

REVIEWING THE NEWS

"Peace! Peace! Where There Is No Peace"

The *Daily Worker* of Oct. 3, in its column, "World Front," takes a justly deserved wallop at Mr. R. Smith, chairman of the British Labor Party. "Passing to the question of war, Mr. Smith, shielding the role of the British imperialists, declared: 'If war is in the air—cautious follow this Mr. Smith with his 'if'—it is primarily the result of headstrong, grasping imperialism in the Far East and the barbarous, brutalizing Fascism of Europe.'"—While the *Daily Worker* writes in a pugnacious mood against those who cover up the war schemes of American, British and French imperialism it might throw a few punches at the head of Karl Radek. Radek, writing in the "D. W.", placed the danger of war on Germany and Japan, without ever a qualifying "primarily". At least this much can be said of the Labor party chief as compared with the Stalinist press agent, he did put in the word "primarily" and also he did take in all European Fascist nations as war-makers, including Italy, and that's more than Radek did in the "D.W."

Results of Bureaucratic Degeneration

The shocking debauchery in a number of Soviet schools reported in last week's papers is one of the results of the strangling of the Bolshevik party by the Stalinist bureaucracy. With the voice of the party silenced, characterless bureaucrats raised to office through their subservience to the hierarchy "assumed the role of medieval potentates, forcing girl students to sing and dance before them". The death sentence on three of the responsible officials, though highly deserved, does not solve the problem. The building of a new Bolshevik party around the nucleus of Bolshevik-Leninists is necessary for that. To assist in that task we of the Communist League must dedicate ourselves. To speak out that which is, to call degeneration by its proper name is the task of all honest revolutionists. "These disgraceful conditions passed unnoticed by the Communist Party in the Institute", says the Central Committee in Moscow. To say that such conditions could continue side by side with a Bolshevik party is a slander against Bolshevism.

Roses and the Thirty Hour Week

A dispatch from Washington to the *Detroit News* says: "Moley has been telling the industrial leaders that Roosevelt's supreme service so far has been the warding off of currency inflation, the 30-hour work week and the soldiers' bonus. . . . And the way to avert these measures in the future, is to select a Congress which is unmistakably under the thumb of the President." Miss Perkins, representing the Pres and one of those most thoroughly under his thumb, appears at the A. F. of L. convention. Roses, cheers and a touching introduction by President Green was her reception. Here the role of the "Labor Lieutenants of Capitalism" and the demagogic capitalist politicians meet and merge.

The Hearst Press and Leon Trotsky

An imaginative story of the presence or expected early arrival of Leon Trotsky was printed in the Hearst press. Its purpose is to stir up reactionary sentiment against a visa for Trotsky. And then comes the check-up from Paris. "Leon Trotsky, world revolutionary, reported plotting to enter the United States secretly, is still in France—in enforced seclusion. French Secret Service has been ordered to keep Trotsky under surveillance and out of politics."

"Class Brothers" or "Fascist Twins"

The Y.C.L. in a letter to the Y.P. S.L. says they are for a united front with the Young Socialists whom they regard as "class brothers" but not with the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists and Lovestones. (Evidently they haven't heard of Lovestone's latest hope of getting back to the C.I.) The young gentlemen of the Y.C.L. must think that memory of men is short. Did they not issue an Org. Bulletin after Hitler came to power? And didn't they charge at that time, that Trotskyites were counter-revolutionaries precisely because they favored a united front with the Socialists? And further, does John Little dare to challenge Stalin's theory that Social Democracy and Fascism are twins? A "class brother" of a twin to Fascism—that's the Y.C.L.

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Lessons of the Revolt in Spain

The world-stirring heroism and militancy of the Spanish proletariat, strengthening the Austrian experience, points again to the lesson that the working class can and will fight Fascism. Given the slightest opportunity the workers will take their stand on the barricades. The will to power is clear in the Spanish events. But victory, here as elsewhere, hinges on revolutionary leadership—a party. The following analysis does not pretend to finality.

Weaknesses of the Uprising

1. Lack of previous preparation through the development of partial struggles through which the proletariat could be strengthened and the enemy weakened prior to the insurrectionary act itself. Once the situation had developed however to the point when Lerroux announced the composition of his cabinet, it was then, evidently, too late to back out. Through the provocation of Lerroux, the workers were forced into an abortive movement for the seizure of power when the real task was but to check the advance of Fascism.

2. Lack of a coordinated, national, well functioning united front movement. The Workers Alliances existed in certain provinces and regions only. In spite of the insistence of the International Communists and other minority groups, the Socialist party prevented the establishment of the National Workers Alliance. The C.N.T. and its anarchist leadership remained aloof from the Workers Alliances with the exception of Asturias. The Stalinists joined the Workers Alliances at the last moment.

3. No appreciable section of the army came forward in support of the insurrection. The cases in which the army refused to fire on the workers, were not sufficient to indicate any real undermining of the morale of the armed forces. Nuclei work within the army on the part of the revolutionary groups was entirely too sporadic and totally insufficient. Furthermore, the lack of clarity as to aims on the part of the workers gave rise to a natural hesitancy of the soldiers who are influenced most by the determination of the revolutionary class to take power.

All three of these vital defects in the October revolt arose from a single common cause: the lack of a communist party, capable theoretically and organizationally to give leadership and guidance to the Spanish working class. The Socialist party and the Anarchists have both shown their complete inability to play the vanguard role, while the Stalinists have also contributed their two cents towards the defeat. Fortunately for the workers the Stalinists were not strong enough to do either much good or very much harm. The International Communists, who could have contributed real value in the field of theory, were too small numerically and too isolated, to play a decisive role. The need of a vanguard workers' party, if victory is to be achieved, is once more demonstrated by the events themselves.

Indications are that there will be a breathing space of more or less limited duration before the Fascists feel themselves strong enough to take over full power under a dictatorship of their own. In this interval, and in spite of the repression that are certain to follow the crushing of the revolt, the Spanish labor movement will still have certain possibilities of functioning on a semi-legal basis. During this period a series of splits and realignments will take place. The Social Democracy will almost certainly split into two or more groups, and sections of the party with the majority of the Socialist Youth can be expected to declare themselves in solidarity with the idea of the Fourth International.

The crisis in the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement can be expected to intensify in the coming period and we can now predict a definite break-up or reorientation of their whole movement. The bulk of Anarcho-Syndicalist workers can be expected to follow the Syndicalist Libertarian Federation and the Asturias section of the C.N.T. in the trend away from anarchism and towards political action. The more advanced elements of the S.L.F. may soon be found supporting the idea of building a new Communist Party in Spain together with the present Communist Left (Internationalists) and the Communist elements of the Socialist Youth and S. P.

Simultaneous with the efforts to build the new revolutionary party, the Internationalist Communists of forging the National Workers Alliances and of transforming these embryonic Soviets into effective organisms capable of expressing the will of the great toiling masses of the country.

There is very little time left for the proletariat of Spain. They must reassemble their forces, strengthen and extend the Workers Alliances, future organs of their class power, and build the new Communist Party capable of leading them to victory in the final decisive battle with Fascism that is yet to come.—ROSALIO NEGRET

IN THE TRADE UNIONS

Seamens "Strike" Flops

The attempt on the part of the Stalinist controlled Marine Workers Industrial Union to tie up the East Coast has come to an ignominious end. The "strike" has just been called off. Under the inflexible leadership of the official C. P. there can, of course, be no defeats, so that when something goes wrong with one of its pet tactics, a fancy name has to be invented to cover up the mess. For this latest failure the editorial staff of the *Daily Worker* has tricked up the name "Organized retreat". In plain English, however, it means that the attempted seamen's strike was a flop. The events leading to this latest piece of crazy Stalinist adventurism are as follows:

The International Seamen's Union, like all other A. F. of L. unions, has in spite of reactionary leadership of the worst sort, been experiencing a new lease on life. Forced by a wave of resentment against rotten conditions, the I.S.U. threatened to tie up the Atlantic seaboard on October 8, unless the shipping companies recognized the union and granted better conditions. However, a few days before the strike date, the bosses consented to arbitrate the matter before the Labor Board. The I.S.U. leadership, therefore, called off the strike. We haven't much use for the A. F. of L. officialdom, and their invariable dependence on the governmental machinery of the NRA to help fight a union's battles. This tendency has to be fought tooth and nail. But neither have we much use for the adventurist tactics with which the Stalinist-inspired Marine Workers Industrial Union fought this A. F. of L. officialdom.

For the Stalinists, thinking that they could take advantage of the strike sentiment among the seamen, decided to call a strike on October 8 anyway, over the heads of the I.S.U. leadership, expecting that the rank and file would flock to the leadership of the M.W.I.U.—the regular united-front-from-below stuff!

Ballast and Noise

The M.W.I.U., like most T.U.U.L. unions, is largely a paper organization on the East coast. Indeed just how paper it is can be seen by the fact that only a few hundred men responded to the strike call, a good many of these being unemployed. Instead of the 35,000 the leaders claimed would respond. Likewise, being intent all these years on building T.U.U.L. unions, the Stalinist strategists never had developed a left-wing movement in the I.S.U. So that, although there was among the seamen a basis for the strike, there was no basis at all on which the Stalinists could take leadership of that strike.

The I.S.U. ordered its men to stay on the job, a vicious red scare was started by the I.S.U. leaders and the bosses, to which the Stalinists with their usual trade union perspicacity left themselves wide open, and those few I.S.U. militants who had jobs, and didn't want to scab even though their own union wasn't on strike, lost these jobs and will now probably be lost as a leavening in the I.S.U. In fact, the

would-be great strike was nipped even before it got started.

So now the Stalinists are beating an "organized retreat". As the *Daily Worker* puts it: "Only the united efforts of the ship owners, the government, and the I.S.U. and I.L.A. officials succeeded in preventing the seamen from developing the strike on a mass basis." What an excuse for an "organized retreat". What did the great C. P. minds expect from the bosses, the NRA and the I.S.U. officials if not attempts to wreck the Stalinist maneuver? The real reason why the Stalinists failed in "developing the strike on a mass basis" is because they had no basis in the mass. Without having a real foothold among the organized seamen, they attempted a putsch, using their own paper union as a base.

When the Minneapolis truck strike was in progress, the leaders in that struggle tried to get the rest of the unions in the town out on a 48 hour sympathy strike with the truckmen. These efforts failed largely because left wing influence in these unions was not strong enough to force the A. F. of L. bureaucrats to take this step. The Stalinists to this day condemn the Minneapolis leaders for not calling a general strike anyway. These Stalinists have now had a chance to show whether their policy of issuing strike calls "over the heads of the leadership" works. It does not. Among the seamen it merely spread confusion and cost some militants, whom the Stalinists have miseducated, their jobs.

Whether the C. P. trade union strategists will ever learn that the only way you can influence workers is to have roots in the organizations to which these workers belong is questionable. For the lesson the Stalinists draw from their attempted East coast strike is "to build an opposition in the International Seamen's Union" which sounds sensible but is contradicted by the fact that they also will "build the Marine Workers Industrial Union". —B.B.

In the Philadelphia I. L. G. W. U.

Philadelphia.—The leaders of local 50 I.L.G.W.U. have always hated to call membership meetings, especially now when there are so many new elements who are not so easily handled. So that under one pretext or another, there has been no membership meeting for almost four months.

The local is divided into two branches, silk and cotton dress and blouse, and they meet separately. The codes for silk dress and blouse were fixed last Fall, but great difficulties were encountered with respect to the cotton dress code since it is a much larger industry, practically unorganized and is considered part of the cotton wear code by the bosses, who are fighting to keep the minimum wage very low.

Last week, directly after work, a meeting was finally called of the cotton and blouse branch, for the purpose of discussing new developments with regard to the cotton code as well as general conditions in the trade.

After a long wait the meeting started and the secretary began to

read the minutes of three executive board and one joint board meeting. The minutes of the last executive meeting was what most interested us as it contained the following for approval: 1—Anti-Fascist Fund, 2—Cotton Code, 3—Five Dollar tax on members, decided by the May convention, 4—Union educational program, and 5—Fettering out the Communist party.

The Smoke-Screen

Meanwhile the manager, Reischberg, arrived and the minutes of the last Executive were asked to be discussed and approved. The Stalinist opposition immediately got into action. All questions concerning the every day problems confronting the workers in the shops were forgotten and they only wanted to take up and discuss Fascism. The meeting was turned into one long wrangle between the Stalinists and Reischberg over this question.

The workers became restless, having come directly from work. Particularly, the new inexperienced members who were making as low as five and six dollars a week, looked bewildered and confused and didn't know what all the shouting was about. Some began to walk out of the meeting.

At this point I took the floor and said that it would be a good thing to discuss such an important matter as Fascism after we took up the cotton code and the possibility of raising the minimum which is only thirteen dollars a week and to do something about the general conditions in the trade, wage cuts, etc. The workers vigorously approved what I said, but both Reischberg, the right winger and the Stalinists were against my suggestion.

Reischberg then decided to rule the meeting, refusing to allow any discussion. He spent the rest of the time explaining Fascism and the importance of helping its victims in Europe. Someone tried to make a motion to elect delegates to the Chicago Conference Against War and Fascism but he ruled it out of order. He then reported on the union educational program and then came to the cotton code.

The "Nice" Bosses

In discussing the cotton code, he turned to me and accused me of wanting a strike but I was to be disappointed as the bosses were "nice enough" to grant the thirty-six hour week and minimum wage of \$13 a week. He then launched into an attack against the new members for not paying dues, for being so impatient for better conditions and demanding that they pay the five dollar tax in order to send organizers around.

As I stated before, the workers are working part-time and making very little, so that during his entire speech, not that the Stalinists but the new elements were constantly interrupting. Since it was getting late the meeting was adjourned and nothing really was accomplished.

This union bureaucrat, Reischberg, is able to run meetings in this manner, because we haven't a clear-cut left wing opposition, working out left wing policies in the union. There is no cooperation between the various progressive groups and the workers, feeling nothing is done at meetings, stay away. A genuine left wing opposition must be built.

—PHILA. CLOTHING WORKER

STATEMENT OF THE OWNER-SHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1933.

Of The Militant, published weekly at New York City for October 1, 1934.

State of New York — ss.

County of New York

Before me, a in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of The Militant and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, 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, Communist League of America; Editor, J. P. Cannon; Managing Editor, George Clarke; Business Manager, Rose Karsner; all of 144 Second Avenue.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning 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.)

Editorial Board: Martin Abern: 144 Second Ave.; James P. Cannon, 144 Second Ave.; Max Shachtman, 144 Second Ave.; Maurice Spector, 144 Second Ave.; Arne Swabeck, 144 Second Ave.

3. That the known bondholders,

mortgagees and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not

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5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the months preceding the date shown above is (This information is required from daily publications only.)

ROSE KARSNER, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this eleventh day of Oct. 1934.

Louis J. Goldberg.

(My commission expires March 30, 1935.)

—PHILADELPHIA—

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Some Fundamental Aspects of Youth Work

1. Basis of "Youth Problem"

By ALBERT GLOTZER

The movement to create the Fourth International must also endeavor to build simultaneously, the new communist youth international. It is unnecessary to belabor the point by declaring that the youth have either been underestimated and misunderstood, or that their movements have been horribly maltreated, as a result of the petty-bourgeois prejudices of social democracy and the factional abuses of Stalinist revisionism. All this is true enough, but these truths do not erase the fact that when the Young Communist International was organized in 1919, it was founded upon correct principles and enjoyed a healthy growth for several years. With the victory of Stalinism the organization ceased to grow. For more than ten years the communist youth movement has suffered uninterrupted decline until today it is an almost non-existent factor in the general political and organizational life of disintegrating Stalinism.

In the course of this past decade, the principles upon which the communist youth movement was built have either been forgotten, or else pushed back so far into the archives of the pseudo-Bolsheviks that for all practical purposes these principles never existed. Now it is necessary to restate them in a language so plain that no possible misunderstandings can arise. The restatement of these principles should serve as a guide for all our young comrades in their work toward rebuilding the communist youth movement.

While it is true that Stalinism with all its vicious theories and practices unavoidably brought destruction upon a healthy and growing youth international, not every error committed by the youth can be explained with the terse rejoinder: Stalinism. There are a number of problems which confront the youth movement that are and were, even for the Y.C.I. in its early years, experimental in character. And it could not be otherwise. There is no way of testing many youth problems except through the method of experiment.

The experiments in order to determine correct paths were rudely interrupted shortly after they had begun, and we are still at a stage where we must independently solve, through practice, problems of youth organization and activity. In our work of reconstructing the communist youth on an international basis, we should therefore, always be ready to discuss and experiment with new ideas and proposals which, together with a persistent activity among the masses of young workers, will lead to a solution of such problems. But before we can do this it is necessary to know where to begin, and for this purpose the writer presents in brief form, an outline of the fundamental questions of youth work. On the basis of an understanding and application of the following it will be possible to proceed more intelligently and vigorously in realizing our goal.

The rise of world fascism, which recruits great numbers from the youth in society, demands more than the stereotyped attitude toward this problem that is usually prevalent in the workers' movement: we must win the youth. A good barometer of the success of the revolutionary internationalists will be present in its ability to realize the support of the youth to its theory and practice.

The "youth problem" arises out of the very nature of the capitalist social order. It becomes particularly acute with the development of the imperialist stage of capitalism which absorbs ever greater numbers of youth into industry, thus accentuating one of the outstanding characteristics of factory production under early capitalism. Entering industry as proletarians, the youth are confronted with the general problems of the proletariat as a class. Thus, the "youth problem" is bound up with the question of exploitation as it affects the entire working class. One must, therefore, seek the background to all issues of a youth character in the nature of the social order, in the relations of production. The youth are divided according to the classes in society: bourgeois, proletarian and intermediary. Its problems are essentially class problems. We do not approach the matter from the point of view of the youth in general, but from the point of view of the proletarian youth whose problems are, by and large, the problems of the working class as a whole, and whose emancipation depends upon the emancipation of the class.

The youth are physically weaker and mentally more immature than any section of the working class. If, as in the United States, there is no essential difference in the rate of exploitation between the youth and adult workers, either in hours, wages, or conditions of labor, the special nature of the youth question lies in the fact that from the economic basis (which is in general the same as the adult worker) it becomes transformed into a physical and psychological one. It is necessary to return to this when

dealing with the subject of the economic struggles of the young workers.

A second vital matter, which acquires particular youth significance, especially with the rise of imperialism and the attendant colossal growth of armaments and war, is the question of anti-militarism and the struggle against war. In this field the youth are the heaviest sufferers.

Thirdly, we are confronted with a system of capitalist education, the aim of which is to train a servile youth that will be ready to answer the beck and call of the master class. Beginning with the children, through the schools, the press, radio, sports, etc., the ruling class molds a "bourgeois minded" youth.

The youth work then is divided into three essential fields:

a) the economic struggles of the young workers;

b) anti-militarism and the struggle against war; and,

c) socialist education.

The special character of the young workers (physical and mental immaturity) and his particular status in the capitalist social order make necessary the existence of a special youth organization. If the working class is to emancipate itself from the yoke of capitalism it must devote special efforts to overcome "bourgeois prejudices" toward the youth, to liquidate as speedily as possible a "natural" antagonism between the adults and youth, with the aim of simultaneously neutralizing the influence of capitalism upon this section of the proletariat and winning them to the banner of the revolution. The workers movement as a whole must aid in the building of the youth movement, help to solve its problems, supply leadership to it, etc.

THE ROLE OF THE YOUTH ORGANIZATION

It follows from the above that if the general problems of the youth are bound up with the struggle of the working class as a whole, and its tasks are special ones adapted for winning the broad masses of young workers, the youth movement cannot play the role of an "individual, independent, political revolutionary organization". At the present period of development it is not necessary for us to begin the investigation into the character of the Party and the youth organizations. That has been done well by the 2nd Congresses of the Communist International and the Young Communist International. The Party is the leader of the working class. The Party gives political direction to the class as a whole; it is the vanguard of the proletariat. History permits no dispute in this question. The youth organization is only a section of the organized working class which is dependent upon the party for political guidance. Its particular field of work is among the young proletarians whom it seeks to win to the side of the working class. Thus youth work is a specialized field of Party work. That is why the Y.C.I. in 1922 described the youth organization in the following manner:

" . . . the young communist organizations are MASS organizations for communist militant education of the working class youth, the SCHOOL in which the young workers can be instructed in the mass struggle for communism."

The youth organization cannot be a mere "cultural" organization, because it is impossible to distinguish the struggle for culture from the general class struggle. Neither can it be a pure "educational" organization because the education of the proletarian youth without participation in the class struggle would not lead to the creation of the type of organization we are seeking. The youth organization must be a militant revolutionary one, which participates in the class struggle, seeks to educate not only its own ranks but the broad masses of youth, constructs special social and sports activities (not rejecting them as bourgeois or social democratic devices), all the time bearing in mind that it is not a second party and that its activities do not duplicate the Party's, but dovetail into them. The activities need to be varied enough so as to be able to attract the completely raw and inexperienced, who are nevertheless ready to learn.

One of the outstanding weaknesses of the youth organizations today, a weakness that has been present for many years, is that they conceived of their task merely as a copy of the party work and failed to develop their own special methods and forms. It is interesting to note how the Y.C.I. regarded this question during the early years of its existence. Discussing these fundamental questions of youth work it said:

"The Communists declare that the Young Communist League is helping to spread the truth and doing political and economic work among the young proletariat. But, by the way, is that not the syndicalist idea of the uniform organization? No!"

"Insofar as the working class youth is a part of the entire work-

(Continued on Page 4)