

CLARITY  
AND  
ACTION

# Young Spartacus

Published by the National Youth Committee, Communist League of America (Opposition)

WORKERS  
OF THE WORLD,  
UNITE!

VOL. I, No. 2

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## N.Y. Marine Workers Being Framed

Organizations Rally to the Assistance of Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer

On Tuesday, November 17, members of the New York Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union were arrested on charges that they had plotted the "wholesale bombing of barges in the New York Harbor". The arrested workers, John Soderberg, secretary of the I. T. B. W., T. Bunker, William Trajer, William Hoyle and Reilly (the latter has since been released from the charges) were lodged in the Tombs Jail and held on the exorbitant bail of \$100,000.

The defendants, excepting Hoyle, were viciously beaten by the police in an effort to force them to "confess". This did not prevail upon the defendants who staunchly maintained their innocence. At the first opportunity given in court the defendants entered their plea of Not Guilty.

An investigation of the facts by members of the I. T. B. U. and by others soon established that another frame-up against workers active in the labor movement was being planned by the police. This was to be another "dynamite plot", of which the labor movement has seen many. Further, Hoyle was a confessed stool-pigeon, used to aid in the frame-up.

Through the efforts of the Communist League of America (Opposition) in cooperation with Carlo Tresca of *Il Martello*, weekly Italian paper, a defense committee was formed, legal defense engaged, and work begun in the development of a mass defense movement on behalf of the frame-up victims.

The Marine Workers Defense Committee formed, with headquarters at 82 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y., consists of the following members: Carter Hudson, a leading member of the I. T. B. U., Chairman; Carlo Tresca, Secretary, James P. Cannon, James Gilday, Ben Gitlow, Norman Hawkins, Sylvan A. Pollack, Anthony Ribarich, I. Zimmerman.

### Defense Committee Develops Work

This committee has already issued a statement of the facts in the case in mimeographed and leaflet form and has called upon all sections of the labor movement to rally to the support of the defendants. The statement was printed in full in *The Militant* (12-5-31); inter-

ested workers can obtain the statement by writing to the Defense Committee. The Committee has been meeting regularly and planning its work.

Among the scandalous and abominable features of the case have been the actions of the *Daily Worker*, official organ of the Communist Party, *Industrial Solidarity*, organ of the I. W. W. and the *Young Worker*, official organ of the Young Communist League. All these papers, the Communist and the rabidly anti-Communist I. W. W. press, attacked the defendants in the most scurrilous manner; by their statements virtually giving direct assistance to the police and the prosecution, each trying to clear their skirts of the frame-up charges against the defendants, prejudging these militant workers without having had a word from them, and forgetting the elemental duty of workers and working class papers to rise to the defense of arrested victims of the capitalist class. The New York rank and file of the I. W. W. repudiated the action and story of *Solidarity*. The *Young Worker*, by labeling the defendants as stool-pigeons lost all semblance of working class and revolutionary honor. It is the duty of the rank and file of the Y. C. L. to repudiate the actions of its official organ, and to join in support of the defense.

In this issue of *Young Spartacus* we print a letter of one of the defendants in the case, William Trajer, addressed to the Marxian Youth Club of New York. The letter of this young seaman, an active unionist and former member of the Y. C. L. speaks for itself. The Marxian Youth Club has already gone on record in support of Trajer and the other defendants, and it is the duty of all class conscious and militant youth everywhere to rally behind the arrested workers.

As we go to press, we hear that additional forces are coming to the front on behalf of the defendants. This is a heartening sign, and is evidence that Soderberg, Trajer and Bunker will not be lightly given up to the vengeance of the capitalist class and railroaded to the penitentiary. Rally behind the Marine Workers Defense Committee!

—M. A.

## The Life of A Young Seaman

(A Letter from One of the Defendants)

To the comrades of the  
Marxian Youth Club:

Dear Comrades:

Comrade Cannon in his last letter to me stated that you had expressed yourselves as being desirous of obtaining information as to my past life and experiences. It appears to be a very simple task, for I might truthfully say that perhaps millions of young workers have come into contact with the same conditions, the same experiences, and thousands have reacted in the same manner. My life in other words, has been the life of the average class conscious proletarian.

Born and raised in a proletarian environment, I have experienced all the handicaps, the suffering and brutalities imposed upon those who toil and slave that the master class may gorge and wax fat and squander the results of our productivity. After graduating from one of the public schools of misinforma-

tion, it became imperative that I turn to the point of exploitation and seek a master.

### A Young Seaman—And His Conditions of Work

Since 1927 I have been following the sea and at best acquiring only a most miserable existence. The seaman, all though history has been one of the most terribly exploited of workers. He works in many instances twelve hours per day, seven days per week for the princely sum of \$27.50 to \$60.00 per month. The food he receives on the majority of ships, a fastidious hog would never approach. His sleeping quarters are merely holes, sometimes as many as twelve men sleeping in a fore-castle that could only accommodate two with any degree of comfort. The mattresses in most cases serve as a refuge for innumerable vermin of various descriptions. He is preyed upon by parasites of every loathsome type both at sea and ashore. Through vari-

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## Honor Bolshevnik Leaders

Continue the Traditions of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg

Symbols of the struggle of the oppressed masses against exploitation, leaders of the revolutionary proletarian fight for socialism, Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg are the great teachers and heroes of the international working class and communist youth. Fearless, courageous and intransigent they serve as models and inspiration for the Communist youth of today.

In the period prior to 1914 the international socialist movement, particularly its leading and most powerful section, the German Social Democracy, was the arena of a bitter struggle between the revolutionary Marxists and the revisionist opportunist wing of the movement. Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg were outstanding representatives of the revolutionary Marxists.

### Struggle Against Opportunism

Long before the World War, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in Germany, and Lenin in the Russian social democracy, fought fearlessly against both the open revisionists and those who tried to dull the razor-edged sharpness of Marxism—Kautsky in Germany and Plechanov in Russia. Karl and Rosa put much faith in the ability of the youth to regenerate the official movement. They fought for the necessity of separate proletarian youth organizations, which would educate the young workers, struggle against militarism and war and win the youth for socialism. They played a leading role in the formation of the socialist youth organization in Germany and helped found the Socialist Youth International at Stuttgart in 1907. Against the ultra-legalistic position of the 'old guard' they supported the necessity for conducting propaganda within the armed forces.

Rosa, although a young girl, had earlier played an active and leading role in the Polish movement. Participating in the controversies on the Russian Revolution of 1905, she recognized its international significance and supported comrade Trotsky's position on the tasks of the Russian proletariat—the theory of the permanent revolution. One of the few original thinkers the revolutionary movement has produced since Marx and Engels, Luxemburg contributed her brilliant analyses and Marxist knowledge to all fields; economic theory, practical politics, youth work, anti-militarism. At times she was at logger-heads with Lenin and the Bolsheviks, but in spite of that she almost invariably showed a keen understanding of the situation, although she was sometimes wrong in her conclusions. When her works and writings become available to the American communist both her brilliance and her shortcomings will be perceptible; there will be much to learn from them.

### The Spartacus Bund

The World War found social democratic opportunism logically developed into social patriotism and chauvinism with

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"It is necessary that every member of the Party should study calmly and with the greatest objectivity, first the substance of the differences of opinion, and then the development of the struggles within the Party. Neither the one nor the other can be done unless the documents of both sides are published. He who takes somebody's word for it is a hopeless idiot, who can be disposed of with a simple gesture of the hand."—Lenin.

the Kautskian Marxists shouting about the impossibility of international working class solidarity. Luxemburg and Liebknecht with a handful of comrades, Zetkin, Jogisches, Mehring, etc., formed the Spartacus Bund, unfurled the banner of revolutionary Marxism and proclaimed a struggle against the war and the social democratic betrayers of the solidarity of the workers and socialism.

At the same time Lenin proclaimed the death of the Second International and the need of a new, a third International. He issued his famous theoretical brochure, "Imperialism—the Latest Stage of Capitalism" and later the penetrating analysis of the State from a Marxist viewpoint, "The State and Revolution". During the period of the War the Bolsheviks and the Spartacans collaborated at the various Left wing conferences called to establish international proletarian solidarity and unity in struggle.

In Germany, Liebknecht used the Reichstag for anti-militarist propaganda; worked in the army; participated in huge demonstrations. Rosa Luxemburg, while incarcerated by the Kaiser's gov-

(Continued on Page Four)

## Marxian Youth Club Develops Activities

The Marxian Youth Club in New York has started off very well, and the comrades have great hopes for its expansion. It already has about thirty-five members. After the discussion and adoption of a constitution and the election of officers, the club got under way with its educational work.

An interesting program of discussion was outlined for the month by the executive committee. At the first educational meeting, comrade Stone led the discussion on the teachings of Karl Marx. At subsequent meetings discussions took place on Democracy vs. Dictatorship, History of the Revolutionary Youth Movement, and Militarism.

Not forgetting the fact that it is a youth club and should have social life along with educational, a hike was prepared for, but on account of the weather it was turned into an indoor social. The comrades were treated to a concert over the radio, and those of livelier disposition danced in another room.

When the question of the defense of the arrested marine workers was brought before the members through a letter from William Trajer, one of the defendants, the club unanimously endorsed the Marine Workers' Defense Committee, and elected a committee of three to conduct the necessary work and offer our aid. The committee sent a letter to the Defense Committee and to comrade Trajer declaring our solidarity with them and pledging the Club's help to build a mass movement for them. Collection lists were given to the members.

An outline for the future activities of the club—educational and social—is being prepared. Outside speakers, debates, discussions on current events, hikes and socials will be some of the features. A committee is looking for club rooms, but for the time being meetings are held at the Stuyvesant Casino, 9th St., and 2nd Ave., every Sunday at 3 P. M. Anyone wishing further information can get in touch with the secretary, Lillian Bord, 754 Coster Street, Bronx, N. Y.

## Students and the Revolutionary Movement

We have received a document from comrade I. Link, a reader of our press, entitled, "Is the Studying Youth Becoming Revolutionary?". Comrade Link answers this question in the affirmative, and advances a viewpoint as to the role the students can play in the revolutionary movement which in our opinion is erroneous. Comrade Link, in his zeal for Communist work among students, permits himself to ascribe to the students a part in the revolutionary movement which they are incapable of fulfilling.

Comrade Link clings to the opinion "that the college students will in the future become the real vanguard of the revolutionary movement". Not immediately, but after a process of revolutionary development. Further, he says, the student "can be as fruitful and useful for the advancement of the revolutionary cause as the manual laborer." In defense of his contentions, comrade Link cites the increased interest among students in radical literature and books on Russia; and also the growth of radical clubs in the colleges. Undeniable as these facts are, they do not prove that the students can play a special role in the revolutionary movement, but merely that under the influence of economic and social crisis, many of them become radical and more susceptible to Communist ideas.

### The Proletariat Leads the Revolutionary Movement

The idea that the students can lead the revolutionary movement is contradictory to one of the most fundamental principles of Marxism, which teaches that society can be liberated from the outlived capitalist system only through the leadership of the proletariat. Such is the historic mission of the proletariat which is prepared by the economic structure of capitalism itself for its task. It is true that individual students, just as in general individual intellectuals who assimilate the revolutionary ideas of the proletariat, can participate in the revolutionary movement, often as leading figures; but they cannot accomplish this as a group. Marxism determines the historical role of any group in society by examining its economic basis, that is, its class position. All sections of the population which suffer under capitalism can follow the proletariat in its struggle for emancipation, but only the proletariat can lead.

Comrade Link himself admits that the "students are in the main representatives of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie". To this we can add that even when college students come from working class families, their aspiration as students, to rise out of their class, compels them to think as petty-bourgeoisie.

In order to prove the potential revolutionary character of the students despite their class composition, comrade Link says: "But it is the petty-bourgeoisie, with all their bourgeois expectations that were shattered to pieces during the crisis, that are losing most. It is they who are most discontented". This argument is not true. No matter what hardships the petty-bourgeoisie undergo during the economic crisis, in no way is it comparable to the suffering of the workers. For the petty-bourgeoisie, so long as they remain within the sphere of their class, the crisis means a lowering of the standard of living to which they have been accustomed; for the workers it means not only that but starvation, utter want, desperation, and misery.

### The Student and the Communist Movement

The petty-bourgeoisie does not immediately relinquish his expectations. He still cherishes the hope of regaining his former position. If the petty-bourgeois family is forced into the ranks of the proletariat, then the sons and daughters are compelled to seek work, which of course ends their careers as students.

Marx and Engels epitomized in classic form the whole question of the revolutionary character of the proletariat in contrast to all other classes in modern times, when they said in the Communist Manifesto: the workers have nothing to lose but their chains and a world to gain!

It is not by telling the students that they have a great mission to perform in society that the cause of communism can be furthered. The students must be taught the historic role of the proletariat and its party. The more farsighted, the less individualistic, and the more courageous among them will cast in their lot with that class which has gigantic historic tasks to perform.

—GEORGE RAY.

## ORGANIZE!

Fellow-workers, have we learned the lesson of unity, of organization? Have we discovered that the many grouped together are stronger than the many in as many units? The working class united and determined saved the life of Tom Mooney; the working class disbanded and bickering left him to await the mercies of Mayor Walker. Militantly organized, the solid ranks of the workers squeezed the eight hour day from the alarmed bourgeoisie. With forces scattered and dispersed, the workers suffer wage cut after wage cut and cannot resist.

Every day the bosses deepen their attack on our existence. We must be ready to fight back, or give up our means of living. But can we picture a successful oneman strike? Now especially, with the prospect before us of continued unemployment, wage cuts, speed-up—now especially must we consolidate our strength in every field, to give blow for blow and a little extra. If you're not in a trade union, get into one.

One of the fundamental principles of every Communist, as well as of every class-conscious worker is that organization is essential to the success of the working class. Yet there is around the Communist movement, both official and oppositional, a certain variety of people—and a good number of them are young folks—who claim to be Communists but who cannot find their place in the ranks as active militants. They will argue for hours over points important or nonsensical; they will give their opinions on various subjects and people with a very learned air; they are to be found at all sorts of workers' gatherings, forums, etc., always ready to take up the battle of words. But in deeds they are strangely lacking. It is even easier to look for this group of "Communist intellectuals" at parties, grown drunk with their own speech and with something more potent, than to find them where struggles are really being fought.

Fellow-comrades, do you think you will make a revolution, or advance the cause of the working class one inch, by such "spittoon philosopher" methods? A sincere Communist does not balk at the discipline an organization imposes. He enters the active, living army of labor, and contributes his bit of knowledge, and effort to strengthen the working class and its vanguard.

—LILLIAN BORD.

### YOUNG SPARTACUS

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## A Seaman Tells of His Life

(Continued from Page One)

ous laws, iron bound discipline is maintained at sea and for the slightest infringement upon one of these, he is subject to the loss of from one to five days pay. If he purchases tobacco or any other necessity aboard ship, he usually pays at least twice the original cost, and in some instances more. The pittance he receives does not allow him to maintain a home or even to marry, therefore he is forced to turn to the brothel for the gratification of his natural sexual diseases which soon undermine his health and send him to an early grave. Various institutions under the cover of philanthropy rob him and defraud him, as well as serve to keep him apart from the influence of the union halls. When he tires of the morbid preachings of hypocrites who manage these places, he seeks solace in wine, women and song. Very shortly after he lands ashore he has parted with whatever money he had and is forced to ship out again or go into the breadlines. As a result of the various means in which he is robbed, he develops a violently suspicious and anti-social complex. He even regards the union as merely another method of making him part with his earnings.

### How I Joined the Union and the Y. C. L.

This, comrades, is the environment I have been in as part of the past four years. In the early days of my thralldom I had felt rebellion suming up within me, but I could find no adequate channels apparently to divert it to. If I were dissatisfied with the food aboard a ship, why it usually meant that the stewards, just other workers, by the way, would directly have the food plastered all over his face and I would lose five days pay as a result.

In the early days of 1929, I happened to be employed on a ship which was lying in Brooklyn at the time. One day, while painting over the side on a stage, a young woman came strolling down to the gangway with a bundle of papers under her arm. Of course a seaman being continually starved sexually and being the ready prey of any likely looking woman, I entirely misjudged her motive in coming aboard. I went aft to the forecabin and there was this young woman sitting on a bench pointing out the desirability and need of organization to a group of extremely puzzled but respectful sailors. It happened that the young comrade was a member of the Y. C. L. and had come aboard with the *Daily Worker*. Each of us bought a copy of the *Worker*, never intending to read it, no doubt. That night after supper I lay down in my bunk and just out of curiosity I glanced through the *Worker*. I had thought I was perhaps a trifle abnormal in my rebelliousness, but lo and behold, page after page of just the thoughts that had been harassing me were spread before my eyes.

Without stopping to change clothes even, I dashed over to the Marine Workers League on South St. and took out a card. This was a turning point in my life which I have never regretted nor ever will regret. After the Marine Workers Industrial Union was launched,

I made as much of a study as I possibly could of the movement and then I became a member of the Y. C. L. I did some work for the union after that, and along the way picked up some experience at "soap-boxing".

### Activities in the Labor Movement

I was delegated to greet the Convention of the Communist Party at Madison Square Garden and I confess, comrades, my knees never trembled so violently before in my life, as they did when I faced that mass of people. In midsummer of that year, an opposition had grown against the tactics pursued by the leadership of the union. I was delegated to New Orleans for organizational work. After getting as far as Buffalo, I suddenly realized that the policy pursued in New Orleans was hopelessly utopian, so I returned to New York and determined to take a stand against the leadership. I was expelled with Morgan and many other workers in the fall of 1930. Immediately after I was expelled from the Y. C. L. I then co-operated with Morgan and Sizemore in launching the Marine Workers Solidarity League. My activities at that time were "soap-boxing" and general organizational work.

After the dissolution of the M. W. S. L. I had no choice but to become a member of the M. T. W. No. 510 of the I. W. W. I soap-boxed for the Wobblies and carried on general activities of the union. I had long before become a marked man on the waterfront, due to my bitter attacks against the Seamen's Church Institute. Therefore, it is not surprising that I am now a victim of this frame-up. I had been active with comrade Soderberg in lining up workers on the barges, which no doubt was the reason for my being included in this frame-up.

I would like to give you all the details of the frame-up. In my leisure moments, I'll write all the details of the frame-up, which I am sure will prove very interesting. I'll be very happy to communicate with any comrade who wishes to. In return for news of the outside world, I'll give the comrades my impressions of this place, bourgeois justice and all the various manipulations connected with it. It is very dreary and lonesome here, comrades, and you can't imagine until you experience it, what a source of cheer a letter from out there is. I've written a short appeal to the workers on this case and I hope it may be published in *The Militant*, and for *Young Spartacus*.

With best wishes for the success of the Marxian Youth Club, and revolutionary greetings,

Yours fraternally,  
(Signed) WILLIAM TRAJER.

"Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie to-day, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry, the proletariat is its special and essential product"—*Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels.

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TO

*Young Spartacus*

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YOUNG SPARTACUS

84 East 10th Street New York, N. Y.

Enclosed please find fifty (\$0.50) cents for one year's subscription:

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## MARCH OF THE HUNGRY MEN

In the dreams of your down couches, through the shades of your pampered sleep,

Give ear: you can hear it coming, the tide that is steady and deep—  
Give ear, for the sound is growing, from desert and dungeon and den;  
The tramp of the marching millions, the March of the Hungry Men.

As once the lean-limbed Spartans at Locris' last ascent,  
As William's Norman legions through Sussex meadows went,  
As Wolfe assailed the mountain, as Sherman led the way from Atlanta to Savannah—  
As they, and more than they.

So comes another army your wit cannot compute,  
The man at arms self-fashioned, the man you made the brute,  
From farm and sweatshop gathered, from factory, mine and mill,  
With lever and shears and augur, dibble and drift and drill.  
They bear no sword nor rifle, yet their ladders are on your walls,  
Though the hauberk is turned to jumper, the jambeux to overalls:  
They come from the locomotive, the cab and the cobbler's bench:  
They are armed with the pick and the jackplane, the sledge and the ax and the wrench.

And some come empty-handed with fingers gnarled and strong,  
And some come dumb with sorrow, some sway drunk with song,  
But all that you thought were buried are stirring and lithe and quick,  
And they carry a brass-bound scepter: the brass composing-stick.

Through the depths of the devil's darkness, with distant stars for light,  
They are coming the while you slumber and they come with the might of Right;

On a morrow—perhaps to-morrow—you will waken and see, and then  
You will hand the keys of the cities to the ranks of the Hungry Men.

—R. W. K.

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## In China

The failure of Chiang Kai-Shek to meet the attacks of Japanese imperialism in Manchuria has resulted in a mass movement, in which the students play a big part, against him and Japanese imperialism. In Nanking a demonstration of over fifty thousand students, in Shanghai mass meetings, street fighting, etc., resulted in the change of government of the later city and the resignation of Chiang Kai-Shek.

At the beginning of a wave of national revolutionary struggle it is not unusual for the students to appear in the forefront. The students in colonial and semi-colonial countries form the backbone of the petty bourgeois intellectual group which expects to become the statesmen, part of the ruling apparatus of the government, and the professionals of the future. They represent the ideology of the small business man striving for democratic conditions.

The movement of the students is a sign of the process of revolt within the Chinese masses. It depends upon the Communist Party and the Young Communist League to utilize this mood for the rousing of the working class for revolutionary struggle.

## CARRY OUT LENIN'S WILL

### His Last Words to the Party, Still Suppressed by the Stalinists

By the stability of the Central Committee, of which I spoke before, I mean measures to prevent a split, so far as such measures can be taken. For, of course, the White Guard in *Russkaya Mysl* (I think it was S. E. Oldenburg) was right when, in the first place, in his play against Soviet Russia he banked on the hope of a split in our party, and when, in the second place, he banked for that split on serious disagreements in our party.

Our party rests upon two classes, and for that reason its instability is possible and if there cannot exist an agreement between those two classes its fall is inevitable. In such an event it would be useless to take any measures or in general to discuss the stability of our Central Committee. In such an event no measures would prove capable of preventing a split. But I trust that is too remote a future and too improbable an event, to talk about.

—“I have in mind stability as a guarantee against a split in the near future, and I intend to examine here a serious of considerations of a purely personal character.

“I think that the fundamental factor in the matter of stability—from this point of view—is such members of the Central Committee as Stalin and Trotsky. The relation between them constitutes in my opinion, a big half of the danger of that split, which might be avoided, and the avoidance of which might be promoted, in my opinion, by raising the number of members of the Central Committee to fifty or one hundred.

“Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution. On the other hand comrade Trotsky, as was proved by his struggle against the Central Committee in connection with the question of the People's Commissariat of Ways of Communications, is distinguished not only by his exceptional abilities—personally he is, to be sure, the most able man in the present Central Committee, but also by his far-reaching self-confidence and a disposition to be too much attracted by the purely administrative side of affairs.

“These two qualities of the two most able leaders of the present Central Committee might, quite innocently, lead to a split; if our party does not take meas-

## Communist Views On Elections

Because of the early appearance of the first issue of *Young Spartacus*, we are able only at this late date to report the election of John Bukas, Jr., a member of the Y. C. L., to the city council of Yorkville, Ohio—a mining and steel town. The *Young Worker* (11-18-31) mentions the election. We avail ourselves of this opportunity to discuss the role of Communists in elections in a capitalist country. The question of the class character of the state, the role played by the Communists in a bourgeois government and the differences between the tactics of the Communists and the social democrats (Socialists) should be understood.

The Communists recognize the present day state—whether it be a republic, monarchy, or a Fascist dictatorship—as the organ of the capitalist class for the suppression of the working class. The essence of the state presents itself to us largely as the army, the navy, the police, the state militia, the courts, in short, the coercive forces, with which the bourgeoisie attempts to prevent the working class from overthrowing the existing order of things.

Can, then, a Communist participate in a bourgeois government in the capacity of a director? The answer is: No

Participating in the work of the government, i. e., taking a seat in the ministry or cabinet, means only one thing—to aid in the suppression of the working class. This the Communist cannot do.

### The Socialists In Action

It is in the tactics pursued in this respect that the bourgeois character of the social-democratic parties reveals itself most vividly. The Socialist MacDonald with his “Socialist Government”, (as the Nov. 1st issue of *Free Youth* (Y. P. S. L.) so proudly called it), used the armed forces of the British bourgeoisie to suppress the Indian masses. Likewise in Germany the socialist ministers and the socialist police chief revealed their class affiliation by using the police to shoot down the workers during the May Day demonstration of 1929.

The workers do not recognize the police as their allies. The policeman's club and soldier's bayonet, whether used to suppress a strike of the food workers in New York, the copper miners in Colorado or the masses of Nicaragua, are recognized as the weapons of the enemy class. The directors of these weapons—the capitalist state—receive and deserve the hatred of the class conscious workers.

The conclusions are clear. The social democracy, having the viewpoint and outlook of the petit bourgeois, often takes an active part in a capitalist government. The Communists, representing the working class, cannot do so.

### The Communist Methods

“But”, objects the newcomer to the Communist movement, “I have seen the Communist party on the ballot, and have heard of the election of Communists to the German and French legislatures. Would not this indicate at least a desire to participate in a bourgeois government?” The answer is No. The purpose of the Communist is to use the elections, and the wide publicity given to the doings of the legislature, as a means of making known the demands of the revolutionary vanguard to the working class as a whole. When the Communist addresses the “honorable” ministers, he is availing himself of the opportunity to reach, not the ministers, but the great masses of workers whom the Communist party otherwise does not reach. Of course the Communists will struggle against reactionary measures and for such social legislation which would benefit the workers. They will bring the demands of the workers to the attention of everyone; expose the class character of the state, present the need of a workers' state and the path to Communism. These were the tactics employed by Bebel, the elder and younger Liebknecht, and the Russian Bolsheviks. These are the tactics of the revolutionary Communist as against the petty bourgeois socialist.

John Bukas, Jr., has such a task thrust upon his shoulders. Progressive social legislation tending to alleviate the sufferings of the workers of Yorkville should be advocated by him, not merely in the chambers of the city council, but also wherever the workers gather, in the streets, in the workers' halls, etc. But never should he foster the illusion that through elections the workers will be able to permanently better their conditions. On the contrary, he should expose the sham of capitalist democracy and stress the necessity of social revolution as the way out.

In conclusion, the present state being the organ of suppression of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie, the Communists should do all in his power to lay bare its workings, and to work for its overthrow and elimination. The elections and the participation in the capitalist legislative bodies are means through which the Communist party attempts to influence the widest ranks of the workers and win them for its program.

—H. S.

ures to prevent it, a split might arise unexpectedly.

“I will further characterize the other members of the Central Committee as to their personal qualities. I will only remind you that the October episode of Zinoviev and Kamenev was not, of course, accidental, but that it ought as little to be used against them personally as the non-Bolshevism of Trotsky.

“Of the younger members of the Central Committee, I want to say a few words about Bucharin and Piatakov. They are, in my opinion, the most able forces (among the youngest), and in regard to them, it is necessary to bear in mind the following: Bucharin is not only the most valuable and biggest theoretician of the party, but also may legitimately be considered the favorite of the whole party; but his theoretical views can only with the very greatest doubt be regarded as fully Marxist, for there is something scholastic in him (he never has learned, and I think never has fully understood, the dialectic).

“And then, Piatakov—a man undoubtedly distinguished in will and ability, but too much given over to administration and the administrative side of things to be relied on in a serious political question.

“Of course, both these remarks are made by me merely with a view to the present time, or supposing that these two able and loyal workers may not find an occasion to supplement their knowledge and correct their one-sidedness.  
Dec. 25, 1922

“Postscript: Stalin is too rude, and this fault, entirely supportable in relations among us Communists, becomes insupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position and appoint to it another man who in all respects differs from Stalin only in superiority—namely, more patient, more loyal, more polite, and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc. This circumstance may seem an insignificant trifle, but I think that from the point of view of preventing a split and from the point of view of the relation between Stalin and Trotsky which I discussed above, it is not a trifle, or it is such a trifle as may acquire a decisive significance.

—Lenin.

Jan. 4, 1923

# Thesis On Youth Question

## Honor the Memory of Bolshevnik Leaders

## Farewell, Ilyich!

(We reprint below additional sections from the thesis on the Youth Question adopted at the second national conference of the Communist League of America (Opposition), held in New York City from Sept. 24-27, 1931. Additional sections will be printed in forthcoming issues of *Young Spartacus*.—Ed.)

### THE EFFECTS OF THE CRISIS

The working youth is especially hard hit by the present economic crises. The miserable wages previously received by the young workers made it impossible for them to save any money. Unemployment which has resulted in the throwing of over two million youth out of industry, reduces them to poverty, increases their misery. The conditions of the employed youth are being worsened by wage-cuts, and speed-up. The absence of trade union protection or social legislation makes their position extremely difficult.

The crisis has the effect of driving many working class students out of the schools. It helps shatter their illusions about the simplicity of getting out of their proletarian condition.

The plight of the young workers today is the best refutation of the much glorified American democracy, "fair play", and "equal opportunity for all" which the powerful bourgeois agencies, schools, press, church and youth organizations have hammered into their heads. The youth are beginning to see this. It furnishes the best objective conditions yet known in this country for the winning of large sections of youth away from bourgeois ideology, the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. H. A., the Boy Scouts, etc., and for the Young Communist League. To accomplish this requires correct tactics in the class struggle, realistic youth demands and activities, a courageous, capable Marxist leadership in the Y. C. L.

### THE AMERICAN LEAGUE

Even in this period of splendid opportunities for Communist youth work, the American League is not only a mere shadow of the party (claiming 2,000 members) but has lost more than fifty percent of its membership since the last convention two years ago. The crisis which has been gripping the international Communist and revolutionary movement for the last few years is especially acute in the Y. C. L. in this country. The reign of Stalinism in the Comintern, its false strategy and tactics, its incompetent leadership, internationally as well as nationally, combined with false youth tactics, are responsible for the present condition in the American Communist youth movement.

There is not a single field of its activities in which the League can show substantial accomplishments. No real educational activity is carried on inside the League; discussions on youth tactics, on trade union policies, etc., are a thing of the distant past. The so-called leaders, appointed by the party bureaucrats, are incompetents whose chief trait is their subservience and obedience.

In its most important function, that of educating the youth for Communism, the Y. C. L. has completely failed. This is best exemplified by the fact that the rapid and constant turnovers of membership in its ranks means, not that the party is recruiting from the League, but rather that the youth are turning away from the revolutionary movement. This is the major and most serious weakness of the League.

The youth leagues which in the early days of the Communist movement were in the forefront of the struggle against opportunism in the revolutionary movement are today blinded to the growing dangers of the complete degeneration of the Communist party. The real struggles and difficulties of the Russian Com-

(Continued from Page One)  
 ernment issued the now famous "Junius Pamphlet—The Crisis in the German Social Democracy". Here she proves the complete degeneration of the official movement, analyses the causes of the war, its effects on the working class movement and the road that the revolutionists should tread.

### The Russian Revolution

The Russian Revolution, led by the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky, found staunch support among the Spartacans. (This in spite of certain temporary differences based on incomplete information). When in 1918 the democratic revolution released Liebknecht and Luxemburg from prison, they immediately assembled their forces to follow the example of their Russian comrades and establish a Soviet Germany. On December 31, 1918 they founded the German Communist Party (Spartacus Bund).

Rosa, in her inaugural address, again investigated the new problems brought forth by the conditions of the war and post-war period. She re-examined the teachings of Marx and Engels on the questions of armed insurrection, guerrilla warfare, force and violence, and concluded that history had once again placed on the agenda the tactics advocated by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* in 1847-8, but later proclaimed by Engels as out-lived. (Introduction to the *Class Struggles in Franco-Marx*). From the point of view of theory, the disruption of the organic stability of capitalism, the bourgeois negation of democracy, the intensification of the class struggle, in a word, the development of industrial capitalism to capitalist imperialism, as well as from practical experience—the guerrilla warfare in Berlin even at the time of her speech and the Russian Revolution—she concluded that armed insurrection, the necessity of illegal organization and activity, etc., had once again become the correct tactics for the revolutionists. In this speech Rosa Luxemburg shows her almost incomparable ability to apply the Marxian dialectic method.

### Murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg

The social democratic government feared the Spartacans. In December 1918 and January 1919 when the masses of Berlin spontaneously arose, the Spartacans put themselves at the head of the movement. On January 15th, Liebknecht and Luxemburg were arrested and murdered in the most shameful fashion by the treacherous social democrats.

A day previously when the movement had experienced a temporary set-back, Liebknecht wrote in the *Röte Fahne*:

"Spartacus smashed! not so fast! We have not fled, we are not defeated and if they fetter us, we are there, and we remain there and victory will be ours.

.....  
 munist are unknown to them; they are taught to put unquestioned faith in the statements and policies of the leading faction in the Comintern and the Russian party.

In anti-militarist work, the League, although it has carried on some work in the armed forces in New York, has been extremely negligent. Little more than a few cries about the war danger in the *Young Worker* have been the sum and substance of the anti-militarist campaign. Even its own members are not taught the fundamentals of Communist anti-militarist tactics.

The struggle against the withdrawal of the second class mailing privileges from the *Young Worker* was a complete failure. This was pre-determined by the weakness of the paper, its inability to reach large sections of youth its almost worthless character as an educator and "collective organizer" of the young workers and the complete abandonment of the united front by the League as a method of winning the youth.

The work of the League among the children is best judged by the results;

For Spartacus means fire and spirit, means soul and heart, means will and action of the proletarian revolution; means all the sufferings and longing for happiness, all the determination of the class-conscious proletariat to struggle. For Spartacus means socialism and world revolution".

On the day of her murder Luxemburg wrote:

"Order is established in Berlin! You fools! Your 'order' is built on sand! Tomorrow the revolution will arise again majestic and to your terror announce with a voice of thunder—I was, I am, I am to be!"

### Early Days of Communist International

This unconquerable faith and devotion inspired the early days of the Young Communist International. With the guiding hands of Lenin and Trotsky the Communist youth movement had taken the first steps in teaching the young workers to follow in the path of Luxemburg and Liebknecht. Lenin emphasized time and again the need of conducting Communist youth education. Education through struggle, anti-militarist activity, work in the shops, in order to win the youth for Communism—this the Y. C. L. in its early days promised to fulfill.

For the last few years the Comintern and the Young Communist International has deviated from the path of Marxism, from the road laid out by Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg. Since the death of Lenin (January 21, 1924) the Russian and International Communist movement has been dominated by a leadership which strangles its growth and weakens its influence. Education is alien to them; anti-militarist work is practically non-existent. The youth Leaguers do not understand the Communist position on war and militarism; the teachings of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg are either distorted or completely forgotten.

### Left Opposition Youth Continues Work of German Spartacans

Today when the world is again threatened by world conflagration the working class stands disarmed. The ravaging of Manchuria by Japanese imperialism finds the international communist movement and especially the youth unable to cope with the situation. The International Left Opposition; under the leadership of L. D. Trotsky inherits and continues the best traditions of revolutionary Marxism. At this time the Left Opposition youth unfurls the banner of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, the banner of Spartacus. Like them we are at present a handful. But with faith and devotion, with certainty as to our Marxist position, and with determination, we raise the cry of Lenin: Forward to clarity and action!

—JOSEPH CARTER.

.....  
 a sharp decline in the membership of the Young Pioneers; a complete absence of Communist child education in its ranks.

In the economic field, the League has had exceptional possibilities for growth. An overwhelming majority of the youth are outside of even the legal "jurisdiction" of the A. F. of L. unions. In the needle trades where most of them do auxiliary work, the so-called youth section of the Industrial Union confines itself to several open-air meetings in the regular market, the distribution of a few leaflets for several indoor meetings. No real or consistent work in the shop or factory.

.....  
 "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their own ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing conditions. Let the ruling class tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!"—*Communist Manifesto*.

◆◆◆  
 Lenin is no more. We have lost Lenin. The dark laws that govern the world; the arteries have destroyed his life. Medicine has proved itself powerless to accomplish what was passionately hoped for, what millions of human hearts demanded.

How many, unhesitatingly, would have sacrificed their own blood to the last drop to revive, to renew the work of the arteries of the great leader, Lenin— Ilyich, the unique, who cannot be replaced. But no miracle occurred where science was powerless. And now Lenin is no more. These words descend upon our consciousness like gigantic rocks falling into the sea. Is it credible, can it be thought of?

The consciousness of the workers of the whole world cannot grasp this fact; for the enemy is still very strong, the way is long, and the great work, the greatest of history, is unfinished; for the working class of the world needed Lenin as perhaps no one in the history of the world has yet been needed.

The second attack of illness, which was more severe than the first, lasted more than ten months. The arteries "played" constantly, according to the bitter expression of the physicians. It was a terrible play with the life of Lenin. Improvement could be expected, almost complete recovery but also catastrophe. We all expected recovery, but catastrophe happened. The breathing center of the brain refused to function and stifled the center of that mind of great genius.

And now Vladimir Ilyich is no more. The party is orphaned. The workmen's class is orphaned. This was the very feeling aroused by the news of the death of our teacher and leader.

How shall we advance, shall we find the way, shall we not go astray? For Lenin, comrades, is no longer with us!

### Leninism Endures

Lenin is no more, but Leninism endures. The immortal in Lenin, his doctrine, his work, his method, his example, lives in us, lives in the party that he founded, lives in the first workmen's State whose head he was and which he guided.

Our hearts are now so overcome with grief, because all of us, thanks to the great favor of history, were born contemporaries of Lenin, worked with him, and learned from him. Our party is Leninism in practice, our party is the collective leader of the workers. In each of us lives a small part of Lenin, which is the best part of each of us.

How shall we continue? With the lamp of Leninism in our hands. Shall we find the way? With the collective mind, with the collective will of the party we shall find it!

And tomorrow, and the day after, for a week, a month, we shall ask, Is Lenin really dead? For his death will long seem to us an improbable, an impossible, a terrible arbitrariness of nature.

May the pain we feel, that stabs our hearts each time we think that Lenin is no more, before each of us an admonition, a warning, an appeal: Your responsibility is increased. Be worthy of the leader who trained you!

In grief, sorrow, and affliction we bind our ranks and hearts together; we unite more closely for new struggles. Comrades, brothers, Lenin is no longer with us. Farewell, Ilyich! Farewell, Leader! Tiflis Station, January 22, 1924

—LEON TROTSKY.

### IMPORTANT DATES IN JANUARY

- 9th—1905. Demonstration before Winter Palace in Petersburg which led to Revolution of 1905.
- 15th—1919. Liebknecht and Luxemburg shot and murdered by the hirelings of the social democrat Noske in Berlin.
- 21st—1924. Lenin died.