

# Stalinists in a Panic as Organization Of New Party in U. S. Approaches

The Central Committee of the Stalinist party is greatly worried. To be more exact, it is panicked. Nothing else can explain the bombardment of frenzied abuse suddenly launched in the official communist press against the "Trotskyists" and the American Workers Party.

In the first place, the situation inside the Communist party makes it imperative for the leadership imposed upon it to distract attention from their disgraceful mismanagement. The widely heralded San Francisco general strike has turned to ashes in the mouth of the Stalinists. The complete ineffectiveness of the party in the textile strike—largest struggle in the history of the American working class—is too patent to be explained away, nor has the leadership yet made any attempt to do so. In four of the most dramatic struggles of recent times, in Toledo, Milwaukee, Minneapolis and Kohler, the Communist party was as invisible as an infra-red ray. The strike it tried to call on the New York waterfront proved to be an unmitigated debacle. The whole trade union policy of the party is being drastically revised, without apparent rhyme or reason and certainly without explanation, and the much-vaunted "red" unions are being liquidated in the dark of the moon at a faster and more artificial pace than they were created in the first place. The results of the great post-convention membership drive are a downright catastrophe: 17,000 members joined the party in the first seven months of this year, at the end of which, however, the party has 4,000 fewer members than when the drive began; that is, the Stalinist bureaucracy and its policies have driven out of the party an average of 3,000 members per month in the first part of 1934. In a normally functioning working class organization, a leadership which cannot produce a better accounting of its stewardship than this, would be driven out of its posts and perquisites without even the three days of grace usually accorded all bankrupts.

### A Decadent Party

There are, besides, other phenomena which give the leadership sleepless nights, and cause the serious party member to stop for sober reflection. At one time, whatever revolutionary progress was visible in the American working class, crystallized around the Communist party. The Stalinized party, however, has lost its revolutionary force of attraction. A tempestuous, leftward evolution of the ranks of the Socialist party is taking place, with thousands of Socialist workers and youth moving rapidly towards Marxism. But not only does this movement pass by the Stalinists, but it is directed against them. Where, a decade ago, it was felt clearly or instinctively by the awakening Socialist workers that their move to the left was logically in the direction of the Third International and its parties, they feel today that they would be stepping out of the frying pan and into the fire if they broke from reformism only to join hands with decadent Stalinism. They are therefore seeking or groping for a new rallying center.

This is even more plainly evident in the movement for a new party and a new International in the United States. We are on the eve of the consummation, in this country, of the most progressive step taken in the American working class movement for years. Coming through they did from different directions, the militants of the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America have thought and fought their way through, along different forks in the road to a unification which makes it possible for them to march with swelled forces along a single path and under a single banner. Joined together, the two organizations are now taking the last steps preparatory to the formal launching of the new party in the United States, the party of revolutionary Marxism.

### Founded on Marxism

For the first time in many a year, a party will appear on the scene in this country which can boldly assert and prove its claim to be the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. It will not be the issue of a bureaucratic combination, but a solid structure based upon a thoughtfully worked out program. This program will be found to contain those fundamental ideas of Marx and Lenin which guarantee the revolutionary integrity of the party and its driving force. These ideas will not be diluted or perverted, as they have been by the existing radical parties of labor, but reinforced by the lessons of the struggles, the victories and defeats, that the world proletariat has experienced in the last twenty years. From the very outset, therefore, the new party will be equipped with an invincible sword, and it will confidently challenge the existing parties for the leadership of the American working class.

Whatever doubts may have existed on this score have been ban-

ished by the prolonged howl of rage that has risen from the Stalinist camp as soon as it became clear that the launching of the new party was already assured. Just as the Roman emperors sought to turn the wrath of the masses from the cause of their hunger to the vicarious thrill of the gladiatorial combats in the lion's arena, the Stalinist proconsuls are trying to work up a veritable lynching campaign against the new party so that their own membership may forget for a day the cruel political existence to which they are condemned.

### The Mind of a Bureaucrat

And what a contemptible campaign it is that the panic-stricken Stalinists have launched! The bureaucrat's mind is worthy of a definitive study. He cannot judge a political event politically. Having himself received his post and the not undesirable emoluments of office as bounty for subservience and booty from a plot of usurpers, he can conceive of a political movement directed against his ideas only as an insidious plot of other bureaucrats. Like man created his various gods, the bureaucrat creates all politicians and all politics in his own image. His policeman's mind, which qualifies him to office under Stalinism, cannot see beyond the horizon imposed upon him from above and imposed by him upon those over whom he holds sway in turn. Equipped with magistrate's powers and an ample stock of abuse, he sallies forth against the enemy. The more worried he is, the more abusive and less intelligible he becomes.

This is how the Stalinist bureaucracy has greeted the new party. The leading editorial of the *Daily Worker* on the fifteenth anniversary of the Communist party (9-29-34) thus devoted itself to a solemn warning. To whom? To the—don't laugh!—honest but misguided rank and file counter-revolutionists and bourgeois nationalists in the two organizations which are preparing to fuse. "We must warn the workers who follow Muste and his A.W.P. against a trap that is being laid for them by their leaders—the trap of counter-revolutionary 'Trotskyism.' But that is not all. 'To the few misguided workers who still follow the Trotskyists' (come, come, isn't it a bit indecent thus to dig up again the dead body of Trotskyism which has now been disinterred sixteen times—by actual count—in the columns of the Stalinist press?) an earnest word of advice is also proffered. Beware, for the counter-revolutionists, in turn, 'are leading you into organic unity with Muste, the champion of bourgeois nationalism'. Why, from the standpoint of the *Daily Worker*, there is anything reprehensible in the counter-revolutionists joining hands with the bourgeois nationalists, is not entirely clear. Nor will we press the point, for as Thomas Paine once said: 'To argue with a man who has renounced the use and authority of reason is like administering medicine to the dead.'

### "Armyless Generals"

A few days later, the news writer of the *Daily Worker*, either ignorant of the startling editorial discovery of honest rank and file counter-revolutionists and bourgeois nationalists who make up the ranks of the C.L.A. and A.W.P., or else operating on the theory that your front page should not know what your back page is doing, reports from Paterson that the speakers at a silk workers' meeting there were "A. J. Muste, purveyor of Fascist (Oops!) doctrines" and James Cannon, "Trotskyist renegade", and that "textile worker after textile worker made clear his distrust of the two armyless generals of social fascism".

Now, if no armies are involved, what is all the disturbance for? In its letter to the young Socialists explaining why it is opposed to including the young Trotskyists in the united front, the Stalinist youth organization declares that the Trotskyists have no masses and therefore should not be included in the united front. If the Trotskyists and Mustelites are armyless, why the plaintive wail of the *Daily Worker* against the latter for having rejected a united front with the Communist party?

It becomes increasingly clear that abuse and foam at the mouth are not exactly conducive to clarity. At any rate, we may be permitted to doubt the effectiveness of such appeals made by the Stalinists to the honest scoundrels and rogues of the rank and file.

Not satisfied, however, with digging up the body of Trotskyism, the Stalinists have exhumed the corpse of Alexander Bittelman and brought it into play against the new party. Asking Bittelman to lead the campaign is like calling the members of the Grand Army of the Republic to the colors for a war in 1935. Bittelman, it was generally thought (by some, with a feeling of relief), had been permanently silenced after the Stalinists exiled him to the Kirghis Soviet Republic in 1929 for having labored too effectively to wreck the American Communist party. He is making up for that silence now.

In the *Daily Worker* of October 17, Bittelman explodes a "bombshell" called—"Does the American Workers Party Know With 'What' It is Uniting?" The title perfectly expresses his deep and tender concern over the fate of the party of bourgeois nationalism. Addressing himself to the little infants of the A.W.P., he conjures up before them the dread image of the Trotskyist bogeyman who will get them if they don't watch out. We know that none of our readers will believe us, but good eyesight and simple truth compel us to report that what Bittelman is so terribly exercised about, and is trying to exercise his readers about, is the lack of democracy in the ranks of the Trotskyists and a malevolent plan by "Cannon-Shachtman and Co." to trick the honest rank and file vanguard of the bourgeois counter-revolution and the honest rank and file vanguard of bourgeois nationalism into joining whatever the latest Stalinist thesis calls the Socialist party the vanguard of.

### Burglary Again

Proof? Ah, this time Bittelman has ample proof. His second-story men and pickpockets did their last job some six years ago when they and stole our documents and postage stamps. They have now done another bit of revolutionary mass work. A few letters exchanged between League members were stolen by some light-fingered expert of the C. P., thus affording Bittelman the opportunity to quote some torn-out sentences from them in a breath-taking Hearstian exposure guaranteed to impress anybody below the mental age of seven. In stirring, lucid prose, the Trotskyists are convicted of planning to enter the Socialist party for the purpose of reforming the Second International, and of having, meanwhile, abolished all traces of internal democracy.

Let us see how matters stand. 1. The French section of the International Communist League has entered as a faction, with its own program and paper, into the French Socialist party, for reasons clearly set out in the columns of the *Militant* and the *New Internationalist*. Even in France, however, despite the unique situation that has necessitated this step, our comrades have not put forward the slogan of "reform of the Second International". Just the contrary. As is known to our readers who saw a translation of it, the leading political article in the first number of the paper issued by our comrades after entering the S. P., contained a vigorous polemic against the idea of "reforming the Second" and in favor of the Fourth International.

2. As Bittelman, and anyone else concerned, are perfectly aware, our international organization, and our official organ in the United States, have pointed out explicitly that the road our French comrades were obliged to take, is not the road which the American situation requires us to take. In the United States, a far more favorable condition exists and makes it possible and necessary for the revolutionary Marxists to proceed immediately to launch their own independent political party. No serious person would even think of making the proposal in our ranks that the C.L.A. should join the American Socialist party. Such a proposal would be met with the stiff opposition of 99.44 percent of the membership, from bottom to top.

### Bittelman's Lies

3. "It is a fact," writes Bittelman, "that Cannon peddles around the idea of the 'reform of the Second International'." What Bittelman calls a fact is properly called in comrade Spector's letter "a wholly unintelligible"; to be more accurate, this "fact" is a stupid lie manufactured out of the whole cloth. An equally stupid lie is the story that the New York membership "voted against a proposal for entry into the Y.P.S.L.". The membership never voted for it and never voted against it, for the simple reason that no such proposal was ever put before the membership.

4. Bittelman sheds tears over the lack of democracy in the C.L.A. as copiously and genuinely as a Hollywood actress. In general, it must take a monumental effrontery and a forehead triple-sheathed in brass for Stalinist functionaries even to talk about party democracy, after the world-wide trail of devastation they have left in the working class movement in the last ten years with their scourge of bureaucraticism.

Bittelman reads a number of letters dealing with internal affairs of our League, but they are as incomprehensible, simply and literally, as incomprehensible to him as though he were examining the cane script on the Rosetta stone. It is physiologically impossible for the mind of the Stalinist official to grasp what such letters represent. The "monolithic" unanimity prevailing in the Stalinist party is considered by its leaders as the normal state of a working class organization. It is a unanimity violently imposed from above, rigidly enforced by bureaucratic machinations which strangle the party and deteriorate all who breathe its poisonous atmosphere. The Stalinist official has reached a point where it is simply inconceivable to him that any member shall have the right (or the temerity!) to express a view conflicting with the one that has the sacro-sanction of the day. That among the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" there should be comrades, in the ranks and in the leading committees, who not only have differing views, or sharp criticisms to make, but who also feel themselves free to write them down on paper without fear that a bureaucratic axe will promptly descend upon their neck—that represents the kind of a normal world from which Bittelman and Co. have so long ago departed that it strikes them as unreal.

### A Startling "Discovery"

We have disputes and differing views in our ranks! That's Bittelman's self-startling discovery. We say: thank god we have! So has every organization with two men in it, even the Stalinist party. The difference between us and the C.P. is that: In the C.L.A. these differences are freely put forward, developed, mutually criticized, discussed without fear of rude and disloyal punishments. Consequently, a healthy and sound decision is arrived at. In the C.P., differences exist, but we betide him who has differences with Stalin and his direct representative, Browder, who is responsible to and removable by nobody but the man who appointed him! Who knows this better than Bittelman himself? For what "deviation from the party line" was he compelled to do penance in Russian exile, deliberately removed from participation in the life and work in his own party? For what crime of lese majeste against Browder, to take another of many, many examples, was Weinstein kicked out of the party's political center and packed off to Detroit as district organizer—sent "to pick peaches in Georgia" as the cynical expression of American politics would put it? Why are the once members of the almighty Political Bureau—Milor, Hathaway, Foster, Bedacht—no longer members of it?

And in the course of the reply we await from him, will Bittelman further enlighten us as to why the party's secret service is used not only to ferret out spies, but also to hunt down members whose revolutionary integrity is above question but who are suspected of meeting secretly with other comrades in a "faction"? Why is it that party members and party "leaders" who are dissatisfied with the Browder regime, are compelled to confine their views to inaudible whispers behind private walls and windows with shades pulled to the bottom—that is, when they dare even to whisper.

Why does the *Daily Worker* continue to pour sulphur and brimstone on the Lovestonettes, while the party leadership meets secretly, without the knowledge of the membership, with representatives of the Lovestone group to discuss a very highly "principled" (no doubt! no doubt!) reunion?

One could go on endlessly with a wearisome piling up of facts, too well known to all, about the demerit that flourishes in the C.P. nowadays. But this will do for the moment, especially when contrasted with the procedure in the C.L.A.

### Negotiations in Open

Our negotiations with the comrades representing the A.W.P. have not only been public (even to readers of the *Militant*) from the very beginning, but have been the subject of an extensive and intensive discussion in our ranks which has produced that firmness on the question which prevails throughout the League today. (Were Bittelman able to witness the warm, vigorous and intensive ideological and political internal life of our League, in contrast with the tomb-like "calm" and listlessness of the C.P. units about which the Stalinists themselves complain with some bewilderment, he would undoubtedly be shocked into an even greater incoherence than was produced in him by the purloined letters!) Our communications to the A.W.P., their replies, our mutual criticisms—all appeared in the columns of our press, where the working class public could read them and know what is going on. The views of our National Committee in favor of the speediest possible merger with the A.W.P. to found a new party on the principles of revolutionary Marxism, were communicated in detail to every single branch, many months ago, in the course of a tour by a N.C. representative who met with every comrade, who put forward the position of the leading committee, who invited and received the broadest discussion, and who ended up with the reminder that no comrade was called upon to commit himself as yet by vote on the fundamental question until he had had the greatest opportunity to reflect on the matter and to study all the documents involved. In our main branch, New York, direct oral reports on each step in the progress of the negotiations and discussions with the A.W.P. were periodically delivered by the National Committee, with every member having ample opportunity to present his view more than once. In addition, a complete thesis giving our fundamental view in favor of the immediate launching of a new, independent revolutionary party in

# 9 Negro Boys Need United Movement

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Which does not solve the major problems confronting every enemy of lynching. Here is a case which has widespread sympathy, and nowhere in the country, not even in Northern cities where there are large blocks of discontented Negro workers, are there organized masses ready to go into action on behalf of the victims marked out by Judge Lynch.

Last week the *Militant* suggested that only a new and broader defense movement could save the boys after the vicious blows dealt it by the I.L.D.'s erstwhile hero, Mr. Leibowitz.

There are a number of interesting aspects to this offer. In the first place, it comes not from the I.L.D. to the S.P., but from a local committee of one to a local committee of the other. This does not mean that the Stalinists are reverting for the moment to last year's theory of the "honest middle functionaries" of the "social-fascist" party? No, it merely means that they hope to use the S.P. in New York to stage a couple of big demonstrations without submitting to anybody else's examination or control the general conduct of the case now in the hands of the I.L.D.'s national office.

Another point of interest is that the I.L.D. does not issue a general call for a united front. In the old days it used to splash such a call in the *Daily Worker* and append to it a lot of acceptance from the W.I.R., Icor and whatnot. Now it simply sends a letter to the S.P. It wants an I.L.D.-S.P. united front, and nobody else allowed.

The reason is clear. More than in any other field at present, the I.L.D. does not want to face the Communist League. We alone, of all workers' organizations, called the turn on Leibowitz eighteen months before he showed his hand in all frankness; we alone criticized the I.L.D. for its smug association with this scoundrel. Little wonder that the I.L.D. wants a closed corporation for the Scottsboro defense!

If the I.L.D. is really serious, it will give up such monkeyshines, make room in the defense movement for every interested organization, share the control of the case through a joint committee, and make possible a real mass campaign for the Scottsboro boys. The C.L.A. will back such a movement to the limit.

agreement with the A.W.P., was sent to every member for the pre-convention period, and it has been the subject of thorough discussion in our ranks since that time. Our convention will finally express the freely-arrived at decision of the membership, which elects its own delegates. Mr. Bittelman, for we have no Browder to appoint all the delegates as he did for the late, unlamented Cleveland convention of the C.P.

Bittelman is right on one point. It is these democratic methods that we shall "seek to install" in the new party. Bittelman, who has long ago lost the right, the ability, and finally the desire, to express an independent opinion in his party, and is consequently completely dumfounded to see one expressed elsewhere, is entitled to the kind of regime that prevails in his organization. Without envy or reservations, we grant it to him free—all of it. We grant it to him even though the gift is not ours to present, because few men ever deserved it more richly.

Meanwhile, it is not fair to allow the Stalinists to nurture illusions which will produce nothing but disappointment. Their panic-stricken appeals to the "honest rank and file" of the two organizations are meeting with the ridicule they merit. They are not dealing with little infants who are easily frightened by bogeymen, or with deluded serfs. In both organizations, they are confronted with serious revolutionary workers, who have not jumped quickly at conclusions, but who have reflected earnestly and long and with open eyes and minds. If it is traps they are to avoid, they know that the traps are the ones represented by social reformism on one side and Stalinism on the other, traps in which the mangled bodies of the Chinese, German, Austrian and other workers have already been caught. They are ready to break with the Great Organizers of Defeats. Confident and sure-footed, armed with the invincible weapons of revolutionary Marxism, they are determined to build in this country the Great Organizer of Victory.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

The regular October number of *Young Spartacus* is on the press. It will include the major draft resolutions for the national convention of the S.Y.L., articles on the current events here and abroad, a summary of the latest developments in the world youth movement (France, Spain, Belgium), articles on the Y. P.S.L. reprinted from the special New York issue as well as light educational features.

# Industrial Union Move Checked by Right Wing

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form, the antiquated and outlived craft issues. In its direct sense this dispute represents the squabble of the officials for control of spoils. But beneath it is the more fundamental question of a movement as a whole getting into motion with the workers in this one section, who are hard hit by the protracted slump in the industry, pressing for a way out. The officials know no other way than the protection of craft interests, of one craft against another which they intensify as the pressure increases. The bricklayers, carpenters and electrical workers unions have for some time been outside of the Building Trades Department. They now insisted on remittance, but met the opposition from officials of the other building trades unions who hoped thereby the better to control award of jurisdictional claims for their specific crafts to certain kind of work which has been changed by new industrial processes.

Paraphrasing it may be remarked that if and when any degree of recovery in the industry by a resumption of building should appear, it is certain to be under new and much further improved technical processes which will perhaps altogether wipe out the old craft basis and impose much more acute-ly the need for a change of union organization form also in this industry.

It is on this general background only of changes and regroupments that one can understand the divided positions of an ideologically united officialdom. John L. Lewis, the outright reactionary who made it his main task some time ago to drive out of the mining industry a couple of hundred thousand of coal miners for whom no jobs were available, who has lived high on enormous bribes paid by the operators for his keeping one section of miners at work while other sections were on strike, became the most ardent sponsor and spokesman for the industrial union move. Closely allied with him on this question was Howard, the president of the Typographical union, who has many times proved himself a most bitter foe of industrial unionism in the printing industry. Essentially, however, the adoption of the proposition is due to rank and file pressure. The new unions in the mass production industries have made this demand in no uncertain terms. Some progressive concessions had to be given to the growing working class militancy lest it would seek its own way out. But it should not be overlooked that many A. F. of L. officials favored the industrial union proposition in the hope that this would provide a better basis for peaceful relations, bargaining possibilities of give-and-take when facing the powerful owners of the mass production industries.

Rogues Gallery of "Progressives"  
Following upon the adoption of the industrial union resolution came the decision to enlarge the Executive Council from its former

thirteen members to eighteen. John L. Lewis, who had thundered from the platform that the industrial union question "had to do with the destiny and future success of the American labor movement" also sponsored the council measure. He insisted that the proposed change would signify a more militant organization policy and found support from Daniel Tobin, the head of the teamsters union, who had previously castigated the hundreds of thousands of new recruits in the A. F. of L. as "rubbish", and who condones a system in his union of officials putting through their elections for life. Tobin's reactionary attack upon the Minneapolis strike, upon the organization of local 574 and its leadership, is too well known to *Militant* readers to require any further comment.

William Hutcheson, the president of the carpenters union, who could never be expected to agree to anything that would look like a more militant organization policy, supported this proposal of Lewis, apparently for the reason that the rival officials in control of the Building Trades Department opposed it. It may be a good guess that the same reason was responsible for Hutcheson's support of resolution number 141. This resolution, which was adopted despite the organization committee's report of non-concurrence, calls for the expulsion of unions which do not comply with the demand for discontinuance of all discrimination against Negroes.

Adding Pitch to Black  
Looking over the new additions to the Executive Council, which include Lewis, Hutcheson, Tobin and Berry of the Pressmen Union, any illusions of a more militant organization policy emanating from this enlarged hierarchy should soon disappear. Every step in organization, the actual penetration of the mass production industries as well as the militant strikes, have all come into motion by the sweep of the rank and file workers recognizing the need for organization, ready to fight for it and literally tearing down all the barriers and obstacles put in their road by these reactionaries.

In the debate on the council enlargement measure none of the sponsors were the least backward about holding up the threat of a rebellious rank and file. That was the crux of all of the serious problems before the convention. The reluctant forward moves agreed to by the official family was entirely due to fears of this threat. The rank and file now in motion is miles ahead of their leaders who will take small steps and only by compulsion, sabotaging, cheating and betraying on the way. This rank and file in motion is the hope for the future. Powerful has been its effects already without any, or at least with very little and very scattered conscious direction and without a nationally organized left wing or progressive group. To create such a direction and to build such a group is now the most important task.

—ARNE SWABECK.

directly to the tendency toward creating a "youth party". In reality there is no need to create special "Marxian Educational Clubs", as a bridge to the young communist organization. At best the separation is artificial; at its worst, it creates a decidedly false conception of the character of the youth organization. The youth organization is a BROAD one; it is a TRAINING GROUND! But while broad in the sense herein described, it is not a loose, amorphous body open to consciously hostile political elements among the youth. It must be so constructed as to permit in its ranks all types of working youth, making possible to train them for the Party. In this way the youth organization constantly supplies reserves for the Party.

Stretch-Out Okayed  
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Sept. 21—there is no cause for great rejoicing. This order must be enforced, which means if the employers are willing there will be no further speed-up and if not—an investigation.  
But our guess is that even George ("twist-the-facts") Sloan will not raise too much of a howl at this "order". The great surplus of textile goods in the stockrooms and warehouses will tend to make the mill owners favorably inclined to the order and the workers will not be "stretched-out" completely.  
On February 1, 1935, when the order expires, the stocks-on-hand will probably be exhausted and the bosses will need a new order of stretch-out and speed-up. On this date the Board will "develop a sound method and adequate organization for work assignments. . . .  
If we can judge by present standards "sound methods" to any Roosevelt Board means the highest rate of profit for the bosses which in turn entails the greatest slavery for the workers.  
The speed-up—if it depends on the bosses and their friend in the White House—is not coming to an end, but just beginning.

# The Basis of the "Youth Problem"

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ing class, it has not a policy of its own, a special economy, etc., which would demand a formation of special youth organizations corresponding to the respective organizations of the whole class. To bring one section of the class in so sharp a contrast to the other, would be a peculiar syndicalism. The youth movement need not look for a parallel in all the adult labor organizations. The young communist leagues are by no means young communist parties. THE YOUNG COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IS A SPECIAL FORM OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT, a school of communism, where the young proletariat is educated with the idea of being able to understand and PARTICIPATE IN ALL THE OTHER FORMS OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT. In this work the Young Communist League takes care to emphasize what are the tasks of the other forms of the labor movement which are nearest to, and most readily understood by the youth.

"For this reason the Young Communist League has taken up political and educational work as also the economic struggle. It participates in the activities of the parties and trade unions, Soviets and other labor organizations. This is what the militant school of communism stands for, what the young communist movement stands for."

The youth organization must be broad enough to draw into its ranks wide masses of young workers. One need not be a communist in order to become a member of a young communist organization. It is only necessary to accept the class struggle. To construct the theory that the youth organization is a highly political organization, necessitating the creation of "broad youth clubs" (as some comrades in the United States wish to do) is to misunderstand the youth question, and leads