

WORLD OF LABOR
The Liquidation of the Russian Komsomls (Y.C.L.) as a Political Organization

After a lapse of almost six years, the Tenth Congress of the All-Union Leninist (read: Stalinist) Komsomol, originally scheduled to open on March 20, was finally convened on April 11. The Tenth Congress met for 10 days in the Great Hall of the Kremlin to take up the following agenda:

- 1) Report of the C.E.C. (reporter, Kossarev). Co-report of the C.C.C. (co-reporter, Kozlov).
2) Report of the Delegation of the Komsomol and the Y.C.L. (reporter, Chemedanov).
3) Adoption of the Program and Statutes of the Y.C.L.
4) On the Work of the Komsomol in the Schools.
5) Elections.

At its last session the Congress unanimously adopted a new program and a new constitution which set the seal of approval upon the already achieved transformation of the Y.C.L. into a non-party, non-class, non-political organization for the propagation of culture.

The draft program of the newly constituted Young Culture League is rather brief, occupying about 5 columns of Pravda's six column page (March 27).

Three-fifths of this new program is devoted to a preamble which sets forth five theses.

The New Catechism

Thesis 1: The October Revolution took place in 1917, overthrew the rule of the bourgeoisie and established the dictatorship of the proletariat. (Two quotations from Stalin.)

Thesis 2: A description of capitalism with particular stress on the plight of the youth, in capitalist countries.

Thesis 3: A lyrical description of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., and the fortunate position of the youth there.

This is the longest "thesis" of all, and it begins with the affirmation that the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry not only overthrew the bourgeoisie in Russia but also "transformed the formerly backward, poverty-ridden, bankrupt country into an advanced, powerful Socialist power." It concludes by declaring that: "Socialism has become a reality for the many millions of peoples of the Great U.S.S.R. . . . The conditions are being prepared for the transition from socialism—the first stage of communism—to complete communism." In short, a socialism is "in full bloom; communism is just around the corner."

Thesis 4: This thesis is very brief and to the point. It informs us that in addition to overthrowing the bourgeoisie and building socialism, the working class has established a workers' and state which does not give the slightest signs of withering away although "all the classes have been completely destroyed," and although "socialism has irrevocably triumphed." Among other things, Soviet power is necessary as a great cultural and moral institution which "plants discipline and respect for socialist laws and the rules of communal living, and imbues all the toilers with an honest attitude toward labor and social duty without which the complete victory of socialism cannot be realized."

Thesis 5: Sums up the situation. The C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government are busy "organizing the communist system," while the role of the Y.C.L. must be that of a "mass, non-party organization . . . embracing in its ranks . . . wide strata of the advanced and politically educated toiling youth of the city and country." Its task is to aid the Bolshevik Party "in the cause of educating the youth and children in the spirit of Communism."

The preamble ends with a quotation from Stalin to the effect that all this is according to Marx and Lenin.

The remaining two-fifths of the program is devoted to the enumeration of the "tasks" of the Stalinist Y.C.L., which fall under six general headings.

Six "Heroic" Tasks

I. In the Sphere of the Political Education of the Youth. The Y.C.L. organizes the study of the "basic ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin," publishes its own papers, magazines, etc., both political and literary, organizes clubs, libraries, and reading rooms, and carries on a "patient" campaign against . . . "superstition" and "religious prejudices" as well as against the "remnants of chauvinism."

With socialism blooming, the youth must be agitated against superstitions and religion! We append the verbatim translation of the "anti-religious propaganda" clause:

"The Y.C.L. patiently explains to the youth the harm of superstition and religious prejudices, organizing with this aim in view special circles and lectures on anti-religious propaganda."

II. In the Sphere of the Education of the Youth. Amplifies the

immortal statement of Stalin that the youth "must study, study, study in the most stubborn way." Pledges the youth to liquidate illiteracy and to organize clubs, etc. to raise the cultural level of the socialist masses, and so on.

III. In the Sphere of Work in the School and among Children. Particular stress laid on the Y.C.L. taking the lead in supplying children with good toys.

IV. In the Sphere of the Physical Development of the Youth.

V. In the Sphere of Participating in the Socialist Construction. The youth is instructed to take the lead in Stakhanovism (although the name Stakhanovism is not mentioned in the draft), and is asked to assist the Soviet State in "strengthening the family."

VI. In the Sphere of the Defense of the Socialist Fatherland. The Y.C.L. is turned into a reserve force of the Red Army. The new constitution provides that: "Every member of the Komsomol shall study military technique, be supremely devoted to the great Socialist fatherland and be ready to give all his strength and if necessary his life itself."

From a political organization of the youth, the Y.C.L. has been transformed into a "non-party mass organization" for "political and cultural education," with a particular stress upon the "patriotic defense of the U.S.S.R."

The age limit has been changed from 14-23 years to 15-28, and the Komsomol will admit into its ranks every boy and girl, who is "politically fit" without any regard to his or her social origin.

Stalin Contradicts Scriptures

To put the full weight of authority behind this decision the following little scene was staged at one of the meetings of the Stakhanovists in the Kremlin: young Tilba, a combine operator rose to his feet and said: "Although I am the son of a kulak I will go on struggling to improve the life of the workers and peasants. I will go on building Socialism." Thereupon, Stalin arose and declared to a wildly cheering gathering, "A son is not responsible for the sins of his father." Young Tilba's photograph was reprinted in every paper in the country.

The Commissariat of Education issued a decree admitting the sons and daughters of deceased people to Soviet universities and colleges. And the Komsomol now incorporates Stalin's pronouncements into its statutes.

The changes we shall make about the constitution and statutes of the Y.C.L. will be to quote from the Program of the Young Communist International, adopted at the World Congress of the Y.C.L. confirmed by the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. on March 15. In other words, we shall quote against Stalin.

Before the New Dispensation

"There are fundamental differences in the conceptions of the Communists on the one hand, and the social democrats on the other as to the role of the youth and the youth organization in general. There are some unessential shadings between the bourgeoisie and the social democracy, but the fundamental conception of both is the same. Social democracy for the most part declares the role of the youth organizations to be 'purely educational or cultural. . . . The Y.C.L. is a political organization. . . . It must strive to gain the majority of the working youth, and the other decisive sections of the toiling youth. . . . The Y.C.L. repudiates the theory of Y.C.L. 'neutrality' in political struggles within the party. . . . Political activity must not be confined to the higher bodies of the Y.C.L., but must permeate the entire organization. . . . In accordance with its political role and social character as an organization of the working youth, the Y.C.L. ensures that the working class membership plays the leading role. . . ." (Program of the Y.C.L., pp. 33-34-40.)

To repeat these words today in the U.S.S.R. (approved by Stalin himself in 1929) is to lay oneself open to indictment as a counter-revolutionary "Trotskyist" and to run the danger of imprisonment and exile.

Not All Is Roses

While the leadership of the Komsomol has accepted the changes without so much as a stutter, there has been considerable opposition from the rank and file. Thus, P. Vershkov, secretary of the C.E.C. of the Komsomol, expresses his astonishment over the fact that "among the Komsomol membership there are people who consider such a definition of the Komsomol (i.e., as a non-party, etc. organization) to be incorrect in principle."

Speaking at the session of the Ukrainian Komsomol P. Postyshev said, "Individual activists here and there are not pleased with the draft of the new constitution. . . . is precisely the position of Trotskyists and other 'Leftists.'"

Daily Worker Performs Sleight-of-Hand on Elections in France

The Stalinists are mobilizing their "specialists" to interpret the facts relating to the French general elections. In other words facts and figures must be twisted and falsified to suit their boasts and claims.

The results of the French election indicate first of all the process of differentiation of France into two camps. This fact is so obvious that even Harry Gannes was able dimly to take note of it. Commenting in his column upon the results of the election, Gannes says: "Not only was there a smashing People's Front victory, but side by side with that there was a polarization of forces; on the one hand, a massing of the forces of democracy and socialism; on the other of reaction and Fascism."

"Democratic" Regime Falls

At whose expense is this "polarization" taking place? A clear answer to this question cuts the ground from under the policy and practice of the People's Front. This differentiation is proceeding at the expense of the parties of the so-called "democracy," that is to say, those parties of the Center that have served as the balance wheels of the parliamentary regime in France.

Their disintegration is only symptomatic of the disintegration of the "democratic regime" as a whole. This fact above all must be denied and "disproved" by the Stalinists. And so, the statistical "expert," Theodore Repard has been assigned to prove by "facts and figures" that the gains of the People's Front in general and of the Communist Party in particular were made at the expense of the Right wing, of the reactionary parties supported in the election by the French Fascists, who did not run their own candidates.

And so Repard "proves" (D.W. May 14) that it is not the Center with its traditional leading party of the Radicals that is disintegrating in France, but the parties of reaction. His proofs?

He first performs a delicate political operation and causes all the parties of the so-called Center to disappear entirely. This accomplished, Repard is able to operate only with two wings. The left wing is composed of those parties that adhere to the People's Front. While all others are assigned by him to

By ALFREDO ROJAS
Azana has been inducted as the new president of Spain, to the tune of the "International" sung with clenched fists by the Stalinist deputies. Stalinists and Socialists joined with conservatives and Catalan rightists in the vote for Azana in the electoral college; there was no opposing candidate and only a group of die-hard monarchists and Catholics did not vote for Azana but instead cast blank ballots.

Cautious About Opposition

The bureaucracy as a whole has been extremely cautious in its references on the extent of the "counter-revolutionary influences" upon the youth. But we can gather a pretty clear picture from the veiled remarks. Kossarev in his report complained that "among the propagandists there are many comrades who are obviously untrained, while here and there, for example, in the Leningrad organization we have had revelations not only of untrained people but also of enemies—Trotskyists, Zinovievists and so on." (Pravda, April 13.)

Looking for an example of an instance "here and there" Kossarev points to nothing other than the leading Leningrad organization! And, moreover, he assigns the first place in Leningrad, the traditional stronghold of the Zinovievists, not to the latter but to the "Trotskyists." This fact alone speaks volumes.

The deprived bureaucracy which found it relatively simple to crush the older revolutionary generations of the Russian working class, is in mortal terror of the youth. This is what underlies the political and organizational liquidation of the Komsomol. The youth must be removed completely from political life; its thoughts and energies must be channeled into the fields of culture and sports. They must "study, study, study," preferably not the classics of Marxism, but "belles lettres." The working class youth must be dissolved in the millions of peasant youth, and thus fettered. . . . Stalin has decreed it a crime for any youth between "the ages of 15 and 20" to occupy himself with politics.

the Right wing. Says Repard, "party names are not at all descriptive in France." From a general pile of such Right wing parties Repard is able to produce a combination showing a staggering loss of almost 500,000 for the right wing. But the newspapers reported a considerable gain for the Right wing which was recognized even by Gannes. How then was Repard able to establish a loss? Very simply. He included among the Rights, such parties for example, as the Popular Democrats, a Catholic Centrist party, and the party of the Independent Radicals. The only difference between them and the Radical Socialists is that the latter are members of the People's Front, while the former refused to join it, although invited.

Table with 2 columns: Party Name, Votes. Includes Popular Democrats (Catholic) 309,336 and Independent Radicals 955,590.

In 1936 they obtained: Popular Democrats 246,129 and Independent Radicals 690,557.

Making Gains from Losses

The loss that these two Center parties alone suffered amounts to over 325,000; the rest of the "losses," Repard supplied by means of his "Democratic Alliance and Left Republicans." Thus, he was able not only to mask a gain of more than one-third of a million votes scored by such a truly reactionary party as the Republican Union but to emerge with a "loss" of 455,699 votes. Similarly, he was able to screen the loss of more than one-third of a million votes suffered by the party of Radicals by "totalling" it in with the gains scored by the parties that lean upon the working class for support, in particular by the Stalinists.

After this juggling with gains and losses, Repard adds what the "Rights" lost what the "Left" gained and draws the following conclusions: (1) "The left parties gained 168,370 votes"; (2) "The total number of votes which were transferred from right to left amounted to 624,069"; (3) "The

People's Front Boosts Azana into Presidency

Naturally, the Azana government did not want such an election, for it would have exposed their lack of support among the people. And the Right Wing Socialists were more than willing to cover the nakedness of the republican bourgeoisie. These two groups, therefore, agreed to run a Popular Front slate, with the understanding that Azana would be elected president. And Caballero? He immediately gave way on the fundamental issue—the independent slate—but exhibited "stubbornness" on the candidate. Not that he proposed a Socialist candidate! He merely wanted Albornoz, another bourgeois republican, instead of Azana. When the executive committee of the S.P. announced its support of Azana, a spokesman for Caballero complained to the press that he had not been consulted but in the same breath declared he would not oppose Azana. The real issue—that the election should be a tabulation of Socialist strength—was thus completely obscured.

The Stalinists were as eager as Azana for the joint slate. Here is the Daily Worker's description of the problem (May 3): "The Fascists and foreign reaction had hoped that the Socialist Party would insist on their own candidate and thus split the People's Front, and the A.P. had gleefully sent out that prophecy. But the important Madrid section of the Socialist Party firmly refused to carry water for Fascism by such a split."

Madrid is Caballero's stronghold and still considered the center of the Left Socialists, so that when Caballero capitulated on this question, there was no concerted action by the Left Wing.

But it is enormously significant that in spite of Caballero, a number of Socialist sections—Almeria, scene of many recent strikes and street fights with the Fascists, Ciudad Real and Albacete, and other provinces—refused to join the government parties in a joint slate and instead elected a straight Socialist slate. This is the first definite breakaway from Caballero's temporizing tactics of talking left and acting right.

Equivalent in form to an election of deputies, the election provided a magnificent opportunity for the Socialist Party to gauge its strength among the masses. There was not even present the problem of com-

peting with the reactionaries, for except in a few places, the reactionaries were boycotting the elections. The Socialists could have run their independent slate, polled a vote for Socialism, and then made whatever bloc may have been deemed necessary in the electoral college.

French Communists gained a total of 657,293 votes on this first ballot. And to clinch his brilliant statistical demonstration he then proceeds to quote from the Socialist party organ, Populaire to the effect that the Communists made their gains "mostly from the right." . . . Thus, the Stalinists are growing at the expense of the rights or the Fascists, the Socialists are maintaining their own . . . to whom did the Radical Socialists lose their one third of a million votes? Statistics may be made to lie, but in this case his own statistics give the lie to Repard.

Blum Follows Bruening
If any proof were needed that Fascism is not disintegrating in France and that the parliamentary regime cannot be restored to its former equilibrium by any sort of juggling on the parliamentary arena, we need only turn to the latest reports from France relating to the position advanced by Blum, the "next French Premier" As P. J. Philip remarks, in his May 10 dispatch (N. Y. Times) from Paris, "Leon Blum today assumed leadership of the democratic majority in France in terms that implied that leadership would be not far removed from the dictatorial." In other words, Blum is preparing to follow in the footsteps of Doumergue, Laval, Flandrin, Sarraut, we are to have a semi-Bonapartist, semi-parliamentary regime in France, headed by Leon Blum, who will attempt to introduce a solution by a way of a mild Rooseveltian public works program. Could any clearer proof be adduced of the utter bankruptcy of parliamentarism in France, than the fact that the "victors," instead of restoring the "democratic" rule are obliged to follow in the footsteps of those who had acted in accordance with the demands of the Fascists, like Doumergue, Laval and Co.

Blum as dictator will reveal the very same inability to solve any of the pressing and fundamental problems in France as did all of his dictatorial predecessors. The People's Front will in the end only reveal most sharply the utter collapse of "democracy" in France.

Caballero's Cogitations

While the proletarian parties continue to support the bourgeois government, the mass action in the factories and streets offers a striking contrast. We list only a few of the events of the last few days. On April 28, "El Aguilá," biggest brewery in Spain, was seized by its employees and held for days until the bosses granted all the demands. The same day the vendors of vegetables and fish in Madrid declared a protest strike because police had injured seven of their members in an encounter—how deep the ferment when these lower petty-bourgeois elements are drawn into political life!

Since April 30 a general strike of all maritime workers has stopped all ships and closed all ports. The Iron mines of Penarroya have been occupied by the miners, declaring they will operate them on a "communist basis," because the employers have refused to re-employ the workers dismissed after the October, 1934 revolt. Twelve church buildings were destroyed by Madrid masses when a rumor spread through the city that the monks and nuns had poisoned some children. The same day (May 4) three churches and two convents were burned in Cadix, several churches in other pro-

Refuse to Join Capitalator

Madrid is Caballero's stronghold and still considered the center of the Left Socialists, so that when Caballero capitulated on this question, there was no concerted action by the Left Wing.

Mass Action Broadens

While the proletarian parties continue to support the bourgeois government, the mass action in the factories and streets offers a striking contrast. We list only a few of the events of the last few days. On April 28, "El Aguilá," biggest brewery in Spain, was seized by its employees and held for days until the bosses granted all the demands. The same day the vendors of vegetables and fish in Madrid declared a protest strike because police had injured seven of their members in an encounter—how deep the ferment when these lower petty-bourgeois elements are drawn into political life!

Refuse to Join Capitalator

Madrid is Caballero's stronghold and still considered the center of the Left Socialists, so that when Caballero capitulated on this question, there was no concerted action by the Left Wing.

Mass Action Broadens

While the proletarian parties continue to support the bourgeois government, the mass action in the factories and streets offers a striking contrast. We list only a few of the events of the last few days. On April 28, "El Aguilá," biggest brewery in Spain, was seized by its employees and held for days until the bosses granted all the demands. The same day the vendors of vegetables and fish in Madrid declared a protest strike because police had injured seven of their members in an encounter—how deep the ferment when these lower petty-bourgeois elements are drawn into political life!

In the Columns of Pravda...by Alpha

Ever drawing newer and newer balances of the so-called "check-up of party documents," Pravda is convinced that the behind-the-scenes purge takes the palm over the open purge. It turns out that "many of the disguised enemies were able to fool the purging Committee, and in some places they even passed through the purge with applause." In other words, this to say that many of those suspect of being oppositionists had the sympathies of their organizations with them and the Committees, appointed from above, had no pretext for expulsion. But, in the behind-the-scenes check-up "the study of the party personnel was much deeper and many-sided than during the purges" (Pravda, March 22). This is hardly to be wondered at, the searchlight here was the apparatus of the G.P.U.

We learn from Pravda, in passing, that in one of the Chelyabinsk factories "to 103 communists there are 318 of those who were expelled from the party at one time or another." In other words three times as many have been expelled as have remained. The Chelyabinsk factory is hardly a rare exception. At all events, it illustrated the manner in which this sorry ruling "party" is living!

Pravda carries an exposure of the secretary of the Uspensk District Committee of the Azov-Black sea region. "His motions during the session of the District Committee—and he introduces them on every question—do not meet with any objections, because he does not tolerate any objections." How awful! What a shocking breach of democracy! Saltykov once wrote a history of the city of Glouptov (Dunecvile) in which he portrayed the customs of the entire Czarist autocracy. The piece about the Uspensk District Committee rings like an involuntary satire on the regime. The name of the Uspensk secretary is Saut. But if one were to put down the U.S.S.R. in place of the district and replace Saut with Stalin, one could leave unaltered everything else remaining in the text.

Molotov has succeeded in completely straightening out the front. Since the liquidation of the "Third Period" Molotov, as is well known, has been in semi-disgrace. His name, it is true, was to be found among the inborn leaders but not on every occasion. His name was commonly put after Kaganovich and Voroshilov, and he was often deprived of his initials. In Soviet ritual all these are signs of paramount importance. Whenever a delegation arrived to see Molotov he was allowed to receive them only by having Rudzutak as his left wheel horse, and Chubar as his right wheel horse. On his part, Molotov, though he did give necessary praise to the leader, would do so only two or three times throughout an entire speech, which in the atmosphere of the Kremlin sounded almost like a call for the overthrow of Stalin. But, with God's help, since the end of last year, a turn for the better has been noticed. Molotov was straightening out the front. In re-

in the election, demonstrating the lack of interest of the masses in a show of strength for the Popular Front. Such a proletarian-peasant stronghold as Seville registered only a fifteen percent vote.

While the Socialists and Communists repeat the Menshevik course of 1917 in Russia, the anarcho-syndicalists play a completely reactionary role in "left" phrases. The national convention of the syndicalist unions, now in progress, claiming to include 700,000 city and land workers, finds every anarchist leader declaring against trade union unity with the Socialist-controlled U.G.T.

Mass Action Broadens

While the proletarian parties continue to support the bourgeois government, the mass action in the factories and streets offers a striking contrast. We list only a few of the events of the last few days. On April 28, "El Aguilá," biggest brewery in Spain, was seized by its employees and held for days until the bosses granted all the demands. The same day the vendors of vegetables and fish in Madrid declared a protest strike because police had injured seven of their members in an encounter—how deep the ferment when these lower petty-bourgeois elements are drawn into political life!

Since April 30 a general strike of all maritime workers has stopped all ships and closed all ports. The Iron mines of Penarroya have been occupied by the miners, declaring they will operate them on a "communist basis," because the employers have refused to re-employ the workers dismissed after the October, 1934 revolt. Twelve church buildings were destroyed by Madrid masses when a rumor spread through the city that the monks and nuns had poisoned some children. The same day (May 4) three churches and two convents were burned in Cadix, several churches in other pro-

several churches in other provinces. In Castor and Algar, the priests were expelled and sentenced to death if they returned. General strike declared in Malaga, with shooting encounters between strikers and police. On May 6 a general strike in Cadix, to support the demands of striking arsenal workers, closed city and port; not a single store was permitted to open. The same day general strikes began in Santander and Huelva, miners and dock workers paralyzing the city in sympathy strikes supporting railroad workers' demands. Madrid cafe workers have closed their places of work, with the demand that all Fascist sympathizers among the employees be discharged. Significant agrarian strikes are now in progress. In the province of Tortel all land workers are out demanding higher wages. In Baguena striking agrarians forced the rightist secretary of the municipality to resign and escorted the parish priest out of the municipal limits, notifying him he would be shot if he returned. An agrarian strike in Valencia developed a series of anti-religious demonstrations, resulting in the destruction of twelve church buildings.

Rigorous Censorship in Spain

Suspiciously little news is printed in the Spanish press—which is under rigorous censorship—about events on the land. One must not forget that of the twenty-four millions of Spain, nearly twenty live on the land. Six weeks ago reports indicated widespread seizures of estates by the landworkers. Undoubtedly they remain in possession of the land, and are seizing more estates. At least one armed encounter between workers and rightists or fascists is reported every day, almost invariably involving some deaths. Many municipalities in control of workers report mass arrests of monarchists and fascists. (Continued on Page 4)

cent weeks he has delivered several panegyrics to Stalin which made Mikoyan himself turn green with envy. In reward Molotov has received his initials. His name figures in the second place, and he bears the title of the "closest companion-in-arms".

All's well that ends well. But in all decency it must be admitted that Molotov did not find it easy. After all he knows Stalin for too many years to place him on the same plane with Lenin, as he did in his debased speech to the delegates from Soviet Georgia. But, after all, it is not for us to be concerned about Molotov's dignity as a man. We have other concerns.

During the school term in Kremchoug, on the initiative of a propagandist named Potellako, a discussion was instituted on the "possibility of building Communism in one country," during which Potellako "advanced Trotskyist formulations." Despite the protests of several communists, (obviously, the Pravda correspondent himself) Potellako was left on his post and continues to give his lectures. But, after the correspondent's notice in Pravda, we have reason to believe, Potellako was not only removed as lecturer but also given all the necessary inspiration by the well known theorist Yagoda.

Novoseletski, who received the "degree of the best newspaperman" at the Ukrainian Communist Institute of Journalism, on arriving at his new post printed in the newspaper edited by him a "Trotskyist counter-revolutionary article," for which he was expelled from the party (and, of course, arrested). This episode is a clear testimony to the influx of Oppositionist audacity. We note it with satisfaction.

In explaining the need for vigilance with respect to "Trotskyists," Pravda unburdens itself of a brilliant image which is worthy of reprinting: "the class enemy in his deathbed refuses to surrender. He resorts to all sorts of snares and dirty devices, especially when there is a lull in vigilance." Thus the class enemy is terrible not when he defended his privileged positions with arms in hand at the height of his strength—no! He is particularly vile now "in his deathbed throes." His most Serene Excellency Prince Potemkin once remarked on a similar occasion to the literature Vorzhilov: "You might as well die, Denis, you will never write anything better."

On December 30, 1935, Pravda indignantly reported that revolutionists were being subjected to tortures in Jugoslav jails. Pravda forgets to mention that Jugoslav revolutionists are subjected to tortures also in the jails of Stalin.

From a Conversation with a Soviet Dignitary. (Not from Pravda (Truth), but forsooth the truth).

"Why do you flatter him so shamelessly?" "What can one do? He loves it so."