

THE

CHALLENGE OF YOUTH

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Join the
Young
Peoples
Socialist League

Forward
to a
Socialist
Society

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Five Cents

LEAGUE CONVENTION ADOPTS MILITANT SOCIALIST PROGRAM

Gould, Erber Leave On National Tours

A huge mass meeting in New York City on Sept. 17 initiated the national organization and speaking tours of Ernest Erber, National Chairman and Nathan Gould, National Organizer of the Y.P.S.L. The tours will mark the beginning of a campaign to consolidate and build the Y.P.S.L. The extensive itinerary arranged by the National Bureau of the Y.P.S.L. will take at least one of the two through virtually every city where circles exist.

Comrades Gould and Erber separate in N. Y., the former going west the latter north east to New England. Erber will join Gould at Chicago for a grand tour and will turn back east while Gould continues to the west coast.

Mass meetings arranged jointly by party and Yipsel branches and circles, social affairs and organizational conferences will be arranged by the local comrades in all cities covered in the itinerary. Comrades are urged to watch for further announcements of the tour and to read the reports of the progress of the tours which will appear in the *Socialist Appeal* and *The Challenge of Youth*. The following is the itinerary:

GOULD

1. New York, N. Y. Sept. 17
2. Newark, N. J. Sept. 21
3. Philadelphia, Pa. Sept. 22-23
4. Reading, Pa. Sept. 24
5. Youngstown, O. Sept. 25
6. Cleveland, Ohio Sept. 26-30
7. Akron, Ohio Oct. 1-3
8. Chicago, Ill. Oct. 4-12
9. Minneapolis, St. Paul, Austin, Minn. Fargo, N. D., Nebraska Oct. 13-20
10. Denver, Col. Oct. 24-25
11. Salt Lake City, Utah Oct. 27-28
12. San Francisco, Berkeley, Oakland, Calif. Oct. 30-Nov. 5
13. Stockton, Fresno, Calif. Nov. 6-8
14. Los Angeles, San Diego, Pasadena, Calif. Nov. 9-14
15. Phoenix, Ariz. Nov. 16
16. St. Louis, Mo. Nov. 20-21

ERBER

1. Gardner, Fitchburgh, Worcester, Mass. Sept. 20-26
2. Boston, Lynn, Mass. Sept. 27-30
3. Albany, N. Y. Oct. 1
4. Syracuse, N. Y. Oct. 2
5. Ithaca, N. Y. Oct. 3
6. Rochester, N. Y. Oct. 4
7. Detroit, Mich. Oct. 7
8. Toledo, Ohio Oct. 8
9. Chicago, Ill. Oct. 9-16
10. Indianapolis, Ind. Oct. 17
11. Louisville, Ky. Oct. 18
12. Columbus, Ohio Oct. 19
13. Washington, D.C. Oct. 20
14. Baltimore, Md. Oct. 21
15. Philadelphia, Pa. Oct. 22
16. New York, N. Y. Oct. 23

STRIKE IN BROOKLYN CAN FACTORY

NEW YORK, Sept. 15. — The strikers of the Cordiano Can Co. in Brooklyn are entering their fifth week of strike under the leadership of the SWOC. Four

weeks of strike have passed, indicating that the boss intends to carry on a desperate fight. About eighteen police-escorted plug-uglies are turning out a small quota of cans.

The strike could be ended in a day if the teamsters, under the

American Marines Help in Crushing Chinese Masses

By "Lucifer"

"U. S. Marines Quell 1,000 Rioting Chinese"—this headline, captioning a United Press dispatch from Shanghai on September 14, announced one of the most significant news items that has yet come out of the Far East war zone and serves to underline one of the most urgent tasks of revolutionary ideas among the armed forces facing the American Socialist youth, namely, imperialism.

The Marines, according to the dispatch, "aided in suppressing a riot (read demonstration) of (Continued on page 3)

The Challenge Is Up To You

We are well aware of the shortcomings of this issue, the first in the New Series. We have in mind a picture of the attractive, snappy paper we would like to turn out. Given our poor technical facilities, that is rather difficult. We haven't the money for color, for cuts (pictures), for more pages. But we'll let the Business Manager worry about the finances.

What we want, is your help—your literary help. If we're to carry stories about what is happening among the young workers and student of America, you will have to write them for us. The more we get, the more selective can we be. Our columns are open to anything from a panning to a poem. We make only one condition—please try to type all letters and articles intended for publication—double or triple spaced, and on one side of the paper, and they should be short. All material for the next issue must be in no later than, and preferably before October 15th.

We have heard many comrades comment that they would prefer to see a magazine. Very well, we are considering it. Meanwhile, you may send us your arguments for one or the other—and we will print as many as we can.

A. F. of L., would refuse to haul away Cordiano's cans and thus unite in action with these young workers most of whom are in their first union and first fight against the boss. As the fight

Meets in Spirited Sessions

The Ninth National Convention of the Young People's Socialist League, convened in Philadelphia on September 3rd, enthusiastically adopted revolutionary principles and laid ambitious plans to implement these principles.

The convention of 102 delegates represented 1000 of the most active revolutionary elements from coast to coast and included seamen, agricultural workers, rubber workers, steel workers and representatives of other major industries. Several who attended were out on bail for class struggle activity. These young workers and students unanimously passed a resolution for the formation of the Fourth International, and one on Spain, based on a revolutionary Socialist approach.

Convention Figures Prove Vitality of League

102 delegates attended the Ninth National Convention of the Young Peoples Socialist League. They came by every route from 27 cities in 11 states. Two came by sea (from California); some by car; some by thumb, box car, and bus. They came to Philadelphia representing 1000 young militants, and lent their proletarian vigor to the most spirited convention in the history of the League.

Where did they come from?

Eight trekked the long distance from California (Pasadena, San Diego, Los Angeles, Dominguez Hill, San Francisco). Nine others could not make the long journey and elected eastern comrades to serve as their proxies (Berkely, Stockton, and one Los Angeles circle. They were the only proxies seated as delegates.) Four came from Minneapolis; 23 from Chicago; 3 from Akron; 4 from Boston; 6 from Newark. Rochester, Syracuse, Ithaca, Albany, Lynn, Dorchester, New Haven, Reading, Philadelphia, Youngstown, Cleveland, Louisville—each sent one or two delegates. A comrade from Baltimore was seated as a fraternal delegate; so was a comrade from Gardner, Mass., and a comrade from St. Paul, the regularly elected delegates from the latter having been unable to come, though their credentials came by mail.

No delegate was seated unless (Continued on page 3)

The principled nature of the convention and the victory of the left wing was rendered more left wing membership had, during the last few months, been the victim of unparalleled gerrymandering at the hands of the national and New York City centrist-controlled administrations.

When it became obvious to the centrists and reformists that their long and flagrant campaign of gerrymander—including falsification of dues records, fantastic apportionment of delegates, invalidation of legitimate elections, and even attempted mass expulsions in New York City—would fail to turn the centrist minority into a majority the Clarity controlled NEC attempted as a last hysterical action to forestall the convention.

NEC Acts as Credential Committee

The first session of the National Executive Committee meeting (for which the convention was postponed) showed that the intention of the NEC was to set itself up as a credentials committee for the convention. Applied to the crucial situation in New York, the machine-vote of 5-2 of the Clarity NEC, recognized the contested Barshop District Executive Committee as legitimate and by that action, sliced off the 250 members of the league represented by the Provisional District Executive Committee.

This decision, permitting one of two contested delegations to vote upon the validity of their own and their opponent's delegation, is unprecedented in the history of the YPSL. Greater bodies have hesitated to take steps of such flagrant bureaucracy, but for the desperate Clarity NEC there was no choice.

This motion, passed late Thursday afternoon, removed from the convention (as the highest body in the League) its inalienable right to elect its own credentials committee and to vote upon con-

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Ninth Convention Adopts Program of Revolution

(Continued from page 1.)

tested delegations. By this action, the NEC and its meager following of centrists and right wingers split themselves from the overwhelming majority of the membership. It remained only a question of time before the patience of the left wingers would give out in the face of these maneuvers.

The next day, originally to have been the second day of the convention, Al Hamilton, National Secretary, refused to present a full credentials report. It was apparent that the same procedure which had been used in the case of the New York City left wing delegation might very well be pursued with regards to other left wing delegations throughout the country.

This Friday morning session was held in the headquarters of the Socialist Party. The hall was jammed with delegates and visitors. Everyone was aware of the great importance of the meeting. Despite the great impatience displayed at times by the delegates in demanding that further stalling be ended and that the convention be convened, it now being a day and half overdue, the audience listened intently to the proceedings which they realized were deciding the fate of the League.

After passing a shameful motion to investigate the California situation when all possible facts regarding the criminal acts of Ward Rodgers were already before the body, the NEC passed on to consider the important question of whether or not it would be permitted on the floor of the convention. [Ward Rodgers hailed our California comrades into a capitalist court when, as representatives of the majority they refused to turn over Party property to him. He thus violated the most elementary principle of working class ethics. See Socialist Appeal, for Sept. 11, for photostat of court summons.—Ed.]

The Clarityites introduced a motion to admit only those members who adhered to the Barshop committee in New York with the Provisional Committee allotted time for a spokesman. Upon questioning, the Clarityites declared that the Barshop delegation would be seated with permission to vote on the appeal against their being seated, and on the seating of the left wing delegates!

Erber Opens Convention

With the NEC now clearly established as an illegal body, exercising powers beyond its limits, and with the delegates eager to go on to the business of the convention, Ernest Erber, National Chairman of the League and chairman of the NEC, declared the NEC meeting adjourned and the convention opened with the singing of the "International."

The response was inspiring. The small hall in the Philadelphia S.P. headquarters rang with the singing, and even the Clarityites were impelled to join in. Hamilton, refusing to admit democratic defeat, called upon the "loyal" members to leave the hall and to reconvene in the Young Women's Christian Association. So small in number were the splitters that there was no vacancy in the hall after their shameful walk-out.

More than any other act, the walking out of the centrists demonstrated beyond refutation that the Young People's Social-

36 Newark Subs Interrupt Business Manager's Spiel

Hongry, hongry are we
Just as hongry as hongry can be,
We don't get paid for our labor
So hongry, hongry are we.

In our opinion the above verse, one of the many written into a song by a negro comrade from the south, describes accurately the state of a business manager. I have always visioned him as something of an octopus who wraps his many arms around his helpless victims and squeezes them dry.

When money is contributed or subs sold, he chuckles with grim glee and reaches out for more constantly thirsty, he drinks himself and has a bookkeeper's stomach made of brass. I have even heard of him eating dollars bills.

FLASH! The Newark comrades have come across with 36 subs, signed, sealed and delivered. They have shown the way and this column is now rubbing its itching palms.

But far be it from a business manager to say, "Comrades, you have done your share, sit back and rest." Not when there are things happening—strikes in California, Chicago, Akron, Newark and New York, students becoming more class conscious, young workers caught in the dilemma of capitalism. He believes that there are brothers who must be reached with a

ist League was not with the splitters, the bureaucrats, and the reformists in the YWCA.

The general orientation of the League, presented in the "Role of the YPSL" resolution, was unambiguously declared to be primarily directed towards work in the industrial and trade union fields. This, and the problem of concretizing this approach, absorbed the greatest amount of time on the convention floor.

In addition to the unanimously passed resolutions on the Fourth International and Spain, the separated question of material aid to the Spanish government passed with seven recorded opposed. A resolution on the immediate tasks in the student movement, calling for left-wing opposition to the Stalinist-led Popular-Front tendency in the ASU, had the almost complete endorsement of the convention. The labor party question, on which a minority pro-L.P. resolution was introduced, received full and thorough discussion and debate with the minority resolution receiving four votes.

A mere recitation of the facts of the convention could in no way convey the intense enthusiasm of the delegates, and the inspired nature of the sessions. After having strained at the bit of reformist ideology for so long, the delegates were only too anxious to return to their respective localities and begin building on the fine revolutionary basis which had been laid down.

The convention was concluded with the election of the National Officers and the National Executive Committee and its alternates.

(Continued on page 8)

NEW YORK CONFERENCE TO ELECT NEW DEC

On September 25th and 26th, the New York district of the Young People's Socialist League will hold a special convention to reorganize the district upon a more efficient basis, and to lay plans for revolutionary work

paper vital and brimming with news from every front.

We want this paper to reach out into the great masses of youth in America. We want them to know that the Young People's Socialist League is fighting in trade union struggles, on the campus, on picket lines, in shops, offices, and factories from New York to Frisco.

Every comrade in the League must do his share. A campaign has already started. We want money to put out issue after issue of The Challenge of Youth so that you can tear off your calendar by it. In every section of the country meetings are taking place, socials are being held, subs sold. Activize the other members of your circle. Have them get out and sell the Challenge outside the League. And do YOUR part. Get started on your own, and don't wait for further pleadings from this column to start the Challenge drive.

Pledges, subs, collections, contributions, donations, even plain downright charity—we'll take anything. We pride ourselves on having no pride, that is, pride in raising cash to put this paper out regularly. And we'll be mighty proud to see The Challenge out monthly and know we have the most powerful weapon of revolutionists at our command. Everyone of us shall share in that splendid achievement.

RUSSEL CLOUD.

Upstate YPSL Makes Gains

Ten months ago these were far flung areas of up-state New York. Now there is a thriving membership of 50, with circle concentration in Rochester, Ithaca, Syracuse and Albany and significant nuclei in industrial centers throughout the state.

It is a story of dramatic highlights and persistent day-to-day activity beginning with the forcible ousting of up-state organizer Eleanora Deren from the Syracuse University campus for the distribution of anti-ROTC leaflets. With neither a party organization or a trade-union tradition in the working-class to help them, the young Socialists grew to the point where they could establish a regional organization. Later they opened a bookstore in Syracuse, ran a Red School House on Cazenovia Lake and attained prestige throughout up-state for their work in the labor and student movements.

Today, under the leadership of the newly elected executive secretary, Bert Randall, and the Regional Executive Committee (Norman Gailor, Ben Alexander, Marie Plassman and John Carmania) the region is well on its way to further growth and strength in up-state New York.

among the New York youth.

The convention will open on Saturday, September 25th, with reports from the National Officers of the League and the Party on the national situation and will be followed by a report from the Provisional District Executive Committee. The Convention will then proceed to its main point: reports and discussion on various aspects of work.

Sunday, by-laws will be adopted and the New York District Executive Committee will be elected.

Young "Clarity" On Parade

53 Young Clarityites and right wing delegates from New York met with 12 from Philadelphia, 5 National Executive Committee members, and 22 from the rest of the country at Philadelphia over the Labor Day week-end at what purported to be a National Convention of Socialist Youth.

Clarity has long claimed the YPSL as its stronghold. Perhaps they didn't control the Party NEC, perhaps they were a small-minority in New York,—but as for the youth, oh, that was another story. The youth belonged to Clarity; witness New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, etc., etc. Just come, and see all the Young Clarityites, from all over the country, trooping into Philly for the National Convention..... We came, and saw and turned away disgusted.

After walking out of the Convention when National Chairman Erber opened it, the Clarityites went over to the YWCA to hold their own three-day "convention." Friday afternoon, after they split, they spent listening to speeches by Al Hamilton & Co., and electing committees.

Saturday, Clarity Strips

The second day of the Clarity-right wing confab was marked by two highlights. First came comrade Al Hamilton with a report on the state of the League. Unfortunately for the delegates, however, comrade Hamilton has had eyes, and so he must have missed reading that section of every national secretary's report which gives the figures on the membership and growth or decline of the League. The reason for the "oversight" was made very apparent when the credentials committee reported the shameful nakedness of that report! 92 delegates were seated—53 from New York! That leaves 39 for the rest of the county. Five of these were NEC members, not elected as delegates, but seated, with votes nevertheless (a very democratic procedure!). That leaves 34. Of these, 12 were from Philadelphia,—leaving 22 from the whole remainder of the country.

From the entire country west of the Mississippi there was not one delegate! There are only six or eight young Clarityites, scattered and inactive, in California. Milwaukee sent three delegates. Chicago had no delegates—just 4 to 6 scattered Clarityites. The Cleveland YPSL—once a Clarity stronghold—doesn't have 20 Clarityites left. A handful in Michigan, and a few in Baltimore—which elected two delegates for the 6 Clarityites who attend meetings and the greater number of dues stamps purchased on credit. These are all Clarity has outside of New York and Pennsylvania.

In Pennsylvania: 10 to 15 in Pittsburgh (about 4 active), 44 in Philly (to our 20) and 5 in Reading, from which Mark Brown was seated despite the fact that he and comrade Hannula were tied in the vote with 6 votes each, after the first delegate, comrade Pettinato, a left winger, had been elected with a clear majority.

In New York Clarity got 117 votes in the D.E.C. elections, but at least a dozen of those have come over to the left wing, so that together with the 60 odd right wingers, and what dead wood they can get to pay up, Clarity is lucky if it can get 200.—200, 5, 42, 15, 6, 10, 20, 6, 18, 8,—add up these top figures and give them ten more for scattered support here and there in the country. The result—340—reveals the complete bankruptcy of

Clarity, and the sheer brass of their claims to a majority of the 11350 members of the YPSL prior to the split.

The Spanish Question

After passing a resolution memorializing Andres Nin, a resolution incidentally, which uses language that, were it in an Appeal resolution, they would call "sectarian anti-stalinism", (e.g. "stalinist gangsters") they "took up" for 45 minutes the really important question of Spain.

The Clarity leadership introduced their customary "provisionally revolutionary" position, while a few delegates introduced a dissenting statement. Although hastily written, and not too clear, his statement shows a definite leftward tendency which, if followed to its logical conclusion, should lead these comrades to take their stand with those who stand for the Spanish revolution and for a revolutionary Party in Spain and throughout the world, the Fourth International.

As was to be expected, the right wingers combined with Clarity leadership to carry their resolution overwhelmingly, the minority getting 7 or 8 votes.

International Question

The centrists also introduced a "resolution" on the International question which neglects to draw the lessons of Spain. The resolution, after characterizing the 2nd International as bankrupt and calling for work with all forces in favor of a "new International", declares for remaining in the 2nd International as a "revolutionary center."

The last important thing taken up was the election of their new NEC. The Clarity slate included such notable left-wingers as Hyman Bookbinder of New York (an Altmanite) and Irving Barshop (who made a speech at a Clarity caucus the night before calling for its dissolution, since a caucus is a fighting instrument and there are only Clarityites and Altmanites left, now that the Trotskyites have been gotten rid of, and therefore there is no one left to fight against).

Barshop's nomination was too much for this pretty much hand picked "convention." As soon as his name was read, booing and hissing broke out. Even the Clarityites couldn't stomach Barshop's lies and tricks. The entire Clarity slate was, of course, elected since no one was even put up against Barshop.

Hamilton reported on a meeting with the YCL at which the YCLers said that now that the "trotskyites" were expelled the "YPSL" and the YCL could get together—on such things as the expulsion of the "trotskyites" from the trade unions! Hamilton's answer was that they wouldn't do anything of the sort, although, of course, they would not act as "defense attorneys for the Trotskyites."

And then they adjourned.
DONALD BERGNER

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Marines Intervene for U.S. Imperialism In Sino-Jap War

(Continued from page 1)

1,000 flour-mill workers who demanded a month's salary in advance on account of the Chinese-Japanese war—raging only a few yards from their work rooms.... The Marines, British soldiers, members of the Shanghai Volunteer Corps and municipal police aided in suppressing it. Twenty-five Chinese were taken to hospital suffering from the effects of the tear gas and scalp wounds."

Employment of American armed forces to bludgeon fearfully-exploited Chinese workers into submission to their bosses has called forth not a breath of protest from the "Communist" party, nor from Thomas-Altmantyl combination which controls the apparatus of the Socialist Party. Indeed, the Stalinists, through their Daily Worker and New Masses, have been tireless advocates of armed intervention in the Far East struggle by American imperialism in concert with the other major robber Powers.

True, the Stalinists want the intervention to take the form of aid to oppressed China against imperialist Japan. But, having long since thrown overboard the Marxist-Leninist conception of the character and role of imperialism, they refuse to see that any kind of intervention by an imperialist power in a struggle between an oppressed nation and its immediate imperialist oppressor must inevitably result in aid being given to the latter against the former.

No "Good" and "Bad" Imperialists

The new Stalinist conception of imperialism is that there are "good," "peace-loving" Powers and "bad," "aggressive" Powers. American imperialism, according to this thoroughly false and social-patriotic notion, falls in the former category. Hence the silence of the Stalinists concerning the slugging of Chinese workers at Shanghai by American Marines. Hence their abandonment of revolutionary propaganda and agitation among the armed forces of American imperialism, the vast majority of whom, drawn from the ranks of the working class youth, have common cause, not with the imperialist government at Washington, but with the oppressed and exploited of the entire world.

The task of enlightening the youth in the Army (and this means the Marines and the Navy, too) as to their true class allegiance, of instilling in them an understanding of their bond with the downtrodden and exploited, rests primarily with the revolutionary socialist youth. This work of education and preparation for the revolution has been abandoned by "socialist" and "communist" social patriots. Use of U. S. Marines to suppress the class struggle activities of the Chinese workers serves to emphasize its urgency.

As an immediate step, Yipsel locals and district organization should pass resolutions of protest against the action of the Marines at Shanghai and forward these resolutions to the Washington government. Similar protest moves should be initiated wherever possible in the trade unions.

It can be left to the Kuomintang government and its miserable Stalinist servitors to make grovelling appeals to the American imperialists, and to the robber

Convention Figures Show League Delegates from all Fields of Work

(Continued from page 1)

he had been regularly elected by the number of Yipsel members required by pre-convention rules. According to these rules, circles were allowed delegates in the almost unbelievable ratio of 1 for 5 members, 2 for 8, 3 for 23, 4 for 38 and so on. In its operation, this worked against the left wing (as the Clarityites had foreseen it would) for the larger circles were almost exclusive by left wing. (this was the smallest obstacle put in the way of a full delegation from the left wing. Add to this the moving of the convention from the mid-west to the east, and the attempted gerrymandering of circle figures and elections.) In the case of New York, where the organization had

Powers gathered at Geneva to save China from Japan. The revolutionary youth, treading the path marked out by Lenin and Trotsky, will endeavor to inaugurate a campaign for working class solidarity with the Chinese masses who must struggle not only against the imperialist "aggressors" but against their own native exploiters as well, since these struggles are but two sectors of a common front.

The campaign for working class solidarity with the struggle of the Chinese masses against Japanese imperialism necessarily includes agitation among the armed forces of American imperialism. The happening at Shanghai must be made the starting-point. "Don't shoot your working class comrades in China—nor your working class comrades in this country. Turn your guns against your real enemies, the imperialist exploiters and their government at Washington. Make common cause with the workers, with your own class, for the socialist revolution." This should be the keynote of our propaganda among the troops.

The action of Shanghai workers in striking over a wage demand at a time when the armies of imperialist Japan are ravishing the land gives a complete and unequivocal lie to the Stalinist claim that the class struggle has been submerged in a "national united front" against the invader. Chinese workers hate the imperialist freebooters, but they have no more love for the native exploiter. They are learning that a successful struggle against imperialism, carried to the point of China's complete national liberation, cannot be waged under the leadership and control of the Chinese bourgeoisie and its political representative, the Kuomintang government at Nanking. For the Chinese bourgeoisie reveals at every step its own connection with imperialism. It fights Japan, but unwillingly, and fearing to draw the masses into the struggle (they might want to go "too far!") prepares to effect a compromise with the aid of Anglo-American imperialism, since it realize that victory is impossible with its own inadequate forces. The Stalinist traitors in China are helping in the inevitable sell-out, having surrendered unconditionally to the Kuomintang government. They are now the most servile flunkies—flunkies of the flunkies.

Coming more and more to realize the inseparable connection between China's struggle for national independence and their own struggle for economic and social liberation, the exploited masses of China (including the soldiers, who are giving such courageous battle to the Japan-

been split prior to the convention, no delegate was seated unless he had been elected on the ratio listed above. By general agreement the Convention assigned the padding of delegations to the Clarity caucus.

The delegates represented circles with a total membership of 985, among who are 849 known and registered left wingers. Adding these circles (St. Paul, Columbus, Quakertown, etc.) which sent letters of solidarity, or credentials for delegates who could not come, the total of left-wingers, not general membership, is raised to well over a thousand. Roughly there are 200 in California, 250 in New York City, 50 in Minnesota, 54 in Massachusetts (the book membership of 100 was ignored by our comrades), 187 in Chicago (a figure set by Judah Drob, the Clarityite ex-national administrative secretary, though the real membership is over 200), 70 in Ohio, 60 in Newark, 50 in upstate New York and smaller sums in the other localities. Significantly, the New Yorkers constituted less than 30% of the entire delegation.

Many delegates were unable to come. Circles that were entitled to 2 or 3 delegates sent only one. Others were unable to send any delegates. Thus, circles in Columbus, Ohio, Quakertown, Pa., St. Paul, Minn., Fresno, Calif., were not represented by delegates but definitely indicated their loyalty to the convention and the League. Unrepresented directly were groups not yet chartered, in Gardner and Fitchburg, Mass., new circles in Los Angeles, as

well as the strong minorities in the few localities where Clarity was able to muster a majority.

What Were They Like?

Probably the most distinctive feature of the convention was the composition of the delegates. The early, non-YWCA type of delegates coming from Leagues across the country, gave the stamp of reality to the mass activity orientation of the convention, especially the decisions on trade union work. 65% of the delegates were workers in industry—ranging from agriculture to auto and aircraft. They were members of the National Maritime Union, Sailors Union of the Pacific, Food Workers' Union, United Shoe Workers, United Automobile Workers, Workers Alliance of America, and many others too numerous to list.

How Does This Compare with Clarity Caucus?

Elsewhere in The Challenge, the meeting of the Clarity-Right wing caucus is covered in greater detail. The simplest comparison here suffices. Of the 93 delegates at their meeting, 53, or close to 60% came from New York City. At the NEC meeting which met before the convention, they had the effrontery to insist that these 53, representing hardly more than themselves in members, be seated as the New York delegation with the right to vote on their own eligibility! Before the split in New York, 58 delegates were allotted to the entire city. Close to 18 or 20 Ap-

peal delegates had already been elected. After the split, Clarity sends to its pretense of a convention delegates representing Appeal circles and members.

New York had 350 odd dues-paying members. Add 100 for more or less active people who don't pay dues. The total is 450. Of these at least 250 supported the left wing. However, counting only 200 for the left wing—the most conscienceless Clarityite will grant that—a maximum of 250 members is left for Clarity and its caucus comrades of the right—independent and not-so-independent. Even using a lower figure, the 137 votes polled by the Appeal in the last city elections, before many left wingers joined in solidarity with it, the 58 delegates sent by Clarity to its caucus is still an amazing joke. (The 137 votes were the largest single bloc of votes cast, and constituted fully 41% of the whole. That three months ago!) To this Clarity caucus (called a convention) came two delegates from City College (CC)—representing themselves in a circle of 32 members which had in regular election designated 3 left wingers as its spokesmen. So with many other circles.

Every precaution was taken at the League convention against the padding of delegates. In contrast, the Clarity caucus had to pad its sessions with wads of bluff to bolster their own morale. Five of their delegates were members of the National Executive Committee who came from no circle but had a vote simply because they were on the NEC. Twelve came from Philadelphia—representing 44 people out of a total vote of 65. (Only one delegate was seated for this city at the League convention, though 21 people had cast votes for the left wing). Compare this with the six delegates allowed at the League convention for the 60 (real) Newark members.

Somewhere in an article written for the Socialist Call by Al Hamilton, national secretary of the Clarity-Right caucus, appears a solemn admission that gives the whole show away. Without the New York delegation, says Hamilton, the Appeal might (!) have had a bare (!!) majority. That, in Hamilton's words, is tantamount to conceding the majority of the national League membership to the left wing, for the "bareness" he refers to is merely a characteristic of his literary style when his distortions approach the truth. This admission culled from a petty, sniping, childish (so very, very childish) effort at belittling the League convention stands as ample witness to the corrupt Clarity strategy before the convention and during the sessions of the NEC. Hamilton's failure to include any figures whatsoever in his mimeographed report of a year's activity, is final testimony.

Further comparison might be made with the Clarity caucus meeting with regard to quality and spirit. But here the difference is so vast that no basis of comparison remains. In that same issue of the Socialist Call, a companion article to Hamilton's reveals the half-scared, bewildered, discouraged air in which the delegates met. The author tries ever so hard to prime his spirit, to bellev his enthusiasm—all that comes out is a flat chirp.

Our League convention is in no need of empty rhetoric. The facts of quality and quantity speak for themselves.

Stalinist Purge Hits Komsomol

Executioner's Axe Levels Youth Heads

The Moscow Pravda for August 29 and Komsomolskaya Pravda for the same date printed the sensational "Decision" of the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the V.L.K.S.M. (Komsomol) On the Report of Comrade Kosarev."

This "decision" on the state of affairs in the Soviet youth organization is apparently the sole result of the Plenum which was in session for one week, from August 21 to August 28. In the words of the terse "information bulletin": "The Plenum heard and discussed the report of comrade Kosarev, "On the Work of the Enemies of the People Within the Komsomol."

The opening paragraphs of the decision adopted by the Plenum provide an adequate summary of the topic under discussion. They read as follows:

During the recent period facts have been uncovered relating to criminal subversive activities in the Komsomol which testify to the fact that the Trotskyist-Bukharinist spies, terrorists, and traitors to the Socialist Fatherland have been operating for a long time in the organizations of the V.L.K.S.M.

The gang of Trotskyist-Bukharinist fascists and spies has penetrated into the leadership of a number of provincial district and regional organizations and even managed to infiltrate the Central Committee (these invaders) will forge a weapon with which to sweep all the exploiters, foreign and native, out of their country. They will build a new party, a revolutionary party of the Fourth International.

of the V.L.K.S.M.

As was already stated the report concerning this discovery was made the General Secretary of the Komsomol, Kossarev.

According to the decision of the Plenum the guilt fell on the "Central Committee, the Bureau of the C.C., the secretaries of the C. C. and IN THE FIRST PLACE comrade Kossarev". (Our emphasis).

Among those singled out for attack and condemned as "enemies of the people," (and no doubt arrested if not already shot) are a number of secretaries of the C.C.: Saltanov, Lukianov, Feinberg, Andreyev, "and others" and the editor-in-chief of Komsomolskaya, Pravda, Bubekin.

They are charged with working for the restoration of capitalism. In the words of the plenum decision: "...they set as their goal the defeat of workers and peasants, their enslavement, and the restoration of the rule of landlords and capitalists in our country... They sought to deprive the Soviet people and our youth of the merry, life, conquered by the toilers under the leadership of the party of Lenin and Stalin. Having no base or support among the masses, the gang of servitors of Japanese-German Fascism in the Komsomol hid their despicable traitor's faces, and by deceit penetrated into the leading organs of the V.L.K.S.M. and in every way carried on wrecking work within the youth and the Leninist Komsomol. They recruited among the unstable elements in the Komsomol cadres of spies, diversionists, terrorists, and scouts, etc., etc."

(Continued on page 7)

Twenty Five Years in the History of the Young Peoples Socialist League

By Ernest Erber

(The following was written by Comrade Erber for publication in the Convention Journal by the Clarity editors. Despite the care exercised to avoid a factional treatment of the history of the YPSL, the article was still unacceptable to the petty factionalists of the old National Office. They used instead an article by Al Hamilton that is worth noting for only one thing—Hamilton's use of material and quotations from a previous article by Erber without showing enough decency to quote the source.—Ed.)

The Young People's Socialist League had its beginnings in the young people's groups organized on a local scale by members of the Socialist Party interested in special activities to attract young people to the Socialist movement. Often starting with names as obscure as the "Athenian Literary Society", "Young People's Alliance", and "Social Science Study Club", they became increasingly Socialist in character and drew ever closer to the activities of the local Party group.

In 1912 the National Convention of the Party, recognizing the fact that the spontaneous and uncoordinated growth of the Socialist youth movement was itself sufficient proof of the need of such a movement, took steps to give the youth movement an official status and national coordination. First giving the problem of youth organization to the women's department of the National Office, and then, when the demands proved too great, constituting a special youth department with a full time director in charge, the Party prepared the ground for the organization of a nation-wide, democratically controlled, Socialist youth movement. This organization was born in 1915 when the circles adopted a constitution by referendum vote that named the organization the "Young People's Socialist League".

Two years after the national organization was established, the national secretary, William Kruse, was able to report a membership of 5,000 in 147 cities. The League organ, "The Young Socialists' Magazine", had achieved a circulation of 10,000 and some 350,000 pieces of literature were distributed. Despite this valuable propaganda work, however, the League membership and activities were still closer to the early discussion groups than to a politicalized youth movement. But the active core of leading comrades, both nationally and locally, were developing politically and were slowly raising the level of the movement as a whole.

War Politicalizes the League

The entry of the American government into the war in 1917 found the Y.P.S.L. far from ready to carry out the tasks of a revolutionary movement in time of war. Its political reactions were more pacifist than Marxist and its organizational attempts to combat the war fell through for lack of a stable machinery and a trained membership. Yet it showed a willingness to struggle against the patriotic tide that compares favorably with the best sections of the socialist youth movement of the world and that established a tradition that the League today may well be proud of. In a circular letter to all local groups, Kruse asked the League to prepare for the war time persecutions in the following words:

"This is our opportunity and our test. Fight the war to the finish, even though the finish may mean your face to the firing squad. It will be better in the extreme test to die for peace in America than to be slaughtered in the furtherance of war in Europe..."

Kruse even attempted to form an under-

ground apparatus in the last minute by advising all secretaries to conceal duplicate lists of their membership and to "list all the dependable Socialist members of your League and form them into an unofficial executive committee and pledge them to work for our movement and be true no matter what happens." The trials of leading Party and Y.P.S.L. members later revealed that the membership did not have the training necessary to effectively carry out underground work and such errors as keeping illegal literature in the homes of prominent members and carrying printers' receipts for such literature about on their persons led to a large number of arrest and convictions. Kruse himself was sentenced to twenty years along with several prominent leaders of the Party. The case was several times appealed and finally quashed in 1920.

The war resulted in a rapid politicalization of the Y.P.S.L. This development received an even greater impetus with the advent of the Russian Revolution and the heated controversy it engendered in the ranks of the Party. The overwhelming membership of the Y.P.S.L. in America, as all over the world, declared its agreement with the program of the Communist

International and in solidarity with the left wing of the Party demanded affiliation to the international of Lenin and Trotsky.

Party Seeks to Stem Left Wing Tide

The NEC of the Party, seeing that a split was inevitable, tried to keep the Y.P.S.L. intact by keeping it from getting involved in the factional fight. They naively thought that this object could be achieved by granting the Y.P.S.L. greater autonomy and removing it further from the Party machinery. In order to establish the autonomy of the Y.P.S.L., a national convention was called in 1919. This convention stood in solidarity with the left wing of the Party and since Kruse was still under sentence elected a prominent left winger, Oliver Carlson, as national secretary. When the NEC of the Party expelled the left wing states and foreign federations and secured an artificial majority for the right wing at the Party convention, the left wing left the convention and organized the Communist Party. In order to keep the left wing from officially taking over the Y.P.S.L., the Party NEC removed Carlson as national secretary. The left wing replied by calling a conven-

A Letter from Leon Trotsky to J.S.R. of France

Dear Comrades,

Your congress, * in spite of the modest size of your organization, has an enormous political importance. The parliamentary fakers, the bureaucratic careerists, and the philistines, cannot understand this—for you, and you alone, represent the revolutionary future of the French workers' movement.

A political organization which is in constant disagreement with its youth is doomed to failure. Such is the outlook for the French Socialist Party. It is completely impregnated with lies. Marceau Pivert [leader of a "left" wing in the French S. P., equivalent to the Clarityites here.] can only be distinguished from Zyromski and from Leon Blum by a different way of lying. In 1934, these gentlemen elaborated a program in which they proclaimed that their task was "to shatter the apparatus of the bourgeois state". In reality, they are forced to shatter the spinal column of the proletariat, with the aim of strengthening the bourgeois state. There is nothing astonishing in these conditions, nor in the fact that the Socialist Party, which boasts of a regime of internal democracy, is forced to cut off from it systematically the revolutionary elements of the youth, who reflect the hopes, the aspirations and the impatience of the new generation of the working class.

Things present themselves in no better light in regard to the so-called "Communist" Party. It is difficult to find in the history of the workers' movement another example of such a rapid and frightful degeneration. "Our Party has now attained its maturity", declared Mr. Thorez [leader of the French Communist Party] not so long ago, a worthy representative of that political maturity, which resembles putrefaction like two drops of water. The "Communist" Party represents an edifice of several stories. On top, the "hard" bureaucracy—i.e., completely corrupted, without principles, without honor and without conscience. Below it, the layer of intellectuals, of petty-bourgeoisie, the functionaries, semi-idealists, semi-careerists, like Romain Rolland, Malraux, etc. These gentlemen want

* Third Congress of the Revolutionary Socialist Youth (J. S. R.) of France (Fourth Internationalists).

to have the title of revolutionaries without breaking with their bourgeoisie; they want to be considered as internationalists while keeping faith with their national imperialism. The Comintern assures all that to them, often enough with a bonus. Then come the working masses, who continue to group themselves around the Communist Party by virtue of historic inertia. There are, assuredly, a number of sincere and courageous fighters among them, especially among the youth. You must exert your main energies in this direction!

The "Communist" Party has extraordinary resources at its disposal in order to deceive its members and keep them in harness. However, these resources will not last a long time. The contradiction between the program and the practical activity, the contradiction between the orders of the Soviet bureaucracy and the interests of the French proletariat, have too profound and burning a character for these gentlemen—the Thorezes, the Vaillant-Courtières, the Duclos' and the other charlatans—to be able to maintain for a long time the equilibrium of the Party, with its edifice of three stories. One can predict in advance that the disintegration will commence with the youth. It is here that a rich harvest awaits you.

The Power of the Revolutionary Idea

The idea, if it corresponds to the exigencies of historical development, is more powerful than the most powerful organization. These gentlemen—the pseudo-socialists like the pseudo-communists—have great organizations inherited from the past, but they have no ideas. Their program is a fiction; they live through diplomacy and equivocation; they sow lies and illusions.

Your organization is weak, but you have an idea. Your program corresponds to the character of the present epoch. It expresses correctly the fundamental historical interests of the proletariat. Every great event will confirm your program. With the help of pitiless criticism, of constant propaganda, of bold agitation you will destroy the old organizations, internally rotten, which have become the principle obstacles on

the road of the revolutionary movement. That is why, dear comrades, your small congress has a great importance. You must become fully conscious of the great mission which history has placed on your young shoulders.

The pseudo-socialists expel you, the pseudo-communists submit you to a dishonest repression, the Bonapartist clique of Moscow organizes persecutions without precedent in history against your ideological companions, heaping upon them monstrous judicial falsifications. At first glance, there is an obvious disproportion between the modest size of your organization, as in general with all the sections of the Fourth International, and the gigantic scope of the persecutions, the repressions and calumny. However, this contradiction is only apparent. The parasitic bureaucracy possesses a strong instinct of self-preservation, and it takes clearly into account the danger which your small vanguard, united by a scientific program, welded by an internal solidarity and capable of the highest sacrifices, represents for it. You project your shadow before you, into the future, and this shadow from today on is ten times, one hundred times taller than your organization. The persecutions and calumnies of enemies give you the necessary strength and prepare you for the great tasks and battles which lie ahead.

By 1924 the membership of the Y.P.S.L.

was greatly reduced and composed only of the politically backward sections who were not touched by the factional fight and the small group who stood in principled agreement with the Party leadership of Hillquit and Oneal. The League became active in the La Follette campaign but found that its efforts were both fruitless and thankless and its membership did not grow. It now entered its worst period of political and organizational decline. Politically it offered no resistance to the open reformism of the Old Guard leadership of the Party. Organizationally it declined to a small New York organization and half a dozen circles scattered through the rest of the country. Attempts to start a Y.P.S.L. publication, "Free Youth", failed. No money was available for work. The membership was almost completely divorced from class struggle activities. It had neither the political approach or organizational activity that could win young workers or students to its ranks in the face of the revolutionary appeal of the YWL and its class struggle activities.

Crisis and Comintern Line Revitalize League

Beginning with 1929 two important changes

words, its formulas, its articles, it kindled the revolutionary passion of the masses. By its indecision, its equivocation, its hesitations, its lack of clear program, it deprived itself of the possibility of giving to the masses that firm revolutionary leadership, without which victory is impossible.

In our own ranks were found a certain number of hesitant or sentimental revolutionaries, who by their sympathy for the Spanish revolution were ready to close their eyes to the tragic and criminal mistakes of the leadership. Let us make it clear, comrades, that is not our policy. We are bound to say openly that which is, and to call a spade—a spade. The working class needs the full truth, however distressing it may be.

With the Fourth International, Towards Victory

I trust that the congress of your organization will be held under the banner of faith in your future, while at the same time criticizing without pity all the faults and weaknesses of your present condition. What the revolutionary organizations in France have most often lacked, is attention to details, system, a well-regulated organization—which must be begun by exact financial accounts and by careful scrutiny of publications. The great quality of the French working class is its spirit of initiative and improvisation, which has more than once left its mark on history. The proletariat must be given a scientific program and a strict and all-conquering fighting organization.

The weak will perhaps say that it is difficult. Obviously, it is difficult! The socialist emancipation of the proletariat is, in general, a difficult thing. But there is not amongst us, I hope, weak ones. Through this letter, I address myself to courageous and audacious revolutionaries, ready to see this struggle through to the end. There is no other way outside of the Fourth International. Follow in this direction without hesitation. Victory is assured you.

Coyacan, Mexico, D. F. May 2, 1937.

L. TROTSKY

took place to again turn the face of the Y. P. S. L. toward revolutionary struggles and a new era of growth and influence. The first of these was the severe economic crisis that threw thousands and millions of young people out of work. Increasing numbers of them were forced to turn their thoughts away from the carefree life of the jazz age and think about the serious social and economic problems that confronted them. They began to look to the radical movement for an explanation and a way out. The task of a radical youth movement in reaching masses of young people was now easier than at any time since the war.

The second change in the situation was the fact that the YWL, now the Young Communist League, was no longer the healthy revolutionary force that could attract the best elements of the working and student youth. The period of the stalinization of the Communist movement had set in. From active and vital forces, the Communist organizations, including the YCL, were turned into bureaucratically dominant movements where the membership was obliged to hue to the monolithic line or feel the heavy ax of expulsion. In addition to its inner corruption, the Communist movement was in the throes of its "third period" insanity. Its shrieking denunciations of other labor groups as social fascist, its splitting tactics, the blatant distortions and falsehoods of its press, all combined to repel the most intelligent of the young workers and students.

Driven by the sharpened class struggle of the crisis period to seek some revolutionary organization, on the one hand, and repelled by the Stalinist degeneration of the Communist movement, on the other, thousands of young people entered the Y.P.S.L., an organization which permitted them to freely present their own point of view and transform it into a revolutionary organization. The influx of new members between 1929 and 1932 permitted the Y.P.S.L. to again meet in a national convention in the latter year in Cleveland to rebuild a stable national movement. The Cleveland convention, in reality, marked the birth of a new organization, rather than the reorganization of the sterile, reformist, inactive League of the period of 1924-29.

Already starting at Cleveland, a new note of militancy was heard on the political questions confronting the League. The 1932 convention rejected the red-baiting, anti-Soviet views of the Party leadership. It served notice that the era of quiet servilence to the political leadership of the Old Guard had ended. It marked the opening of the struggle to transform the Y.P. S.L. and eventually, the Socialist Party, into revolutionary organizations. Every new historical experience served to give impetus to this development. The MacDonald betrayals in England, the German catastrophe, the Austrian events, all had their lessons for the membership of the Y.P.S.L. The League, together, with the Militant group in the party broke with the reformist concepts on the road to power held by the Old Guard. A period of discussion set in, following the German events, to formulate a Marxist answer to the lessons of the German debacle.

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the Young Peoples Socialist League

tion of the League in Rochester in December of 1919 which voted to disaffiliate from the Socialist Party and join the Communist Party.

While it is difficult to ascertain the exact number of members of the Y.P.S.L. who remained with the Socialist Party controlled youth movement, it is certain that the overwhelming majority of the 10,000 reported at the 1919 convention joined the youth section of the Communist Party, organized as the Young Workers League. Even those who remained continued to split and group after group went over to the YWL between 1919 and 1924. One section split from the Y.P.S.L. and for a period of time carried on an independent existence as the Independent Y.P.S.L. before finally joining the YWL.

In 1921, William Kruse, having been reelected secretary of the Y.P.S.L., also went over to the YWL. A convention of the remaining membership in 1922 set out to reorganize the League. It elected Albert Weisbord as National secretary. For a period of time he succeeded in rallying the remaining active elements to rebuild sections of the League but in 1924, he too, left to join the YWL.

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The second change in the situation was the fact that the YWL, now the Young Communist League, was no longer the healthy revolutionary force that could attract the best elements of the working and student youth. The period of the stalinization of the Communist movement had set in. From active and vital forces, the Communist organizations, including the YCL, were turned into bureaucratically dominant movements where the membership was obliged to hue to the monolithic line or feel the heavy ax of expulsion. In addition to its inner corruption, the Communist movement was in the throes of its "third period" insanity. Its shrieking denunciations of other labor groups as social fascist, its splitting tactics, the blatant distortions and falsehoods of its press, all combined to repel the most intelligent of the young workers and students.

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the road of the revolutionary movement. That is why, dear comrades, your small congress has a great importance. You must become fully conscious of the great mission which history has placed on your young shoulders.

The pseudo-socialists expel you, the pseudo-communists submit you to a dishonest repression, the Bonapartist clique of Moscow organizes persecutions without precedent in history against your ideological companions, heaping upon them monstrous judicial falsifications. At first glance, there is an obvious disproportion between the modest size of your organization, as in general with all the sections of the Fourth International, and the gigantic scope of the persecutions, the repressions and calumny. However, this contradiction is only apparent. The parasitic bureaucracy possesses a strong instinct of self-preservation, and it takes clearly into account the danger which your small vanguard, united by a scientific program, welded by an internal solidarity and capable of the highest sacrifices, represents for it. You project your shadow before you, into the future, and this shadow from today on is ten times, one hundred times taller than your organization. The persecutions and calumnies of enemies give you the necessary strength and prepare you for the great tasks and battles which lie ahead.

The example of Spain shows what an inexhaustible reservoir of heroism and devotion is hidden in the proletariat. Through six years of revolution, the Spanish workers could have assured not one, but ten victories. They lacked a Party which could utilize their heroism and respond to the objective demands of history. From defeat to defeat. But it is necessary to learn the lessons of these defeats. We see in Spain how the Anarchist leaders, who do not understand the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, capitulate at the critical moment—being nothing else than exalted liberals. We see on the other hand, in the POUM—left centrism in practice, in action. Centrism is an intermediate tendency between reform and revolution. A revolutionary situation, however, admits of no intermediate position. Thus, the tragic and pitiful end of the POUM. By its

words, its formulas, its articles, it kindled the revolutionary passion of the masses. By its indecision, its equivocation, its hesitations, its lack of clear program, it deprived itself of the possibility of giving to the masses that firm revolutionary leadership, without which victory is impossible.

In our own ranks were found a certain number of hesitant or sentimental revolutionaries, who by their sympathy for the Spanish revolution were ready to close their eyes to the tragic and criminal mistakes of the leadership. Let us make it clear, comrades, that is not our policy. We are bound to say openly that which is, and to call a spade—a spade. The working class needs the full truth, however distressing it may be.

With the Fourth International, Towards Victory

I trust that the congress of your organization will be held under the banner of faith in your future, while at the same time criticizing without pity all the faults and weaknesses of your present condition. What the revolutionary organizations in France have most often lacked, is attention to details, system, a well-regulated organization—which must be begun by exact financial accounts and by careful scrutiny of publications. The great quality of the French working class is its spirit of initiative and improvisation, which has more than once left its mark on history. The proletariat must be given a scientific program and a strict and all-conquering fighting organization.

The weak will perhaps say that it is difficult. Obviously, it is difficult! The socialist emancipation of the proletariat is, in general, a difficult thing. But there is not amongst us, I hope, weak ones. Through this letter, I address myself to courageous and audacious revolutionaries, ready to see this struggle through to the end. There is no other way outside of the Fourth International. Follow in this direction without hesitation. Victory is assured you.

Coyocan, Mexico, D. F. May 2, 1937.

L. TROTSKY

25 Years in the History of the YPSL

(Continued from Page 5)

itself in the mass struggle of the workers. Hardly a major strike was fought or unemployed demonstration called, which did not find the Young Socialists in the front ranks. These activities began to teach the League members a revolutionary concept of mass work, particularly the idea of fractions in mass organization.

The ideological conflict between the Old Guard and the Militants soon flared into organizational conflicts. A protracted struggle took place for control of the Party. The Y.P.S.L. proved one of the most valuable allies to the Militant wing of the Party in this struggle. They several times experienced the blow of the Old Guard leadership, particularly in New York, where the League was forced to vacate its headquarters in the Party building upon two occasions.

1935, the year that marked the break between the revolutionary Socialist Youth and the Old Guard Party in New York, also marked the official turn of the Communist movement into an unbridled degeneration into the swamps of social patriotism and reformism. The Y.P.S.L. had withstood the attacks of "third period" Stalinism without any serious loss. In 1933 it had removed from its midst a group of YCL agents, including the national secretary, George Smerken, without any serious defection. But on the whole it had found it impossible to take the offensive against third period Stalinism because of its own lack of clarity on the basic questions of war, the struggle against fascism, the road to power, the united front, etc. The Y.P.S.L. had progressed far in understanding these questions by 1935 and it showed great relish in going over from the defensive to the offensive in its ideological struggle against Stalinism. The Y.P.S.L. members began the attack upon the YCL all along the line, in the student movement, in the mass organizations, in the American Youth Congress, in the neighborhoods. The YCL leaders ran for cover and soon issued an injunction against further debates with the Y.P.S.L. So afraid were they of having their members come into contact with the revolutionary rank and file of the Y.P.S.L. that it became extremely difficult to even engage the YCL in united front activities.

Though the Y.P.S.L. has found that the handicap of distance and lack of finances proved too great to permit it to play an intense role in the affairs of the Socialist Youth International, it even here played a role in opposing both classic reformism and Stalinism. It made it known in no unambiguous terms to the left wing that was formed under the leadership of the Betflans, that the fight against the reformist Scandinavian and English sections could only be successful if the left wing engaged simultaneously in a struggle against Stalinism. In 1926 the League sent its national chairman to Europe where he took part in a meeting of the left wing sections and contacted individual left wing leaders. The contacts resulting from this trip can still be utilized to bind together the left wing sections that have not succumbed to Stalinism to form the nucleus of revolutionary youth international.

GROWTH OF CALIFORNIA LEAGUE BETOKENS FUTURE SUCCESSES

By Bill Monroe

The YPSL in California started its development with a League that had been woefully unable to cope with the sharp issues that were facing youth in the crisis. Unable—firstly—because it lacked a revolutionary program, a lack that was the heritage of a parental Old Guard Reform Party. Unable—secondly—because of an absence of contact with the working class in its struggles. Unable—thirdly—because of a lack of numbers, not fatal in itself, but when taken as the logical by-product of a non-Marxist program, and no organic connection with the working youth, was pretty serious.

THE YCL BEFORE 1936

The Young Communist League toyed with the puny YPSL of the years 1932-1936. Appearing more revolutionary, it won members from the YPSL. Later, as the full impact of the Unity period of 1935-6 hit California, the YCL literally deluged the YPSL with calls for "United Front". Harried and back-stepping, that was the way the pre-1936 YPSL met the onslaught of the delighted, aggressive YCL.

THE TRANSFORMATION

But mighty forces were at work. And the revolutionary current in the YPSL recoiling from the betrayal of Germany and Austria found its way to California. The split with the Old Guard and consequent merging of

Entry of Spartacus Youth Strengthens Political Life and Activities

1936, the year in which the Socialist movement officially broke with crassest representatives of reformism in the form of the Old Guard leadership, marked the entry of several hundred members of the Spartacus Youth League into the Y.P.S.L. The SYL, youth section of the Workers' Party, represented the best revolutionary elements of the Communist movement, who had refused to tolerate the stalinist degeneration of the movement. The fusion of the young revolutionists of the Y.P.S.L. with the young revolutionists of the SYL marked the unity of the revolutionary elements that had been repelled by Stalinism with the elements that had been expelled by Stalinism. The acquisition of the SYL membership strengthened the Y.P.S.L. in its efforts to convert its organization into a revolutionary force.

During the last year of the history of the Y.P.S.L. we have seen a growing political maturity and an increasing organizational competence. The membership has received a rich education on many of the fundamental problems of

the left wing in the S. P. with the revolutionaries of the former Workers' Party, found its counterpart in California with the entrance of the Spartacus Youth League.

Almost perceptibly, the political backbone of the California League stiffened, and no longer were offers for United Fronts meekly filed. Instead committees went to the YCL. United Fronts of action were proposed. Peoples' Fronts rejected. And now it was the YCL who quivered under the drive of the YPSL.

And—results were forthcoming. In almost every circle of the League in California, are to be found recent recruits from the YCL who heeded the revolutionary call of the Young Peoples' Socialist League. A special session was hurriedly called by the trembling bureaucrats of the YCL. Special "purification lectures" against Trotskyism were speedily held. But the growing current from the ranks of the YCL will not be halted by these punitive measures.

THE RISE OF INDUSTRIAL WORK

It was, however, on the all-important field of industry, that the transformation of the YPSL was most marked.

Agriculture

The outbreak of another of those titanic waves of agricultural strikes in April 1936 found the League this time with the strike. As the strike moved swiftly from the celery fields of

the strategy of the proletarian revolution. It gave a good account of itself in its polemics with both Stalinists and Old Guard reformists in the election campaign of 1936, carrying on an intransigent struggle against every form of class collaboration. It continued to develop in its understanding of the Spanish events and the overwhelming majority of membership supported the political line laid down in the report of the national chairman after his visit to Spain which was accepted by the November session of the NEC.

The membership has shown the results of its training in the influence it has exerted in the strikes conducted by the CIO. The steel strike in Northern Indiana, and Youngstown, the rubber strikes in Akron, the maritime and agricultural strikes on the west coast, have all seen Y.P.S.L. members in active and responsible posts of leadership. It can be said with the greatest certainty that the National Organization Conference, meeting in Chicago in January of 1937, assembled the best group of revolutionary mass workers ever assembled in a national Socialist gathering.

Venice to the orange groves of terror-ridden Orange County, in its vanguard strode representatives of a growing YPSL full of life and enthusiasm.

The Los Angeles League bore the brunt of arrests: organized relief, devised strategy. The Dominguez Hills circle is the direct outcome of the League participation in the Los Angeles strikes. As the strike movement swept north to the lettuce sheds of Salinas, northern young Socialists lent their aid to the besieged strikers. Stockton and its memorable strike found the YPSL again in contact. The Party and the League was rapidly gaining the respect of the advanced workers. And it is now generally conceded that the boss-class of California has a new factor to reckon with in agriculture.

Maritime

As the year 1936 moved toward its close, the question of the maritime strike arose. In 1934, the YPSL knew of the strike only by consulting the daily press. In 1936, the turn to industrial concentration bore fruit in maritime. The YPSL had sent in certain members, others were recruited; cooperation with the militants, the Sailors' Union of the Pacific was secured. And the YPSL and the progressives fought side by side against the sell-out tactics of the Bridges-Communist Party leadership. The attempt to stall the calling of the strike until after Roosevelt was elected in order to spare him embarrassment was met with a rank and file upsurge at a huge mass meeting that forced the calling of the strike. The attempt to handle "perishables" was neatly knocked under by the alert progressives. The comradely effort of Bridges to have the sailors accept the Copeland Fink Book was checked and hurled back by the sailors who wore buttons with the inscription "I refuse the Copeland Fink Book."

And it was the organ of the California Party, Labor Action, that in its denunciation and exposure of class-collaboration policies earned the confidence of the Pacific Coast Progressive who themselves distributed hundreds of copies until the right-wing, centrist bloc in the Socialist Party, sabotaged and gave it a premature burial. If the desires of the advanced workers on the Pacific mean anything, they mean that the day is not far off when Labor Action will again express their desires.

The maritime strike ended with a smashing victory. The YPSL recruited into its ranks a number of the most active sections of the maritime workers. And plans are being laid for strengthening of that first basis of strength.

Aircraft

The wave of CIO strikes and organization was experienced in California. In Los Angeles, the YPSL was the motor that helped to build the aircraft unions. Those members who participated in the Douglas strike are recruiting more members from ranks of the young air-craft workers. There are now members of the YPSL in steel, in textiles, in the Culinary Union in San Francisco, and in a host of other fields.

A look at the members of the YPSL reveals a change in composition and calibre. Definitely of a working-class character, and with leaders developing in the test of the class struggle, the California YPSL is moving for-

ward in the field of industry.

STUDENT WORK

Again in the field of student activity, a League with a clear-cut policy made notable strides forward. On the campus at Berkeley, the YPSL made a name for itself by virtue of its revolutionary line and militancy. The membership of the League tripled as students were won to a class struggle program. Particularly, when the strike against war was pushed into a "Peace Action" did the merciless criticism by the YPSL receive attention. On all the campuses the League made a name for itself. And there is every reason to believe that the coming year will be even more productive of results.

MAY 30th

National Youth Day 1937 saw some of the League's best activity. In San Francisco, 10,000 printed leaflets splendidly written with a revolutionary message against war was given wholesale distribution along the patriotic line of march. Soldiers and workers alike read what young revolutionaries have to say as an answer to the coming imperialist war. Two comrades were arrested, and a defense is being arranged.

In Los Angeles, a record turnout of 400 youth heard the representatives of the Young Peoples Socialist League, the Young Circle League, and the Young Poale Zion, call for action against the capitalist enemy at home. Bill Busick, CIO leader, was one of the main speakers. This meeting marked another peak in the morale and enthusiasm of the Los Angeles comrades.

INTERNAL LIFE

Within the League a readjustment was taking place. Political discussion hardened the sinews and raised the level of the League. Organizational form was discussed and experimented with in an effort to find the best course of action. In the past period two plans of action on a District wide scale were tried with signal success. Above, all, there was and is developing a certain tone, esprit-de-corps, alertness, that marks the Young Socialists from all other competitors in the youth field. And this is a good omen for the future.

THE FUTURE

Despite mistakes and shortcomings (and they are not a few) the California section of the YPSL has grown 300 per cent. in membership and a thousand times in political clarity. New leaders are growing up. A successful summer school that saw 15 additional recruits of the ages of 16-18 and 50 in attendance helped to train that new up and coming leadership.

The National Convention recently concluded in Philadelphia, marks a new point for the YPSL. For California, it will mean that, for the first time, a real national leadership which has confidence in itself, which aggressively initiate activity, and, above all, which has its eyes set on a mass youth League educated in Marxism and tested in action.

Together with the left wing in the Party, freed of the stifling embrace of the centrists, the League in California will form an integral part of a revolutionary movement in America that foresees and prepares the victory of the working class!

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Stalinists Make Unity Offer to Fascists

French Young "Communists" Exchange Notes With Doriot Youth

By FRANK L. DEMBY

In August, 1936 the French Communist Party launched the slogan for a "French Front." This had as its purpose the extension of the Peoples Front into a super-patriotic combination that would include "all honest and sincere fascists." The Stalinists undoubtedly had many calculations in mind when they unfurled this despicable, anti-Marxist slogan of betrayal, but uppermost was their desire to drag the young workers of France into fighting in the French imperialist army in the coming war. They felt the war was very near. The Moscow bureaucracy demanded of its partisans in France (following the demands of Mr. Laval, the representatives of French imperialism, with whom Stalin concluded his notorious alliance) that they cease their anti-militarist activity and work to strengthen the French army. This was the price demanded by the French bourgeoisie for the conclusion of the Franco-Soviet Pact. The "great and genial leader of the world proletariat" did not hesitate a moment. After all, of what importance is the revolutionary leadership of the class struggle in France, the conquest of power by the French proletariat, as compared with a nice piece of paper jointly signed by Stalin and Laval?

In reality, of course, Stalin was simply following out logically the course which he had mapped out for himself ever since he had his greedy eyes on establishing his own personal power, and which historical circumstances had permitted him to achieve. Now, every action must be guided by the sole thought of maintaining himself and his lackeys in power, come what may! The French Stalinist movement was already far too corrupt and bureaucratized to offer any resistance to the course of open betrayal imposed upon it from Moscow. The YCL immediately broke united front agreements that it still had with the Seine Federation of Young Socialists for anti-militarist activity. The Young Stalinists became the most ardent supporters of the two-year compulsory military service for the French youth. They vied with the police in repressing any and all opposition to the war plans of French imperialism.

However, the concept of the "French Front" was a bit too premature. It was turned down by the Socialists and ignored by the fascists. The CP retreated and quietly dropped the slogan—naturally, without a word of explanation. But the inextinguishable flame of patriotism still burned in the soul of the organization that has the nerve to call itself "Communist Youth." Apparently, the Stalinists now think that the time is ripe again to launch a "French Front" movement. The slogan itself is not used. It is a group in the provinces which puts out the feeler, and not the central committee of the CP, but this is unmistakably a renewal of the Stalinist attempt to unite with the fascists and thus to stampede the French masses into the coming imperialist world war.

The following is a verbatim reproduction of an article appearing in the August 27th, 1937 issue of LA LUTTE OUVRIERE (French Fourth Internationalists) under the title: "WHERE ARE THE 'ALLIES' OF DO-

RIOT? (Doriot is the chief fascist leader in France today, specifically attacked as such by the Stalinist press—F. L. D.).

How many times have you read that the partisans of the Fourth International are the friends of Doriot? Inevitably, the facts demonstrate that those who launch this calumny are themselves the friends of Doriot. We publish below the text of a letter of the Communist Youth of Vence to the Doriotists, and their reply. It is an edifying picture. The letters have been published by Doriot's paper and reproduced by the socialist paper of Var. They are authentic. This is the result of the directives of Thorez and Gayot (leaders of the CP and YCL respectively—F.L.D.).

Young communists, break this infamous pact with fascism! It is with the young revolutionists, with the J.S.R. Revolutionary Socialist Youth, Fourth Internationalists—(F.L.D.), that you must organize common action, against l'Union Sacree (the most patriotic form of class collaboration—F.L.D.), against Stalinism, for the program of the socialist revolution!

The Section of the Popular Union of French Youth of Vence (Alpes-Marit.) (Youth of Doriot's French Popular

Party—F.L.D.) has received the following letter:

COMMUNIST YOUTH
(Group of Vence)
Vence, June 12, 1937.

"To the secretary of the U. P.J.F. section,
"Sir,

"The Communist Youth has been struggling for a long time for the union and the defense of all the French youth. "We have demonstrated by our acts that we are partisans of this union and that we are more disposed than ever to collaborate fraternally with all youth, whatever be their political and religious tendencies.

"It suffices for us only to obtain your loyal and complete collaboration, for we are not maneuverers. Strong, with the power of our idea, we serve, without any political maneuver, the material, intellectual and moral interests of all Youth.

"It is in this spirit that we ask you to want to collaborate with us for the triumph of this ideal, which is also yours.

"We would be happy if you would grant us a preliminary meeting, in the course of which we will decide the possibilities of future discussions.

"It is not by hate, but by disputes, that we shall ameliorate the condition of youth. Let

us discuss loyally, fraternally, in order to work then for the amelioration of the condition of the French youth.

"Hoping that our letter will have a favorable response, accept our greetings.

For the group of the Communist Youth of Vence, The Secretary: Albert Belleudy.

The U.P.J.F. Section replied:

Popular Union of the French Youth
President of Honor: J. Doriot

Federation of the Alps (Arrondissement of Grasse, Section of Vence).
Vence, June 28, 1937.

"Mr. Secretary, I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of June 12, 1937.

"Since its foundation, the Popular Union of French Youth has struggled to defend the material and intellectual interests of all the youth of France.

"By our precise acts, we have demonstrated that we do not want the enthusiasm of the youth to be placed in the service of any political or philosophical ideal whatsoever.

"We do not reject any loyal and disinterested collaboration, provided that it be essentially French and that its inspiration be in the tradi-

tions of liberty of our country.

"We are happy to see, by your letter, that you recognize the purity of our ideal.

"However, we do not consider the Vence section as qualified to make a decision which concerns all the youth of France. Consequently, we hope that the Central Committee of the Communist Youth, impressed with your initiative, will get in touch with the Central Committee of the Popular Union of the French Youth.

"Hoping that, by the union of the youth of our country, we shall suppress the fratricidal hatred of all Frenchmen, please accept our greetings.

For the Secretary: The Assistant Secretary, George Seassaa.

Comment on this scandalous example of Stalinist degeneration would be superfluous. Does one need further proof of the perfidious and treacherous role of Stalinism today? Without batting an eyelash, the young Stalinists admit that their program is the same as the young fascists! In such a demagogic competition, it is the fascists, of course, who will win out in the end—unless, the youth can be rallied to the only banner which can save humanity—the banner of revolutionary Marxism—the Fourth International.

Purge in U. S. S. R. Hits Youth

(Continued from page 3)

Leading Staff Accused

The official explanation for the ability of these "scoundrels" to permeate the apparatus and carry on this work is of a piece with the charges themselves. The entire leading staff of the youth, with Kossarev at the head, is accused of fostering moral degeneration, engaging in drinking bouts instead of exercising "vigilance". This enabled the "scum" to carry on its destructive work unhindered.

Who are the leaders in the Central Committee of the Komsomol whose heads are now in the noose of the G.P.U. executioners? First, there is Kossarev himself whose fate is still unknown. His post of General Secretary denotes the extent of confidence placed in him by the ruling clique. He has held that post for years. Thus we find him not only directing the destruction of Komsomol as a political organization at the Tenth Congress in 1936 but also obediently executing the directives of the bureaucracy at the Ninth Congress in 1931, and for several years before that. We find him not only writing extensive articles on the "Soviet Youth and the Stalin Constitution" a few weeks before he himself came under fire but together with other members of the Central Committee directing the greatest purge in Komsomol history. It should be borne in mind that for months now hundreds of youth editors, organizers, functionaries, in short the entire youth apparatus in the country was being purged from top to bottom.

As for the other names mentioned, each one of them has considerable standing in the Stalinist bureaucracy. They were all the obedient and unwavering

tools of the ruling clique. Lukin, for example, was elected to the Central Committee in 1931 (Ninth Congress); he had previously occupied the key post of secretary of the Moscow Komsomol; Saltanov was not only one of the heads of the Leninograd organization but on the Central Committee in 1931. Bubekin assumed the post of editor of *Kommosolskya Pravda* shortly after the Ninth Congress, having been on the editorial staff for years before that. In other words these "enemies of the people" belong to the generation of youth that followed the Stalinist leadership unquestioningly not only in the struggle against the Left Opposition but also against the Bukharinists. It was they who were left in charge of the Youth in the 5 year period be-

Newark Yipsels Concentrate on Industrial Work

In two years the YPSL of Newark has tripled in size and has been transformed from a confused centrist debating society to a revolutionary organization with roots in the working class movement.

The finest Newark industrial work has been in the Mergott strike of SWOC, and in the Perth Amboy Smelter & Refinery Union. The Mergott strike involved 600 workers, largely young and unskilled. In the course of a ten weeks strike the Yipsels in charge gave the workers a thorough education in class struggle unionism, organized a progressive group, which smashed a group of red baiters in the union, and won most of the union offices, and began recruiting into the party. The possibilities for recruiting in this local are limitless. The situation in Perth Amboy is slightly different. Here, al-

though there is a good union leadership, the rank and file is not as developed. At American Smelting and Refining, with 1500 workers, a sit down strike was won in two weeks. At no time, however, were more than 1000 workers pro CIO, and at one point there were only 25 men sitting in the plant. As a strong leadership is developing, this situation is improving. The leading figure in the strike has been recruited, and other militant workers are ready to join.

In both of these plants, union paper are being put out with a class struggle editorial policy. Other industrial work has also been fruitful. In the Worthington Gammon Meter lodge of SWOC with 200 members, four officers are ready to join the party. At Irvington Smelting & Refining, with 150 members, there are many anti-fascist Spaniards, and a leader of the beat is joining the party. At present there are possibilities in a strike at Essex County, where most of the work-

ers are militant negroes.

The Yipsel group in the Retail Clerks Union includes two leaders of the local, whose policies have triumphed after a six month fight with the president and organizer, an Old Guard Socialist.

There are 22 Yipsels in the WAA. Their work has resulted in the Lenin Branch of the party consisting of people recruited out of the Alliance units.

Our main source of recruiting into the YPSL itself has been the ASU. Every chapter in Essex County is YPSL led. In Essex Junior College all but two independents were recruited into the YPSL. At the present time there is every prospect for continued recruiting in the colleges.

Work in the YCL is beginning to produce results. One former YCLer has been recruited, and two more are almost ready to join. With the first steps completed the Newark YPSL looks forward confidently to the building of a mass revolutionary youth league in this country.

between 1931 and 1938; it was they who executed the turn at the Tenth Congress (1936). How great must be the discontent in the country, among the youth in particular, and how frantic the fear of the bureaucracy, if the ruling clique feels that it cannot trust even such people!

arev said: "There is an insoluble tie of steel between the fighters of the young generation and those of the old generation" (*Pravda*, July 2, 1930).

The vise of steel in which Stalin strangled the old generation of Bolshevik fighters is now tightening its mortal grip on the youth. In the fact that the bureaucracy now finds one of its staunchest props unreliable and is compelled to renovate its apparatus of repression at so crucial a juncture is one of the most unmistakable signs of the beginning of the end of Stalinism. From out of the cadres of the Soviet youth must come the leaders of resurgent Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union. That is why the repression is so ruthless and deep-going.

J. G. W.

One Thousand Strong, We March Ahead

The drum beat and rifle crack of imperialist war sounds louder than the tramp of our thousand young militants. Louder too is the echo of boss patriotism sounded by Stalinism and its stooges. The noise, the clatter made by every agent of deception and treason within or near the working class is ever more blatant and tinny. The cackle of these traitors is more persistent as the moment nears when they will have to shoo the young workers and students of this country into the goose step of military discipline.

Compared with the mighty colossus of capitalism, compared even with the puffed up "titans" of the Communist Party, Young Communist League, American Youth Congress, our force of 1000 appears small. Small, yes—for the present. But a FORCE nevertheless. We are not simply Davids challenging a Goliath. Truly, the advantage is with us. Like soldiers firing a machine gun, we have in our hands a weapon that gives each of us the strength of one hundred. Our fists carry a dynamo of power—the revolutionary idea. That power with which Marx and Engels cast a spectre of communism over the whole of Europe, which, wielded by Lenin and Trotsky, made the walls of old Russia crumble, is ours.

No force on earth can stand up against a revolutionary program, and the will and courage to fight for it. Armed with such a program, our band of thinking, courageous militants is more than a match for the overgrown cretins which Stalinism and Pacifism, like capitalism itself, are. One thousand today, two thousand tomorrow, three thousand the next day—this same program, backed by intensive activity in the class struggle, will nurture us, and build us. By the test of our activity, will our FORCE of 1000 gather recruits, as we march in red columns towards a mighty League of revolutionary youth.

For a Party of Revolution

The work we do as a Young Peoples' Socialist League does not have as its only aim the building of a youth organization. Recruiting into our ranks young workers and students who are willing to join us in the day to day fight against capitalism, we seek to educate them, train them to the end that they will become understanding fighters for Socialism.

Time and time again history has demonstrated that without a PARTY of the working class, of which the youth League is but a section, the proletariat cannot make any decisive and lasting gains. In Germany, the absence of a revolutionary party meant Hitler; in Spain it means a Negrin regime instead of a proletarian rule which would sweep Franco and his allies into the sea. Circumstances have led to the organization of a revolutionary youth League prior to the constitution of a revolutionary party. But the forces for such a party are not lacking. Having triumphed with our left wing principles in the YPSL, largely with the aid of our comrades in the Socialist Party, it is now our duty to lock arms more closely with these comrades and pull together for the creation of a REVOLUTIONARY PARTY.

When the centrist, (the neither-here-nor-theres) and the right-wingers unleashed a furious drive against us in the League, it was only the reflection of a general drive against the Left in the Socialist Party. At its last meeting, the N.E.C. of the Party capped its campaign of terror against the Left with a decision to expel willy-nilly all supporters of the *Socialist Appeal*, the left wing publication. At the same time, it endorsed the political program of the Right. Just as in the YPSL a majority of the members stood behind the left wing, so in the Party do the active, militant members stand with the *Appeal*.

The Party revolutionaries have called a rank and file convention. In advance of its meeting, the Young Peoples Socialist League sends comradely greetings, and pledges its support. From the ranks of the YPSL will come members for the PARTY, members steeled in revolutionary education, members ready to sacrifice for Socialism.

The Purge of the Komsomol

In this issue of *The Challenge*, we print a news account of the purge in the *Komsomol*. Stalin's determination to root out all real and possible elements of dissent, having struck down the old Bolshevik leaders, now reaches down to the youth. Consider the enormity, and the significance, of it. Those against whom Stalin now points his murderer's finger, were all of them brought up under Stalinism. Their minds were never "adulterated" with the teachings of Lenin and Trotsky. Some of them, the leaders, were specially trained in the corruption of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Notwithstanding, Stalin senses the restless spark of dissatisfaction, the desire for freedom that smolders within the youth. It does not suffice to persecute the leaders who were responsible for guaranteeing the loyalty of the youth, but it is necessary to repress, in the mad and ruthless manner that Stalin's, every youth who may dare to think for himself.

To think for yourself—that is the greatest of crimes! Stalin demands unquestioning obedience. Not long ago, the *Komsomol* were deprived of all political functions. The *Komsomol* were completely divorced from "politics"; their "communist" job—to become experts in sports and parachute jumping.

How different from the spirit of communism! One of the first victories of the Revolution was to liberate Russian youth from the restrictions of the Czarist world. New avenues of education were opened. Their minds were encouraged to investigate everything. They were impressed with the obligation of becoming *thinking* comrades in a Socialist society. In that scheme of things, the *Komsomol* were to play an important role.

Not so with Stalin. To think might be to disagree. Precisely. But the processes of thought cannot be stifled as easily as broken bodies. Restless, curious, anxious to seek freedom, thousands of young Russians begin to complain, secretly ponder about the meaning of Socialism, question, look for channels of expression. Some, perhaps, misdirected under the regime of repression, fall into the hands of foreign enemies of Socialism. For these Stalin is alone to blame.

Once begun, Stalin cannot stop his juggernaut of murder. Zinoviev, Radek, Kamenev—the scores of murdered revolutionary leaders—were not in active opposition to Stalin. But in them had lived the spark of Revolution. Destroyed in these men, it may take fire in the hearts of workers who fought on Russia's barricades, in the enquiring minds of youth Russians too young to fight in 1917.

By unleashing terror and fear, Stalin's tries frantically to conceal his betrayal of Socialist principles, his treason committed against the workers of the world, as also the deficiencies and inequalities of the Soviet's economic life. There remain, however, stalwarts who cannot be frightened or terrorized. Some may be in jail, some in prison—others murdered. Yet they will find the means to organize against the dictatorship of Stalin, and for the restoration of a true working class government. Stalin's living fear is that!

Delegates Hold Spirited Session

(Continued from page 2)

By unanimous vote of the convention, Ernest Erber of Chicago was re-elected National Chairman. The new National Executive Committee was voted by acclamation to stand as follows: Frank Demby, Hal Draper, Eleanor Fine, Manny Garrett, Anne Kracik, Oscar Shoenfeld, (New York); Yetta Barsh, Irving Bern, Nathan Gould (Chicago); Paula Aragon, Frank Ricco, Howard Rosen, Ray Sparrow (Calif.); Tarmo Hannula (Mass.); Al Lowenthal (Newark); Bob Stiler (Ohio); Alex Wollod (Phila.) The alternates are: Ben Alexander (Upstate N. Y.); Bill Brody (Minn.); Irving Howe (New York); Fred Martinez (Calif.); Saul Mendelson (Newark); Paul Picquet (Chicago);

Les Reid (Youngstown, Ohio).

The national officers will be, in addition to National Chairman Erber: National Secretary—Hal Draper; National Organizer—Nate Gould, Editor of the official organ of the League—Manny Garrett; National Student Director—Anne Kracik; Educational Director—Frank Demby. A National Bureau of seven was set up in New York City, the new national headquarters, consisting of: Erber, Draper, Gould, Garrett, Kracik, Demby, plus a representative of the party.

The National Office of the League have been established at 116 University Place, New York City.

ELEANORA DEREN

Youth Page in "Socialist Appeal"

By agreement with the editorial board of the *Socialist Appeal*, it has been decided to devote a page to youths news. Comrades are invited to submit articles and news stories for the *Appeal* youth page as well as for the *Challenge*.

From Our Mail Bag

Dear comrades:

The growth of the Massachusetts Y.P.S.L. in the past year, although it does not show an amazing increase in membership, does however represent a most encouraging and stimulating orientation to the masses of youth. Coming out of the last state convention with a crying need for a mass base, we expended our forces upon the Y's, the settlement houses, A.Y.C., and other youth clubs and groups in accordance with our national policy. Not minimizing the importance of reaching young people by these means, we did nevertheless realize the shortcomings involved. The need of a healthy revolutionary movement based upon and fostered by the American labor movement as represented by the restless industrial strength of the young American workers was apparent to us all. Our duty, our job, was plain.

The wave of industrial organization and strikes that broke in New England came in time for us to take the fullest possible advantage of it. The Maine shoe strike involving some 6,000 workers afforded the opportunity for a comrade to become an organizer in that field with the C.I.O. More of our comrades plunged eagerly into the efforts of the meat and market workers of Boston to better their sweatshop conditions. Other comrades, directly involved in the auto industry, actively initiated and established the first local of the automobile workers in Boston.

More of our comrades utilized a weak and unorganized strike of 300 young workers in the radio industry to build and firmly establish this union which forced recognition from the bosses. During the same period of time and following the New York convention of the Office and Professional workers, the split occurred in the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union in Massachusetts with our comrades leading the fight for a stronger union.

The food workers of Lynn were mobilized by our comrades and are now preparing the ground for recognition by the bosses. Again in Lynn, young workers, rebelling at sweatshop conditions in a spring plant were organized by our comrades and are now negotiating for a contract with the boss. The steel organizing drive of the C.I.O. drew many of our comrades into active work in that field. After strikes involving hundreds of young steel workers in the Worcester area, we find our comrades solidly entrenched in the responsible ranks of these young industrial workers.

Industry after industry, strike after strike, found our ideas and interpretations gaining in influence, laying a firm basis for recruitment. The A.Y.C. with all its liberal garb and lofty sympathy for labor only proved to us its utter servility and destitution by passing a motion once to aid a picket line; only Yipsels answered the call on the line! And the Stalinists, with their peace policy took part in all this by leading the A.Y.C. (with its nine real members) and the Emergency Peace Council on "peace picnics" or "moonlight sails."

The growth of the Massachusetts Y.P.S.L. is guaranteed, but guaranteed only because of the application of a class-struggle policy.

Comradely yours

AUGUST MASON.