

CLARITY
AND
ACTION

Young Spartacus

WORKERS
OF THE WORLD,
UNITE!

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TOM MOONEY PARDON REFUSED **May Day 1932**

After months of patient waiting, the American workingclass finally heard the decision rendered by Governor Rolph of California, on the request for a pardon for Tom Mooney, the militant fighter of the proletariat, who was framed-up fifteen years ago on the charge of bombing the Preparedness Parade in San Francisco. The decision was not unexpected. It reiterated the verdict of the trial: guilty!

We do not deem it necessary at this moment to review in detail the case in order to show that it was a deliberate frame-up against an active fighter in the ranks of the workers, whose hatred for capitalism and the war, put the "fear of God" into the hearts of the traction and railroad kings of California. The trial is history today. Evidence which sentenced Mooney was given by prostitutes, pickpockets and delinquents of all shades. They have all been proven as perjurers. The jurors have signed an affidavit testifying to Mooney's innocence. Even the judge that presided over the trial acknowledges the same. MacDonald, the chief state witness against Mooney has made public his false evidence and exposed the case as a frameup against Mooney because he was a "dangerous agitator". One thing the decision makes clear: the Mooney Case is the vilest frameup in the history of the labor movement of this country.

Both Matt Sullivan and Lewis Byington, who prepared the statement of Governor Rolph are not new to the case. They were known for a long time to be supporters and active workers in the frameup. In addition, it must be borne in mind that Rolph himself was Mayor of San Francisco at the time of the arrest and sentencing of Mooney. He knew then that the whole affair was a frame-up and without doubt was also an active participant. Their statement on the case, shallow as it was, did not attempt to say directly that Mooney was guilty of the crime. It endorsed the trial as a fair one! It spoke of Mooney's and Billing's (Mooney's co-worker and comrade) "radical views", their opposition to the war and the preparedness parade, of their sympathy to Russia, and aid given them by the Communists, and upon this refused to pardon Mooney.

Need for Defense of All Class War Prisoners

The decision against Mooney means that the working class must prepare to fight on. We can expect little less than class justice from the Rolphs, Sullivans and Byingtons who act as the mouthpieces of the capitalist class in this country. But we can help to prevent such acts from recurring by organizing the workers everywhere against capitalist class justice and for the rights of the workers. The Mooney case is neither

the first nor the last of its kind. Nor is it an isolated event. Bound up with it are enumerable cases of frame-up against active militants in the labor movement. We recall the Centralia victims, the murder of Frank Little, Joe Hill and Sacco and Vanzetti. More recently, we have the Scottsboro Frameup, the terror of the Criminal Syndicalist laws everywhere which brought about the sentencing of many Party comrades and our own comrades Morgenstern and Goodman.

In order to fight against these attacks the organization of the workers is necessary. Broad united fronts everywhere of workers organizations, irrespective of their political beliefs will make that possible.

This is no time to cease work. We must continue the fight. The campaign to free Mooney, the Scottsboro boys, Morgenstern and Goodman, the New York Marine Workers and hundreds of others of class war prisoners must not slacken. They are our fighters. We must rally to them. —A.

Fascists Gain in Elections

Communists and Socialists Suffer Defeats in Germany

The run-off elections for president of Germany were held on April 10th and resulted in a victory for Hindenburg, the candidate of the Socialist-Centrist coalition, over the leader of Fascism and its candidate, Hitler. In these elections, Thaelmann, the candidate on the ticket of the Communist party participated and suffered a severe defeat, losing over a million and a half votes in a period of two weeks.

It is clear that to an extent many workers voted the ticket of the Socialist-Centrist coalition to prevent Hitler's assumption of power. It is also true that many workers did not participate in the elections. But in spite of that we view that election with great alarm for the reasons that it marked a terrific decline in the support for the Communist ticket and at the same time showed a tremendous gain in the Fascist vote, establishing the party of Hitler as the largest political party in Germany. Therein lies the great dangers for the international working class as well as the proletariat of Germany.

The national presidential elections acted as a gauge of the Prussian Diet elections that were held on April 24th. As was already indicated in the presidential elections the Fascists won a sweeping victory. The Fascists received a total of 8,008,000 votes, the Social Democrats 4,675,000 and the Communists 2,825,000. In addition the Fascists won by pluralities, the elections in Hamburg, Wurttemberg, Anhalt and came in a very close second to the Bavarian Peoples' Party in Bavaria. But more important than these districts in its victory is Prussia, which makes up two-thirds Germany and is the most decisive section of the country.

The Fascists gained 156 seats in the Prussian diet. In the 1928 elections they were represented by only 6 delegates. Today they have 162. The Social Democrats lost over a million votes and 44 seats. The Communist Party gained eight seats in Prussia and lost heavily in the other provinces! In Wurttemberg they lost 14,000 votes and in Hamburg dropped 9 seats in the Landtag. The Social Democrats likewise suffered heavy defeats throughout the country.

International Labor Day 1932 finds the American workers experiencing the effects of the deepest and most far-reaching economic crisis in the history of this country. Much has occurred since 1889 when the Socialist International proclaimed the first of May of each year as the occasion for the demonstration of the international solidarity of labor. But the need for solidarity, class understanding, organization, and action still exists; nay, this need exists more today, particularly for the American workers, than ever before.

When were so many of us thrown out of jobs? When before have the American workers been given such drastic and widespread wage cuts? Yes, in this country of democracy, equality and justice, over ten million able-bodied, willing, nay anxious wage slaves are unemployed. No forced labor for the red blooded American! In this land of the red white and blue, freedom exists—to go jobless, to be homeless, to starve, to commit suicide.

Poverty Amidst Plenty

Why in this land which has plenty of

fertile land, mines, mills, factories, railroads is there unemployment and starvation? Why when there is so much food, clothing and shelter in finished form available do many of us go in rags, foodless and without shelter? How is it that in this land of equality there are people who never work yet always enjoy, not only the necessities of life, but countless luxuries?

The answer is not difficult to see: A small group of people own and control the land, mines, mills, factories, and railroads. The masses are exploited by this group, the capitalists, because the latter controls the means of life. The gigantic productive forces of American economy can and has produced enough for all. The existing property relations results in an abundance of products on the market which cannot be sold—the workers' wages form the equivalent of only a small part of the products. The capitalists who produce in order to make profits close down their factories, throw the workers out of jobs. The anarchy and disorganization of capitalist production is best shown by the economic crises which are inherent in it.

Capitalism attempts to get rid of its surplus products and capital in foreign markets. The capitalists of different nations come into conflict over these markets. At present the conflicts between the imperialist powers in China is at bottom such a struggle.

In China the imperialist powers are not only struggling amongst themselves for the right to exploit the Chinese people but are, with Japan at present in the leadership, making plans to attack the Soviet Union through Manchuria. Why the Soviet Union?

The Soviet Union Shows Way

There the workers and peasants have overthrown the rule of capitalism, established their own regime—the dictatorship of the proletariat—and on the basis of planned economy are building towards a classless, a socialist society. The imperialists are afraid that the example of the Soviet Union and its active support of the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries will hasten the downfall of the system of wage slavery. The imperialists are not mistaken!

The American workers should follow the example of the workers of the Soviet Union. It is first necessary for the workers to recognize their class position; organize into labor unions. In the struggle against unemployment and wage cuts, for unemployment relief, social insurance and the six-hour day five day week with no reduction in pay, the American workers will learn the strength of class solidarity and the need for the overthrow of wage slavery and its institutions. But for this the more intelligent, advanced and class conscious workers must join the political party of their class, the Communist party. The working youth should join the Young Communist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs so as to be trained for active functioning in the ranks of the Communist party.

On International Labor Day the American workers should demonstrate their class solidarity with the workers of the entire world, with the toiling masses of China, with the workers and peasants in the Soviet Union; they should on the basis of the struggle for their immediate needs head in the direction of a powerful class movement which shall threaten the rule of the American capitalists and their state power.

(Continued on page Four)

DEBATE

SOCIALISM
versus
COMMUNISM

Can the Program of the Socialist Party Emancipate the Working Class?

Yes: Young People's Socialist League

No: Spartacus Youth Club (Communist Youth Left Opposition)

on Friday, May 6, 1932

at 8 P. M.

at the Labor Temple

14th Street and Second Avenue

ADMISSION: 20 Cents

Auspices: Joint Arrangement Committee

Marine Workers Sentenced

(The lash of class justice spoke once again. The three Marine workers who were framed-up on the charge of a dynamite plot, were found guilty. The sentences meted out were extremely vicious and revengeful. J. Soderberg, 35 years old, was sentenced to from 12 to 25 years. Thomas Bunker, 34 years old, and William Trajer, 21 years old, were both sentenced from 6 to 25 years. All the comrades were sent to Sing Sing. In addition, steps were taken to serve deportation warrants following the completion of sentences, against Soderberg who is a native of Sweden, and Bunker who is a native of England. We are reprinting below excerpts of a letter from our young militant comrade, William Trajer. His words should be courage to every one. They are the words and feelings of a revolutionary young worker. Comrade Trajer: we extend our warmest greetings of solidarity to you, we will do all we can to bring about the release of you and your comrades. We await the time when you can be with us once more.—Editors).

To the Comrades of the
Spartacus Youth Club:
Dear Comrades,

After the state had rested, the defence put in its case. Thomas Bunker took the stand and in a straight forward manner carried on through both direct examination and cross-examination. Bunker's explanation or definition of the word revolutionist was particularly brilliant. The I. L. D.'s accusation that the committee would attempt to stifle the class issues involved in the case, has been thoroughly discredited. To my knowledge, there has never been a trial where the class issues were so constantly brought to the fore.

After Bunker left the stand, Trajer was examined and cross-examined. During his examination, the manner in which the dynamite had been "planted" was clearly brought out. Soderberg was subjected to a severe grilling. The district attorney charged him with manufacturing evidence; however, when Sabatino attempted to introduce an expert photographer to testify that a pearl-gray shirt might photograph white under certain conditions, the judge, obviously prejudiced, would not permit it. That judicial error will suffice if we are to appeal the decision.

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What are my reactions to the whole mess? Well comrades, I confess they're somewhat contradictory. Naturally, I resent being pined-in, after the fashion of a wild animal; I resent my enforced departure or separation from the scene of active struggle; I resent being branded as an outcast for no greater crime than that of fighting in the interest of my class. But on the other hand comrades, if my imprisonment will in any way serve to bring about a better spirit of understanding, a greater degree of solidarity, a free recognition and correction of past mistakes among the workers, then it is with happiness that I temporarily forsake the many activities which have been so integral a part of my life. If I could be instrumental in exposing the fake and misleading policies of the labor fakirs and racketeers; if I could be instrumental in the regeneration of the revolutionary movement and the subsequent growth of a healthy Communist party, I would welcome life-time imprisonment, were that their rice to be paid.

I had intended to point out the miserable excuse offered by the I. L. D. as the reason for refusing to participate in the defence work, was thoroughly discredited during the trials I will do so now.

Comrades, the court record of the trial covers seventeen hundred typewritten pages; any one page selected at random, would be sufficient to prove that this was a working class trial with no attempt made to obscure any of the class issues. Each page bears the stamp of labor—the hammer and the sickle; each page bears the stamp of master-class persecu-

MAY DAY BY V. I. LENIN

Comrades, let us consider our situation carefully; let us contemplate the conditions under which we lead our lives. What do we see? We work hard, we produce countless riches, gold and tissues, brocade and velvet; we haul iron and coal from the depths of the earth; we construct machinery. All the riches of the world are created by our hands, are produced by our sweat and our blood. What compensation do we get for our forced labour? If we had our deserts, we ought to live in good houses, wear good clothes and at any rate not want for our daily bread. Nevertheless we all know that our wages hardly suffice to provide us with a bare existence. Our masters reduce the rate of wages and force us to work overtime, they impose unfair fines on us, briefly, they oppress us in every way if we are dissatisfied, they turn us out without much ado.

We have often convinced ourselves that all to whom we apply for protection prove to be henchmen and friends of the masters. We workers are kept in the dark; we are given no education lest we should want to fight for the improvement of our condition. We are kept in bonds; we are chased out of our work; we are forbidden to fight; anyone who resists the oppression is deported and arrested. Darkness and bondage are the means by which the capitalists and the government which does everything for their advantage hold us captive.

What means have we for improving our position, for raising our wages, for reducing our hours of work, for enabling us to read instructive books and for protecting ourselves from insult? Everyone's hand is against us; that of the masters who live all the better the worse off we are, and that of their lackeys, of

all those who live on the crumbs which fall from the capitalists' table and who keep us in ignorance and bondage for their advantage. We cannot look for help from any quarter, we can only depend on helping ourselves. Unity is our strength; our weapon is firm, unanimous and unrelenting resistance to the masters. They themselves have known for a long time in what our force consists and use all efforts to keep us disunited and to prevent us realizing that the interests of us workers are common interests. They reduce the rates of wages, not all at once but one at a time; they introduce foremen and payment by piecework, even reducing the rates of wages arbitrarily, laughing in their sleeve when they see that we wear ourselves out at our work.

Every dog however has his day, patience wears out in the end. During the past year, the Russian workers have shown their masters that the submission of the slaves has been replaced by the steadfast courage of those who do not yield to the insolence and shamelessness of the capitalists who hanker after unpaid work. . . .

We workers of St. Petersburg and members of the union call upon all our comrades to join our union and to promote the great work of the union of the workers in a fight for their own interests. It is time for us Russian workers also to burst the chains with which the capitalists and the government have bound us so as to keep us in subjugation; the moment has come for us to join our brothers, the workers in other States, in the fight; for us to march under a common banner on which is written: "Workers of all countries, Unite!"

May 1st, 1895

—N. LENIN.

COLUMBIA UNIV. STUDENTS STRIKE

A strike in an American university is by no means something to be ignored. It is of sufficient rarity to cause surprise when it does occur—particularly when the issue is of a serious nature. In this respect the strike at Columbia University, New York, on Wednesday, April 6, is both interesting and instructive.

The strike followed the expulsion of Reed Harris then editor of the school daily paper, *THE SPECTATOR*. Harris had been expelled as a result of certain editorials that had appeared in the paper. In the eyes of the school authorities articles supporting the student delegation to Kentucky, attacking the coal operators, criticizing an exclusive student club backed by the alumni, charging the John Jay Hall, a school dining-room, with mismanagement . . . were "innuendoes" (insinuations) and "misrepresentations".

Acting immediately upon the expulsion, which occurred on Friday, April 1, the Social Problems Club of Columbia, affi-

tion—the blood stained lash. No matter what the Stalinists may say, I challenge them to produce the record of any case in the annals of labor history, which more distinctly and more clearly bears the imprint of labor.

And now comrades, a few words to you. Though it shall be my painful task to bid you one and all farewell, I assure you the memory of your loyalty, courage and perseverance will never fade.

I cherish the fond hope, that at some time in the future, I will again put my shoulder to the wheel, united in common cause with my comrades. Perhaps many of you may stray to the far corners of the earth; perhaps many shall suffer the same fate as I; but wherever we may be, our aims, thoughts, ambitions and energies will be devoted to the same glorious ideal—the emancipation of our class from the toils of exploitation; our faces turned to the rising sun, the harbinger of the international brotherhood of man.

With heartfelt regards to all:
Revolutionary greetings,
Fraternally yours,
WILLIAM TRAJER (Signed)

liated to the National Student League, called a mass meeting for Monday on the campus. There, at a well attended demonstration, the strike was called and plans laid for its execution. With the exception of the athletes (earlier in the year Harris had caused some commotion by claiming that school athletics was semi-professional) almost the entire student body was in sympathy with Harris and the principles involved. And on Wednesday some 1500 students, of the under-graduate school, stayed away from classes.

Much of this might have been avoided had the strike been planned more carefully. There is no doubt that it would have been better organized had it been preceded by more consistent agitation and explanation, strike committees set up, picket lines arranged with care. In some respects the strike was premature. However too many days could not have been spent in deliberation. It was necessary to strike while the iron was hot. And despite these negative characteristics, the strike remains an indication that students can be organized, even to the extent of action as militant as a strike, on the proper issues and slogans.

Positively, its results were virtually unexpected. Several days after the strike a commission was created by President Nicholas Murray Butler to investigate the management, control and conditions of the John Jay Hall, criticism of which had been considered the most serious "innuendo". That two students one of them, Robert Hall, being president of the Social Problems Club and an executive member of the National Student League, are on the committee, makes the victory all the more decisive.

And, what is more important, Harris has been reinstated. Not immediately. Not solely as a result of student protest. The possible suit by Harris, through the Civil Liberties Union, against the school was, it cannot be denied, an important reason. Other factors may have been responsible. Nevertheless the influence of the student protest which included other schools as well as Columbia, and which drew attention to the case, should not be minimized.

With the Spartacus Youth Clubs

St. Louis

Several young workers recently met in St. Louis and organized a Spartacus Youth Club of St. Louis which will be affiliated with the New York and other clubs.

The program which has already been adopted reads: The Spartacus Youth Club of St. Louis shall be an educational, social, economic, and political youth organization that shall educate, organize, and rally the workingclass youth around the tenets of scientific socialism as expressed in the writings and teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

Weekly meetings shall be held every Wednesday evening at the Souldard Library auditorium, 7th and Souldard Streets.

Arrangements are being made to stage a one act play "Justice" showing the attitude of the bourgeois courts toward young members of the workingclass. This play is being written jointly by Joseph Paredes, Charles Mahler and Martin Payer.

New York

With the summer coming on, the Spartacus Youth Club plans to begin a series of hikes and other outdoor activities. The first hike already took place on Sunday, April 17th.

On Sunday, April 10th, the regular club meeting was called off and the members went out with collection boxes to get money for the defense of the framed up marine workers. Inexperienced at the work, the comrades soon picked up the technique and succeeded in getting substantial results. Also, two open air meetings were held for the same purpose which resulted in good financial returns. A good deal of sympathy was evidenced by the workers at the meetings. The club more than fulfilled its voluntary quota to the Marine Defense Committee.

Meanwhile arrangements for the debate with the Young Peoples' Socialist League have been completed and tickets may be gotten at our headquarters at 84 East 10th Street. All young workers interested in the differences between the Socialists and Communists cannot afford to miss this debate. A big crowd is expected so get your tickets in advance. Those interested in our organization can visit us at our regular Sunday meetings at the Stuyvesant Casino, 2nd Avenue and 9th Street.

The strike indicated the necessity of a revolutionary student organization, and the role that the National Student League could play in that capacity. A unifying force is needed—a force that can propel a student movement. Through the Social Problems Club, and a little on its own, the N. S. L. did play a part. It made several errors—among others: failing to initiate a United Front protest movement that could be recognized as such; and incorrectly wording a petition it circulated in the colleges—some of which may be excused because of the rapidity of events and haste of the strike.

In conclusion:—Harris made a serious error in leaving the school after being reinstated. It was the action of a liberal and not the action of a revolutionary student. With him in the school the fight for the previously mentioned issues would have been augmented, the results of the strike would have been more apparent. As it is there is a feeling of disappointment among the students. However it is to be hoped that the students of Columbia remember their laudatory behavior of April 6, and that students elsewhere learn how to behave in their turn. The highest manifestation of a student activity would be one in support of the workers. The student has acted as a strikebreaker in industrial conflicts. It is time for him to act as an active supporter of workers' struggles.

—G.

HAYMARKET MARTYRS AND MAY DAY

On October 7, 1884 a convention of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions (now the A. F. of L.) was held in Chicago. It passed the following motion: "Resolved . . . that 8 hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1, 1886. . . ."

This was a declaration of open war. Clearly and forcefully the workers of America declared to the master class that they would no longer work, 14, 12, or 10 hours per day. The workers began recruiting and mobilizing its strength.

The membership of all labor organizations grew tremendously as May 1, 1886 approached. In one year's time the Knights of Labor (a labor organization existing along with the Federation) in spite of the duplicity of its leaders, grew from 100,000 to 700,000 members. The enthusiasm of the workers tossed the misleaders aside.

The various revolutionary groups gave active support and leadership to the eight hour day movement. They were the leading spirits of the united front (as we call it today) Eight Hour Day Associations, where workers' organizations of every degree of class consciousness were enrolled for the struggle for this immediate demand.

The center of the movement was Chicago. Here were tremendous industries, packing houses, railroads, lumberyards, harvester works. Naturally, here was the center of the revolutionary movement, too.

Plans were laid speakers toured the country, thousands of unions were organized uniting hundreds of thousands of workers, defense corps were armed and drilled, rehearsals staged in the form of parades and demonstrations throughout the country. At last came May 1, 1886, the first May Day.

The scene can be imagined. As the day dawned groups of workers in their Sunday clothes stood before the gates of their work-place, watching to see who would be craven enough to scab on this day of solidarity. Very few did enter the shops that day.

The workers streets must have worn a holiday appearance. In the afternoon and evening were great mass meetings. How the dingy halls of the workers, how the open-air meeting places must have been filled! What cheers must have greeted their stalwart leaders, Parsons, Spies, and others!

The capitalists were enraged, frightened like cornered rats. The second day there were more strikes than the first, as the more timid workers were assured by the success of the strike. The third even more than the second.

On May 3, a meeting of strikers was held near the Harvester Works on 26th St., and Western Ave. A small group of strikebreakers, left the shop to go home, secure under the protection of the police. The strikers accosted them. The police doubtlessly instructed by a desperate upper class, opened fire, killing four and wounding many other strikers and strike sympathizers.

Spies, who had spoken at the meeting, burning in rage rushed to the printing office and struck off a leaflet calling for a mass protest for the next day at Haymarket Square. As the meeting was disbanding, a company of 180 police led by captain Bonfield, who had previously distinguished himself by brutality to workers, advanced on the workers. Undoubtedly they were going to carry out some more of their masters instructions. A bomb was thrown in the midst of the police, killing six. No one knows with certainty to this day, who threw the bomb.

Seven of the workers' leaders were arrested and an eighth, Parsons, who escaped, later gave himself up to share the fate of the comrades. Five were sentenced to be hanged and three were sent to prison. The sentence of hanging was executed on four (one committed suicide) on November 11, 1887.

Today, in the center of Union Park,

The Teachings of Marx - by F. ENGELS

(The following speech was delivered by Friedrich Engels on March 17, 1883, at the burial of his life-long friend and co-worker Karl Marx in Highgate Cemetery, London. On the 5th of this month we mark the occasion of the birth of Marx (May 5th, 1818) with a reprint of Engels' famous address which gives an additional characterization of the founder of Scientific Socialism and the greatest leader the world proletariat has ever known.—Editors)

On March 14th, at a quarter to three in the afternoon, the greatest of living thinkers ceased to think. He had been left alone for barely two minutes; but when we entered his room we found that, seated in his chair, he had quietly gone to sleep—for ever.

The loss which his death has inflicted upon the fighting proletariat in Europe and America, and upon the science of history, is immeasurable. The gaps that will be made by the death of this titan will soon be felt.

Just as Darwin discovered the law of evolution in organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of evolution in human history. He discovered the simple fact (heretofore hidden beneath ideological excrescences) that human beings must have food and drink, clothing and shelter, first of all, before they can interest themselves in politics, science, art, religion, and the like. This implies that the production of the immediately requisite material means of subsistence, and therewith the extant economic development phase of a nation or an epoch, constitute the foundation upon which the State institutions, the legal outlooks, the artistic and even the religious ideas, of those concerned, have been built up. It implies that these latter must be explained out of the former, whereas usually the former has been explained as issuing from the latter.

Nor was this all. Marx likewise discovered the special law of motion proper to the contemporary capitalist method of production and to the bourgeois society which that method of production has brought into being. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light here, whereas all previous investigators (socialist critics no less than bourgeois economists) had been groping in the dark.

Two such discoveries might suffice for one man's lifetime. Fortunate is he who is privileged to make even one discovery so outstanding. But in every field he studied (the fields were many, and the studies were exhaustive), Marx made independent discoveries—even in mathematics.

a workers' district of Chicago, stands a statute dedicated to the police who were killed in the May 3rd events. It is a taunt to the militant workers.

In Waldhern Cemetery is the statute over the grave of the martyr-heroes of Haymarket Square set up by the workers. Right beside it is the grave of Joseph Dietzgen, the "proletarian philosopher" who courageously defended Parsons, Spies and their comrades, when others in the labor and even Socialist movement stood on the side or condemned them. On May Day the American workers should remember these working class fighters. —C. C.

OPPOSITION PRESS DRIVE

The Communist League of America (Opposition) is conducting a monthly drive, from May first to June first, to raise 1000 for the Left Opposition press. The funds will be divided among the *Militant*, *Unser Kampf*, *Kommunistes*, and *Young Spartacus*.

The readers of the *Young Spartacus* should get busy on the job. The special offer of the *Militant* and the *Young Spartacus* for one year each at two dollars (instead of the usual two-fifty) still holds good. Comrades should take advantage of it. All subs and donations received will be credited to the \$1,000 drive. Get into action immediately, visit our friends and sympathizers, send in money.

I have pictured the man of science. But the man of science was still only half the man. For Marx, science was a motive force of history, was a revolutionary force. Whilst he took a pure delight in a purely theoretical discovery, in one which had not and perhaps never would have a practical application, he experienced a joy of a very different kind when he was concerned with a discovery which would forthwith exert a revolutionary influence on industry, on historical evolution in general. For instance, he paid close attention to the advances of electrical science, and, of late years, to the discoveries of Marcel Deprez.

For, before all else, Marx was a revolutionist. To collaborate in one way or another in the overthrow of capitalist society and of the State institutions created by that society; to collaborate in the freeing of the modern proletariat, which he was the first to inspire with a consciousness of its needs, with a knowledge of the conditions requisite for its emancipation—this was his true mission in life. Fighting was his natural element. Few men every fought with so much passion, tenacity, and success. His work on the "Rheinische Zeitung" in 1842, on the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" in 1848 and 1849, on the "New York Tribune" from 1852 to 1861; a great number of pamphlets: multifarious activities in Paris, Brussels, and London; finally, as a crown of his labors, the foundation of the International Workingmen's Association: there you have his record. Had Marx done nothing but found the International, that was an achievement of which he might well have been proud.

Because he was an active revolutionist, Marx was the best hated and most calumniated man of his time. He was shown the door by various governments, republican as well as absolute. Bourgeois, ultra-democrats as well as conservatives, vied with one another in spreading libels about him. He brushed these aside like cobwebs, ignored them, only troubled to answer them when he positively had to. Yet he has gone down to his death honored, loved, and mourned by millions of revolutionary workers all over the world, in Europe and Asia as far eastward as the Siberian mines, and in Americas far eastward as California. I can boldly assert that, while he may have many adversaries, he has now hardly one personal enemy.

His name and his works will live on through the centuries.

—FREDERICK ENGELS.

ON MAY DAY

Loud are the voices and thrilling the cheers

Claiming this day for the people who toil;

Sons of the factories and sons of the mines,

Sons of the railroads, the woods and the soil;

All one class with one object in view (That with the spirit and courage to do),

Labor to battle the profiteer—foe, Onward to conquer upon the word Go!

Labor of nations who speak not our tongue,

Labor, great labor, the old and the young,

Men of all trades and all nations—and true,

All of one class with one object in view;

Stand in your strength and now reckon your aim,

None be divided—your cause is the same.

Spirit! and Courage! and Power! to be

Greater no powers than yours of today—

(This be the song of your triumph in May!

THE COMMUNISTS AND THE FAR EAST

The situation in the Far East continues afire. While there is apparent quiet in Shanghai zone, the situation in Manchuria has become more tense. But even in Shanghai, the recent attempt of assassination of the Japanese war lords will result in further repressions. Japan will use this as a pretext to keep regiments there. Military patrol will continue.

In Manchuria however, the resistance to the new government has already witnessed uprisings in various districts. Japan has instituted a puppet government that is surrounded with hundreds and hundreds of Japanese officials and advisors who have "sacrificed" their home country in order to bring "salvation" to Manchuria. We pointed out previously that the aim of Japanese imperialism was to colonize Manchuria and reduce it to a market under her hegemony at the exclusion of all the other imperialists. Alongside this development, Japanese provocations against the Soviet Union continue with more boldness. Tokyo dispatched an additional 10,000 troops to suppress the sporadic revolts and to permit a concentration of troops along the Siberian borders. Her ambitions and desires are fully demonstrated—to reduce Manchuria to a colony and to make inroads upon Siberia and other areas of China in order to afford an outlet to her capitalist expansion.

The situation is a perilous one. There are the sparks of a new world conflict in China. With this in mind the revolutionary workers must rally the proletariat of the entire world to the defense of the Chinese masses and the Soviet Union. The struggle against war in the Far East can by no means be limited to an attack against Japan. Such a struggle must be directed against world imperialism. Japan receives support from France. England hesitates to support American diplomacy which is governed by the latter's antagonism against Japan; which is in turn again complicated by the fact that the foremost world rivalry exists between the United States and Great Britain.

Wrong Slogans of Communist Party

We pointed out in the previous issue of *Young Spartacus* that the slogans of the Party: "Drive out the diplomatic representatives of murderous Japanese imperialism from this country!" and "For an economic boycott against Japan!" contain all the germs of social chauvinism quite akin to the position of international social democracy at the time of the World War. We declared against these slogans because both of them assumed the peaceful and pacifist character of American imperialism and because these slogans attempted to show that these are essential differentiations between imperialist countries; e. g., Japanese is the "murderous" imperialism and American the peaceful.

Alongside this development came a new and more astounding one. The *Daily Worker* quotes and comments on an article by Radek, which appeared in *Izvestia*, threatening Japan with a Soviet-American alliance should she continue her provocations. We will not go into detail on this question because space will not permit. But we refer our readers to the *Militant* of April 16th and 30th which take up these questions in detail and point out the chauvinist character of the Radek article and how it springs from the nationalist premises of building socialism in one country at the expense of the struggle for the world revolution.

We take this opportunity to call upon the comrades of the Young Communist League to protest against this travesty of revolutionary struggle against war. Demand that these slogans be dropped. Reject the article of Radek and the comments of the *Daily Worker*.

Demand the withdrawal of American military forces from Chinese territory. Defend the Chinese people. Defend the Soviet Union. —ALBERT GLOTZER .

❖ Ten Years of the American Young Communist League ❖

May 13 of this year is the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Young Workers League, today the Young Communist League. Exactly a decade ago the first national convention met in Brooklyn formally to unite the revolutionary youth organizations throughout the country, to affiliate to the Young Communist International and acknowledge the political leadership of the Workers Party, (today the C. P.). But the record of the Communist youth movement in this country goes back even further than 1922, back indeed to 1919.

The betrayal and collapse of the Second International at the outbreak of the world war did not fail to leave a deep imprint upon the working class youth movement. While the social patriots of Germany, Austria, France, Belgium and England exhorted the working class to support the capitalist fatherland, the best elements of the youth movement remained loyal to internationalism. The Young Socialist International, as early as 1915, when one year of the war had already darkened the fields of Europe with proletarian blood, convened the first anti-war gathering in Switzerland. Working in intimate association with Lenin and the exiled Bolsheviks, the revolutionary youth was destined already at that time to become one of the firmest supports to the coming Russian revolution and the Communist International.

Third International Aids Youth

The re-establishment of the International received a mighty impetus when the Bolsheviks took power. Together with the war, this historical event served to cut a clean division in the socialist movement between the patriotic and reformist agents of the ruling class and the conscious revolutionists. In every country of Europe the two divisions began to take clearer shape. Hardly anywhere was the birth of the Communist movement to be disassociated from the vigorous pioneer work which the youth, fresh and uncorrupted by opportunist poisons, contributed in every country. Inspired by the deathless tradition of Liebknecht, undiscouraged by the dark treason of the old chauvinist leaders, drawing strength and wisdom from the victories of the Russian working class, the young Communists became one of the principal nerve centers of the new international movement.

The United States was not exempted from this process. Four months prior to the formation of the two Communist parties in Chicago, the first national convention of the Young People's Socialist League met in May 1919 to proclaim a revolutionary policy and to denounce the Second International. In December of the same year, the special conference of the Y. P. S. L. in Rochester overthrew the official S. P. machine of William Kruse and Co. The Communist elements won a good victory and the convention spoke out for support to the Communist International and affiliation to the Young Socialist International which was meeting illegally at the same moment in Berlin to form the Young Communist International. At Rochester, the Y. P. S. L. finally broke off all relations with the Socialist party and declared itself "independent" of all the existing parties. With this temporary tactic, employed not against the Communist parties but against the party of Hillquit and Berger, the Communist elements hoped to win an even greater portion of the League members for the Communist movement.

Before the League had a real opportunity to develop in this direction, the brutal Palmer raids early in 1920 broke about its head with a thunderclap. Thousands of Communists, young and old, were arrested, imprisoned or deported. The movement as a whole was struck a terrific blow. Many who had never thought that Communism would put them to such a severe test, dropped back into the comfort of a private life. Others

converted their groups into purely social clubs, secluding themselves from the rigors of the struggle. Few were those who held on tenaciously, who set their teeth and proceeded to gather up the loose ends scattered by the first storm. And even these necessarily had to devote most of their attention to building a youth movement, although both Communist parties maintained youth Leagues which did not exist to any substantial extent.

In December 1920, the convention of the United Communist Party gave a new impetus to the revival of the Communist youth movement which, like the party, was to function illegally. The difficulties can here be better imagined than described. The initial steps were nevertheless taken; the first literature was published and given a modest distribution; small groups were painfully formed in some of the larger cities; and through the medium of comrades Oliver Carlson and Gus Schulenberg the first direct connections were established with the Y. C. I. The return of these Young Communist League delegates from Moscow was a new source of enthusiasm for the handful of zealots who were working to create a movement out of the meager material at hand.

Young Workers League Formed

The formation, after bitter internal disputes, of the legal Communist party in December 1921, was the last step needed to make the Young Workers League a reality. The party convention in New York heartily endorsed the plan and an Organization Committee was set up to assemble the foundation conference. "Youth", the organ of the New York Independent Y. P. S. L. (which was in Communist hands), was taken over by the Committee and renamed the "Young Worker". Under the banner of international Liebknecht Day, youth memorial meetings were held in cities from coast to coast. By the time the first convention met, there were already in existence between thirty to fifty groups in the country ready to participate in launching the new organization. Carlson, Schulenberg, Seligson (who supported "independence"), Zam and others in New York; Johnny Edwards, Harry Gannes, Al Albright, George Oswald, Bob Garver, Frank Buckley in Chicago; Marty Abern in Minneapolis; Willy Schneiderman on the coast, these and a score of others were the prime movers in founding the League.

The principal struggle at the conference, with its more than forty delegates representing more than twenty cities, was the question of "independence". The genuine party elements were for political subordination to the Workers Party. The supporters of "independence" came from two camps: remnants of the I. Y. P. S. L. who found it more convenient to stand aloof from the genuine Communist movement, and the ultra-Leftists, organized into the United Tolders of America, who had opposed the formation of the legal party and advocated "independence" as a maneuver to prevent the youth from affiliating with the party. The delegations voted overwhelming against the "independence" advocates. A manifesto

and program were adopted, together with a constitution and a resolution on relations with the Workers Party. A national committee, with Marty Abern as secretary, was elected at the close.

The year between the first and second conventions was marked by functioning based upon propagandist activities. The "independents" disappeared completely from the scene, particularly after the United Tolders liquidated their organization and joined the Workers Party. In this period a number of new groups were organized, a functioning League established as a distinct organization. But it was only at the second convention (Chicago, May 1923) that the League's attention was directed away from the purely propaganda activity of spreading the general ideas of Communism among the youth, and more in the direction of winning the young workers to the Communist movement by organizing them on the basis of their daily struggles and immediate interests. This turn, which has always come as the second stage in the development of the movement, was achieved with the assistance of the Y. C. I., but not without some internal dispute. The swing towards active participation in the daily struggles of the working youth, and the adoption of the organizational forms best fitted for such activity, was resisted by the New York delegation, headed by H. Zam, which was heavily influenced by the predominant role played in the New York organization at that time by intellectualist and student elements.

League Turns to Working Youth

The turn in the work proved to be a most healthy one for the growth of the League. Despite the tremendous difficulties entailed in reorganizing the League on the basis of nuclei, the very fact that it was attempted aroused in most of the membership a new conception of the course the Communist youth must pursue. From the old groups, divided largely by language, the League was deliberately turned towards the native elements and the specific weight of the language groups was reduced, without employing chauvinistic arguments against them or abolishing the necessary machinery for work among the non-English speaking youth. The face of the League was turned towards the young workers, and every effort was made to win them to our banner. In the two main centers, New York and Chicago, the League began to participate in strikes and other struggles as a distinct youth organization. In Southern Illinois, for example, a whole series of groups were organized until there was hardly a mining camp of any importance that did not have its Y. W. L. Campaigns were begun to reach into the industries where the young workers were concentrated, like the one we initiated in half a dozen cities against the National Biscuit Company. We reached out among the young agricultural workers and students of the Northwest. The Young Worker was changed from a "refined" magazine into a fighting newspaper which did not (as it does today) choke and stupefy its readers by barking slogans at them, but

sought to reflect their own life and educate them in the struggle.

Fight Against Opportunism in Party

The period after the second conference was the period of the League's healthiest and soundest growth. It was free of that corrupting factional and clique strife which undermined it later on. It reached a membership of more than 3,000. It did not, let it be emphasized, fail to participate in the inner life of the party, for it was the League and its leading committee (with one exception: Kaplan) that offered the most energetic resistance to the sway of Pepper and Pepperism in the American movement, an act which it has no cause to regret to the present day.

The organic progress of the American youth movement was brought to a somewhat abrupt halt in 1925. The Comintern, taken over by the faction of Zinoviev-Bucharin-Stalin (and finally by Stalin alone), became an internal obstacle to the advancement of the genuine Communist movement. After the American party had been handed over to Ruthenberg, Lovestone and Co., their youth supporters were presented with the leadership of the League in face of the overwhelming opposition of the membership at our 1925 convention. From that time dates the retrogression of the League, the degeneration of its leading elements, its conversion into a faction instrument, the mistraining of its membership, its bureaucratization.

The League has gone through many changes since, not only at the top, where "leaders" are manufactured and smashed like so many toys, but in the ranks, where the terrific fluctuation in membership is the expression of the failure of the Y. C. L. to fulfill its principal role of the steady training of the young workers for their part in the Communist party. Even where a certain progress has been made (negro work) this has been offset by the fact that the League has become little more than a subsidiary to the Stalinist apparatus, a "youth party" which faithfully apes every blunder of the elders who appoint its leaders. At a time when the movement is being distorted and undermined by the ravages of Stalinism, the official youth movement, untrue to the traditions that were incorporated into it at its foundation, simply goes along with the stream. Instead of standing in the forefront of the struggle against the Stalinist opportunism, adventurism and bureaucracy, it introduces the same poisons into its own ranks. Instead of raising the new generation of Communist fighters, it sows confusion and chaos in their minds.

The Opposition youth is no larger than that handful which started the League more than ten years ago, but it has far more difficult tasks to achieve. It is the true inheritor of the great traditions of the early youth movement. It must live up to them. It must learn, learn, learn from the past, absorb its experiences and lessons. It must multiply its efforts tenfold so that the gap separating us from the inevitable victory—the victory of the regenerated and triumphant Communist movement—shall be shortened. Not discouraged by the destruction caused in the ranks of the young Communist movement, our young militants will unfurl their banner and go ahead confidently: "Oppositionists, forward!"

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

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(Continued from page 1)

already prepared its defeat.

The International Left Opposition alone showed the way out. We criticized the position of the Party, not today nor yesterday, but months ago. Our position, that a genuine united front of the German workers is the only way out retains its validity. It is not yet too late, though much ground has been lost. The workers have suffered a tremendous defeat.

Hitler will begin now to seize the governmental machinery of Germany. The Communists hold the balance of power in Prussia. Present indications point to a Fascist-Catholic Centrist coalition that

will put Hitler into power. The Communists can still prevent such a development through the united front tactic; through the united front with the Social Democracy. Early reports indicate that the Socialists may help the Fascists to participate in the government. However, the struggle will more and more become extra-parliamentary. There is no time to lose. Begin at once; organize the workers' battalions, set up the shop committees, put the trade unions into action! Gather the adult and youth, men and women; organize the solid workers front to prevent the impending catastrophe that will result in a defeat of the entire world proletariat. —A. G.