

CLARITY
AND
ACTION

Young Spartacus

WORKERS
OF THE WORLD,
UNITE!

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Japan Presses For Colonization of China

The situation in the Far East is by no means abated. Japan announces the dispatchment of more troops and armaments to Shanghai to fortify her gains there, upon the excuse that the Chinese are threatening to return to the city. In the seizure of Manchuria she is faced with a number of difficulties. Constant attacks of Chinese bands act as a drain upon her armies and supplies. In order to maintain what victories she has gained Japan is forced to continually call upon reserves. The war maneuvers demand constant successes in order to keep the Japanese masses in a resigned state. Otherwise, suffering already heavy burdens because of the war, they would react immediately to adventures that result in defeats.

Japan was forced to initiate the present campaign in China in an effort to colonize it. Capitalism in Japan experiences the effects of the world crisis and is attempting to break through it by opening up the huge Chinese markets. She already has over one billion dollars invested there. The defeat of the Chinese revolution (1925-27) has made possible the seizure of Manchuria. But in the seizure of Manchuria and the drive upon Shanghai, Japan encounters the problem of her relations to the other

powers. She makes known that her seizure of Manchuria will not invalidate the "open door" policy—she cannot afford to immediately come in conflict with her strongest competitor and antagonist, the United States.

The Antagonisms Among the Imperialist Powers

The question of allies in the struggle is by no means settled. All of them are agreed on one thing—maintain the solid front against the Soviet Union. But, hampered by the crisis in their own countries, failing to agree amongst themselves, watching carefully the developments in Germany, the imperialists have thus far come to no agreement on the question. In addition Japan's control of China runs counter to the interests of American capitalism. There must be a settlement here first.

In the present situation which is marking time, the Communists above everyone ought to be clear. In carrying out the struggle against the war situation in the Far East it is necessary to bear in mind the role of one's own imperialism. When the official Communist Party in this country issues as one of its slogans in its campaign, to demand of our own imperialist government to "drive the Japanese diplomats from the country", it spreads fatal illusions with regard to the pacifist character of American imperialism, and assumes the role of jingoists clamoring for war. Such an act is a declaration of war and when the Communists issue such a slogan they act not as revolutionary internationalists but as national patriots. The attempt to palm off America's role in the Chinese situation as a peaceful one is to lose sight of her diplomatic game and her intense antagonisms with Japan.

The Role of the Pacifists

The pacifists likewise in leading the howl for an economic boycott of Japan, signify their acceptance of Stimson's "pacifist" notes, and America's "attempt to establish peace". That too, is a war instrument carrying with it equally murderous results as direct guns and gases. But then little else can be expected from the pacifists who always rise to the defense of war when it breaks out. The Communists however, must take the lead in fighting this war situation. It must call upon the working class, the young workers and students to rally in protest. Thus far little or no movements are in existence to carry out this task. The

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Results of the German Elections

The presidential elections held on Sunday, March 13th have in no way solved the acute contradictions which are pounding within the boiler of the German nation. Only the explosion of civil war will determine how the crisis will be settled: either the victory of the revolutionary proletariat or the victory of black reaction—Fascism. For the scientific Marxist the electoral manometer indicates no final decision but a means of adjusting the strategical line in accordance with the readings. It is only in this sense that the results of the elections can have any value for the Communist. And in this sense the German elections constitute a great danger signal for all Communists—and an ignominious defeat for Stalinism.

The capitalist press has hailed the large vote for Hindenburg as more testimony to the stable, conservative, and sensible nature of the German people, who refuse to be lured into wild adventures. That the elections inaugurate an era of peaceful development, the solution of the crisis through democratic means, and the dwindling of the Hitler forces, is a delusion the bourgeoisie would like to accept as a reality, for they know very well that a Fascist coup d'Etat means inevitable civil war and in such a struggle it is no foregone conclusion that Fascism will emerge on top. With apprehension they see the spectre of Communism rising out of the struggle—to power.

Fascists Make Gains

While Hindenburg polled 18,661,736 votes, very close to a majority. Hitler polled 11,328,571 votes, increasing by 5,000,000 the 6,400,000 received in the Reichstag elections of 1930. Certainly this cannot be represented as a defeat for the Fascists, but on the contrary a great gain. The Nazis cannot hope to continue to grow uninterruptedly and win a majority of the votes, for their social reservoir is practically drained

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Auto Workers Murdered

Ford Police Shoot into Jobless Demonstration - Kill Youth

Henry Ford will be long remembered by the American workers as the individual responsible for the Bloody Monday, March 7th, 1932. On that day several thousands of workers of Detroit were peacefully demonstrating for unemployment insurance and immediate relief. A large section of the demonstrators were former employees of the Ford plant at Dearborn (on the outskirts of Detroit) who had produced so many cars that they were no longer needed.

The workers had received a permit to demonstrate in Detroit. The participants were told by their leaders, of the Unemployed Council, to avoid being provoked into disorder, to maintain proletarian discipline. The demonstrators wanted to present their demands to the officials of Dearborn, which is controlled bag and baggage by Henry Ford, with a relative of his acting as nominal mayor.

As the workers crossed the border line of Detroit into Dearborn, the local police of the latter city and Ford's private police (the distinction is a flimsy technical one) threw tear-gas bombs, and then began an open fire. Over a thousand dollars of tear-gas bombs were used. A machine gun was held in readiness for use.

The workers resisted the outrageous attempts of the official and unofficial thugs by throwing rocks and other things on hand. Four of the workers were murdered: killed by the bullets ordered and paid by Henry Ford. The workers who had joined for Ford were given their reward for their work.

Three of the comrades murdered were members of the Young Communist League. Joe York, one of these brave warriors who fought and died for the emancipation of his class, was the district organizer of the Young Communist League in Detroit.

The workers of Detroit are showing that they are beginning to understand the lessons of Bloody Monday. Thirty thousand of them participated in the funeral demonstration in which they displayed their solidarity with those who fought against unemployment and the wage system which breeds it.

The workers, young and adult, should also draw the lessons from these events. We should understand that the bosses

will resort to any measures, arrests, imprisonments, deportations, beatings, murders, to stop the workers' resistance to the worsening of their conditions. The most courageous, the clearest-headed, the most militant, are the first to experience this attack. But not they alone. All workers who show signs of resistance, organize, struggle even for the smallest demand, will be victims of the bosses' murderous onslaught.

The workers, the working youth should join into their class organizations, the trade unions, the unemployed councils, the Young Communist League. The more advanced among them should join the Communist Party, the revolutionary leader of the working class.

The Communist, in the party or the Young Communist League should struggle for the unity of our ranks; a thorough discussion of the strategical and tactical questions which divide the movement today. In this way, the vanguard of our class will be assured of correct policies in the class struggle, effective organization of the masses, and take a big step in the winning of them for Communism.

Students Barred From Kentucky

The National College Committee has been refused admission to Kentucky. The committee, a delegation of students and teachers sponsored by the National Student League, arrived at Kentucky in two groups—one on March 25, one the following day. For several days prior to the arrival of the students, who were coming to conduct an economic survey of conditions among the miners and aid in the distribution of relief, Bell County papers warned the students with advice to stay out.

The first group to arrive was met in Tennessee by county attorney Walter B. Smith, a company attorney, Mr. Paterson, and their sheriffs. Mr. Smith labelled the committee Communist, demanded \$1,000 peace bond for each delegate, questioned them as to their political and religious beliefs, bundled them into the cars and turned their machines back to wards Knoxville.

The second group, using a different route, managed to break through the sheriffs' lines, and proceeded several miles into Kentucky. However they too were turned back by the ever-faithful county attorney—faithful to the coal operators.

Unable to enter the mine regions of Kentucky, the delegation decided to skirt that area, and go to Frankfort. There they attempted to see the governor of the state—which bore no results. From what could be learned at the time of this writing the committee is on its way to Washington. In Washington they will demand of the Senate a congressional investigation of conditions in Harlan and the other mine sections of Kentucky.

The Spartacus Youth Club at its meeting of March 27, decided to send the following telegram to Governor Ruby Lafon of Kentucky:

Protests action of Pineville officials in refusing student delegation admission.

The decision was carried out immediately after the meeting.

Framed Marine Workers Stand Trial

Over five months have passed since the New York police acting for the barge owners of the city, swooped down upon the offices of the Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union and arrested three of its leaders, charging them with attempting to dynamite the boats in the harbor. Beaten in a most beastly manner in attempting to wring "confessions" from them, the three defendants, Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer, the last a young worker barely twenty-one, held out courageously despite all the police brutality. Charged with a crime they did not commit, they are nevertheless being held behind the stone walls of the capitalist prisons. Guilty of a crime—yes, the crime of attempting to organize the boatmen of the harbor, guilty of the crime of being class conscious—the capitalist class

is attempting to send them to prison for forty years.

Frame up—this should be the cry of the militant workers. All the elements so common in the history of the American working class victims are making themselves noticeable here too. "Confessions" by one stool pigeon involving all the defendants, testimony of mental and physical degenerates, spitting away of witnesses—these are the things the Marine Workers Defense Committee, the committee in charge of their defense, is faced with. Only the united power of the working class can save its individual members from the claws of the capitalist police agents. All workers should help the defense committee. Funds are badly needed. Send all contributions to the Marine Workers Defense Committee, 82 East 10th St., N. Y. C.

Scottsboro Boys Condemned to Death Students Organize National Movement

Capitalist class justice spoke once more! The Alabama Supreme Court on March 24th. upheld the sentence of the legal lynching against the young negro boys framed up on the charge of "rape" at Scottsboro.

The boys were arrested on March 25, 1931, following a fight with some white boys in a freight car. When it was discovered that two of the white boys were girls clad in boy's clothes, the rape charge originated. The two prostitutes, denied that they were raped and only under pressure of the prosecuting attorneys advanced this charge. A speedy trial held in a lynching atmosphere in which too, racial prejudice was played to the highest by the white "gentlemen" of the South, a death sentence was pronounced by the Scottsboro court. Scheduled to die on July 10th, of last year they were saved from immediate death by the nation and world-wide protest of the workers.

And now, the state supreme court announced its vengeance. They endorsed the death verdict. Execution is to take place on May 13th. The trial, exhibiting the hatred of the white ruling class toward the negro, the attempt to stir up the white workers against them, was at the same time an expression of the impending class conflict in the "peaceful" south. In its political character the Scottsboro case is in no ways different than the persecution and prosecution of political class war prisoners preceding it. It is an extension of the brutality of the capitalist class as witnessed in the imprisonment of Tom Mooney, the incarceration of the Centralia Prisoners, the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, and a host of others. The fact that the supreme court orders a retrial for Roy Wright the eighth of the Scottsboro boys because of his extreme youth, in no

way mitigates the fact that they include him also in the wholesale execution.

Fight For Their Freedom Imperative

At present appeals are being made to the United States Supreme Court. That should not mean that the work of protest and fight against the decision should cease or even weaken. On the contrary! It is necessary that even wider masses must be drawn into this struggle. Wherever movements are not in existence against this legalized lynch they must be immediately formed. Those in existence now must be broadened to include a wider strata of workers. These movements must include at the same time a fight against the sentencing of other class war prisoners. We must not forget the three New York marine workers, Bunker, Trajer and Soderberg, framed on a trumped up charge of dynamite. Nor must we forget the drive made by the State of Pennsylvania against the revolutionary workers under the guise of the vicious criminal syndicalist law. Already the Pennsylvania Supreme Court upheld the two year sentence on this charge against Lazar. Our own comrades Morgenstern and Goodman are today serving time for the same reason. In Detroit and Chicago frameup charges are being prepared against the unemployed demonstrators. All of these cases demand the organization of the widest struggle against the persecution drive of the ruling class.

In these cases it is significant that young workers predominate. It is a proof of the fighting possibilities of the youth and the role that they are capable of playing in the class struggle. We must show our solidarity with them not only in words, but in deed. Young workers join in the protest and fight against the vicious persecution of our fighting comrades. —A. G.

Unit Organizer Expelled in Chicago Y.C.L.

In the Chicago district of the Young Communist League, a new organizer has been appointed. Kling who had so distinguished himself by his vicious factionalism during his stay, was removed and a new Stalinist prodigy was coronated—Ben Gray, equally distinguished for his supreme servility and extreme stupidity. This newly appointed district organizer started off his reign with a bang. He suddenly pounced on the comrades who had together with the three recently expelled league members in Chicago, fought against bureaucracy during the last convention period, and demanded that they renounce their stand of six months ago. Particularly did the Y. C. L. bureaucrats press comrade Phil Sold for a retraction.

This comrade's reply was that he would not renounce his stand since he was convinced of its correctness. He was then asked to condemn "Trotskyism". This too, he refused to do, since he had not made a study of the question. Whereupon the league secretariat summarily expelled him.

Now it must be noted that comrade Sold at the time of his expulsion was a unit organizer—in the full sense of the word—having been responsible for organizing and maintaining a unit in a Negro neighborhood. His record of activity was unblemished. His exclusion from the unit would greatly weaken it. But all of these considerations had no weight with the two by four bureaucrats. They expelled Sold, and when he came to his unit meeting to defend himself, he was physically ejected. An excellent lesson in democratic centralism.

We wish to congratulate comrade Sold for his courageous stand. The fear manifested by the little Stalinites, of having any young Communist study the literature of the Left Opposition should only stimulate the studying of it all the more seriously. The other comrades who are being hounded, we hope, will

eventually follow the example of standing up and fighting for their convictions and develop into real Bolsheviks, and not melt away before the bureaucrats' threats—capitulate and become spineless yes-men.

—NORMAN SATIR.

Lewis Union Ignores Young Miners

The recent conventions of the United Mine Workers of America, hogtied by the corrupted Lewis—A. F. of L. bureaucracy, has shown encouraging signs of a healthy miners movement, led mainly by young coal miners. At the International Convention of the union recently held in Indianapolis over two hundred delegates were young miners, representing local unions. These youths compose the leadership of various local unions and that is why the membership sent them to the convention.

All the way through the conclave the young miners stirred the meet with stinging, courageous denunciations of the betrayals of Lewis and his machine. On the resolution favoring recognition of the Soviet Union it was the young miners that took up the cause. Again on the demand that Lewis and his crowd resign, it was the young miners that peppered away at the fakers. The morale of the young miners, in spite of repeated defeat at the mercy of a packed convention, was of the highest nature, determined to take the fight back to the membership in the mines.

At the recent district convention of the Illinois union, meeting to discuss and present scale demands the young miners again played a prominent role. The discrimination of wages on trappers, couplers and sulphur pickers, jobs of hazardous character mostly held by young miners, was done away with by a sharp fight. The young miners presented a motion demanding equal pay and furthermore that the term "boys" used as a discriminatory medium by the mine bosses in contractual formulations,

Since the advent of the crisis, and with its constant intensification, there has been aroused in the student an interest in social problems entirely at variance with his former indifference. However, there was no organization to gather and direct this interest into revolutionary channels until last September. At that time the New York Students League was organized by a group of Communist college students. There has been, it is true, in existence for a number of years the socialist-controlled League for Industrial Democracy which, though not purely a student organization (Norman Thomas for example, is one of the directors) draws the bulk of its membership from the students. But what was necessary was a militant organization, orientated around a correct revolutionary policy, that would go after these awakening students—to build the student movement so long lacking in the United States. And this the L. I. D. with its social-reformist chatter was not.

If the N. Y. S. L. could not show in its first months, positive organizational results, it was due in a large measure to an incorrect program. The latter concealed with meaningless phrases the purpose of the League, e. g., "to make students conscious of their intellectual obligations" (Vol. 1, No. 1 of the Student Review), and led to an entire misconception of the manner in which the League was to work. Following criticism the original program was dropped, and a temporary program drawn up. The final form is to be drafted at a National Conference to be held during the week of March 27.

The proposed program in its general character is as it should be. It definitely unites the struggles of the students with those of the working class. It proposes "to participate in all the struggles of the working class", and farther down, to prosecute an unending fight for academic freedom". (Vol. I, No. 2, Student Review). This is good—but the same program lays itself open to ridicule by demanding twenty-five dollars a week unemployment insurance for students graduating or leaving college who cannot find jobs. The other weaknesses in the program are such that can only be rectified by the Conference in working out the organizational details and plan of action of the National Students League when connections are established with students in colleges of other states.

The program, whatever the final form, can only be effective if through and around it the membership is drawn into activities. The Student Review, of which two issues have appeared at this writing, a third on the press, and symposiums, propagate the ideals of the N. S. L. and serve to attract the students—but activities are necessary to weld them to the organization. To date the N. S. L. has: participated in several C. P. demonstrations; held tag-days in some colleges for miner's relief; held three well-attended symposiums on Manchuria, War, and the Student and the Social Order; issued the Student Review; aided the Industrial Union in the Dress Strike; arranged the showing of two Soviet motion pictures—proceeds to go to the W. I. R.

These activities were alright in themselves—but, except for the symposium, no students as such were involved. They were not sufficiently linked with the problems of the student—little work was carried on in the schools. The above-mentioned activities were carried out by individual members of the Student Council, a sort of sub-executive committee consisting of delegates from college clubs. At present however, the N. S. L. is organizing its first broad campaign. It

be absolutely done away with. This was adopted by an overwhelming vote. It is the first time in the history of the United Mine Workers of America that the youth finally won a victory on a decisive question involving the same rate of wages and hours.

—GERMINAL.

is initiating a wide movement against war.

With the proper organizational methods and activities the N. S. L. can go far. The National Conference has many problems to take up besides the wording of a program:—how many students who are not members of college clubs be members of the N. S. L.; how are these to be drawn into work; how are the problems of the students in the different colleges to be coordinated; how is it to combine its activities in New York with other states; how is the N. S. L. to act in relation to the individual struggles of its college groups—what are its methods to be in fighting an issue pertaining to a single college; what are the plans of its activities to be in the near future; what are its rallying slogans; what aid is it to give in the struggles of the proletariat. These problems and many more must be answered. There is a fertile ground for work. Despite its errors and failings the N. S. L. has made a good beginning. The greatest danger lies in narrow sectarianism. And this the Y. C. L. members who comprise the majority of the Student Council should bear in mind. —M.

S. Y. C. Arranges Debates

Since the election of its new executive, the Spartacus Youth Club has already begun to act upon the program of activities outlines. The class in the A B C of Communism held its first session last Sunday at 84 E. 10th St., with the group of comrades present beginning a serious study of the questions of Communism. Registration is still open and those who want to join the class can yet do so by communicating with George Ray at the above address.

Two debates have already been arranged. The first will be between the Spartacus Youth Club and the Young Peoples Socialist League, on May 6, at the Labor Temple on 14th St. The speakers for the Spartacus Youth Club will be George Ray and Al Glotzer. For the Y. P. S. L., Aaron Levenson and Gus Tyler. The second debate is with the Anarchist Youth Group, "Vanguard", and will be held on May 22, at the Anarchist main hall. The speakers and other arrangements will be announced later. Meanwhile all those who want tickets for the debate with the Y. P. S. L. can obtain them at 84 E. 10th St.

War in China

(Continued from page One)

conferences called by the Young Communist League must be broadened everywhere. Where no conferences have been held steps should be taken to initiate them.

The workers everywhere should be aroused to participate in the movement against the present war situation. We must bear in mind the constant danger to the Soviet Union—the situation in Germany is closely linked to events in the Far East. If reaction is victorious there the plans for a concerted attack against the U. S. S. R. on two fronts will begin. The treacherous role of American imperialism must be exposed. War is on the horizon. The revolutionaries must prepare now to resist it and organize the proletariat in opposition to it. Great tasks fall upon the shoulders of the young Communists. They must play a leading role in rallying the masses of young workers and students in the fight.

—AL GLOTZER.

"A Communist who would dream of boasting of his Communism on the basis of the ready-made conclusions taught to him, without performing the most serious, the most difficult and persistent work, without understanding the facts of which he should be extremely critical, would be a miserable Communist indeed." —LENIN

In Defense of Theft - by JEAN PAUL MARAT

(Translated by Karl Lahr. This speech was delivered by the great French revolutionist, Jean Paul Marat, in 1783 before the judges of the revolutionary tribunal, in defense of a man who had been driven by hunger to steal. Marat's eloquence disconcerted the judges and secured the prisoner's release.) * * *

"Citizens,—if society claims the right to condemn a man, then she is bound to offer, and to guarantee to him, a human existence. If she merely handicaps him, and compels him to experience cruel misery, until he forcibly divorces himself from her, he only takes the rights which are withheld from him without reason."

'Citizen Marat,' interrupts the President, angrily, 'so you are attempting to justify theft and crime!'

"I justify nothing. But I assert, that in your unjust society you lack every justifying basis on which to condemn crime. For society, in the interests of its own existence, to be able to command the respect of the single units for the common order, she has, first of all, to satisfy the needs of all. But what has been the lot of the common people, hitherto?"

"They saw in the State a class of happy people whose life was full of gaiety, whilst they, the people, suffered. The former had plenty; the latter nothing. Nay, toil, danger, exploitation, hunger, sneers, and insults—that was their terrible fate."

"Yes: I shout it in your presence. Always it has been the ruling class which drove the poor to despair by withholding from them the means of life."

"The worker depends on the chance of a job. If he cannot pay the taxes which are put on him, they even take away the straw on which he lies."

"He is reduced to begging. Disgusted with the heartlessness of the rich, and everywhere refused help he becomes desperate when he hears his children crying for bread."

"Allow me to address you in the name of my client:—Am I guilty? I do not know. But what I do know, that I did only what I had to do. The instinct of self-preservation is the first duty of man. You yourselves know no greater duty. Whoever steals in order to live, when he is denied the right of making a living otherwise, does nothing else than exercise his natural rights."

"You accuse me of having violated law and order. What matters this alleged law and order to me, to whom it has only been disastrous? You—who have gained by its operations, rule over innumerable unfortunates—may preach upon subjection to "law and order". Respect "law and order", for they gain you a comfortable existence. But I, shall I recognize your laws, I who have been crushed by them. Do not tell me that all members of society benefit by them, when the opposite clearly is discernible."

"Compare your lot with ours. Whilst you live in peace and luxury, in the midst of plenty, we are exposed to heat and cold, slavery and hunger. In order to satisfy your craving for enjoyment, it is not sufficient that we work the soil with the sweat of our brow. We have to wet it with our tears as well. What have you done to warrant your living luxuriously at our cost? However unfortunate our lot, if only there were an end to our suffering! There is none. The fate of the poor is decreed irrevocably. Misery is the eternal lot of our class."

"Who does not know the advantages wealth gives to those who possess it? One requires no talents, no merits, no virtue. Everything is subject to one's wishes. To the rich belong all privileges. In their defense are constructed the fleets. Control of the army, administration of public income, the right to plunder the State—all privileges are theirs."

"One must have money in order to accumulate money. Otherwise there is

no possibility of doing so. Then the form of employment marks the difference of classes. The better occupations, like art, etc., are reserved to the wealthy. Whilst to us, the poor, are left the dangerous and unhealthy ones. Everywhere we are neglected and repulsed, whilst those are supported who need no support."

"You will say: Do some work. That is said easily. Did I have a chance to get work? Thoroughly impoverished by competition of a wealthy competitor; I have striven in vain to keep a roof over my head. Entirely broken by illness, nothing was left to me but to keep alive by begging bread. Even this often failed. I slept every night on straw, wrapped in rags, and so exhibited the sad picture of my misery. No soul took pity on me."

"Driven to despair by the heartlessness of man, deprived of everything, and impelled by hunger, under the shelter of night I took by force from a passer-by a trifle which he withheld from me otherwise. Because I made use of my natural right, you would send me to prison. Sentence me—if you think it is necessary to ensure your unjust possessions. In the midst of the unspeakable suffering which I have gone through, my one consolation was to denounce heaven for allowing me to be born amongst you."

Trotsky Deprived of Citizenship by Stalin

The Stalinist bureaucracy has passed a decree depriving comrade Trotsky and three members of his family of Soviet citizenship rights and condemning them to perpetual exile. This act of vengeance is a symptom of the fear of the growing influence of the Left Opposition within the Soviet Union. The position of Stalin and his limited clique is becoming ever more precarious. The truth cannot forever be concealed from the Communist workers. They are beginning to see where the false and bureaucratic policies of Stalin is leading them. Stalin imagines that by his decrees against Trotsky he can change the course of the tide.

In a statement the International Secretariat of the Left Opposition declares: "This decree, born of wrath and impotence, may cause comrade Trotsky and his family personal difficulties. But it will not change the fact, that today just as on October 25, 1917, Trotsky remains, together with Lenin, the founder of the Soviet Republic and the leader of the October revolution: that he was the organizer of the victory of the Red Army and that he is today the outstanding fighter for the proletarian revolution: while Stalin is only the candidate for the post of grave digger of the proletarian dictatorship."

"Nor will this prevent what is inevitable, the downfall of the dictatorship of the degenerated Stalinist clique. This downfall is inevitable. It will not be the preparation for the downfall of the proletarian dictatorship, as the enemy class hopes, but on the contrary, for the regeneration and the bloom of proletarian democracy. It signifies the regeneration of the Comintern. It has become the indispensable premise for the success of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. and for the development of the international revolution." (Militant, 3-26-32)

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BOOK REVIEW

Lenin and the Imperialist War

Socialism and War, by V. Lenin and G. Zinoviev. International Publishers. Little Lenin Library, No. 3, 48 pages.

This pamphlet is popular explanation of the stand of the Marxists on war. As such it is very important to the proletarian youth today, when any morning may bring to our ears the command: "Into uniforms, shoulder guns, and go fight for your masters!" This pamphlet tells the causes of war and what to do with those arms that are given the youth.

"Socialism and War" was written in the summer of 1915. It was reprinted in full by the Norwegian Social Democratic Youth. Translated editions were smuggled in French and German industrial centers by adherents of the Zimmerwald Left and Karl Liebknecht's group. So few copies reached Russia, that the brochure was hand-copied by Moscow workers.

Sparks That Became Flames

Such were the sparks that the betrayers of the working class, those "socialists" who supported their own capitalist class, and conveniently forget their former words of international militant struggle against capitalism, were not able to stamp out. These groups seemed feeble, and in numbers were, but they were strong in correct theory, in Marxism; international and militant. In the end they were victorious over the capitalist class and their "socialist" supporters.

This lesson should be learned by any of us who may get tired and pessimistic at the small number of international Marxists today, and the seemingly unvanquishable array of those opposed to us.

Lenin in the beginning of this pamphlet points out the difference between our attitude and that of the pacifists and anarchists.

"We understand the impossibility of eliminating wars without eliminating classes and creating socialism, and in that we fully recognize the justice, the progressivism and the necessity of civil war, i. e., wars of an oppressed class against the oppressor."

The oppressed class may be chattel slaves, serfs, wage-workers, and in a very limited sense, the bourgeoisie in their progressive struggle against reactionary feudalism. The last does not mean that we give up our class struggle against the bourgeoisie, while supporting their struggle against reaction.

"The war of 1870-71 (Franco-Prussian) was historically progressive on Germany's side up to the defeat of Napoleon III, because both he and the Tsar had long oppressed Germany, keeping it in a state of feudal decentralization. . . . Even at the beginning of the war of 1870-71 Marx and Engels approved of Bebel's and Liebknecht's refusal to vote for military appropriations; they advised the social democrats not to merge with the bourgeoisie (attention, Stalin, Bucharin, Browder and Co.—you who forced the workingclass of China to subordinate itself to the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang—C. C.) but to defend the independent class interests of the proletariat." (My emphasis—C. C.)

A war by India or Ireland against England, China against all the powers that divide and enslave it such as Japan, England, France and United States, of Nicaragua and the Phillipines, etc., against the U. S. would be progressive and be supported by class-conscious workers of both oppressed and oppressor land. These would be the bravest troops in such a war, and could carry this war to the only successful conclusion, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Imperialist War

The war of two or more oppressor nations, both exploiting workers over markets, is an imperialist war. It is a struggle of bandits over loot. The proletariat takes an entirely different stand

in this kind of war.

"The war of 1914-18 was of this character in spite of the hypocrisy of the self-styled socialists who told the workers to go fight for their own capitalist class; who wept copiously, torrentially, over "violated Belgium" or "defense of the fatherland", or "War to end War".

The coming war, with which the atmosphere is charged, will also be an imperialist war, a struggle over division of markets.

To all the oratory of the war-mongers, we answer Lenin's answer: "Defeat our own bourgeoisie", "Turn the imperialist war into civil war", "The main enemy is in our own land".

Social Chauvinism and Opportunism

Lenin then examines that ulcer that was exposed to the open by the war: social chauvinism. He shows that the betrayal was not an accident, but the logical result of the steady stream of revisionism, of participation in bourgeois cabinets, of opportunism. These had ridden high in the saddle and unchecked for forty years and led to the debacle on August 4, 1914, and to the collapse of the Second International at a crucial period.

The trenchant words of Lenin are "social Chauvinism is opportunism brought to completion". Next on the agenda had been placed the creation of the Third International.

Form illegal organization to carry on revolutionary work, fraternization in trenches were the preparatory steps, Lenin advised, in order to "turn the imperialist war into civil war."

The rest of the pamphlet deals with the situation in the Russian movement. Comrade Trotsky, who long ago recognized his mistakes in this connection, was chastised for his hopes of unity with the Mensheviks. The Stalinists can make as much capital as they will out of this part of the pamphlet but the fact remains at the historical moment Trotsky was found by Lenin's side while Stalin was with Tchaidze and Zinoviev with the Mensheviks.

That Lenin was aware of this can be seen from his many revolutionary and post-revolutionary writings and the close and comradely co-operation by these two giants of the revolutionary proletariat.

Defend the Soviet Union

When Lenin wrote this pamphlet the Soviet Union did not exist. Now it exists and prospers and is the center of attraction for all eyes. The proletariat gazes at it with proud eyes, the bourgeoisie hatefully and longingly. Hatefully because it shows the workers of the world that the capitalist parasites are not needed. Longingly because of its rich markets.

They would like to flood the Soviet Union with workers blood. In this war, when it breaks, all class conscious workers stand against our own bourgeoisie, for its defeat, and for the victory of the Soviet Union and proletarian revolution at home.

—CHARLES CURTISS.

Dates in April to be Remembered

April 6, 1919—Bavarian Soviet Republic formed.

April 6, 1917—The United States entered the World War.

April 7, 1917—Emergency National Convention of the American Socialist party.

April 12, 1861—Firing on Fort Sumner by Northern Troop—Opening of the American Civil War

April 19, 1919—French Naval Mutiny in the Black Sea.

April 22, 1922—First Convention of the Young Workers' League of America held.

April 24, 1916—Irish Rebellion in Dublin.

April 27, 1916—Kienthal International Socialist Conference to unite the Socialists against the World War.

Question and Answer Column

Question: What is commodity production?

Answer: In a commodity economy goods are produced not for the personal consumption of the producer but for exchange on the market. The prerequisites for commodity production are private property and the social division of labor. There are two types of commodity systems: simple commodity production and capitalist commodity production. In a simple commodity economy the means of production (tools, simple equipment, land) is the property of the peasant producer or artisan, and of course the product which he makes is his property. In a capitalist commodity economy those who produce the commodities, the workers, have been deprived of all ownership of the means of production which now belong to the capitalists. The goods produced by the workers is the property of the capitalists who disposes of it on the market.

* * * *

Question: What is social Fascism?

Answer: The term social Fascism was invented by the Stalinists in 1929 as a characterization of the social democracy (Socialists) in order to show the similarity of the latter and the Fascists. This designation however is false and has led the Stalinists to blunders and mistakes. It fails to see the differences among the various forces which strive to preserve capitalist society, their different class basis and their different methods. It is true that the social democracy helps prepare the way for Fascism, but this does not mean it is identical with Fascism. The social democracy is based for the most part on workers and lower sections of the petty bourgeoisie and claims to speak in the interests of workers and for socialism. Fascism has its support in the disillusioned middle classes, and the lumpenproletariat. Social democracy fosters the democratic illusions of the workers, defends parliamentary methods and democratic means. Fascism grows when the masses begin to lose their democratic illusions. The victory of Fascism means the destruction not only of the Communist Party but of all working class organizations, including the trade unions and the social democratic parties. Fascism is the extreme Right wing of capitalism while social democracy is its Left wing. By ignoring these distinctions and not adopting corresponding tactics Stalinism fails to win the social democratic workers for Communism, and is unable to prevent a growth of Fascism.

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Correction: In the answer to the question on socialism in No. 4 of **YOUNG SPARTACUS** through a typographical error a number of lines were omitted. In the second paragraph, the first sentence should have read: "The distinguishing features of the future socialist society are as follows: no private property in the means of production and exchange, no classes; large scale production operated according to plan.

Results of the Elections in Germany

(Continued from page One)

The moment is close when the Fascists will strike for power.

Even from a parliamentary standpoint the elections do not signify a victory for the Bruening government. Upon the basis of the present votes the coming Reichstag elections would not yield a majority of deputies for Bruening because the German Peoples Party and the Christian Social Peoples Federation although supporting Hindenburg in the presidential elections, form part of the anti-Bruening bloc in the Reichstag. The government would lack 50 votes for control.

The social-democratic leaders once again revealed their treacherous and anti-working class character by their support of Hindenburg as the "lesser evil". They have supported the Bruening-Hindenburg regime with all its measures aimed at welding more firmly the chains which bind the German workers to the crazy and plunging chariot of capitalism. By their support to the present government with its Emergency Decrees, its policy of wage reductions by cabinet orders, its reduction of unemployment insurance, its abrogation of all elementary working class rights, they prepare the way for Fascism which will replace the dictatorial half-measures by the full measures of black reaction. The social-democratic betrayers succeeded in leading the overwhelming bulk of the social-democratic workers into the camp of support to the Hohenzollern Field Marshal, thanks to the false policies of Stalinism.

The Vote For the Communist Party

What vote did the Communist Party poll in these elections? What is the significance of its vote? Thaelmann, the Communist candidate, received 4,900,000

votes, an increase of only 350,000 votes over that of 1930. The Fascists receive more than double the Communist vote, and gain 5,000,000 new votes. Three hundred and fifty thousand against five million! Such is the proportional tempo of advance of revolution and counter-revolution! The alarm must be sounded: the Stalinists are leading the German Party to a catastrophe!

The **Daily Worker** (editorial 3-16-32) with the most amazing bureaucratic optimism declares that the elections indicate another great step forward in the separation of the working masses from the social democracy. Black is white, night is day, announce these bankrupt individuals, and expect thinking workers to take them seriously. And this separation, they say, is the direct result of the correct leadership of the German Party and the Communist International. Precisely! For this "separation" in which the social-democratic workers "separate" themselves from their social-democratic leaders by voting for Hindenburg the Stalinist leadership is responsible. This "separation" is the price paid by the Stalinist bureaucrats for their false policies, for their failure to apply the united front tactic, for their stupid theories of "social-Fascism."

But it is not yet too late to turn the helm of the Party course. The elections have decided nothing. The outcome will be effected in struggle—in civil war. Fascism must be smashed, or else the working class will suffer a terrific defeat. The Communist Party must unite the whole working class in order to accomplish the destruction of the Fascist menace. For the Communist Party the outstanding lesson of the elections is: return at once to the path of Lenin and Trotsky before it is too late!

—GEORGE RAY.

Capitalism and Child Labor

The beginning and end of the capitalist system spells profits for one class and impoverishment for another. The capitalist stops at nothing to attain his ends. To successfully beat down his competitor, to increase his own wealth, he seeks constantly to lower the cost of production for himself and get the jump on his rivals. This he does in two ways; by increasing the productivity in his factory, and by lowering the costs of those materials which go into the composition of his finished product.

The introduction of machinery, which under capitalism brings no emancipation to the working class, emancipates greater profits to the possessing class. Not only does it increase the productivity in the factory, not only does it change the small workroom into a huge plant, but it carries with it the fulfillment of yet another dream of its owners. By reducing the costs of those goods which the workers purchase, it lays the base for the reduction of wages. The capitalist receives in return for a lowered wage a greater amount of work.

Machinery Opens Way for Child Labor

But, in addition to that, machinery brings to the capitalist another blessing, a curse. By simplifying the processes of labor, it is conducive to child labor.

Things become so easy that "even a child could do them". And what one laborer earned to support his family is now earned by himself, his wife and often his children. The worker's wage becomes sufficient for his own maintenance only. Everybody shifts for himself. It is not by mere accident that in those states of this country where wages are lowest child labor is most predominant. And it is not by mere malice that the parent is often eager to get his children out to work.

To fight this evil parent, the government has made many an attempt to abolish, by decree, child labor, to wipe off the face of this beautiful and liberty-loving nation the shame of enslaved children. The Child Labor Amendment came very near to being passed. Even the existing laws avail us nothing. A glaring example of this is the existence of a child labor law in the state of Alabama which says that no children under the age of fourteen shall be employed except in agriculture, and the existence of 20,109 children between the ages of ten and thirteen who are at present actually employed in that state. (This includes both agriculture and industry.) In the state of North Carolina there is a law which states that no children under fourteen shall be employed "except in cases and regulation prescribed by the commission herein created". This commission permits 19,361 children between the ages of ten and thirteen to work in that state (about 85% in agriculture).

For the working class to steer its course of battle along the lines of getting the government to pass such laws is identical with marking time. In itself, it is not sufficient. The working class must obtain the means of enforcing the restriction of child labor. It must secure the possibility of supporting its own children. The child labor struggle is part of the class struggle itself. With it is linked up the question of higher wages. To this add the slogan of government support of those children now

Spartacan Comments

THE MARCH YOUNG SPARTACUS

A number of the copies of the last issue of the Young Spartacus consisted of eight pages, four printed and four blank. Various explanations have been given (especially in New York) for this unusual occurrence.

Some suggested that the four extra pages were for the readers' comment and criticisms of the issue! Others contended that it was a rebuff to the out-of-town comrades for not writing for the Young Spartacus. Still a third group held that it was a way to get out of the economic crisis—buy now! use more! Or possibly a photostatic copy of the essentials of four pages of the Young Worker! But enough. If we list all the explanations given we would have to use four extra pages!

The true reason was that our "form" had been taken off the printing press, and its contents distributed, before the pressman had completed the job. How ever we hope that before long we will be able (with your financial and literary aid) to put out an eight page **Young Spartacus**.

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OUR QUESTION AND ANSWER COLUMN

Does anyone read the Question and Answer Column of the Young Spartacus? We wonder. In the last issue the answer to the question, "What is Socialism?" was obviously incomplete due to a typographical error and careless proofreading. (See the correction in this week's Column). Yet no letters were received from out-of-town commenting or criticizing it. One or two comrades in New York noticed it—the rest, well, they were as uncritical as the out-of-towners (assuming they read it!).

Young comrades should develop their critical faculties, read each issue and bombard us with criticism and suggestions.

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"RENEGADES" AT Y. C. L.— Y. P. S. L. DEBATE

At the Y. C. L.—Y. P. S. L. debate reported in the last issue of Young Spartacus an amusing incident occurred. A few of our comrades at the debate were seated in front of a number of Socialists. When the members of the Y. C. L. raved, booed and shouted epithets at the Yipsel speakers, our comrades sat quietly. When the Communists spoke our comrades applauded.

Two socialist women were surprised at such unbecoming conduct! How could any one avoid booing and making noise when the Socialists spoke and then applaud the young Communists? For surely these people who act so strangely are Communists. One of the women proudly solved the mystery: "Why, these young people must be Communists for a short time only, for they obviously do not know their Communism yet!"

We suggest that the Young Worker add this as another proof of the degeneration of the Left Opposition and of our being renegades.

—PLEBIAN.

employed, and the struggle will not remain confined to legislative and Congress debates.

The bosses' government will not voluntarily abolish child labor (with state maintenance of those at present employed) for this is equivalent to doing away with cheap labor power, that is, emancipating a section of the working class. The bourgeoisie is capable of passing ineffective laws, but does not even enforce them. The fight against child labor is part of the workers' struggle and only when placed in this position and linked up with other working class demands can success be obtained. The class struggle is the powerful lever which can lead to the overthrow and destruction of the entire system of wage-slavery which breeds such sores.

—REVA CRAINE.

DEBATE

COMMUNISM VS. SOCIALISM

Can the Program of the Socialist Party Emancipate the American Workers?

Yes!

Young Peoples' Socialist League
Aaron Levenson
Gus Tyler

No!

Spartacus Youth Club
George Ray
Albert Glotzer

FRIDAY, MAY 6, 1932 at 8:00 P. M.

at LABOR TEMPLE, 14th St., and Second Avenue

ADMISSION: 20 CENTS

Auspices: Joint Arrangements Committee