

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD
UNITE

Young Worker

JOIN THE
YOUNG
WORKERS
(Communist)
LEAGUE

Published monthly by the Young Workers (Communist) League of America, 43 East 125th St., New York City. Entered as second class matter Oct. 12, 1927, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Subscription rates—\$1.00 a year; 50c for six months. Foreign Rates \$2.00 a year.

VOL. VII. — No. 4.

NEW YORK, N. Y. APRIL, 1929.

PRICE 5 CENTS

THE YOUNG WORKER IS SEVEN YEARS OLD!

MEXICO COMMUNISTS DEMAND ARMS TO FIGHT REACTION

CALL FOR WORKER-PEASANT COMMITTEES

MEXICO, CITY—On March 5th, the day following the outbreak of the revolutionary revolt, the Communist Party of Mexico issued a manifesto which explained the issues. "The revolt of the generals of the north", declares the manifesto, "the revolt of Aguirre in Vera Cruz, and the revolt of the generals in other states, is an uprising of all the forces of reaction, of all the hacendados and large landowners, of all the reactionary generals and governors in order to establish in Mexico a military dictatorship of all the elements inimical to the interests of the working class."

Calles Ally of Wall St.

Regarding the sell-out antics of the present Calles regime the manifesto declares: "The revolutionaries of 1910, the petty bourgeoisie now in power, are incapable of effecting the economic reconstruction of the country. All the agitation and propaganda of Calles and the Laborista, faithful servants of the petty bourgeoisie, for the establishment of an independent national Mexican industry is the greatest failure in history, the most complete failure in the annals of our country."

Instead of making our national resources independent of the control of foreign capital, the government sacrificed even more of the country's resources to the foreign interests, favoring the most outrageous penetration of North American capital. The dual alliance of Calles with American capital and the A. F. of L., an organization controlled by Wall Street agents, is a fact."

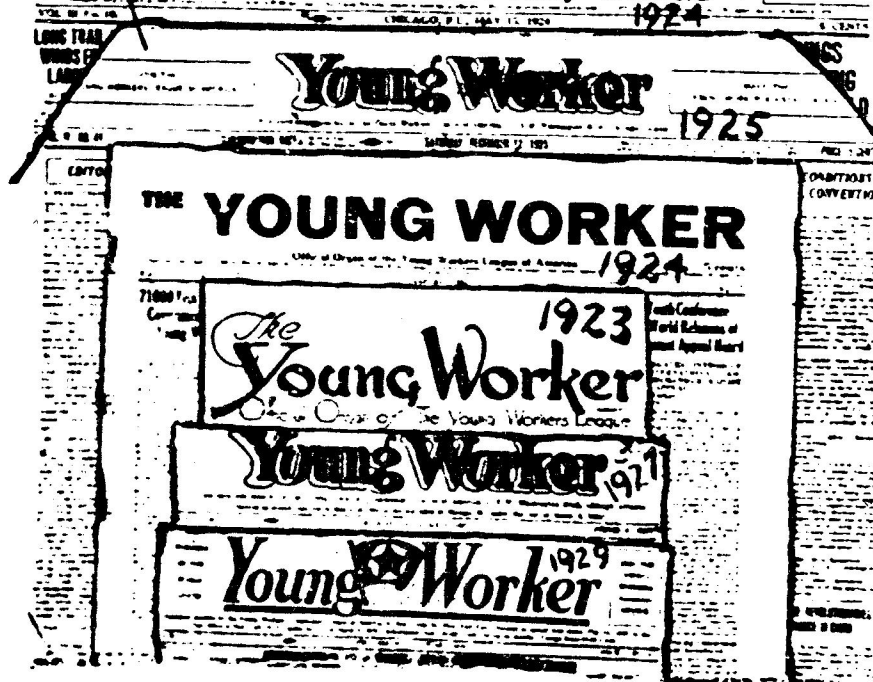
Demand Arming Workers

The Communist Party ends the manifesto with the demands for the arming of the workers and peasants to fight the reaction, the immediate cleaning of the federal army and the government apparatus from all elements inimical to the interests of the working class, the dissolution of the large estates and the distribution of the land and farm machinery to the poor and landless peasants, the establishment of workers control in all factories, that all theatres, schools, cinema houses and printing plants shall be placed at the disposal of the workers and peasants for the struggle against reaction, all reactionary associations such as the League for Religious Defense, the National Syndicate of Agriculturists and the Knights of Columbus shall be disbanded and declared illegal, the organization of workers and peasants committees against the reaction.

The manifesto ends by declaring that: "Only a government of workers and peasants will be able to guarantee peace, bread, land and liberty!"

THE YOUNG WORKER

An Organ of the Militant Young Workers



THE YOUNG WORKER was seven years old in March. In seven years this fighting paper of the exploited youth has received many battle scars. We can indeed look back on the road which we have traveled and take pride in the achievements we have made.

Seven years ago the YOUNG WORKER first saw the light of day. At that time it was a small magazine carrying on propaganda for the principles of Communism, but to too large an extent it was divorced from the every day struggles of the young workers. It reflected the first stages of the revolutionary youth movement in the U. S., the stage of the complete ideological breaking with the Social Democratic traditions of the past. The isolation of the Communist Youth Movement at this period reflected itself in the YOUNG WORKER in the form of "pure literary contributions."

But in the last three or four years the YOUNG WORKER distinguished itself as an organ of struggle. TODAY THE "YOUNG WORKER" IS A FACTOR IN MOBILIZING THE EXPLOITED YOUTH IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM. The YOUNG WORKER has participated in every struggle of the working class in the last years. It has been in the forefront of the struggle against the imperialist war danger. It has fought the bosses and their agents in the labor movement—the social reformists. The Young Textile Workers of Passaic and New Bedford, the young coal miners throughout the country, the young Needle Trades Workers recognize in the YOUNG WORKER the champion of their fierce class struggles. The smallest Newsboys' strike in the far west, the big battles of the new proletariat of the South, the struggle of the Needle Trades Workers in the East find in the YOUNG WORKER their fighting friend.

Within the movement the YOUNG WORKER has fought for the line of the C.I. and C.Y.I. against the Right danger as the main danger, and against the renegade Trotskyists.

The YOUNG WORKER has voiced the demands of the men in uniform, the exploited youth on the farms, the young Negroes, the exploited youth in the colonies and semi-colonies, the working class children and child laborers, and those students who were willing to fight capitalism.

On its seventh birthday we must recognize that the YOUNG WORKER has only made a slight beginning. It has not yet turned the corner to face the new period of struggles ahead of us. This task still remains before us.

That is why we put to the fore the question of BUILDING A WEEKLY YOUNG WORKER IN THIS PERIOD! FORWARD TO A MASS PAPER! BUILD A WEEKLY YOUNG WORKER!

CALL TRADE UNION UNITY CONVENTION

CLEVELAND CONVENTION WILL FORM PERMANENT BODY, ALWAYS READY

The Trade Union Educational League issued a statement calling on all workers to rally behind the thousands of striking Southern textile workers and to make that assistance permanent by building the Trade Union Unity Convention called by the T.U.E.L. for Cleveland, June 1-2.

One of the unions endorsing the Cleveland convention is the National Textile Workers Union, which is now providing real leadership for the southern strikers, and extending its organization there. The T.U.E.L. statement also gives many reasons why the working class as a whole should assist in all ways the N.T.W.U. organization campaign in the southern states.

The Cleveland convention will have representatives not only from the organized unions, but from committees built in the unorganized shops, from left wing groups inside reactionary unions, from the unemployed and from the Negroes in addition to their representation on other bodies. Special attention is being given to mobilizing young workers for the convention. It will establish a new militant trade union center and a coordinating center for Left Wing work.

Fight the C.M.T.C!

Fight Capitalist Militarization
Big Trusts Start Herding Working Youth to Camps

By GEORGE PERSHING
While the government is carrying on its energetic and clever campaign among the youth for entry into the C.M.T.C., which in the past years has been so successful that in many of the army corps areas there have been more applications than there were vacancies, let us discuss the attitude of the Young Workers (Communist) League toward the C.M.T.C.

A Pro-Boss Agency
The success of the C.M.T.C. has been almost wholly due to increased unemployment and to the encouragement offered to the youth by such firms and organizations as Standard Oil, DuPont, Wisconsin Citizens' Military Training Camps Association, etc. Many of the large manufacturing concerns have given partial wages to their employees as a means of inducing them to attend the C.M.T.C. Camps. The War Department has entered into many agreements with such concerns employing large numbers of young workers to secure them for the

(Continued on Page 2)

FIFTH Y.W.L. CONVENTION OPENS APRIL 26th.

Delegates From All Parts Of U. S. Gather in New York

The Fifth National Convention of the Young Workers (Communist) League has been definitely set to open on April 26th, 1929 in New York City. This convention will be of great significance for the further development of the League.

The agenda for the Fifth Communist Youth Convention is as follows:

1. Report of the Central Committee of the Party—Party Reporter
2. Report of the National Executive Committee of the League, the struggle against the Right Danger, the position of the young workers and tasks of the league—Reporter H. Zarr
3. The organizational status and tasks of the league—Reporter Sam Darcy
4. Situation and work of the Communist Youth International—Reporter

5. The War Department's attitude toward the League—Reporter Sam Darcy

6. The organization of the young workers, youth sections and economic youth associations, the Trade Union Unity Congress—Reporter John Williams

7. The Negro work of the League—Reporter Charles Alexander

8. Resolutions—Reporter

9. Election of delegates to the Sixth National Convention

U. S. AGENTS TO CONTINUE ILL TREATMENT OF J. PORTER

Young Workers Must Raise Big Protest

DEMAND HIS RELEASE!

George S. Greenlee, of Pueblo, Colorado, has written the United States Disciplinary Barracks at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, demanding that the torture of John Porter, arrested during the New Bedford textile workers strike, shall cease.

Porter was arrested and charged with desertion only after he had been taking a leading part in the struggles of the National Textile Workers Union. His term of enlistment had but a short time to run, when he left the Army. The International Labor Defense is conducting the case.

The Commandant of the prison has sent the following reply to Greenlee, which shows that the government agents are determined to show no mercy to this youthful worker:

"Reference to your letter of January 9, 1929, I am directed by the Commandant to advise you that John F. Waleryszak, alias, John Porter, Registered Number 3473 was convicted of Desertion of which he received a sentence to dishonorable discharge and forfeiture of all pay and allowances due or to become due and confinement for a period of two (2) years.

He deserted the Army at Fort McKinley, Maine on July 18, 1927, after having taken an oath to serve in the Army of the United States for three (3) years.

As to your "entering a formal protest against his imprisonment and alleged mistreatment if you find the case deserves such an act", it is believed that any action you may care to take be left to your own judgment.

So far as this office is concerned, this prisoner was found to be legally tried, convicted and sentenced for an offense against the United States for which he is now serving sentence. His labor activities had no bearing on the case.

Trusting that this is the information that you desire, I am,

The Young Workers (Communist) League calls upon all workers and sympathizers to protest against the continued imprisonment of Porter and the extremely vicious treatment to which he is subjected.

"Red Weaver Makes Things Move in Textile Mill of N. B.

By Y. W. Correspondent
NEW BEDFORD, Mass.—Things have happened since the last publication of the "Red Weaver", the bulletin gotten out by the workers in the Dartmouth Mfg. Co. This bulletin is published as often as we get articles from the workers and the means to cover expenses.

"Sucker" Bill who left the plant for a while is now back to bulldoze and terrorize the workers. He goes around the room to see how well the worker runs his or her looms. He marks down those he considers good and bad. The result is that the fastest worker gets more looms and the slower workers are fired.

The "Sucker" pays special attention to the young workers because he knows that they will last longer under the speed-up. But the young workers cannot be fooled right along. More and more of them realize that a fight to the finish must be waged against the Textile Barons.

Since the last publication of the "Red Weaver" sanitary conditions were improved a little. All the writing on the walls and some of the mud and dirt were scrubbed off. In some departments they even had the walls painted again. The floors were kept cleaner and a little dryer. But this does not yet solve the problem by a long shot.

Piece Work Cheat System Hit Lumber Workers of Minn.

By ARNO
Young Lumber Worker

CHERRY, Minn. — "Every penny counts", is the slogan of every big lumber company and they sure live up to their slogan. First of all it is fixed in such a manner that the owners don't go into the woods, but leave their foremen do the dirty work. The camp foremen that gets the most logs out with the least cost gets a bonus. Thus it is to their interest to rush the lumber jacks for small pay.

A big cheating scheme is piece work and station work. Most of the pulp wood and ties are cut by the piece. The men are promised from 3 to 5 cents a piece for pulp, but when pay day comes they actually get only 2½ cents a piece. This is done by calling some of the pieces "no good". Another part of the scheme is to keep the men busy fixing the roads if they make over a common day's wages.

When the lumber workers wake up and organize they can fight against these poor conditions.

GREETING OF LEAGUE UNITS TO YOUNG WORKER ON ITS 7th BIRTHDAY

Young Workers' League Boston Unit	Superior, Wisc.	\$1.00
South Philadelphia	Boston, Mass.	1.00
Central Unit	Philadelphia, Pa.	1.00
Young Workers' League	Philadelphia, Pa.	1.00
Young Workers' League	Minneapolis, Minn.	1.00
Young Workers' League	Paynesville, Mich.	1.00
Young Workers' League	Waynard, Mass.	1.00
Young Workers' League	San Francisco, Cal.	2.00
Young Workers' League	St. Paul, Minn.	1.00
Young Workers' League	Dakota, Minn.	1.00
Young Workers' League	Cromwell, Minn.	1.00
Young Workers' League No. 7	San Francisco, Cal.	1.00
District Executive Committee	San Francisco, Cal.	2.00
Young Workers' League	Seattle, Wash.	2.00
Young Workers' League No. 4	Detroit, Mich.	1.00
Young Workers' League	Roadbury, Mass.	3.00
Young Workers' League	Waukegan, Ill.	1.00
Young Workers League Sec. No. 5	Chicago, Ill.	2.00
Young Workers League Sec. No. 6	Chicago, Ill.	4.71
Young Workers League	Milwaukee, Wisc.	3.00
Young Workers League	Quincy-Weymouth, Mass.	3.00
Young Workers League	Wilton, N. H.	1.00
Young Workers League	Madison, Wisc.	1.00
Young Workers League	West Allis, Wisc.	1.00
Young Workers League Upper Bronx	New York, N. Y.	2.00

L. Danato	Boston, Mass.	\$.25
M. Whittier	Boston, Mass.	.25
L. Tuuri		.50
S. E. Almqvist	Skandia, Mich.	.50
E. Mendes	New Bedford, Mass.	1.00
M. B. Pitta	New Bedford, Mass.	.25
C. Lameiros	New Bedford, Mass.	.50
Oliever	Boston, Mass.	.25
W. A. Harju	Superior, Wisc.	.25
E. Panher	Superior, Wisc.	.25
A. Backman	Superior, Wisc.	.25
H. Flinkman	Superior, Wisc.	.25
C. B. Merisela	Superior, Wisc.	.25
T. Usenius	Superior, Wisc.	.25
L. Sievi	Superior, Wisc.	.25
K. Corgan	Superior, Wisc.	.25
H. Davidson	Superior, Wisc.	.25
W. Keakinen	Superior, Wisc.	.25
C. Latvala	Superior, Wisc.	.25
M. Miller	Superior, Wisc.	.25
C. Linquist	Superior, Wisc.	.25
I. Mattila	Superior, Wisc.	.25
M. Angervo	Superior, Wisc.	.25
R. Salmela	Superior, Wisc.	.25
H. Kari	Superior, Wisc.	.25
Morris Schindler	Wilkinsburg, Pa.	1.00
John Kasper	Wilkinsburg, Pa.	1.00
P. Jurich	Wilkinsburg, Pa.	1.00
J. G. Jarrell	Turtle Creek, Pa.	1.00
T. Cvetnich	E. Pittsburgh, Pa.	1.00
S. Sestak	E. Pittsburgh, Pa.	1.00
R. Swift	E. Pittsburgh, Pa.	1.00
J. Mavrovich	F. Pittsburgh, Pa.	1.00
M. Bosnac	Rankin Pa.	1.00
J. Bandik	E. Pittsburgh, Pa.	1.00
John Moura	New Bedford, Mass.	1.25
Antone Neves	New Bedford, Mass.	.25
Jackson Wales	New Bedford, Mass.	.25
M. Isidro	New Bedford, Mass.	.25
A. Lameiros	New Bedford, Mass.	.25
A. Sameiro	New Bedford, Mass.	.25
L. Zeitlin	New Bedford, Mass.	.25
J. Britt	Denver, Colo.	1.00
B. Hatnoff	St. Paul, Minn.	1.00
K. Schultz	Seattle, Wash.	.50
J. I. Potter	Seattle, Wash.	1.00
H. Mattson	Denver, Colo.	1.00
K. Kapola	Astoria, Ore.	1.00
Rabinowitz	Astoria, Ore.	1.00
A. Chalperin	Roxbury, Mass.	.25
	Roxbury, Mass.	.25

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC. REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 26, 1917

The Young Worker, published monthly at New York, N. Y. for April 1, 1929.
State of New York.
County of New York.

I, Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Nat Kaplan who, having been duly sworn according to law deposes and says that he is the Editor of the Young Worker and that the following is to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management and circulation of the Young Worker for the above stated period, to-wit: the month of April, 1929, as required by the Act of August 26, 1917, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to-wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Publisher: Young Workers League of America, 41 E. 125th St. New York City.

Editor: Nat Kaplan, 41 E. 125th St. New York.
Managing Editor: None.
Business Managers: None.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the name and address of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)
Young Workers League of America, 41 E. 125th St. New York City.

3. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the name and address of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities which by their terms entitle the holder to vote in the election of directors.)
NAT KAPLAN
125th St. New York City.

4. That the circulation of the Young Worker for the month of April, 1929, was:
Copies Sold: 100
Copies Not Sold: 100
Total: 200
MAY KATZES
(M. K. Katzes, Editor, April 30, 1929)

We are behind the YOUNG WORKERS' (Communist) LEAGUE in its drive for making the YOUNG WORKER a weekly. Revolutionary greetings on your 7th birthday.
ST. NUCLEUS No. 1 OF COMMUNIST PARTY
Seattle, Washington.

Communist Greetings to the YOUNG WORKER. The revolutionary youth need a weekly paper for the big tasks that confront them in this period of imperialist war.
ST. NUCLEUS No. 3 OF COMMUNIST PARTY
Seattle, Washington.

MAY YOUR NEXT ANNIVERSARY BE THE 1ST ANNIVERSARY OF THE WEEKLY YOUNG WORKER.
ASTORIA FINNISH WOMEN'S SECTION

OREGON-WASHINGTON FINNISH WOMEN'S FEDERATION
Sends its REVOLUTIONARY Greetings
and looks forward to a Weekly YOUNG WORKER.

The United Council of WORKING CLASS WOMEN
of Seattle, Washington, greets the YOUNG WORKER
on its 7th Birthday.

COMRADELY GREETINGS ON YOUR ANNIVERSARY
PACIFIC DEVELOPMENT SOCIETY
Box 99, Astoria, Oregon

GREETINGS TO THE YOUNG WORKER
On its 7th Birthday.
BUILD THE FIGHTING PRESS OF THE YOUNG WORKERS!
Lithuanian Working Women's Alliance
Waterbury, Conn.

Compliments of
RICHARD HEATING & IMPROVEMENT CO.
745 Penn. Avenue
FOR HEATING, ROOFING AND SHINGLE WORK CALL
Franklin 4450.
Wilkinsburg, Pa.

The New Haven Jewish Working Women's Council greets the YOUNG WORKER, the only youth paper, fighting for the demands of the young workers on its 7th birthday

PUZZLE PASTER



REBEL FUN

THEY'RE ORGANIZED

A man driving his ox-team was flicking the horse flies off them with his whip.

His friend said: "Sam, take a crack of that hornet's nest."

Sam said: "No sir. Them boys is organized!"

THE 8 HOUR DAY

The new miner was questioning his boarding boss about local conditions, as he was to start work the next day.

Boarding Boss: "This is a hell of a joint to be stuck in. Wages low, no deadwork, robbed on tonnage and long hours."

Miner: "How come long hours? Don't you know there is an 8 hour day in this country?"

Boarding Boss: Sure, there's an 8 hour

day here too, 8 hours before dinner and 8 hours after dinner."

AT THE TOP

"How's the job going, Elmer?"

"Fine! I've got five men under me now."

"Really?"

"Yah; I work upstairs."

NOT ALL THERE

Lawyer—Was the man you found under the street car a total stranger?

Witness (who had been told to be careful)—No, sir, his arm and leg were gone; he was only a partial stranger.—Bucknell Bell Hop.

CHIP OF THE OLD BLOCK

"I see they have at last decided to pave the streets with wooden blocks."

"Yes? How did that happen?"

"Well, the members of the City Council sort of put their heads together."

SWARTZ BOXING BILL FAVORS BOSS CONTROL

L. S. U. Demand Workers' Control of Game

A.A.U. FAKE AMATEURS

NEW YORK CITY—The clear cut stand of the Labor Sports Union against the Swartz Boxing Bill proposed for New York State is expressed as follows:

"At the present time, there is before the New York State Assembly, a bill introduced by a former promoter of professional boxing, Arthur L. Swartz. This bill is aimed at the A. A. U., which at the present time is given full jurisdiction over amateur boxing and wrestling in the state by the State Boxing Commission. The object of this bill is to place amateur boxing under the control of the state so that it may be a source of graft to other than the A. A. U. officials. This bill also calls for the lengthening of the bout from three to six rounds. Also that any incorporated organization may secure license to promote amateur bouts. By this it is plainly seen that the purpose of the bill is to place amateur boxing in a position where it may not only be exploited by the lackey of the boss, the officials of the A. A. U., but also by the promoters of professional boxing. By running six round amateur shows, they will be able to give the spectators a run for their money, and at the same time, avoid paying high prices which the professional boxing fraternity demands from the promoters of the art of "self-defense."

The Labor Sports Union stands against the Swartz boxing bill, recognizing in it a further process of commercialization of athletics and bringing them under fascist control in order to militarize the youth for the coming imperialist wars. We are also against the control of amateur boxing or of any other sport by the AAU



since AAU control is bosses' control for the commercial and fascist interests of the master class.

We stand: Against the Swartz boxing bill! Against AAU control of boxing! For control of amateur boxing, as well as all other sports by the workers, through the Labor Sports Union!

RED SPORTS INTL GREETES THE L. S. U.

Satisfied With Magazine

MOSCOW, U.S.S.R. March 4th—The Secretariat of the Red Sports International has today sent the following letter to the Labor Sports Union of America:

"Dear Comrades: "We have received your letter and the first issue of the "Workers Sports" and we are expressing our greatest satisfaction. In our bulletins and in the Soviet press we are publishing a review of this issue."

"The chief thing we wish to tell you is that according to your letter and the contents of your magazine you have a correct attitude in relation to the international sports movement, in relation to bosses sports (industrial leagues, etc.) and also in appraising the bourgeoisie and the reformists. We wish you therefore the greatest success, that you may grow and get strong and continue to serve the cause of the revolutionary workers."

Secretariat of R. S. I."

Nat Kaplan, Editor, Young Worker Dear Comrade:

We have received a letter from the National office urging every unit to send greetings to the anniversary issue of the Young Worker. The Executive Committee of our unit considered this matter and decided that a one dollar greeting from any New York unit is certainly insufficient. Therefore we decided to utilize the discussion of the CYI letter from the viewpoint of helping the Young Worker

At the unit meeting an appeal was made by the chairman to help put the CYI letter in operation immediately by helping the drive for a weekly Young Worker. The result was a collection of \$10.85 which we are enclosing, as our greeting to the Young Worker.

Yours for a fighting Weekly Young Worker!

With Communist greetings, For the E. C., Williamsburg unit No 1 District No. 2.

A WEINFELD, Org

BOOK REVIEW

Souvenir by Floyd Dell—Doubleday, Doran & Co., N. Y. \$2.50, 278pp.

BEFORE panning this novel it is well to remark that Dell has written five very amusing books: "Moon Calf", "Briary Bush," "Janet March", "Looking at Life," and "Intellectual Vagabondage"—the first being excellent and the last rather poor. Since 1924 he has belched a string of pot boilers. In a period of reaction, sensitive intellectuals feel dismal and they comfort themselves in strange ways. The Russian artists after 1905 went in for mysticism, dope and free love clubs. In the U. S. we get the same phenomena, diluted. Hooch, sex, alleged realism (Mencken and Hemingway) and the Ivory Tower. The Ivory Tower phrase means that the artist professes indifference to the social affairs of the world and cares only to produce "pure beauty", which he says has eternal significance. (The "pure beauty" proves to be garbage). Dell's refuge is the magic and mystery of parenthood. His five readable books are frank, confessional documents of adolescence: his recent tripe are heavy sermons on the wonder of raising children. To train kids (your own or anyone else) to serve the revolution is fine, but kids as kids are after all just kids. Dell a decade ago was a left intellectual, who spoke highly of revolution. The social basis of the degeneracy of such artists is the partial stabilization of capitalism since the war. Dell fears vividly that in a class war his little dears may get hurt and that would be too bad. Revolution may be all right in Europe but in America—ah! no! "the American workers are too bourgeois"; "of course the radical movement is dead in America" (note that it is radical, not labor); "the American workers have Fords and silk stockings".

In "Souvenir" Felix Fay has met and married the Perfect Mother and settled in Croton (Dell's home). His twenty year old Son appears and the Life Force gets a hundred pages. Son has two girls, Mother type and Modern Feminist. Lesbianism being fashionable, we get thirty pages of Platonic Lesbos. And this is Art! "Souvenir" is partially redeemed by unconscious farce. Papa trying to help Son's alliance to Mother Type escorts her to his room and finds it lit:ed with the Feminists underwear! Son robbed of both his brides, recites a poem, remembers the "Red Flag waving high above the morass of sex in realm of courage and action", and scores to the Daily Worker for a job! His qualifications—he can play tennis and write poetry. It is amazing he is not hired—in fact Dell points out the reason is there is no vacant job.

ARGENTINE Y. C. L. IS CONSOLIDATED AT FIFTH CONVENTION

E.C. C.Y.I. Sends Greetings

The IV Congress of the Young Communist League of Argentina was held on Dec. 7, 1928.

Among the delegates were representatives of the capital of 10 local organizations. This congress winds up a whole period of steady development of the League, for it puts an end to the serious crisis caused by the secession of Penelonas followers.

The congress has elaborated practical directions for the organizational and ideological consolidation of the League. Congratulatory telegram from the Executive of the CYI and the YCL of Uruguay were read at the congress. Comrade Kodavilla spoke on behalf of the Communist Party of Argentina.

FIGHT REFORMISM

H. N. Brailsford in "The New Leader" (London) jumps in to save the Muste Crew of reformists from the ire of the A. P. of L. Bureaucracy. Describing the Brookwood School he declares: "The vocabulary differed a little from ours ("Ours" means the worst reformists, misleaders of the workers in Europe. Ed.) but one met with no ideas that seemed strange. The main trend of opinion was clearly for industrial as opposed to craft unions, and against "class-collaboration", but I caught no revolutionary note in the discussion, nor did my ears detect any echo of Moscow."

Muste and Brailsford stretch their hands across the ocean in fond embrace. They have everything in common in carrying out their function as the misleaders of the radicalized workers, leading them back to the clutches of the bosses. But the young workers, growing ever more class conscious, engaging in new and fiercer struggles against the bosses will raise the cry: "Save us from our friends, we will take care of our enemies!"

YOUNG WORKER SONG CONTEST

Here's a new national anthem for capitalist America. Our latest contributor in the song writing contest. We are still waiting for you to make a try for the \$10.00 library of books by writing a snappy rebel song. The music does not have to be original.

PROSPERITY

Tune: Star Spangled Banner

Oh say can you see by the dawn's early light

The army of men who have waited all night,

To answer an add that had asked for ten men,

And here at the gate there stood seven times ten.

Oh say can you see by the sun's angry glare

The pall of black smoke that hangs in the air,

The pinched hungry looks of the slaves on the block,

They shiver—their coats have long since been in lock.

Oh say can you see the Big Boss of the shop,

He's boasting that profits are over the top.

"Efficiency doubled my profits" he states.

"Just half force is working—the other half waits."

Oh say can't you see something rotten's around,

"Prosperity's here", so Herb Hoover has found.

"Prosperity's here", but you workers are broke—

Put that in your pipes, you poor wage slaves, and smoke!

Mildred Gaims, Denver, Colorado.

A VERY SHORT STORY WITH A VERY BIG IDEA By P. P. G.

T IRED and cross, Tom came home from work one evening. Every little thing simply irritated him, and he could think of no better way of giving vent to his anger than swearing all he was worth every now and then. He had asked his boss for a raise, and had been told "to go straight to hell, and shovel coal" if he didn't like it. What right had his boss to treat him like that? Hadn't he been working like a regular slave, ready at a moment's notice to do the least little thing asked of him? And besides, how about all the time he had worked over time in the factory and had not been paid one damn cent extra for it? Thus Tom reasoned, and the more he thought, the angrier he grew.

By and by, after exhausting all his acquired vocabulary, he grew calm. After all, was this not the way all the bosses treated the workers? If one of the workers would get "fresh" and ask for a raise, there were always plenty of others only too willing to take his place.

Soon Tom noticed that his copy of "The Young Worker" had come. Only a short time ago he had ordered it from a boy who was a member of the "Young Workers' League". He had not really wanted to get the paper then because he did not know what it was all about, and besides he hardly had enough money but he did not have the heart to disappoint this nice young kid who seemed so sincere about everything by sending him away without a sub.

He glanced through the pages, and soon got the surprise of his life to see that this paper thought the very same way as he did—that the workers should not work for such low wages; that they should stick together in a common fight for the good of the whole working class.

Surely, thought Tom, here is a paper that deserves the support of every young worker

Forward to a Mass Communist Youth League

DRAFT THESIS OF NEC

I. 3rd PERIOD, OPEN LETTER AND NEW LINE OF PARTY.

1.) The tasks, problems and activities of the Communist movement in the United States, including the Communist youth movement, arise out of the present position of world capitalism and the relations of American imperialism as an organic factor in the present international situation. The present, third period of post-war capitalism, which is marked by the sharpening of the international situation, the contradictions of capitalism and class struggles, based upon the stabilization of capitalism in the most important countries and the further development of the most basic contradictions therefrom, has opened up for the Communist movement a new revolutionary perspective, a period of fierce class warfare, an era of imperialist, colonial and revolutionary wars, which must necessarily culminate in decisive revolutionary struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will be on the order of the day.

Contradictions of Imperialism.

2.) Along with the continued upward development of American imperialism, and the shifting of the economic center of World Imperialism to the United States, the United States, being already an organic part and most aggressive factor of world imperialism, is being drawn more and more into the vortex of the developing contradictions of World Imperialism. The stabilization of Europe, which was carried thru with the assistance of American capital, far from "putting Europe on rations" has developed the competitive forces of Europe, placed new obstacles in the way of American expansion, and heightened the struggle among the capitalist powers. The disparity between the enormous productive powers of American capitalism, between its tremendous foreign trade, between the large supply of investable capital, and the small colonial empire, which makes difficult the "normal" development of these factors of expansion, only sharpens the gigantic struggle between American imperialism and British imperialism, with its enormous colonial empire and constantly decreasing reserves. The danger of a new imperialist war, which has become general, centers around the struggle between these two imperialist giants for world hegemony.

Building of Socialism in U. S. S. R.

3.) The successful development of Socialism in the Soviet Union and the rallying of all the oppressed and toiling masses in the capitalist countries and colonies around the Soviet Union, makes the very existence of the Soviet Union a constant and increasing source of danger to world capitalism. Consequently the imperialist powers have completed preparations for an onslaught on the Soviet Union, only waiting for a favorable opportunity to begin an intervention drive. The danger of a war against the Soviet Union has become a permanent one for the workers of the entire world and makes an international task for all workers, under the leadership of the Communists, the defense of the Soviet Union.

4. The Open Letter of the Comintern to the American Party, which draws the conclusions for the American workers from these general conditions of world imperialism, gives the proper revolutionary perspective for our Party, opens up the vista of struggle in which our Party is to become the leader of the proletariat, and shows that the American Party is entering a new period, during which it will have to change its approach, methods of its work, establish contact with new strata of the working class and place itself at the head of unparalleled mass struggle. It is on this basis that the Open Letter lays down a New Line for the American Party. The New Line means the adaptation of the Party to the new period of struggles and its moulding as the real leader of the American masses.

5.) The conditions which will impose enormous tasks on the Workers Party of America, and will compel it to take the lead in gigantic class conflicts, are developing ever more rapidly.

"The aggressiveness of the United States in the struggle for markets and the most important source of raw material throughout the world is growing swiftly. The election of Hoover as president means that American imperialism is resolutely embarking on a course which leads to colonial wars of occupation and to an extremely rapid accentuation of the struggle between the United States and its chief imperialist rival—Great Britain. American imperialism is striving for a monopolist position in world economy and politics and is becoming more and more involved in the universal crisis of capitalism and comes more and more into the orbit of the growing instability of world capitalism.

"The striving towards domination in world politics drives American imperialism, on the one hand, towards brutal capitalist rationalization which throws considerable sections of the proletariat out of production, leads to an extreme overstrain of labor without corresponding compensation, to a colossal growth of unemployment (3-4 million) and to a general worsening of the conditions of the working class. On the other hand, it leads towards tremendous growth of armament which puts ever heavier burdens onto the shoulders of the toiling masses. All this and the menace of the terrific calamities of war creates a state of uncertainty and insecurity in the entire working class. It is on this basis that the tendency towards radicalization of the American working class is increasing; that its activities, its will to defend itself, which in some places transforms itself into a will to assume the offensive, is developing. This drift towards the Left does not develop evenly in all parts of the working class. It now embraces chiefly the unorganized workers, especially in those industries which have not reached their previous level after the depression of the first half of 1928."

Struggles of Past Period.

6.) A number of struggles in the last two years have heralded in the new period in which our movement will work. These mass battles of important sections of the American proletariat—the mining struggle, the textile strike, the needle trades strikes, which found in the American Party a stalwart leader, and the establishment of new unions in these industries based on these struggles, which because the work was done in the face of the severest opposition from the capitalist class, the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the Socialist Party and the power of the capitalist state, constitutes one of the best pages in the Party's work, indicate that the Party can and will succeed in becoming the leader of the American proletariat, in leading the American proletariat in a revolutionary struggle against the most powerful imperialism in the world.

Organizing Unskilled.

7.) The road to revolutionary development lies thru the organization and mobilization of the most exploited section of the working class—the unskilled and semi-skilled; thru an alliance between the proletariat and the oppressed Negro race; thru alliance with the revolutionary movement in the colonies; thru the disintegration of the armies of capitalism winning the proletarian elements in them to the revolutionary movement.

II. WAR DANGER, RATIONALIZATION AND RADICALIZATION OF YOUNG WORKERS.

8.) In the work of the Communist movement in this period, the problem of winning the youth becomes one of the basic problems for the Communist movement. The bourgeoisie is sparing no effort, thru its organizations, sports, schools, newspapers, government institutions, to harness the youth to the chariot of capitalist war and rationalization. Social reformism and fascism are particularly active in the cause of the bourgeoisie among the youth.

"The youth question is undoubtedly one of the most important questions of the present time. The present period is characterized by the growing participation of the young workers in social production and in the class struggle on the one hand and by the extremely keen fight between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for the control of the young workers on the other." (Fifth Congress C.Y.I.).

9.) In the present period the basis for winning the young workers for the proletariat is the worsening of their conditions as a result of capitalist rationalization, the heavy burdens placed upon them by capitalist militarization and war, and the uneasiness resulting therefrom and their active participation in the working class struggles, leading to their radicalization and organization.

New Line and U. S.

10.) The Open Letter and the New Line apply fully to our Youth work in the United States. In the United States the struggle for the youth is still in its initial stages, the bourgeois youth organizations exert—tremendous influence on the youth and the Communist youth movement is still weak. The recent period has been characterized by the fact that the young workers are on the road to class-consciousness by the active participation of the young workers in big struggles—mining, textile, needle; by a general tendency for the young workers to participate in the class struggle; by symptoms of political awakening of members of the armed forces and the adhesion of some to the revolutionary movement; and by the beginnings of the development of the Y.W.L. in the direction of mass

organization thru active participation in the struggles of the young workers.

Rationalization.

11.) In rationalization, in rationalized production, young workers are playing an ever more important role. Youth labor is being drawn into industry at a faster rate. Youth from non-industrial occupations, particularly the farming youth, are being shifted into industry. The proportion of young workers in heavy industry is increasing and the general orientation of the young worker is directed more and more to heavy industry. New industries, established on a rationalized basis, employ a majority of young workers. Thus the weight of the young workers in industry is greatly increased, leading to an increasing participation of the young workers in the struggles in those industries. Simultaneously, the continuance of the agrarian crisis, which throws large masses of farming youth into the cities, the shifting of industries, the industrialization of the South (processes which are organically tied up with the rationalization process) and the shutting down of immigration, are uniting to make youth labor the main source for unskilled labor in the United States.

12.) Before the war, due to the fact that the main source for unskilled labor in the basic industries was supplied by immigration, the youth was directed mainly toward the non-industrial occupations and the weight of the youth in industry was mainly in light industries. The class differentiation among the youth was consequently not well marked. The processes enumerated above have changed the orientation of the American youth, have given them a proletarian class orientation and are directing them into the very center of the scenes of greatest struggles. The process of rationalization, widens the gap between the labor aristocracy and the mass of unskilled workers. It sharpens the class differentiation among the youth by shifting the center of gravity to the young industrial workers and more particularly to these in heavy industry.

Apprentice System.

13.) Young girls play an extremely important part in production, constituting already one third of the total youth in industry and 50% of the women in industry. Girls are being drawn into the heavy, rationalized industries like auto, into industry in the South, and particularly into industry in the small industrial towns in the mining and steel sections.

14.) The general effect of rationalization on the apprenticeship system is to reduce it to a minimum and change its function. Rationalization creates a big mass of unskilled workers. Rationalization also creates the need for a relatively small but absolutely large number of skilled mechanics, technicians, foremen, straw bosses, etc. Consequently to a certain extent, apprenticeship and other forms for training of these categories (Trade Schools) remains. This does not interfere with the general development, which is for the reduction of the apprenticeship system. The remaining apprenticeship no longer serves the purpose of passing the youth into industry, but of training certain categories. Vocational training is part of the rationalization system, and is introduced into the schools, not in order to give the youth industrial training, but to facilitate bringing the youth into industry without training, and endeavor to win them for use against workers organizations.

Militarization.

15.) The rapid expansion of American imperialism has given rise to a very rapid militarization. The United States has become one of the biggest military powers. It has the largest military budget of any country. It has already entered into a naval race with Great Britain for control of the sea, in which the United States is gaining headway. The United States has already assumed the characteristics of a gigantic capitalist military power. For universal conscription, it has substituted a strong and well-trained mercenary force, and large organized and unorganized reserves. The militarization of the entire population is proceeding rapidly. Industry is being prepared for war-time functioning. Thru the C.M.T.C., R.O.T.C. and semi-militarist and militarist organizations, the youth is being militarized. Military organizations (American Legion) and semi-military organizations (Boy Scouts) are receiving the fullest support from the capitalist class, and are becoming rapidly fused with the state apparatus, being transformed into direct state organizations. Compulsory military training is being introduced into all schools, including girls schools as an additional method for the militarization of the youth. A military caste, the final product of the development of modern militarism is being created in

United States.

16.) The burden of militarism and war preparations and the effects of capitalist rationalization only accentuate the extremely bad conditions which the American young workers get as their share of capitalist prosperity. Long hours, low wages, child labor, no protection from accident and disease, unsanitary conditions, brutal speed-up, wage-cuts and unemployment, capitalist militarization—these are the conditions that contribute to make the young workers the most exploited section of the American proletariat. Far from improving these conditions, capitalist rationalization makes them even worse. The young workers drawn into industry bear the full burden of capitalist exploitation. But not content with these conditions, the capitalist class has engaged in an onslaught on the conditions of the working class, to break their organizations and to still further reduce their wages; to increase the speed-up system.

Radicalization.

17.) These miserable conditions; the pressure from the employers; the contradictions of capitalist rationalization; the class differentiation brought about by rationalization; the conversion of the young workers into the main source for unskilled labor are setting the young workers in motion, are activating them and making them participate actively in the class struggle.

"This pressure on the part of the employers and on that of the reaction rouses the activity of the masses of young workers spurring more and more of them to fight and thus effecting their radicalization." (Fifth Congress, C.Y.I.).

18.) This process of radicalization is expressed in the active participation of the young workers in important struggles (mining, textile, needle) in the growing mood for struggle other industries (auto, rubber) and in resistance to rationalization in the South in increased sensitiveness and rapidity with which the young workers react to pressure of social changes, and in the success of the League in placing itself at the head of large numbers of young workers in many instances and bringing its program into larger ranks of the working class.

19.) It is this general process of radicalization which enables the C.Y.I. in its letter to characterize the young workers as being "no more completely politically apathetic" "but is in many instances the most advanced and conscious part of the proletariat."

Uneven Tempo.

20.) The process of radicalization develops at an uneven tempo, bringing about radicalization of the young workers in some industries sooner than among other sections of the young workers. The process of radicalization has affected most the young workers in the industries which went thru and are going thru crisis—mining, textile, needle. The factor which determines the League's general orientation is the general process. The specific orientation must be in the direction of greatest radicalization. The League must move at the head of the young workers who are moving fastest, establishing direct contact at the same time even with the most backward. A recognition of the general process of radicalization, its uneven development and the correct orientation of the League must bring a recognition of the fact that the bulk of the young workers will be involved in the process of radicalization only as it develops. This understanding is necessary in order to assure that the League will actually base itself on the process of radicalization, on the most advanced sections of the toiling youth and orientate to the most important and basic industries.

III. THE ROAD TO MASS ORGANIZATION.

21.) The above processes must determine all the activities of the League which center around the problems of the struggle against the War Danger and the organization of the young workers, their mobilization in the class battles of the American proletariat.

22.) The task of the League is further clarified by the fact that the young workers occupy a special role in industry, not only as the most unprivileged section, not only as the most discriminated against, but also as the bond between the foreign born and American born workers, as the most articulate section of the working class in industries where they and the foreign born constitute the overwhelming bulk of the working class.

23.) It is therefore clear that the orientation of the League must be toward the basic industries, where the contradictions of rationalization are most sharply expressed, where the process of radicalization is most advanced and where the young workers play the most important role. The work of the League in the other industries, all the work of the League must be centered around and tied up with its work in the basic industries.

Mass Work of League.

24.) The League, which began mass activities only after the Third Convention, broadened and deepened these activities in the period since the last convention, thus bringing the League nearer the road to mass organization. The League led large masses of young workers in the struggle against capitalism. In the course of these struggles it was able to establish itself as the only organization of young workers in this country. The League has broken with all the labor traditions of the past in initiating, for the first time in the United States, Communist work among servicemen as part of the struggle against the war danger. The League came forward as a youth organization fighting the interests of the young workers in the various strikes and in the election campaign, during which it had a truly Communist youth program. The League, thru the Young Pioneers began with the Passaic strike to establish a tradition of militant participation of children in working class struggles, which is a historic achievement for the American working class. The above events indicate that the League has really taken the first steps on the road to mass organization. This it was able to do because it understood the processes which were affecting its work, saw that it was going thru a turning point in the conditions of its work, and adapt itself to the new conditions. In doing this, the League broke completely with the anti-youth problems ideology which dominated the League till its third convention and remnants of which remain to the present day. The League overcame the orientation to journalistic campaigns which dominated the work of the League up to the Third Convention. And above all, the League was able to rid itself of a series of serious errors which were committed between the Third and Fourth Conventions, and which threatened to hinder the progress of the League as a Communist youth league. These were expressed in remnants of journalistic campaigns, appeals to labor bureaucrats to organize the young workers, serious pacifist errors in our anti-war work; a wrong attitude toward the Y.P.S.L. and other reformist youth movements (National Student Forum, American Federation of Youth) and a reformist election program in the 1926 election campaign. The tendency to orientate to light industry was still very strong.

Success in Work.

25.) On the basis of the beginnings of development toward mass organization, the League can record certain successes in its practical work and improvement in its position. Among these can be included; active participation in strikes and the proper linking of the young workers with the strikers thru relief activities; real anti-militarist work, including work in the armed forces; concrete steps toward the organization of the young workers—mining, textile, needle; orientation toward basic industry; consolidation of the League's position in the sports organization; the holding of district schools for improving the political level and training of functionaries. The organizational position of the League shows improvement. Not only has the membership increased, but the number of members from the basic industries has increased, but the social composition of the League is very poor. The League has established units in new territory—West and South, the district organizations have been firmly established and are functioning, beginning to react to local struggles and issues. The League membership has grown younger, more representative of the American youth, with a Party kernel of less than 10% as against 50 to 60% in 1926-27. The League participated actively in the election campaign, with its own program, reaching many thousands of young workers, who for the first time were made to realize that the toiling youth had an interest in elections.

26.) While progress has been made towards mass organization by the League, its general position has not changed fundamentally. It is still a relatively small organization, largely isolated from the masses of young workers, responding slowly to their needs, and not assuming the leadership in their struggles. The many basic and important shortcomings from which the League still suffers are but symptoms of this general situation, and should serve as spurs to the League in accelerating the rate of development as a mass organization.

Social Composition.

27.) An important symptom of the semi-sectarian position of the League is the extremely poor social composition. This is an indication that the League has not yet understood how to orientate properly to the young workers and draw them into its ranks, how to develop the proletarian members and push them into leadership in the League. The small number of members in the basic industries, the absence of shop nuclei, unsystematic trade union work and failure to develop the youth sections of the new trade

unions, widespread provincialism, no contact with the revolutionary movement in the colonies, isolation from the Negro youth and the men in the armed forces—these are the indications that the League has really made only the beginning in the direction of mass organization, and still has a long distance to travel to become a mass organization.

28.) From this angle all the shortcomings of the League must be approached and overcome. Based on the League coming forward as a real fighter for the interests of the toiling youth, the conscious and systematic direction to the work of the League, conscious and systematic efforts to overcome the shortcomings of the League must be mentioned, as indicative of the of our League to a mass organization of the proletarian youth of this country.

Errors Committed.

29.) A number of errors in work committed by the League must be mentioned, as indicative of the still insufficient orientation of the League to mass work. They are: no systematic and consistent efforts to eliminate our shortcomings; tendency to hide the face of the League during struggle laxness in enforcing instructions; errors in our unemployment demands; issuance of the slogan "Organize a Workers Militia", poor functioning of the N.E.C. departments and the adoption by some of them (Agit-prop) of bureaucratic methods of work; the development of bureaucratic methods of work generally, also in the districts; hiding the face of the League (Pittsburgh); uncritical attitude to the Right errors of the Party; failure to take vigorous measures to improve the situation in the districts (Pittsburgh, California); insufficient pushing to the forefront of proletarian elements; factional introduction of Party questions into the League; insufficient self-criticism.

30.) The League has continued to neglect some of its basic fields of work, particularly Negro work. This must be considered a major error of the League, in view of the importance of this work in the present period and the necessity for breaking down white chauvinism and race prejudice in the ranks of the working class. The League has also carried on no struggle against its opponent organizations.

Semi-Sectarian Character.

31.) The semi-sectarian character of the League also manifested in the past that the League is not yet in the real sense a youth organization. At the present time there is still a very strong tendency to mechanically transfer party campaigns to the League. The League has not yet learned to develop its activities on the basis of the actual needs of the youth; the League has not utilized methods which are appropriate for the youth, but has limited itself in general to imparting youth character to general Communist work. A typical example of this was the election campaign, in which although the League had its own program, and on the whole carried on good activity, the initiative of the League as a youth organization was not developed, and the activities of the League were not centered around the youth program and youth demands, but largely around the general Communist election program. The task which the League set for itself as early as 1925—to youthify all its activities has not yet been accomplished.

32.) A big step in the direction of making all the work of the League upon a genuine youth basis was the adoption, at the 1927 convention, of a program of social legislation for the youth. This program, however, has not been popularized among the League membership, has not been placed in the forefront in all the League's work among the masses of the young workers, and has not served as the center around which to build up a thorough program upon which to approach the young workers, which would meet all the needs of the toiling youth and would be capable of accomplishing their mobilization around the slogans contained in that program.

IV. COMMUNIST YOUTH IN STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR DANGER

33.) The development of the League into a mass organization can be brought about only in the course of the most untiring mass activity, primarily in the struggle against the War Danger and in the organization and defense of the economic interests of the young workers.

34.) The correct line of the Communists being to bring about the defeat of their own bourgeoisie in the struggle against the war danger, it is necessary to keep in mind that the main task of the League is to carry on the most determined struggle against its own main enemy, American imperialism. The League must therefore issue defeatist slogans and develop a broad defeatist propaganda against American imperialism with the aim of preparing the working class to turn the imperialist war into a civil war and establish the Proletarian Dictatorship. This is particularly important in relation to the move-

ments in Latin America (Nicaragua) and in the American colonies, where one of the characteristic features at the present time is the development of broad anti-imperialist movements of toiling masses, directed against American imperialism. The League must give the utmost assistance to these movements, and more particularly to the Communist youth leagues in aiding in the establishment of Communist youth leagues in those countries, where they do not yet exist.

35.) In its struggle against the war danger, the League should push into the forefront the Defense of the Soviet Union, the popularization of the achievements of the Soviet Union and the building of Socialism and the exposure of all the plots against the Soviet Union. The Red Army should be popularized as the defender of the interests of the workers of the entire world.

36.) In order to carry on an effective struggle against imperialist war and capitalist militarism, the League must combat energetically all pacifist ideology and pacifist propaganda in the ranks of the young workers, exposing this pacifism as but a weapon and cover for militarism and war. The League must struggle particularly against the American Federation of Labor, which has become an instrument of capitalist war policy and of capitalist militarization (endorsement by the A. F. of L. Executive Council and Convention of the C.M.T.C., etc.). The League must mercilessly criticize those working class organizations, which, intending to struggle against war, adopt pacifism as the weapon and expose the petty-bourgeois pacifist organizations. In forming a United Front with other youth organizations on concrete issues, the League must under no circumstances neglect the task of exposing the harmful activities and methods of these organizations, and win the proletarian membership and following away from them, into the ranks of the League. At the same time, the League must very energetically combat the remnants of pacifism and the underestimation of the war danger that still exist in the ranks of the League, and which hinder the League in carrying on its work. The League must be on guard against the infiltration into its ranks of pacifist ideology which pervades large sections of the working class.

Work in Armed Forces

37.) In beginning Communist anti-war work, in penetrating the armed forces of capitalism with the message of the proletarian revolutionary movement, the League has broken with all social-democratic, pacifist traditions with which the American labor movement is laden. In continuing this activity with greater intensity, utilizing the experiences of our brother Leagues, the League will win mass influence among the young workers and in the armed forces of American imperialism. The answer of the League to the burdens of militarism and war that capitalism is placing upon the young workers in the mobilization of the young workers to struggle against imperialist wars, against capitalist militarism, for the defense of the Soviet Union and for assistance to the revolutionary movement in the colonies. The answer of the League to the capitalist militarization campaign is a campaign against capitalist militarism, and for the disintegration of the forces of capitalist militarism and wars. For this purpose, the League should send its members into the armed force, carry on Communist work there, demoralize them as fighters for capitalism and win them to the proletarian cause and fight for the demands of the members of the armed forces. The League also sends its members into the volunteer organizations of capitalist militarization, carrying on similar work there, but does not tell the young workers to enter, and carry on a merciless struggle against these organizations endeavoring to reach all sections of the working class in this work.

Imperialist Conflicts

38.) The League must pay particular attention to those war situations in which the United States is playing the leading role—Anglo-American conflict, Pacific situation, Latin America. The League membership and the young workers must be made to understand all developments in those spheres from the point of view of the growing war danger, and to point out the role of American imperialism and the necessity for struggle against it.

39.) It is necessary to establish good working relations with the Leagues in the other countries involved—Great Britain, Far East, Latin America—and endeavor to secure coordination of the activities of all these Leagues in the struggle against the war danger.

40.) The struggle against the war danger, in order to penetrate the widest mass of the toiling youth, must be tied up with the everyday questions affecting the young workers and the everyday activities of the League. The struggle against capitalist

militarization is an aspect of the struggle against the war danger; the connection between questions of hours, wages and the war danger must be definitely established.

41.) It is particularly important that the League begin activities among the young workers in the war industries—Navy yards, ammunition, chemical.

42.) The most thorough mobilization of the League and the participation of every member is necessary for anti-war work. All open and hidden resistance must be overcome. The anti-apparatus must be built up and established on an efficient basis, under the direction of the N.E.C.

V. ORGANIZING THE YOUNG WORKERS, YOUTH SECTIONS, ECONOMIC YOUTH ASSOCIATIONS.

43.) The ever increasing number of young workers in industry, particularly in heavy industry, and their growing importance; the conversion of the youth into the main source of unskilled labor; the orientation of our entire movement to the semi-skilled workers in the basic industries; make the task of organizing the young workers, in connection with the organization of the unorganized generally, the central task of the League in its mass activities among the young workers, and the fundamental task upon which all of its economic-trade union work is based. The A. F. of L. which has become narrowed to the labor aristocracy alone, will only fight against the organization of the young workers. This work must be conducted by the Communists and Left-Wing upon the elementary understanding of the role of the young workers as the most unprivileged section of the working class, as the most exploited, as the most stubborn fighter when once it is set in motion. This work can only be conducted successfully if it is undertaken with the view of struggling against the miserable conditions of the young workers, and their double exploitation, not only in the form of direct discrimination, low wages, long hours and absence of any form of trade union or state protection; but also in the form of discrimination thru division of occupations; the existence of the helper, learner and "apprentice" system; specially heavy exploitation of the youth in mechanized sections of industry which is as a rule not yet highly mechanized (needle); heavy employment of youth labor in "auxiliary industries" (in mining and steel territory); the existence of a whole series of "youth industries." These conditions make it essential that the work of organizing the young workers be carried on a program of special youth demands, economic, political and cultural. The idea that the youth problem exists in some industry and not in others must be ruthlessly combated, as it prevents work of organizing the young workers. The youth problem is general and exists in all industries, differing only in the form it assumes, but being essentially the same, in that it is an expression of the particularly heavy exploitation of the young workers. The demands of the young workers are in the direction of our final goal—the Socialist re-organization of youth labor and to attain for the young workers a position necessitated by their age, degree of training and experience.

44.) The same reason necessitates the adoption of special forms for the organization of the young workers, which will appeal to the particular needs of the young workers and promote the greatest possible self-activity, at the same time assuring the fight for protection of the interests of the young workers. Youth sections of trade unions, particularly of the new unions formed on a class struggle basis, are the best instruments for this, providing that they are permitted to develop, that no restrictive impediments are placed upon them, and that their formation does not eliminate the young workers from the most active participation in all the affairs of the union, but on the other hand facilitate such participation on a basis of equality, and further provide the means for drawing the large masses of young workers from the industry into the union. Where no unions exist, or where the young workers are not admitted into the existing unions, economic youth associations serving as transition organs for the unionization of the young workers are to be formed, which shall also "struggle against the economic hardships of the proletarian youth." In addition to defending the economic interests of the young workers, the youth sections and the economic associations shall adopt other methods of work particularly appealing to the youth, including sports, cultural activities, etc. The youth sections and economic youth associations also have political and general tasks, particularly the struggle against the war danger. The youth sections should be drawn into the anti-imperialist movement, participate in election campaigns and in other ways develop the political understanding of their membership.

45.) In view of the economic situation of the young workers, and in view of the fact that they form a link between the foreign and American workers, and are further the articulate section of sections of the proletariat in some of the basic industries, the organization of the young workers will some times proceed at a faster pace than that of the adult workers. The formation of youth sections and economic associations can serve as a starting point for the organization of the unorganized generally. The youth sections and economic associations can play a pioneer role in the development of new unions. From this point of view, it's necessary to condemn and combat such points of view expressed in Pittsburgh that the formation of youth sections (in the miners union) can only proceed after the union itself without the youth section—has become stabilized. It is further necessary to combat the remnants of narrow craft ideology (expressed particularly in the needle industry) which would limit the unions to the workers in certain crafts as in the old union. The new unions thru the youth sections, must include all the workers in a particular industry, without regard to craft divisions, or previous trade union divisions. Our struggle for youth sections in reactionary unions is primarily a struggle against the bureaucracy and wherever they are organized or exist, our aim shall be to utilize them for this purpose linking them up with the Left Wing.

46.) Since the task of organizing the young workers can be achieved only by the Communists and Left Wing, upon the initiative of the League, it is necessary that the T.U.E.L. be the coordinating center for this work, thru its youth department, to which shall be connected youth sections, economic youth associations, shop committees and other bodies serving the purpose of organizing the young workers. The T.U.E.L. and the new unions must assign organizers for youth work, devote space in their organs, and in every other way promote the activities of the young workers in its work.

47.) The above task can be carried out successfully only if the League assumes it with the full responsibility and knowledge that it is a task in which the League must play the role of initiator. The slogan "Organize the young workers" can not be a slogan of agitation or propaganda, but must be a slogan of action for the League, one around which all other activity of the League is built up.

48.) The building up of the youth sections and the economic youth associations can best be accomplished thru the actual defense of the interests of the young workers during strikes, and in the everyday activity in the shops and factories. The economic demands of the young workers are not demands formulated for propaganda purposes, but are to be adopted by the unions as part of its struggle demands, and to be fought for with the fullest vigor. Any other course would in actuality be a denial of the special role of the young workers, and would lead to the alienation of the young workers from the new union movement. In this connection it is necessary to note that in recent wage struggles in which the new unions were engaged, the demands of the young workers were not included in the strike demands. This contributed appreciably to lessening the activity of the young workers in the strike and did not serve to attract young workers from other sections of the industry to the strike.

49.) The building of the youth sections and the economic associations can only proceed from the bottom up, based on the young workers in the shops. Therefore work in the factories, the formation of factory committees, factory clubs, the issuance of shop papers, must be intensified. Above all must the work for the establishment of League nuclei in the shops be strengthened, and the entire work of the League orientated toward the shops.

VI. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE RIGHT DANGER IN THE COMINTERN AND IN THE AMERICAN PARTY.

50.) The present international situation makes the Right Danger the main danger in the American Party and the World Communist movement, due to the existence of strong social reformist movement and the stabilization of capitalism, and the failure of sections of our movement to see the sharpness of the contradictions of capitalist stabilization and rationalization, the leftward swing of the working class, particularly the most important section of the working class in the basic industries and the continual move to the right of the labor aristocracy, the trade union bureaucracy and the social-democracy. The new line which the Comintern has adopted in the most important countries, including the United States, represents the adaptation and mobilization of the Party membership and masses of workers to the changing situation and their preparation for struggles. The right elements and conciliators

(Germany, U.S.S.R., etc.) resist this change, fail to draw the conclusions for a sharp struggle against social democracy and trade union bureaucracy, become the bearers of social-democratic influence within the Party and consequently tend to adopt a liquidatory point of view regarding the role of the Party in the present situation. In view of this, the struggle against the Right and the conciliators must be a necessary condition of the reorientation of the Communist Parties.

51.) In the U.S.S.R., the Right Danger is represented by those elements who want to slow up the tempo of the process of industrialization, subordinate the industrialization process to agriculture and capitulate before the kulaks. In Germany, the Right wing, which has already separated from the Party organizationally as well as politically, represents a capitulation to social democracy.

52.) Because the American Communist Party did not place itself on guard soon enough, against the Right danger and because it did not see quickly enough the changes in the situation, because it did not have clearly before it the revolutionary perspective which the present, third period necessitates, it committed a series of Right mistakes (Panken case, Open Letter to S.P., etc.). The Party as a whole was responsible for these mistakes and not any single group. No group can lay claim to monopoly of the correct lines or accuse the other group of having a Right wing line. Within all of the groups there exist right elements and right tendencies. The League shared and participated in the Right mistakes of the Party, maintaining an uncritical attitude on these errors. For this the N.E.C. as a whole was responsible. And just as the Comintern rejected the charge against the Central Committee of the Party of representing a Right line, so the Communist Youth International also rejects such a charge against the National Executive Committee of the League. Neither side can claim the title "real Left" of accuse the other of being "Right." (C.Y.I. Letter). This does not mean that Right errors were not committed. The general line followed by the National Executive Committee was correct, and was based on utilizing the process of radicalization of the young workers for sinking the roots of the League more deeply into the masses of the young workers, for participation in every struggle of the young workers and for developing these struggles to a higher level in the class struggle.

In addition to the Right Danger, the Party and League have to fight against another danger which made its reappearance in our ranks after the Sixth Congress—Trotskyism. Appearing simultaneously with the Right Danger, and confused by the fact that Trotskyism was rallying around it such outspoken opportunists and renegades as Lore, Eastman, as well as the extreme Right Wing in our Party—Askeli, Sulkanen, Minnesota Right Wing, Basky, the Party and League did not at first understand the necessity of the struggle on two fronts—against the Right Danger and against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism. It linked the two as one danger and thought to conduct a common struggle against them. This failure to differentiate between the Right Danger and Trotskyism, which is opportunism covered with Left phrases, which is in fact openly counter-revolutionary, might have resulted in a neglect of the struggle against the Right had it not been promptly corrected by the Comintern and C.Y.I.

VII. THE DEFEAT OF TROTSKYISM.

53.) Trotskyism in the League consisted around those elements who maintained a pessimistic, defeatist, cynical attitude to the League and its work, and whose activities were limited to intricate intrigues and manipulation and separated from mass work. The energetic struggle conducted by the N.E.C. resulted in winning the whole League membership to the Leninist line and in isolating and eliminating the small group of Trotskyites. This is an achievement in view of the low political level of the League, and of the fact that a large section of the former leadership of the League (Abern, Carlson, Edwards, Borgeson, Mass) and also some leading figures in the recent past (Angelo, Shachtman, Glotzer, Allard, etc.) went over to counter-revolutionary Trotskyism.

54.) "For the struggle against the Right Danger, the Leagues must not limit themselves to the Parties. They must struggle against the Right Danger in the first place in their own ranks." (Fifth Congress resolution).

VIII. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE RIGHT DANGER IN THE LEAGUE.

55.) The struggle against the Right Danger in the League is part of the process of making the turning point in its development. The tasks outlined above based upon the process of the crystallization of class consciousness among young workers, and their development in the direction of class struggle, constitute this turning point in the activities of the

Communist Youth League. The turning point marks the road to mass development, thru utilizing the process of radicalization for sinking the roots of the League more deeply into the masses of young workers, for participation as the leader of young workers in all their struggles, and for developing these struggles to a higher level in the class struggle. "The League stands before the mighty task of placing itself at the head of the young workers who are getting ready to take their rightful places in the class struggle of the American working class. The League is confronted with the problem of accelerating the development of class consciousness among the young workers. Only by doing this can the League become a revolutionary mass youth league. But in order to accomplish this task, it is necessary that the League break with the traditions of the past, strike out in a new path, accomplish a change in its entire orientation." (The Right Danger Resolution). In the League today a great danger exists that the League will not see, not understand, the necessity for this change. There will be passivity and skepticism, and even open resistance to accomplishing this change. This is the expression of the Right Danger in the League. The Right Danger is based on "objective Right obstacles which will be in your way in the form of old traditions and old methods of work, underestimation of the degree of activation of the working youth and of the role of the Communist Youth League, overestimation of the opponents strength and of the inertia existing among the working youth". (C.Y.I. letter) To really accomplish the change in orientation of the League, it will be necessary to educate and train the membership, and carry on a vigorous struggle against the Right danger in the League, against all Right deviations and errors, and against all conciliatory attitudes or acts toward the Right danger. The Right Danger in the League has already expressed itself in the form of pacifism and underestimation of the war danger; wrong attitude to the YPSL and other reformist organizations; in a liquidatory attitude to the League in struggles (hiding the face of the League and refusal to recruit); building other organizations (clubs) in place of the League; failure to appreciate the revolutionary role of the Negro youth and to carry on regular work among the Negro youth, based on the still existing white chauvinism in our ranks.

56.) "In the field of the struggle against the war danger, there have been a whole series of pacifist errors, culminating in the formation of the pacifist AF of Y in New York, which has already been sharply condemned by the C.Y.I. But even after this we have witnessed the pacifist anti-conference in California, the "Welcome Lindy" slogans in a whole series of districts; "Welcome the Fleet" in California; and in the refusal to work in the C.M.T.C. and armed forces by comrades in Philadelphia. In field of trade union work, there exists a pessimistic attitude on organizing the youth sections in the mining industry and the propagation of a theory which denies the role of the young miners and the possibility for organizing them at the present time." (NEC Right Danger Resolution).

57.) The most recent and glaring expressions of the Right danger in the League are the anti-strike leaflet in Pittsburgh, and the bourgeois school "citizenship" leaflet in Los Angeles.

58.) "But the Right Danger in the League is not based on ideological shortcomings only. The Right Danger is strengthened by the fact that the League has a very poor social composition, with a large number of members who are non-proletarian; that the League has no deep roots in the factories and basic industries; that the League is still largely isolated from the masses of young workers." (NEC Right Danger Resolution).

59.) The factional situation in the League, which has existed since the Fifth Congress of the C.Y.I., has been another obstacle which hinders the League developing as a mass organization, interfered with the execution of the Fifth Congress decisions, and made more difficult the struggle against the Right Danger and Trotskyism. These tasks can be accomplished only if the entire membership is mobilized and unity is established.

60.) "For the struggle against the Right Danger, the C.Y.I. must mobilize the League as a whole. It must not allow the formation of unprincipled groupings in the struggle for leadership, on such grounds or under this cloak. From this viewpoint we must condemn the revival of group struggle in the American Young Communist League." (Fifth Congress, C.Y.I.).

IX. FOR THE UNIFICATION OF THE LEAGUE.

61.) The factional struggle arose out of the efforts made to find a base in the League for a struggle against the C.E.C. on the charge rejected by the C.I. that the C.E.C. represented a Right Wing line.

A contributing factor was the fact that the unity which existed up to the Fifth Congress was "marred by an uncritical attitude of the N.E.C. toward mistakes committed by the Party and particularly by its C.E.C." In its efforts to re-establish unity in the League and establish the proper relationship with the Party, the N.E.C. had the support of the overwhelming majority of the League's membership.

62.) The whole factional struggle in the League was unprincipled and unnecessary. There have not been, and are not now any real differences in the League on youth work. This was demonstrated by the complete unity which was established at the last convention and which existed until the Fifth Congress. The Party situation cannot be a source of differences after the Open Letter of the Comintern, which has been unanimously accepted by the last Party convention and which liquidates all Party differences. The Open Letter provides the basis for the complete unification of the League. All questions of the Party convention itself are before the Comintern for decision.

63.) The Open Letter calls upon the Party to liquidate all groups and establish unity in its ranks. This is the policy of the Communist Youth International as well and it must become the line of the entire Party and the entire League.

64.) Instead of accepting the Open Letter and the unanimous convention declaration as a basis for unity in the League, the League minority has attempted to distort this letter into a platform for a new factional struggle, refusing to give up their old slogans and adopting in addition new ones (Struggle against the convention decision, charge against C.E.C. of being anti-Comintern, accusation against C.E.C. and N.E.C. of Ruth Fisherism), and has attempted to mobilize the League members for a new factional struggle on this platform.

65.) All attempts at the revival of the factional struggle must be rejected by the entire League membership. A continuation of the factional struggle will have the gravest consequences for the League. The tremendous tasks which the League faces necessitate Bolshevik unity and iron discipline. The possibilities for unity exist. The membership has expressed a most determined will to unity. On the basis of the Open Letter, on the basis of the line of the C.I. and C.Y.I., the Convention of the League must finally and determinedly liquidate the factional struggle and accomplish the unification of the League.

X. FOR IMPROVEMENT OF THE LEAGUE'S WORK.

66.) The central task of the League is to accomplish the development to a mass youth organization. This task will be accomplished thru the widest mass activity of the League, thru establishing close contact with the young workers, participating in all their struggles, pushing the League forward in all the struggles, thru the proletarianization and activation of the entire League membership. A number of concrete tasks which have received insufficient emphasis must be particularly stressed.

67. The membership of the League must be thoroughly proletarianized. The orientation of the League to basic industry must be accompanied by drawing the most advanced young workers into the ranks of the League. At the same time the League must stimulate the promotion of members from basic industry into leadership in the League, and organize systematic methods to train proletarian American functionaries. The League's work should be centered in the factories, mines and mills and the League must pursue a determined course for the organization of shop nuclei; and to accomplish the complete reorganization of the League on this basis.

68.) The initiative and activity of the entire League, and particularly of the local organizations must be strengthened in order to insure the proper reaction to and active participation in all struggle of the young workers in the locality. The participation of the membership in the work of the League can be improved, greater attendance at meetings secured and general improvement in the organizational and political functioning of the League brought about by developing the independent activity of the units, by enlivening the methods of work and by building up local and district leaderships.

69.) A more pronounced youthful character of the entire work of the League is necessary. This includes the activities of the League to be based on the every-day interests and needs of the young workers, as well as the adoption of "new methods" of work for livening up the internal life of the League, making it more interesting and attractive for the young workers, thus eliminating the large fluctuation and improving its recruiting power. This also includes the improvement in our agitation and pro

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League Discussion

AGAINST UNPRINCIPLED FAC-TIONALISM FOR LEAGUE UNITY

By HERBERT ZAM

NOTE:—This article was written some time before the Party Convention, but for a number of reasons could not be printed sooner.

Once more the American Communist Youth League, on the eve of its Fifth National Convention, is involved in a destructive factional struggle, which is hampering its activities destroying its contact with the masses of young workers, established after years of painful and slow progress. Fortunately, this factional struggle is less destructive than similar ones in the past because as never before, the overwhelming majority of the membership of the League is united behind its National Executive Committee, which in the period since the Fourth National Convention of the League, in October, 1927, has led the League, on the basis of the decisions of the Communist Youth International on the road to mass activity. In the period since the last convention, it was possible to achieve unity in the ranks of the League. The membership of the League increased. The League established closer contact with the masses of the young workers than ever before; the League participated actively in every important struggle of the working class and endeavored to mobilize the young workers behind our banner in these struggles. The League has been able to accomplish this on the basis of the correct policies and unhesitating participation in every struggle of the young workers. It is for this reason that the membership of the League is rallying behind the National Executive Committee against the factional struggle and against the League opposition, which began this struggle, and which is endeavoring to extend this struggle without any principle basis and without justification in the life of the League. The membership of the League demands a cessation of the factional struggle in order that the League may proceed still further on the road to a mass organization; in order that better contact with the young workers be established; in order that the still existing shortcomings of the League—the poor social composition, absence of factory nuclei, poor press, absence of Negro work—and others, be overcome. These shortcomings seriously hinder the development of the League. They must be overcome. But they cannot be overcome unless the League is united.

The factional struggle in the League is unprincipled and unjustified. During the period since the last convention, there have been no differences in the League on any major questions, political or organizational. There were no differences whatsoever on the basis of old factional lines. Up to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, and the Fifth Congress of the C.Y.I., this was true. The last Convention of the League was a unity convention and the period following that was a period of League unity. This was the estimation, not only of the N.E.C., but also of the present Opposition and of the C.Y.I. In its letter to the American League in May, 1928, the C.Y.I. declared:

"We are glad to record that the League has established unity and the loyalty of the leading group during the convention and thus created the necessary atmosphere for practical work in the center and in the districts. We emphasize that there are no differences on the basis of former groups and there are the necessary prerequisites for the strengthening of the present unity."

In its October letter to the Amer-

ican League, the C.Y.I. characterizes as follows the period under discussion:

"The American League made progress in regards to unity, and the successes in its work corresponded exactly with this period."

In his concluding speech at the World Congress, after having heard all the speeches of the supporters of the N.E.C. and of the Opposition, Comrade Chitaroff analyzed the situation in the American League as follows:

"Until recently we still had unity in the American League and we hoped that this unity had actually been restored for a length of time."

At the May plenum of the C.E.C. of the Party, after there had already been a sharp struggle in the S.E.C., and the factional lines were tightly drawn, the Opposition could still declare:

"There is complete unity in the League."

The facts we have given above demonstrate beyond dispute that in the League there was unity from the last convention up to the World Congress, and that there were no political differences in the League upon which to base a factional struggle. This was also seen by the League opposition at the C.Y.I. Congress. It was an untenable position for them to be in. How could they justify a revival of the factional struggle in the League when there were no differences on League questions? It is obvious that any opposition which endeavored to carry on a factional struggle without a political platform would have been completely repudiated by the membership. Therefore, at the Congress, the League opposition endeavored to "produce" a platform, by reviving old differences and inventing new ones. The C.Y.I. had no sympathy for this attempt to manufacture League differences at the last minute, and gave its answer to the opposition in a categorical manner in the concluding speech of Comrade Chitaroff.

"Then I must say to Comrades Williamson and Don that they did themselves a disservice in that they attempted to find differences in youth questions and give these differences a factional character, to pick up little things for the sake of group struggle. They have made the charge that in the question of rationalization and in the question of radicalization, the majority of the League leadership has taken an outspoken right wing position. I believe that these are charges dragged in by the hair in order to make factional business. This must not be permitted. Differences must not be brought up for the sake of factionalism and in the interests of factional or group struggle."

The Communist Youth International not only rejected the opposition charges against the National Executive Committee, not only repudiated their efforts to create differences on youth questions, but also criticized them for their methods and warned them to discontinue them. The League opposition has not heeded this warning from the C.Y.I. and is continuing these charges and these methods. That is the opposition's method of carrying out C.Y.I. decisions.

We see that the League struggle is not based on League issues. What is it based on? The National Executive Committee is in complete agreement with the analysis of the C.Y.I. which declares that the struggle is based on and is a reflection of the factional struggle in the Party. Comrade Chitaroff put it very well when he said:

"During the Sixth Congress of the Comintern sharp factional fights

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OPEN LETTER AND LEAGUE UNITY

By NAT KAPLAN

THE Open Letter of the Comintern opens up a new epoch for our Party. It has a great significance for the League and together with the CYI letters establishes the political basis for the discussion of the League in the present pre-convention period. It has a double significance for us because the Comintern confirms the significant role which the League is to play in the Party situation a role which was already clearly indicated in the CYI letter of Oct. 12th. The declaration of the Open Letter that: "The YWL must not be led by any of the factional groups in the Party. Its members must fight on the basis of the decisions of the Comintern and the CYI for the liquidation of factionalism and factional groupings, both in the League and Party," should make it clear to every member that the appeal of the Polcom against the CYI letter, on the grounds that it comes into conflict with the line of the Comintern on the American question was fundamentally wrong.

The appeal of the Comintern to the membership of the League to fight on the basis of the decisions of the CI and CYI must be taken in deep earnest and with Bolshevik conviction.

This cannot be accomplished without a real understanding of the tremendous meaning of the Open Letter, as well as the letters of the CYI to our League. Nor can it be accomplished, and the Open Letter understood, unless it is approached with real Leninist objectivity, freed from all factional bias. The task for every League comrade is to endeavor to understand our problems from the standpoint of the CI and CYI. Only such an approach will enable the membership to grasp the great importance of the Open Letter and the letters of the C. Y. I.

Party and Y. W. L. at Turning Point
The heart of the Open Letter is found in the fact that it sets before the American Party the task of turning onto a new path based on the conditions of the present third post war period of capitalist development, and in the shortest possible time, developing into a mass political party of the American working class.

Making this turn, overcoming the relics of the previous period of its existence developing into a mass political Party. "This is the chief, fundamental and decisive task to which all other tasks must be entirely subordinated." The whole objective situation in the U. S., the entire post-war development of American imperialism, the fact that it is becoming ever more involved in the world crisis of capitalism, creates new conditions of struggle for our Party and League which makes this turn imperative.

In order that we may unhesitatingly enter upon this path, in order completely to overcome the relics of the past, the Party and the League must decisively change its inner character. A definite and resolute liquidation of the existing factions, the unconditional stopping of the factional struggle is a prerequisite for the further healthy development of the Party and League. The Party groupings have become: "internally so consolidated, they have become so estranged that they are now cemented not by principles but by strong group ties," and their "deep rooted unprincipled methods of factional struggle are becoming a great obstacle in the struggle against all deviations from the correct political line." If the Party and League is to grow and develop ideologically there must be a decisive change in our internal situation.

In order to accomplish the above the Open Letter of the Comintern gives to our Party four fundamental conditions, "the decisive significance of which neither the majority, which is responsible for the leadership, nor the minority have understood." These conditions are: 1) A correct perspective in the analysis of the general crisis of capitalism and American imperialism which is part of it. 2) To place in the center of the work of the Party the daily needs of the American working class (the struggle against the effects of rationalization). 3) Freeing the Party from its immigrant narrowness and seclusion and making the American workers its wide basis, paying due attention to the work among the Negroes. 4) Liquidation

of factionalism and drawing workers into the leadership.

Correct Approach to Open Letter

Is the analysis of the Open Letter of the conditions and tasks correct? Is the emphasis and decisive wording of these conditions correct? It is necessary for every member to ask this question because only too often have we seen the tendency of humbly submitting to the viewpoint of the general staff of the CI and CYI and accepting its great authority with an inner feeling that the Comintern and CYI in its revolutionary perspectives for America is guided only by the general world situation and that it is carrying over this viewpoint mechanically to America, but that in reality "a little conservatism" would not be harmful in approaching the soil of America. This approach is false. The CI and CYI applies its general line to America, based on its analysis also of the concrete situation in America. The same applies to the general tactical tasks of the CI and CYI. The CYI placed it quite sharply when it declared: "one cannot make an exception for the United States in regard to the general tactical tasks of the CYI". A clear understanding and carrying out of this conception will be one of the best guarantees against avowed and tacit reservations to the decisions of the CI and CYI. The present steps taken by the CI and CYI aim to completely liquidate all practices of outer, formal acceptance, of international decisions, while maintaining an inner resistance to them. Any attitude of reservations to the decisions of the CI shows a lack of understanding of the monolithic character of our world Party and tends to weaken the confidence which the CI has among the membership.

The Open Letter is unquestionably a challenge to the conceptions held both by the majority and minority and draws far reaching conclusions from the role which the American Party has already begun to play with increasing frequency "as the stalwart leader of mass actions of the American proletariat." We must very categorically admit that the Party has not clearly seen the road which it has begun to travel.

The Revolutionary Perspective

This development which our Party was undergoing was not grasped by the Party chiefly because it did not fit America into the general crisis of capitalism and because it misunderstood the meaning of the fact that American imperialism has begun to assume the economic and political hegemony of the capitalist world. The ascendancy of American imperialism to this position was the basis in the case of some of the majority comrades in developing a conception of a consolidated stabilization of capitalism, with of course referring to the contradictions which this stabilization was encountering, but with political conclusions drawn chiefly on the basis of the power of American imperialism (The *Victorian Age* conception. *Lovestone in the November Communist*). On the other hand the minority comrades adopted the false Apex theory which emphasized not the world position of American imperialism but the inner contradictions. "It leads the minority to the conception that the coming crisis of American capitalism is called forth exclusively by its internal contradictions."

These conceptions led to a profound underestimating of the revolutionary perspectives in Europe and especially in America and were a basic source of right errors. The League shared in these fundamental errors, the fact that the "executives of the League as well as a considerable part of its membership is tied up with Party factions," the fact that we do not take up a critical attitude to the individual groupings and their mistakes (CYI Letter) is the cause for our sharing in the fundamental error: made by the Party in regards to the revolutionary perspective, from which the other errors, estimation of radicalization, etc. flow.

Radicalization Increasing

The perspective of the Open Letter regarding the relations of America to the general crisis of world capitalism, also corrects the conception of the Party in reference to radicalization and points out that the striving towards world domina-

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tion drives American imperialism, on the one hand, towards brutal capitalist rationalization, with its consequences of speed-up, unemployment, and general worsening of the conditions of the workers, and, on the other hand, creates a tremendous growth of armaments which places heavier burdens on the shoulders of the toiling masses. It is precisely on this basis and because of the menace of the terrific calamities of war "that the tendency towards radicalization of the American working class is increasing." The C.Y.I. has clearly pointed out how these objective factors politically American young workers "who politically were up till now completely apathetic."

Overcoming Factionalism

This means that both Party and League must be completely adjusted to the new situation and conduct a determined struggle to break completely with the bad practices of the past not only ideologically but organizationally as well. In the foreground stands the need of destroying factional groupings which have developed in the last six years. This factionalism and the group situation is a primary source of the contradiction between the resolutions we adopt, the aims of the Party and League and our daily work. Self-criticism in the present factional situation becomes a mockery for in place of proletarian self-criticism there has been established factional bickerings, mutual recriminations, a tendency to hush up errors unprincipledness. This is accompanied by the practice of leaving factional adherents untouched organizationally regardless of their fitness or the errors they have made for fear that it would injure the faction and therefore tends to keep the factionary body static and maintains in leading positions comrades unfit to lead as well as preventing a Bolshevik ideological development of the Party. The factional system makes of Party discussions a means of confusion rather than clarification.

The groupings have become so consolidated internally that despite the repeated phrase that comrades are associated because of an agreement on policy, subservience to group ties, loyalty to group leadership has substituted Party loyalty and principles has become not the basis of the groups but rather "principles served chiefly to camouflage the struggle for supremacy in the Party." There is no doubt that this is a hindrance to the attraction of good proletarian elements to our Party and League, because this protracted, recurring factional struggle can only serve in repelling these workers from us. It is incontestable that for our League, the extremely bad social composition, which we have only made the first beginnings in overcoming, the fact that we have lost many of the new proletarian members that have entered our ranks in the last period has as one of its primary causes the factional situation in the League. For this reason it is unthinkable that without the destruction of the groups

in their present state the Party and League can accomplish the tasks of becoming mass organizations.

Fight On Two Fronts:

This factional situation likewise distorts and prevents a Bolshevik struggle against the Right danger, as the main danger in the Party, and counter-revolutionary Trotskyism. It has likewise led to the factional distortion in estimating the problem. Despite many assertions to the contrary the American Party is heavily saturated with Right ideology and with Right elements in both groups. This has its base in the power of American imperialism (the weakness of Leninist ideology, the strong influences of social reformist ideology, the insufficient contact with the broad masses of the basic proletariat, particularly the American workers, the insufficient roots in the factories, the insufficient proletarian elements in the direct leadership, the considerable number of leaders that have come over from the old S. P., etc.)

But the faction struggle prevents a concentrated and collective effort on the part of the leadership in order to successfully combat the developing Right tendencies. The need of collective leadership has been a crying need of the Party for some time, but it is today a primary condition for the achievement of the gigantic tasks ahead of us.

The Open Letter to be properly understood, must be viewed in the light of the struggle against the Right danger and conciliatorism in the international as a whole during the third period. But the faction situation has tended to distort our view of the international struggle against the Right and conciliator and to substitute among many comrades a conception that this struggle is merely a question of personnel and tactics, temporary and arbitrary in its nature. Some comrades develop the conception that the international struggle against the Right and conciliators created a crisis in the C.I. or at least results in the temporary weakening of the leadership of the C.I. Such views must be firmly combated. The international struggle against opportunism and reformist elements follows directly from our conception of the third period, as a period of gigantic class battles, of imperialist war and proletarian upheavals. Under such circumstances it is necessary to purge the Parties of the infections of reformism. Lenin has clearly pointed out that with reformist elements in our ranks we cannot hope to lead the revolutionary proletariat to victory and that as we embark upon a period of decisive struggles it is necessary to fight against and even clear out of the way the reformist elements and that this process helps to strengthen the Party. Therefore the present struggle in the international against Right elements and the purging of the Comintern of Right ideology is a process that results in the Bolshevikization and consolidation of the Comintern.

If we are to take the struggle in the C.I. against the Right danger and counter-revolutionary Trotskyism seriously, then

either we must agree that one or the other of the groups in the American section is a Right wing grouping (and this has been the conception of each faction—the minority charging the majority group with being a Right wing—the majority group charging the minority as being the fundamental source of Right errors in the Party—both conceptions having been repudiated by the C.I. and C.Y.I.) or otherwise we must agree that there are Right elements in both groups and that the present group situation prevents the Party from properly combating the developing Right tendencies.

Correctness of C.I. Org. Decisions

For that reason the acceptance of the Open Letter by resolution only is not sufficient—the whole character of the Open Letter demands an organizational program. The Comintern is correct when in its cables to the convention it pointed out that the organizational decisions are inseparable from the Open Letter and that the best political decisions are mere scraps of paper as long as the present factional situation continues. And if some comrades will argue that there seems to be no justification for some of the organizational decisions and that organizational decisions must have a political basis, such comrades have not given sufficient thought to the Open Letter and have failed to see that the Open Letter is the political basis for the chief organizational line to be followed by the Party. A study of the Open Letter, freed from factional bias, would convince all comrades that the repeated emphasis on factionalism, unprincipled groupings, the fact that the Party is on the road to becoming a mass Party of the American proletariat and the need therefore of shifting the Party base to the native workers in the basic industries, while at the same time continuing to win the masses of immigrant workers, are linked up with the organizational decisions of the C.I.

The Sixth Convention of the Party did not accomplish the tasks of the Open Letter. The C.I. delegation was correct in declaring that the non-acceptance of the organizational proposals constituted in effect a rejection of the Open Letter. Those who struggled for the unreserved acceptance of the Comintern decisions at the convention, those of the majority as well as the minority, were taking the first steps in the realization of the far reaching significance of the Open Letter.

Have We Carried Out Our Task

It must be clearly declared that the Youth Delegation to the Sixth Party convention did not carry out the task assigned it by the C.I. and C.Y.I. Only part of the Youth Delegation fought for and voted for the motion of the C.I. delegation to accept the Comintern decisions. The Youth Delegation to the Party convention should have been in the forefront in the struggle to convince the convention of the correctness of the Comintern line. It was the duty of the Youth Delegation, not to follow blindly the Party factions in the convention, on the contrary it was its duty to have been "one

of the best interpreters of the policy of the Comintern in regards to the American question". (C.Y.I. letter). The fact that this policy was not pursued in the convention, despite the previous acceptance of the C.Y.I. letter, indicates that some comrades still harbor tacit reservations to the decisions of the C.Y.I. This was still further indicated when after receiving the following cable from the C.Y.I.: "Presidium endorses completely political line and organizational proposals of the Comintern. We expect League delegation and NEC as well as all other bodies to take definite stand and energetically support these decisions", the comrades who failed to carry out this policy in the convention did not clearly admit their error and proceed to correct it.

These errors flow from the present incorrect and unhealthy relationship of the League executives and a large part of the League membership to the existing factions within the Party. The League must be under the general control of the C. C. and not under the control of these Party factions. The further healthy development of the League demands the abolition of this relationship with Party factions, it demands the abolition of factionalism and factional groups in the League, it demands that the League shall be united on the basis of the Comintern and C.Y.I. line and fight as a united whole on this line for the abolition of factionalism both in the Party and League. Only on this basis can we proceed unitedly to overcome the present weaknesses and errors of our League and develop energetically into a mass organization of the American young workers.

N. M. V. AFFILIATES WITH R. I. L. U.

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—By a unanimous vote of the full Executive Board of the National Miners Union, in session at Pittsburgh, Pa. held recently, that organization adopted a resolution affiliating their organization with the Red International of Labor Unions, an international trade union organization with a membership of 17 million, with headquarters in Moscow, Soviet Union.

England's Unemployed March To London

LONDON—Over one thousand unemployed workers marched into town on Sunday Feb. 24th and staged a gigantic demonstration for unemployed relief. The marchers came from Scotland, South and West Wales, Lancashire, Durham, Sheffield, the Midlands and the West of England. The Communist Party and Young Communist League played an active role in organizing the demonstration and carrying it thru.

(ZAM—Continued)

broke out in the American Party. These factional fights have unfortunately immediately been caught up by the League. The discussion at which we were present here is nothing but a reflection of the newly originated battle in the Party."

"The letter of the C.Y.I. to the League likewise declares:

"The direct cause of the renewed factional struggle in the Executive of the League is the revival of the struggle in the American Party."

In the face of this position by the C.Y.I., the League opposition still parades as "supporters" of the decisions of the C.Y.I. line, but propagates to the membership its own false explanation of the factional struggle in the League, as against the correct explanation of the C.Y.I. This they do, because an admission to them of the absence of principle in the factional struggle would immediately expose them as beginning a struggle without principles, as primarily responsible for present destructive factionalism into which they are endeavoring to

drive the League over deeper. But they are exposed nevertheless—by the C.Y.I., by their own activities and by their unprincipledness.

It might be presumed that a factional struggle on the basis of Party difference can be justified. Nothing is further from the truth. Such factional struggles are impermissible. The League must act unitedly in relation to the Party or the very essence of Party-League relationship becomes a worthless phrase. No amount of shouting about "Right wing C.E.C." can cover the condemnation by the last C.Y.I. Congress of factional struggles which are carried on under false colors, as in the American League. So serious did the C.Y.I. consider the situation in the American League from the point of view of baseless struggles, that it used as a concrete expression of a general condition against which the entire Communist Youth International was warned:

"For the struggle against the Right danger, the C.Y.I. must mobilize the League as a whole. IT MUST NOT ALLOW the formation of unprincipled groupings in the League for

leadership on such grounds or under this cloak.

"From this viewpoint one must CONDEMN THE REVIVAL OF GROUP STRUGGLE IN THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE."

The position on this question is clear. The struggle against the Right danger must be conducted by the entire League. It is not the privileged task or duty of any particular section; and it certainly is not the monopoly of any self-appointed "saviors." The activities of the League opposition since the Congresses of the C.I. and C. Y. I. have demonstrated that they are interested, not so much in struggling against the Right Danger, as in utilizing this struggle to build up a group and struggle for power, hoping in this way to attain leadership in the League which they could not obtain thru better policies or greater ability. The best rejection of the opposition's destructive activities and non-Communist methods would be an overwhelming repudiation by the League membership in the coming pre-convention discussion in the League.

Raising itself exclusively on the fac-

tional struggle in the Party, acting not as part of the League leadership but as a faction, the opposition could not but become an organic part of the Party Opposition, sharing the platform of the Party Opposition, which is based on opposition to the Comintern decision on America, reservations to the Comintern decisions in general and attempts to revise the decisions of the Sixth Congress. The League members of the opposition have played the leading role in presenting the point of view of the League opposition. As Cannon and his followers were disgorge by the opposition, as Foster was eliminated, giving way to Bittelman as the political leader and Aronberg as the trade unionist, as the rank-and-file followers of the opposition became disillusioned and turned their support to the Central Committee, the League opposition members became more prominent in the affairs of the Party opposition, until today, Sam Don shares with Bittelman the dubious honor of being the "theoreticians" of the Opposition, but all the time the number of "workers in their vineyard" is becoming smaller and smaller.

LEAGUE'S ROLE IN PRESENT SITUATION

By JOHN WILLIAMSON

Our coming League convention has the task of evaluating our past activities, giving a correct analysis of the present period in relation to our activity amongst the working youth, preparing our League for its greater responsibilities in the present period of sharpened class struggle and War Danger, concretizing our struggle against the main danger—the Right Danger—and also against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, liquidation of factionalism and establishment of unity and collective proletarian leadership and the working out of correct policies regarding such major questions as the poor social composition—lack of economic-trade union activities—necessity of 'youthifying' our work—non Negro activity—remnants of pacifism and insufficient understanding of anti work, etc.

The guide to solve all these problems, is to be found in the unreserved acceptance, complete understanding and practical application of the Letters of the C.Y.I. and C.I. to our Party and League. The Open Letter of the Comintern, dated Feb. 1st., must liquidate as wrong, once for all, the famous theory expressed in the Polcom statement that "the line of the C.Y.I. letter conflicts with the decisions of the C.I. on the American question." This document, which has never been rejected by our N.E.C., was accompanied by declarations of Party leaders (Lovestone Stachel) to the effect that the C.I. had repudiated the C.Y.I. letter. Fortunately for our League both of these contentions were false and that section of the membership who were misled by these statements must re-examine the entire line of the C.Y.I. letter. In a contribution to the Party discussion (which was never printed) I maintained, "One cannot separate the line of the C.Y.I. Letter from the C.I. Its line is woven indissolubly with the line and decisions of the 6th C.I. Congress." The Open Letter of the C.I. to the Party convention bears out this contention.

What is the meaning of the Open Letter and Org Proposals of the C.I. to our Party and League. Fundamentally the Open Letter gives our Party a new line and perspective, based on the present third period. In doing so, it condemns the whole series of fundamental opportunist errors of the C.E.C. made in violation of the 6th Congress and corrects decisively the Right errors of both former groups. Further it rejects the reservations expressed by former majority and minority—it condemns the theory of U. S. A. exceptionalism to the line of the 6th Congress C.I. expressed by some leaders of the Party—it again emphasizes to our Party the Right Danger is the main danger and warns that there is great danger of the crystallization of a strong Right Wing tendency in the Party—it corrects the error of the majority group in its wrong analyses which overestimated Trotskyism, which led to a weakening of the struggle against the Right Danger and the error of the minority, which underestimated Trotskyism, thus weakening the struggle against it—it rejects the analyses given by the Party of American Imperialism and decisively corrects the former minority analyses for its failure to see the integration of American and world capitalist economy—it demands the abolition of factionalism, the destruction of the old groups as now constituted, the proletarianization and Americanization of Party leadership, liquidation of group life and re-establishment normal Party life. The C.I. decisions are not a victory for any group in the Party. To view them as such would be fatal and incorrect,

for their successful application.

The Lovestone leadership declared their willingness to accept the Open Letter but rejected the organization decisions. Despite repeated efforts of the C.I. Commission to convince the leadership of the convention of the correctness of the C.I. proposals, pointing out that the Org proposals were the instruments for carrying the line of the Open Letter into effect, the motions of the C.I. Commission, calling for unreserved acceptance of both Open Letter and Org proposals, were defeated, only receiving the support of the former Party minority—a section of 6 votes of the former Party majority (Weinstone, Petersen, Powers, etc.) and the votes of 2 Y. W.L. delegates, Williamson and Kaplan.

A thorough understanding of the C.I. Open Letter and Y.C.I. Letter would have meant that the Y.W.L. delegation should have been the champion of the C.I. proposals. However, the facts show us something different. In the Polcom, Com. Zam voted for rejection of the Org. proposals. In the convention, after the declaration of the C.I. Commission that failure to vote for their motion would mean open opposition to the C.I. and would necessitate the C.I. to direct its appeal to the membership, the majority of the Y.W.L. delegation voted against the C.I. motions.

Further, upon receipt of the C.Y.I. cable, instructing us to support C.I. Letter and Org. Proposals, the Zam leadership committed some gymnastics which can only condemn their methods of leadership and question their political integrity. A cable is sent to the C.Y.I. which says in part—"N.E.C. endorses Open Letter and Y.C.I. Instructions. Accepted Org. Proposals. Did nothing contrary" and in the same meeting of N.E.C. a resolution was adopted which says in part, "The N.E.C. recognizes that the actions taken by the Convention and so far by the C.E.C. are in line with the Open Letter and Org. Proposals as put forward in the various documents and cables of Presidium of C.I. It therefore approves the line followed by the majority of its delegation at the Convention."

How do these declarations of the Zam leadership square with the Org. Proposals of the C.I. and the actual Org. decisions decided upon. How do these declarations of the Zam leadership square with the declaration of the C.I. Commission that the Convention rejected the Open Letter and the Org. Decisions.

The new line and perspective contained in the C.I. Open Letter and Org. Proposals also apply to our League. It was clearly indicated and the line given to our League in the C.Y.I. Letter. This is not an 'old document.' This is the latest word of the C.Y.I. to our League and is the correct basis upon which to participate in our pre-convention discussion on League problems.

The basic task given our League by the C.Y.I. was, "To win and organize the working youth, to fight against war—these are your basic tasks for the nearest future." The C.Y.I. then gives several basic prerequisites for successful achievement of our basic tasks:

1. Correct the understanding of the new and changing role of the American young workers.
2. The estimation that in the present third period—of sharpened class struggles and War Danger—the main danger is the Right Danger.
3. The liquidation of factional struggles and groups and unification of the League on the correct C.Y.I. line, with a proletarian collective lead-

ership.

4. The improvement of the present poor org. status of the League—bad social composition—no shop nuclei—no functioning fractions—roots in heavy industry and Americanization.

5. The Y.W.L. not to be led by either Party group, but to unitedly have a critical stand to all groups and their mistakes and be the champion of the C.I. decisions at all times.

Space does not permit a thorough elaboration on these points and the important League tasks facing our convention. In another article this will be dealt with in detail. However a few words are necessary on some basic questions.

In the present period, rationalization and other related processes, are forcing ever larger numbers of young workers into all industries, but particularly are the young workers becoming a decisive factor in the basic industries. One of the particular characteristics of the third period is the sharpened forms of the class struggle—the radicalization of the working masses. Does this characteristic hold good for the American young workers. I maintain—yes.

The C.Y.I. Letter elaborate at great length on this, analyzing the distinction between the years 1926-7-8, pointing out that in 1927, the C.Y.I. repudiated the contention of the present Zam leadership that the working youth were an almost inert mass or were completely politically apathetic. With a correct understanding of the C.I. and C.Y.I. estimate of the present period, where will our emphasis be—on the processes of radicalization or the contrary. Allow the following quotation to speak for itself: "This does not mean that the young workers in the U.S.A. are already radicalized. This does not mean that the majority of the toiling youth in this country are no longer politically apathetic. It does not mean that we can no longer give the characterization of the young workers as being politically apathetic which we gave 1½ or 2 years ago and content ourselves with that" (stenogram Zam speech Party convention).

Another remark without elaboration. The C.I. and C.Y.I. speak correctly about the main danger in the present period, because of specific reasons, being the Right Danger. However Com. Zam, in his speech at the convention, refers to this question in its application to the Y.W.L. as non-existent, saying this Right orientation in our League existed prior to the last convention. Further, Com. Zam states, "In the League the Right Danger consists in the failure to see the turn . . . the failure to see that the League is breaking with old traditions . . . etc." These facts in themselves are correct but surely alone they don't dramatize the Right Danger for our League. The C.Y.I. has further added two basic points which are missing in the above quotation—as expressions of the Right Danger—the

underestimation of the War Danger and underestimation of the degree of activation of the working class youth.

One of the main historical tasks of this convention must be the liquidation of factionalism—abolition of groups—establishment of unity and collective leadership, with no theories of group monopoly or hegemony existing. This cannot be done thru maneuvers or manipulation of phases. It requires the full acceptance of the Letters and Org. Decisions of the C.Y.I. and C.I. It means that the League must not be under the direction of any Party groups, regardless of what cloak may be used. It means rejection of group practices and possibility to utilize normal League life and channels for fruitful discussions. It means open clear recognition of mistakes as pointed out in C.Y.I. Letter.

The coming convention decisions must be based on open and unequivocal acceptance of all C.I. and C.Y.I. decisions and rejection of all methods of maneuvering, equivocation or conciliation.

Delegates and leadership must be considered on the above basis only. All comrades regardless of groupings who honestly and sincerely accept and fight for the line of the C.I. and C.Y.I. should receive recognition by the membership. The pre-convention discussion must be an educational drive to win the membership for the C.I. and C.Y.I. line.

Unity in the League can be achieved thru:

1. Full acceptance of the C.I. and C.Y.I. decisions without reservations or equivocation.
 2. Rejection of the Polcom statement condemning the C.Y.I. Letter.
 3. Recognition that C.Y.I. Letter was correct in saying that in past Party gave faction leadership and not Party leadership at same time always, recognizing that League is under general direction of C.C. of the Party.
 4. League not to be led by any Party groupings and to be a united factor in the Party for the C.I. line.
 5. Self criticism by all groups and comrades.
 6. Recognition of the weak organizational status of the League.
 7. Rejection of all conceptions of monopoly of leadership.
 8. Broad proletarianization and Americanization of incoming leadership from top to bottom and organizing leadership on basis of those most capable to carry out line C.I. and C.Y.I.
 9. Recognition of anti fight against Right Danger as main danger and at same time eradicate counter-revolutionary Trotskyism.
- The American League must bear high the traditions of the C.Y.I. always being in the forefront as the champion and defender of the Comintern—be in the forefront and champion against the Right Danger and conciliation tendencies in Party and League.

THE BANKRUPTCY OF FACTIONALISM

By D ARCY

The best guide which can help the League in its understanding of the objective situation with which we are faced is the recent Open Letter of the Comintern. The letter however must be read for what is in it—it must not be read with trick glasses which blur the contents of the letter and make the reader see other things than what are contained. After listening to lengthy arguments of the opposition comrades one can come to only one conclusion, namely: that they see the open letter only for the organizational proposals which accompanied it.

The Sixth Congress found it possible on the basis of a Leninist analysis, to outline the course of the struggle, not only for the next few years, but for the whole period till we reach open revolutionary struggle on a world scale. The

is shown not only in the thesis on Comrade Bucharin's report but also in the adoption for the first time of a Comintern Program. The Sixth Congress in making such a correct analysis for the whole International laid the basis for similar analysis which shall also take into consideration the peculiarities of the position of every country. The Open Letter concretizes the general analysis of the Sixth Congress of the C.I. for the American Party and draws the necessary conclusions as to Party tasks.

Thus, the road of revolutionary development in the U. S. is outlined. This road lies through: (1) the organization of the great mass of unskilled and semi-skilled workers of the basic and key industries (2) through a close alliance between the proletariat and the Negro race.

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(3) through an alliance with the revolutionary movements of the colonies and (4) through the disintegration of the capitalist armies and the winning of the toilers therein for the revolutionary movement. There are tremendous and difficult tasks. But the increased involvement of the U. S. in the maelstrom of developing world contradictions has the inevitable effect of speeding the radicalization at home, thus making our tasks possible.

This perspective gives the youth an ever greater role to play. It makes more necessary than ever that we steel our organization through careful examination of our work and merciless self-criticism. It makes more necessary to eliminate factionalism and to be less tolerant of those comrades who turn every disagreement into an internal struggle for power, who sometimes create disagreements in order to justify such a struggle for leadership.

Close examination of the present position of the League shows that we are unprepared for the tasks that we must undertake. This does not mean that we have not made progress. On the contrary, in many ways the League has improved. There has been a broadening and deepening of mass activities. Broadening because our activities have been extended, deepening because our lower organs react to local situations better than ever before. There has been an increase in our membership. We make fewer errors.

Of course there are also many negative factors which account for our weak position, the total lack of shop nuclei, the extremely bad social composition, our small membership in the biggest industrial districts (Detroit, Pittsburgh), a degenerated factional fight, the continued existence of such sewers of opportunism as the California district, etc.

How does the period since the fourth convention compare with the period between the third and fourth? I think we can register progress. In the former period we were making beginnings in mass activities (that's why more new forms of work were initiated), in the latter period mass activities were on a more developed, on a higher plane (that's why there were less errors). Some comrades have characterized the two periods (1) as a period of right wing errors (from third to fourth convention) and (2) as a period of correct line (since the fourth convention). Such a characterization is superficial. It shows a lack of understanding of the whole process of clarification which the League has gone

through and is yet going through. Up to the time that we entered the Passaic strike as a League, about January 1926, we went through a struggle for clarification as to the role of our League. During 1926 and early 1927 we experienced in addition to Passaic, the Plumbers fight and the whole question of economic associations as distinct from unions, the election and pre-convention campaign in the miners union, the founding of the Labor Sports Union, the first serious steps in anti-militarist work, the first youth conferences, the re-organization, first steps toward proletarianization, the first attempts to enter the elections under our own program, etc. The C. Y. I. says of this period:

"The Y.W.C.L. of America has extended its activities . . . despite the extreme difficulties which face it due to the peculiar conditions of American Imperialism. In the field of economic struggle the League has developed new activity such as the campaign for the trade union organization of the young workers (Plumbers helpers, painters, textile) participated in mass strikes, such as Passaic, needle trades in N. Y., and Miners Struggle and commenced the organization of youth conferences. During these activities the League made many errors from which it must learn to improve its work still more."

If we compare this characterization with that given by the C. Y. I. of the period after the fourth convention then we find much sharper criticism used for the latter. In the letter sent after the Fifth Congress they say:

"The C. Y. I. . . . has been guilty of a series of Right opportunist errors, but both groups have been responsible for them."

Of course in 1928 the C. Y. I. used a bigger yard stick to measure the League than in 1927 because we were already one and one-half years older, and more could be expected, but certainly to say the reverse, namely, that 1926-7 was a period of right wing errors and 1928-9 of no serious errors is wrong. There were undoubtedly better work done in the period following the fourth convention. But this was made possible by the experiences preceding. That is the only way to understand the relation between the two periods. Any other explanation can only be eclectic.

To characterize the present position of the League we must be extremely cautious even where we register good progress because we are as yet so weak and our tasks so big that any tendency to

self-satisfaction can only lead to stagnation. But just as we must beware of this we must doubly and trebly beware of those comrades who would use the weaknesses of the League as a factional platform in a struggle for leadership. If the leadership of the past period showed weaknesses which the opposition does not show then we could consider a change of leadership feasible. But since the opposition shows those weaknesses multiplied and many more weaknesses which the majority does not have, then to speak of change of leadership as a solution of our difficulties is sheer idiocy. One cannot characterize the factional struggle sharply enough. It is degenerate, that is certain. It is separated from the problems of mass work, that is equally clear. Both these facts are amply illustrated by the meetings of the League N. E. C. bureau where the opposition demands and often succeeds in putting the question of Party differences first on the agenda then entering on an orgy of speeches and statements on this question until it is impossible to consider any League problems. When the demand is made that youth questions be considered certain comrades of the opposition, sneer cynically and call it being "childish" "practical" and "unpolitical". If they do not succeed they cry persecution. This concrete instance is here given only to characterize the whole situation that exists.

The factional fight has maintained very incapable comrades in important League posts as district organizers, and even in the League center. It has encouraged lack of discipline, and has made real self-criticism impossible. It has brought on such errors as the misuse of the open letter as a factional platform and attempts to mobilize the League against the Party. C. E. C. against which the C. I. has already spoken. Thus the motions of the oppositions, including their new (or maybe old) recruits (Kaplan) contain such passages: "the actions of the convention constitute a rejection of the open letter . . . are against C. I. decisions . . . it becomes the duty of the YWL to mobilize the entire League membership . . . In face of the C. E. C. which was elected in violation of the C.I. instructions and in opposition to the open letter . . . we must mobilize the League membership." etc. The C. I. has cabled its opinion condemning such methods, but this has brought no repudiation from the opposition but only evasion and an attempt to carry on their work more secretly. It has also brought on such impermissible factional methods

as the opposition has allowed itself to make motions for removal of majority comrades from leading posts on March 12 and cabling the C. Y. I. on March 17 that N. E. C. information to the C. Y. I. to that effect is "fiction"! Even when the Bureau took steps on receipt of a letter from the C. Y. I. to correct its error in regards to the Party Pol. m's appeal the opposition made no efforts to unite and make possible the best results from such a correction but instead tried to use the letter as a beginning for a new outburst of factionalism.

The long standing factional fight has developed certain very harmful traditions. One of the worst of which is that disagreements are created artificially as an excuse for factionalism and attempts at self-criticism are received only in the light of their effect on the struggle for majorities. It has also developed the evil of self appointed "match-makers" who whenever the C. Y. I. speaks against factionalism use this as an excuse to start a new group and carry on negotiations for seizing the leadership. The worst effect is of course the neglect of mass work and the abolition of self-criticism.

How can this be overcome? The situation must be created where discussions and differences are possible without struggle for power within the League. The minority must subordinate itself to the majority and must not set up a separate Party. The last five years of factional struggle must have made it clear to all of us that organizational concessions solve nothing. The use of the League against the Party must also be made impossible. The League must support and follow the Party, maintaining a critical attitude except as the C. I. decides. Special self-appointed "defenders" of the C. Y. I. must be done away with and the whole League leadership made more responsible to our International. This convention must eliminate those comrades whose activities have been confined to factional activity and who do no mass work. The widest self criticism must be instituted.

In this spirit the thesis was written. But the opposition attacked the Bureau on the basis that the thesis contains a wrong line. They refused to state what a correct line was and introduced "only amendments". This is unprincipled. It was of course to evade the C. Y. I. decision that "there are no real differences" and yet maintain their excuse for factionalism. The thesis can be made a basis for unity, and the convention must insure that this is achieved.

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paganda methods, making them more understandable by the young workers, more attractive to them, and more suitable to youth psychology.

70.) A broad utilization of "bridge" organizations, by the establishment of youth sections and youth committees in trade unions, economic associations of the youth, energetic work in sports and cultural organizations of the youth, youth sections of farmers organizations. The aim of the League should be to convert such organizations into organs of struggle, and draw the best elements from them into the League.

71.) Fullest assistance to the revolutionary youth movement in the colonies, the establishment of youth Leagues where none exist, and putting into practice the system of patronage of the Leagues in the American colonies and in Latin America.

72.) While the Young Pioneers have developed along the lines of participation in the struggles of the workers, and has drawn the children of the workers into these struggles, it has been limited by poor direction and guidance from the League, which has also failed to supply a sufficient cadre of leaders and has given insufficient material assistance. This must be immediately overcome thru supplying 10% of the League membership for leaders among the Young Pioneers, establishment of proper relations with all the Pioneer committees and organs, as well as with the leaders, and thru more careful and systematic guidance of the passing of Pioneers into the League. It is also necessary to revive the idea of the creation of parents councils as a means of help to the Young Pioneers, particularly at the present time when there is an onslaught on the Pioneers by the reactionary school and municipal authorities. The Young Pioneers together with the League must take up a vigorous position in defense of the working class children, against child misery and more particularly against child labor.

73.) The apparatus and its functioning must be improved. The National departments should be re-

vitalized and cleared of bureaucratic tendencies. The leadership in the districts must be strengthened. The League must make a beginning with the many fields which it has hitherto neglected—opponents, agrarian.

74.) The League must finally make a real beginning in work among the masses of exploited Negro youth. The Negro youth is being drawn more and more into the system of capitalist exploitation. It is feeling and reacting to the pressure of capitalist rationalization. There have been many evidences that the conditions for work among the Negro youth are ripe. Further neglect of this important field of activity will be an indication that the League is not really willing to do this work, to carry on the necessary activities for development into a mass organization.

75.) It is necessary to adjust and improve the relations between the League and the Party. While there must be more guidance of the League's activities by the Party, and greater material assistance, the League must maintain a critical attitude against all mistakes in the Party, particularly against all deviations to the Right. The system of relationship must be strengthened, the Party kernel must be increased to fifteen percent. The Party must be drawn actively into the work in the joint fields of activity (anti-sports, etc.). All liquidatory tendencies in the Party regarding the League and its role must be ruthlessly combated and overcome.

"The Young Workers League must not be led by any of the factional groups in the Party, its members must fight on the basis of the decisions of the Comintern and the Communist Youth International for the liquidation of factionalism and factional groupings both in the League and in the Party." (Open Letter)

76.) The correction of the errors of the League, the overcoming of its mistakes and the development of the political understanding of the membership can be achieved only with proper and unrestricted self-criticism, which is an essential of Bolshevik organization. In the past, there has been very little self-criticism, and too much factional criticism. The

factional situation has particularly served to interfere with and sometimes prevent critical examination of the League's experiences in struggles, and the clarification of the membership regarding the tasks of the League in the present situation. Instead of a critical attitude towards the work of all sections of the League, the employment of factional protection prevented the correction and rectification of serious errors committed. The attitude towards these errors very frequently became a source for further factionalism. Incapable functionaries who resisted the application of the correct line of the League were maintained in their positions purely on a factional basis. The need for clarity, the need for League unity require a decisive break with these methods and the institution of the broadest self-criticism.

XI. FORWARD TO A MASS COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE.

77.) The premise for carrying out all the League's tasks is the elimination of factionalism and the unification of our ranks. In the present period the League has possibilities for developing into the real leader of the young workers, to win them for the struggle against the capitalist system under its banner. The concrete tasks enumerated above are but expressions of the road the League has to travel—the road to mass organization. Not alone the individual task, but a new orientation among all the members is necessary to accomplish the development of the League. Under its own banner as a Communist Youth organization, as an organization that fights for the young workers in the front trenches, whose every member is a leader among the masses; on the basis of the unreserved acceptance and execution of the decisions of the C.I. and C.Y.I., and the unrelenting struggle against all deviations from that line; in the struggle against the Right danger and Trotskyism; with Bolshevik unity and iron discipline guiding its actions, will our League develop into a Mass Communist Youth League of the toiling youth of the United States, a fighting section of the Communist Youth International.