the following character: demonstrations in support of the Spanish revolution, celebrations of the anniversary of the Russian Revolution, International Youth Day, Liebknecht memorials, support of the C.I.O., etc.

Strong Proletarian United Front Necessary

The necessity of such actions outside the framework of the A.Y.C. is not accidental. It flows from the need of strengthening within any broad united front movement such as the A.Y.C., a proletarian united front which in turn will strengthen and build the much broader united front in the A.Y.C. It is possible that such joint actions between the Y.C.L., and other labor and working class organizations, may become the nucleus for such a proletarian united front within the broader united front movement. Such actions can only result in strengthening the whole united front movement, in attracting newer strata of youth into its ranks. We have long been the advocates of such proletarian unity and are glad that the Y.P.S.L. is at last willing to work together with us in achieving it—even though, of course, their aims and ours

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YOUTH DEFENSE

I.

THE youth of Spain are marching in the front ranks of the armies of the Peoples' Front in the battle against Fascism. Unlike Germany, where the fascists were able to win over large numbers of youth, in Spain the youth have repulsed the advances of the Fascists and are overwhelmingly anti-fascist.

Why have the revolutionary youth of Spain been able to mobilize the great majority of the young people in defense of the progressive program of the Peoples' Front? The primary reasons are the united front of Socialist and Communist youth, the establishment of the Peoples' Front, and finally, the formation of one united organization of Socialist, Communist, and anti-fascist youth dedicated to a struggle for the rights of the young people and for a Socialist society. It was the experiences of the Young Socialists in unity actions with the Young Communists in the Peoples' Front which soon led to the organic unity of these two organizations.

The recent history of the youth movement in Spain is closely interlocked with the history of the Peoples' Front. In the short space of a year this united front of workers, farmers, professionals, small tradesmen, and young people has become the decisive factor governing the destiny of Spain. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International proclaimed that only the unity of all the toilers and the middle classes, all who are threatened by fascism, could defeat reaction. It stated that the major immediate question confronting the people outside the Soviet Union was Fascism or Democracy; reaction or the maintenance of the hard-won liberties of the masses of toilers.

The Communists, without for a moment surrendering their aim of a workers' and farmers' government, showed their readiness to fight side by side with all those who are on the side of democracy. They maintain that to win the masses of toilers for Socialism it is necessary to unite them in the struggle for the defense of Democracy and against Fascism.

The Peoples' Front

The Peoples' Front of Spain was formed in the fires of battle against Fascism. In the last elections, held in February, the reactionaries were decisively beaten by the forces of the Peoples' Front. Flouting the will of the people, the fascists conspired to plunge Spain into a bloody civil war.

On July 16 the fascists, using the riff-raff of the Foreign Legion, led by the reactionary officer-clique and financed by Hitler and Mussolini, declared war on a government elected by the overwhelming majority of the people. They were the instigators of the force and violence which has drenched Spain with the blood of its people.

One answer, one tactic alone, enabled the Spanish toilers to meet this grave crisis. The Peoples' Front, including not only Socialists and Communists, but the Syndicalists, Republicans, peasants, middle classes and

intellectuals. This alone was able to drive back the well armed, well planned attack of the fascists. Again it was shown, as in France, that when Socialists and Communists unite, they attract the masses of toilers and non-proletarian masses who make up the great majority of the people, and whose aid is essential in order to defeat fascism and march towards Socialism.

The Left Government which was put into office in Spain by the Peoples' Front gave arms to the toilers. It was no ordinary army which marched out to do battle with the Fascists. It was the Peoples' Front with a gun on its shoulder, meeting the issue of Fascism versus Democracy.

Why Support People's Front

Clearly the support of the Spanish Government by the Socialists and Communists was not the same as the support by the Socialists of the MacDonald Government in England or Socialist participation in coalition governments in Germany. In those countries it was a matter of supporting the capitalist, anti-labor policies of the governments involved. In Spain it is support of a government which derives its being from the Peoples' Front. It is support of a government which arms the toilers against fascism. It is support of the struggle against the reactionary capitalists and landlords who want to bring fascism to Spain.

Why do both the Socialists and Communists support the Peoples' Front in a struggle for Democracy against Fascism? Isn't their aim the establishment of Socialism? It is precisely because the Left wing Socialists, headed by Caballero and the Communists, want to win the masses for Socialism that they boldly answer the immediate issue facing the people. It is because the victory of fascism would set back the struggle for Socialism that they unite in defense of Democracy, limited as it is under capitalism. It is because the masses of peasants and the middle class must be won under the leadership of the proletariat, that the unity of these groups must be cemented in this struggle which has been forced on the country by the Fascists.

It is the Fascists in Spain and the Hearst Fascists in America who say that the issue in Spain (and America) is now, one between Socialism and Capitalism. Why do they do this? It is because they are anxious to split the Peoples' Front, by frightening the middle class and the peasants away from an alliance with the Socialists and Communists. When the "left" Socialists in this country and the Trotskyites say that the issue in Spain and in America is between Socialism and Capitalism they play into the hands of the fascists who are trying to split the Peoples' Front.

But the Spanish Socialists and Communists who are the real fighters for a Socialist society have given the lie to the assertion that the immediate issue is between Socialism and Capitalism. They are fighting in the Peoples' Front for the defense of Democracy. In this way they prepare the masses for the future struggle for a new social order.

DS SPAIN

JOE COHEN

II.

The events in Spain are of far-reaching importance not only in the immediate area of struggle. Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy threaten to hurl the entire world into war as a result of their support of Fascism in Spain. Hitler strives to tighten the ring of reaction around France, country of the Peoples' Front. Mussolini tries to dominate the Mediterranean, attempting to wrest from England control of the Straits of Gibraltar. The victory of Fascism in Spain would bring the world to the very edge of the precipice of war.

The class struggle within Spain, the battle against Fascism, is thus projected on the international arena. Throughout the world we face the issue of Democracy against Fascism. The Fascists of Germany and Italy are making war against the Spanish people. They threaten war against France, against the Soviet Union, against the people of every country who support the defenders of Democracy in Spain. Clearly then, in the struggle for peace we must defeat the aims of the Fascist nations who are the chief instigators of war.

A few weeks ago Norman Thomas urged international support for the embattled people of Spain. It would seem therefore that Thomas supports the demands put forward by the Communists of France and other countries who urge the lifting of embargoes against the Spanish government. The Fascist nations, we have seen, arm the Spanish Fascists. Thus, in the international line-up the Spanish people, the French under their Left Government, the Soviet Union, the toilers of the entire world are on one side. On the other are the Fascist instigators of war. Where will our Socialist friends in this country stand in such a line-up. For those who seek to defend the cause of peace, there can be no other course but support of the forces of collective security and against fascist aggression.

III.

More than any other section of the revolutionary movement, the youth of Spain have learned the lesson of unity. Not only are they the most heroic fighters in the ranks of the Peoples' Front. They have united into a United Youth League which fights for Socialism. Santiago Carillo, Secretary of the Spanish Federation of Socialist Youth and a member of the unification Commission of the Socialist and Communist youth spoke as follows, before the merger of the two organizations:

"We are going to create a youth organization of a new type, a broad mass organization, the organization of the young gen-

eration. We want to break away from the sectarian character of our youth organizations till now. We wish to embrace the great masses of toiling youth.

"I know there will be no lack of those who will say that we are going to kill the revolutionary spirit of the young workers. There will be those who will accuse us of being reformists. I want to put you on guard against those accusations. Who will make those accusations? The centrist elements who are still in our organization, those who are precisely the opposite of revolutionaries. Also the Trotskyist elements, and those under their influence within our organizations and outside. But I tell you, with the creation of this new organization, this broad organization, we will strengthen the revolutionary character of the youth.

"The mistake we made during the October movement (the anti-fascist insurrection in October, 1934) was precisely that we did not know how to connect the shock troops of the youth with the masses of youth. And now we propose to link the masses of youth with their vanguard."

Unity of Youth: Bulwark Against Fascism

The Socialist and Communist youth leagues of Spain decided to merge on the basis of the decisions of the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International. They saw that the youth who are not yet ready for support of the Socialist and Communist Parties will flock to a united organization which fights for Socialism. That is why the membership of the united organization is more than 150,000 while the total membership of the two organizations before the merger was no more than 75,000.

In the joint call of the Socialist and Communist youth, appealing for unification all along the line, it was stated:

"We wish to establish a new type of organization, able to lead and educate the young generation in the principles of Marxism-Leninism. On the basis of the decisions of the 6th Congress of the Young Communist International we are going to construct the organization of the worker and peasant youth, which daily defends its economic interests, its political and cultural demands, which struggles against fascism and imperialist war; against the whole capitalist regime; for liberty and the victory of Socialism."

Here in America we must learn that the issue of fascism versus democracy must be faced and the bulwark against fascism, the Farmer-Labor Party, established. A youth section of the Farmer-Labor Party will be a big step in building a united youth league such as exists in Spain.



•AIDA LaFUENTE

18 year old YCLer of Spain
—Shot by fascists in 1934 when
she manned a machine gun in
the Asturias uprising (Oct. 1934).

Doubling Our Membership

Henry Winston

WE are initiating a recruiting drive to enlarge our membership to 20,000 by January 1st. This goal can be accomplished if it is planned in the most minute detail by every Y.C.L. member, district and section committee and the branches. Every Young Communist must be mobilized for the successful carrying out of the plans. What we want to achieve through this drive must be clearly brought home to the membership. Not only the winning of 10,000 new members but primarily the recruiting of young workers from the steel mills, from auto and other basic industries, with special emphasis on young workers from A. F. of L. unions and leaders of mass organizations. The League in this recruiting drive must not only concern itself with a quantitative growth but also with a qualitative growth. In the plans formulated as a result of discussions on the recruiting drive *this basic question must stand out.*

In this drive we are not only out to strengthen the Y.C.L. numerically but at the same time to strengthen the Y.C.L., as never before, among the mass of organized young people. Let every campaign, every activity be connected with the building of the League. It must be clear to every individual Y.C.L.'r that in the activities we conduct our aim is not merely to accomplish the goal set but to strengthen the influence of the League among ever larger masses of young people.

Hundreds of young Communists in mass organizations, trade unions and in the schools, with a clear line, knowing what we want and how to achieve it, will be a powerful lever for building the League.

Link Recruiting With Election Campaign

The recruiting drive must be an integral part of the election campaign. From this campaign our League must not only emerge with greater influence and authority but with a membership of 20,000.

The League must be active together with the Party in mobilizing young people to all of the election campaign rallies organized by the Party. At the same time independent rallies for young people, organized by the Y.C.L., should be carried through on a very wide scale. All meetings organized should be put over with a bang by every Y.C.L. member. These meetings should be utilized to draw hundreds of young people into the Y.C.L. Preparation for recruiting at these meetings should be made beforehand—application cards, literature, etc.

To make this drive successful, every district and section committee, every leading person of the Y.C.L. must set up an administrative department which will see to it that all mass meetings taking place during the election campaign will be utilized to the fullest extent for recruiting into the Y.C.L. In addition to this the follow up of new contacts, the assigning of new members to branches and to the various phases of activities to participate in should be carried through in the speediest possible time. This is necessary in order to carry through the drive in the most successful manner.

At every meeting cards should be circularized so that the participants who would like to attend other meetings that we organize may receive notice of same

by placing their name and address on this card. Such a card can be utilized in neighborhoods, clubs, as well as at mass meetings.

Recruiting From Basic Industries

The broadest possible distribution of the 500,000 pieces of election campaign literature to be handled by the Y.C.L. should be made at shops, organizations and in house to house canvassing. There are endless methods of distribution that the comrades can work out. The October 9 nation-wide broadcast on youth problems, by Comrade Browder, should be utilized for house gatherings, followed by socials, neighborhood meetings, etc. Following these meetings we should ask the young people to give us their opinion on the program and appeal to them to join the Y.C.L.

For this drive to be successful the district committees must launch their own campaign on the basis of a well worked out plan, which shall define concretely the task of every section, shop, industrial and street branch, and of comrades active in the trade unions and those working among Negro youth. To get the maximum out of this campaign it becomes necessary to call special gatherings of comrades active in various phases of work and work out a concrete recruiting plan with them.

A recruiting drive will not really be effective unless it is closely connected with the organizational drive in steel, auto and the rubber industries. This is particularly true for such districts as Upper New York, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Chicago and Detroit. These districts must set themselves the goal of recruiting scores of such basic workers into the Y.C.L., to strengthen the Y.C.L. organization, to build new shop nuclei, to strengthen the progressive forces in the unions and be an important factor in the drive to unionize these basic industries. Special meetings should be called of those comrades in the factories and concrete discussions should take place on the question of establishing nuclei or of building and extending the present shop nuclei. The Y.C.L., whereas previously its agitation and propaganda met with wide response among thousands of young people, today, in addition to the growth of political prestige of the Y.C.L., the influence of the Y.C.L. as an organization is growing. This is reflected by the type of recruiting that the Y.C.L. is carrying out at present. This makes it possible for us to recruit thousands of young people on the basis of our rallying the young people in all phases of activity which concerns their daily lives; organization of the unorganized, the building of a broad farmer-labor youth movement, the fight for the youth act, etc.

The goal we have set for January 1st can be easily accomplished. There is not one Y.C.L. member who cannot recruit a new member during the period of this drive. I wish to emphasize the necessity of the leading personnel setting the example in this recruiting drive. We should stimulate through the districts, the sections, branches and among individual Y.C.L.'ers socialist competition. Achieve this goal. For an effective election campaign. Build a Y.C.L. of 20,000 members.

Education in the Y.C.L.

Al Steele

HIGHER standards and responsibilities must be placed on our educational work in the Young Communist League. With the reconstruction of the League we are succeeding in breaking down the old barriers which had often kept youth away from us. We are beginning to get into our organization a truer cross-section of America's youth, with all their misunderstandings and prejudices. The struggle to educate these youth in the teachings of Marxism-Leninism becomes therefore all the more difficult and intense and calls for all our energy, perseverance and ingenuity.

Educational System

The first thing that must be established in the Y.C.L. is a definite educational system. The very process of education must be flexible and gradual, proceeding step by step. Of course, education merely through books is impossible. Every step in the educational development of the members of the Y.C.L. must be interlinked with participation in the class struggle.

Education of League members can proceed along formal or informal lines. In the latter category would be the numerous branch discussions, debates, symposiums, etc., that are not yet sufficiently utilized. However, we do not wish to deal with this phase of the educational work. We wish here to examine only a few of the problems in formal education, the regularly organized classes, study circles, etc. For it is only in this phase of educational work that a regular, organized system of education is possible.

In the New York State organization of the Y.C.L. we have developed a three-stage system of education. The first deals with new members' training. The second deals with full membership training, the so-called system of training in fundamentals. And the third deals with leadership training.

New Members' Training

This must be a very simple course, preferably lasting not more than three or four sessions. The purpose of this class is simply to accustom the new member to the new organization which he has joined, to make him feel at home. Quoting from the *New Members Handbook* which we have just issued (for all those working with new members) the following is our proposed class plan:

First Session—Why the new member joined the Y.C.L.?

- a) What is going on in the world today?
- b) The need to organize to improve conditions.

Second Session—The menace of fascism and war.

Need for unity of Negro and white.

Third Session—Socialism and Americanism.

Fourth Session—How the Y.C.L. works?

These are the main central concepts that we wish to impart in each of the sessions of our new members' classes. In order to emphasize further the flexible character of the classes, and to aid in the teaching of these subjects, each session is further subdivided into seven or eight questions. *The New Members Handbook* explains in detail the ideological basis, methods of organization,

methods of teaching, reading material, etc. for new members classes also.

The Fundamentals

New members' training is of course simply the first step. It should be clear that our educational system should be of such a nature as to take care of every single member of the Y.C.L. One of the steps in our educational system therefore should be of such a nature as to be able to take care of the needs of the bulk of the membership at any given time.

For this purpose we are proposing that a whole series of Branch Study Circles be organized, each to have more or less of a planned curriculum. If education is so important for the League member, if education plays such an important part in his activity, why can't we set up a kind of organizational guarantee which will aid us in assuring that education does become part and parcel of all our work? It is time that we began to make every member of the Y.C.L. feel that he or she cannot fulfill their duty for the working class unless they achieve a certain *minimum* of political knowledge or understanding. It is our opinion that this should constitute the second rung in the ladder of Y.C.L. education—a method of education which will give to the greatest number of Y.C.L. members a basic, minimum understanding of the class struggle.

For this purpose we are establishing the so-called system of Fundamentals. This is to be a series of Branch Study Circles whose purpose it will be to take the member one step higher than the New Members Class. It is our purpose to establish a spirit of responsibility so that every member of the Y.C.L. will not feel himself a really full-fledged member of the Y.C.L., fully capable of conducting himself the way a Y.C.L. member should, in the class struggle, until he completes the series of classes.

It is proposed that this fundamental training include the following:

1. The World We Live In. 2. Imperialism. 3. Negro Liberation Movement. 4. Struggle for Peace. 5. Functions of Government. 6. Fascism. 7. United Front and Farmer-Labor Party. 8. American Youth Congress. 9. Trade Union Movement. 10. Socialism. 11. Americanism. 12. The Young Communist League.

Together with this, members of the Y.C.L. who complete this course should be publicly honored. A pin or button may be given to every member completing this course. Branches or sections can hold special affairs or mass meetings every three or six months where these honors will be publicly distributed to the deserving members.

Leadership Training

For this phase of our educational system we must also have a mass approach. Section and district training schools are the medium proposed for this. These schools may take many forms, from study circles of Section Councils and regularly functioning Section Training Schools, to District Full-Time Training Schools. Special training schools can be established for special categories.

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are not exactly the same. We are sure that in the course of joint activity they will change their perspective while maintaining and increasing such joint actions.

From this point of view, it is clear that we must take a very positive approach to the proposals of the Y.P.S.L. for united actions to be carried through outside of the A.Y.C. We must not fight against the sectarian aim of the Y.P.S.L. (to diminish the importance of the A.Y.C.) by an equally sectarian, negative attitude to their proposals. Instead we should take the initiative in working out with them a number of such issues for united front action outside of the A.Y.C. These actions will, generally speaking, be of the type mentioned above, issues which the A.Y.C. cannot act on because of the character of the organizations composing it. All issues which can rally greater masses of youth through the A.Y.C., of course, should be carried through under its auspices. By working along these lines, we will help build the American Youth Congress by strengthening the bonds of unity between the two proletarian class youth organizations, something for which we have worked energetically for many years.

* * *

Carry Through the Campaign for Youth Act

Of key importance at this moment in the whole work of the American Youth Congress is the campaign for the American Youth Act. This campaign will take on the form of a nation-wide drive to secure one million signatures to a petition in support of the American Youth Act. These petitions will be brought to the next President of the United States by the representatives of America's youth in a mighty pilgrimage to Washington on the day of the inauguration of the new president (March 4, 1937).

Every district, section, unit and fraction of the Y.C.L. must immediately swing into action on the petition campaign. The widest variety of forms and methods for the collection of signatures can and should be worked out. Every organization that has already endorsed the American Youth Act should be approached again and gotten to circulate the petition officially among its members. When central bodies endorse the American Youth Act we should try to get these central bodies to send the petitions officially to its local branches or affiliated bodies. In cities having progressive school boards or city councils which have endorsed the Act, attempts should be made to have the petitions circulated to the students in the high schools. Copies of the petition should, with the cooperation of the leaders of such organizations, be posted on the bulletin boards of various institutions such as the Y's, settlements, union halls, etc. Booths can be set up on street corners, in the lobbies of buildings and department stores. House to house canvassing in a planned manner to cover whole sections of cities or towns should also be organized. In cases where local newspapers are sympathetic to the American Youth Congress, the editors should be approached to run petition ballots in their columns. This medium should be used especially in the case of newspapers or magazines of labor unions or central labor bodies which have endorsed the American Youth Act; similar action can be taken with regard to the monthly or weekly publications of other organizations which have endorsed the American Youth Act.

Together with this work, and as part of it, should go

the widest popularization of the American Youth Act, explanation of its provisions and endorsement by new organizations. A successful petition campaign, conducted on the widest possible mass base, will be the best preparation for the next nation-wide action of the American Youth Congress—the youth pilgrimage to Washington to present the demands of America's youth to the next president of the United States.

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For example, classes for Italian or Irish comrades, who have special problems, classes for Negro comrades, comrades in special fields of work (Y's, settlements, trade unions, students, etc.).

For example in the New York State organization the following is the plan for leadership training. We propose to train 500 young people for leadership within the next three or four months. To accomplish this we will establish 25 schools, with an average of 20 Y.C.L. comrades in each. These will be organized in the following manner: each section will be urged and aided to organize at least one Section Training School. Since there are twenty sections (approximately) this will account for twenty such classes. On a district scale at least five classes will be established among the following: Italian comrades; trade union class; students; Branch Presidents; and one full-time training school. If this program is carried out it will mean producing for the Y.C.L. dozens of young people who will be able to carry out the line of building the Y.C.L. under all circumstances and under the most trying conditions. It will be invaluable for taking the next steps in making the Y.C.L. a really mass youth organization in New York and taking the most active role in the building of the Farmer-Labor Party youth movement and the American Youth Congress.

Records, Diplomas

One shortcoming which has been the bane of educational work for years past is the lack of organizational check-up, which has made it difficult to give acquired results in educational work a tangible character. We have been lacking in not developing a very concrete form, as exists in numerous fields of organizational work, of being able to show at any moment exactly how many people we have reached, at least with our system of formal education.

In order to accomplish this we propose the establishment of a whole system of records. In each Branch and Section (and District wherever possible) records ought to be kept of every class each member attends, together with a grading of how he or she made out in that class. In order to systematize this further we propose a system of diplomas (which may take the form of the usual "sheep-skins", or pins, or buttons) which will be given to each member as he or she completes one or another class. We propose that this be attempted at least in the Fundamentals as a starter. Of course, simple, practical tasks can be included also.

We of course want to warn against any mechanical interpretation which may be given to the proposal for such a *system* of education. In this article we have merely mentioned informal methods of education. In truth, of course, such informal methods are very impor-

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A Letter From England

By JOSEPH BUTLER

LONDON, England:—In England, where there is always a tempest brewing around the Labor Party, there's a tempest brewing now about the Labor League of Youth. Recently, in keeping with the drive for unity, the Central Committee of the Young Communist League sent a letter to the Cooperative Youth Movement—youth organization of the consumer cooperative groups—and the Labor League of Youth—the Labor Party's youth organization, for the formation of a united youth organization. This letter and the actions that were taken on it caused the storm to break.

When the Labor League of Youth was founded in 1924, it was expressly stated by the Labor Party leaders that the League of Youth was to have no voice in its own affairs. It was actually to be run only as an adjunct of the Labor Party, to work in election campaigns, to give dances for the youth and to teach them labor principles. No activity for youth demands, no independent campaigning on the basis of the need of young people of Great Britain was allowed.

The Labor League of Youth has never had its own executive council. It has had a National Advisory Council and the Labor Party Executive has seen to it that this council remained strictly advisory. Its secretary has been one of the regular Labor Party organizers appointed to the job to organize the Labor League of Youth.

For twelve years this situation has meant principally two things: no independent activity for youth has been carried on and consequently, the principal energies of the leaders of the L.L.Y. have been directed toward fighting for democratic control of the youth organization.

This fight has been going on all these 12 years, and now it has broken out sharper than ever because of the unity question. The Y.C.L. proposed unity at a meeting on July 19 and the L.L.Y. accepted it unani-

mously. Scarcely 48 hours later the Labor League of Youth's National Advisory Council found itself locked out and thrown out by the Labor Party Executive Committee. The council members were summarily suspended from their functions.

This arbitrary action has raised a storm of protest throughout the L.L.Y. and among British youth generally. These youth are eagerly awaiting the formation of a united organization. They are ready to accept this type of youth organization by the thousands, but are kept out only by the internal strife provoked by the Labor Party.

The Labor Party's official leaders, in rejecting both the plea of the Communist Party for affiliation and the plea of the Labor League of Youth for autonomy and an expansion of its functions, stated that "conditions have not changed materially since 1924." The answer of the Labor League of Youth was a unanimous and forcefully worded rejection of the memorandum.

Though the L.L.Y. accepted the amalgamation invitation and some 52 organizations of the L.L.Y. and the Co-op Youth Movement have indicated their support of the merger, the battle is not over by any means, John Gollan, secretary of the Y.C.L., informed your correspondent.

The total membership of the L.L.Y., the Co-op Youth Movement and the Y.C.L. in Britain is about 25,000—this in a country whose Labor Party organ, the *Daily Herald*, has a daily circulation of 2,000,000.

"The Labor movement in Britain and the youth of Britain need a mass youth league as never before", Gollan declared. He pointed to the generally lowered standard of living in Britain, the same type of discouraging outlook for youth as elsewhere in the capitalist world.

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of the Union party. Gerald K. Smith, the self-chosen heir to the throne of the deceased Huey Long, went so far as to announce to the Coughlin national convention his intention of organizing one million "physically fit young men" into special storm troops to fight Communism.

Main Task Outlined

In this situation, we must declare that the task of organizing the large masses of leftward moving but politically unaffiliated youth is of even greater importance than at the time of the January Conference. It is now clear that this is the main channel through which to create a strong firm foundation for a mass youth organization. Not to see this, means to leave the masses of youth who are becoming politically conscious and active but who are not yet ready to support either the Communist or Socialist Parties, to the tender mercies of the reactionary demagogues.

How can we best help organize these masses of youth? At the time of the January Conference we called for a variety of forms and methods. We asked our comrades in every part of the country to carefully study the local developments in order to find the specific forms to be used for organizing the non-party youth. At the same

time we gave a few illustrations of how to apply this policy. We pointed out to our League in Minnesota that in that state our policy implied the building, and transformation of the Junior Farmer-Labor Association. In the South we discussed with our comrades the need for building a national liberation organization among the Negro youth. For California we stressed the need for reaching the youth in and around the Epic and Utopian movements, etc.

The result of this flexible policy was the creation of many new clubs and organizations of youth around working class programs and the strengthening of existing organizations of a progressive anti-fascist character. While the same flexible policy must apply for the future, it is possible at this time on the basis of the experiences of the past six months to indicate the link which must be grasped nationally in order to create the type of organization necessary in this country for the defense of the immediate interests of the youth and for their education and training in the class struggle.

This link is the movement for independent political action—the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party.

Why is this so? Because the masses of toilers who are moving away from the ideology of capitalism—from the

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ideology of class collaboration, are expressing this first of all by breaking from the two parties of capitalism to which they have been traditionally bound. This is the link which we must grasp because the creation of a mass Farmer-Labor Party is absolutely essential if fascism is to be defeated. The birth of this party on a national scale will mark a decisive turning point in the life of labor and the whole American people. It will mark the twilight of the period of class collaboration and the dawn of the new period of mass political awakening and growing class consciousness. For these reasons, any broad youth organization which expects to base itself on the masses of leftward moving youth can under present day conditions best be built through the stream of the farmer-labor movement.

Farmer-Labor Youth Movement Growing

This conclusion is borne out by experience. Let us take a glance over the country and see what is taking place in those regions where progressive third party movements have been developing. In Minnesota a Junior Farmer-Labor Association has existed for some time and has grown in the past months. The Washington Commonwealth Federation which is that state's expression of the farmer-labor movement, organized a youth section in April, which has more than five hundred members already and expects to have at least a thousand by the time of its first convention in September. In North Dakota, the Non-Partisan League is building its own junior organization. In Wisconsin, the newly organized Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation has discussed the matter of a youth organization. Similar are the developments in many local and regional Labor Party movements.

It seems obvious that these are not isolated examples. They prove that as the Farmer-Labor Party movement develops and grows it of necessity is faced with the problem of organizing and winning the youth. It is only logical to believe that when these scattered third party movements come together to form a national Farmer-Labor Party that the problem will also arise of a nationwide youth organization.

This conclusion has a great practical significance for the work of our Party and League. It means that far more attention must be given to developing mass agitation for a Farmer-Labor movement among young people. It means that we must utilize every local development in this direction for the organization of larger masses of youth. It means that we must help convince every local labor party movement of the need for building youth clubs and if possible a separate youth organization in support of its platform and candidates. It means that we must call to the attention of these local parties the need for putting forth special demands pertaining to the needs of the youth and also to nominate young people as candidates.

Content of Agitation Must Be Changed

The acceptance of this policy changes greatly the content of our agitation for a united youth organization. Instead of basing our appeal on the abstract need for a united organization, our starting point becomes the burning needs of the masses of youth, and how such an organization will help defeat reaction, help improve their immediate lot and help educate them in the struggle for a new society.

We must make clear that such an organization will be "non-party" in the sense that we've used that term to mean neither control by the Socialist or Communist Party. It will definitely be political and "party" in the sense that it will openly support the Farmer-Labor Party.

If a farmer-labor youth organization is established, is there any need for the American Youth Congress, some comrades may ask. This question can also be answered by citing from experience. In Minnesota such an organization already exists but it does not replace the need for a movement such as the Youth Congress. In our opinion the American Youth Congress must decidedly remain non-political in the sense that it should not support one or another political party or group.

The American Youth Congress is, and should become even more so, the medium for the collaboration of existing mass organizations of youth around specific issues as embodied in the Declaration of Rights. Such collaboration must be developed regardless of the political viewpoint of one or another of these organizations as long as these views make unity possible in behalf of the immediate interests of the masses of youth.

The largest organizations of American youth are those not identified with any political party and any attempt to turn the Youth Congress into a farmer-labor youth movement would make impossible the affiliation or collaboration of these organizations.

Does Not Mean Liquidation

A word is also necessary regarding perspectives. At the January Conference we stated that we hoped the united organization could be established by 1937. It is now necessary to revise that somewhat. The fact that a national Farmer-Labor Party will not be established prior to the November elections makes it impractical to talk of creating a national farmer-labor youth organization in 1936. The point of emphasis at the moment is the building of the local and state organizations which will provide the foundation for a national organization following the establishment of the national party.

What is the perspective for the Y.C.L. and what will be its relations to the farmer-labor youth organization? In raising this question it is necessary to sharply criticize certain liquidatory tendencies that have expressed themselves in various sections of the League. These are most sharply expressed in the state of Washington where the comrades decided that the existence of the youth section of the Washington Commonwealth Federation nullified the need for a Y.C.L. Similar tendencies are also to be found in Minnesota, Detroit, Youngstown and Toledo.

The comrades in the state of Washington leaped ahead of themselves in making their decision regarding the Y.C.L. They tried to carry through the last stage in the process of unification before the first had been completed. Yes, we believe that when the national farmer-labor youth organization is established the Y.C.L. should be a part of it. But the exact manner in which such unification will take place will be determined by certain conditions.

It is important to remember that we do not want just any kind of youth organization. We want an organization that will fulfill its role; an organization that will mobilize the youth for struggle in behalf of their needs and will make possible their education in the spirit of the class struggle and Socialism. This does not mean that we wish to impose our program on the broader organization. But neither does it mean that the program of

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that organization is of no significance to us. We certainly want to help determine that program.

Youth Groups Must Be Independent

Furthermore, we do not believe the youth organization will be able to train and educate youth unless it is an independent organization. In other words, we want an organization that will base itself on the farmer-labor movement but not be mechanically controlled by it. We do not believe a set-up such as exists in Minnesota in which the youth organization has no autonomy and cannot choose its own leadership, is conducive to the proper education and training of youth. And last but not least, we believe the organization should be based on democratic principles which will permit Communist and Socialist youth to work freely within it with the right to express their own views and principles inside of the united organization. Only on such conditions will it be possible to make the farmer-labor organization the united organization of the leftward moving youth.

The liquidation of sections of the Y.C.L. will not help in bringing about such an organization. While helping to build the local farmer-labor youth organizations, the Y.C.L. itself must be broadened and built. A strong Y.C.L. will help build a stronger united youth organization. A strong Y.C.L. will in every stage of the development of the farmer-labor youth organization be able to make its position clear to the masses of youth. In its own ranks it will be able to train youth along Marxist-Leninist lines and in this way prepare a tried and experienced personnel for the youth movement.

The Y.C.L. is an independent organization free to work out its own policies. It, however, does not hide its support of the Communist Party as the revolutionary Marxist Party of the American working class. It has a broader, more flexible structure than the Communist Party and is ready to admit into its ranks any young person who agrees with its class aims and wants to work devotedly within it. It is on this basis that the Y.C.L. must be built throughout the country as the organization training and educating the youth in the class struggle.

It would be foolish at this moment to exactly determine under what conditions the farmer-labor youth organization will be established and the exact relations of the Y.C.L. to it. We do know that this organization if it is to become a broad mass organization will be built not alone by young Communists, but also by young Socialists, young trade unionists, and non-party youth. This is true of Minnesota and Washington and will be true to an even greater degree as the movement develops on a firmer and broader basis nationally. The view of these non-Communist youth are just as important as ours in determining the character and form of the organization. It is for this reason that only in consultation with them can the exact process of development be determined.

How to Work With the Y. P. S. L.

Let us take an example. The Y.P.S.L. at the moment is opposed to organic unity with the Y.C.L. But the Y.P.S.L. is not opposed to independent political action on the part of the American toilers and sooner or later must take a positive attitude towards the building of a Farmer-Labor Party movement. Could not our two organizations under such conditions get together? We could establish an arrangement whereby both of us worked to build the farmer-labor youth organization and when it

was established, affiliated to it on the basis of maintaining our own political and organization independence. This would not yet be organic unity, but it would make possible the working together of Socialist, Communist and non-party youth within the confines of the broader youth organization. We feel sure that under such a set-up it would not take long before we could move on to a higher stage of unification, namely organic unity.

For this reason we must not dot our i's nor cross our t's before we come to them. We must be prepared to modify or change our tactics in accordance with every changed condition. Only a strong Y.C.L. with deep roots among the youth can function in such a manner.

Our Y.C.L. through its correct mass policies has won for itself universal recognition as the leading champion of youth and the best fighter for unity. By constantly clarifying our perspectives and tasks, by critically examining our daily work, we can along the lines indicated above make giant strides forward in the direction of carrying through the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Young Communist International and our own January Conference. The struggle for a united organization of leftward moving youth has only begun. Through the stream of the powerful movement for a Farmer-Labor Party it will be realized.

(Continued from page 4)

common knowledge all the way down to every group instead of remaining the property of the leaders. It is easy to behead a movement which is concentrated in a few hands. It is impossible to do this if in every city and state there are large sections of supporters who know the issues involved. Articles in the church press, local conferences, lectures, can lead in this direction. A greater responsibility for the various summer institutes would help to educate youth.

Side by side with this struggle within the organization for a progressive program, there should be carried out a fight for greater independence of the youth movement from the domination of the reactionary leaders.

(Continued from page 12)

tant and intertwine with each step in the educational system. Personal, individual reading is indispensable. The Workers School is a very important aid which can and must be utilized as part of the educational apparatus.

However, the chief emphasis must be on the Y.C.L. independently establishing a system of education which will lead and guide the youth within it to Socialism.

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