

CLARITY
AND
ACTION

Young Spartacus

WORKERS
OF THE WORLD,
UNITE!

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JAPAN'S WAR THREAT TO SOVIET UNION

The murder of the Japanese Premier Tsuyoshi Inukai by a group of military men has intensified the political crisis in that country. The complicated class relationships in the economy of Japan expresses itself in diverse political groupings and intrigues. The military-feudal elements, basing themselves on the large landowners, the army and the large state bureaucracy, is coming in sharper conflict with the various strata of the capitalist class. The latter want a subordination of the military forces to the parliament elected by universal suffrage, a cut in military expenditures, a greater control of the political life of the country. Especially the small capitalists, and the petty bourgeoisie who were especially hit by the economic crisis are showing signs of discontent with the political regime.

The economic position of Japan is getting worse. Among the workers and the peasants symptoms of a deep-going dissatisfaction are being manifested. A large section of the Socialist party has recently seceded and combined with military men to form a National Socialist party on the model of the German Hitlerites. A good deal of their support however is based on the military-feudal elements who are opposed to a "normal" capitalist political control.

MANCHURIAN GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED BY JAPAN

In Manchuria, a puppet government has been set up controlled by the Japanese military. The present Premier, Makoto Saito, appears to be biding his time before continuing open moves against the Soviet Union. The successful control of Manchuria, the deep dissatisfaction at home, the increasing economic and political difficulties, and the uncertainty of allies compelled Saito to issue high-sounding phrases about the innocence of the intentions of Japan in Manchuria and particularly, its relation to the Soviet Union. It should be kept in mind that the capitalist resort to war only when other, that is, peaceful means of getting their aims have failed. This stage is being reached on a world scale.

In this connection it is well to quote comrade Trotsky's position: "Cannot the Manchurian adventure of the Japanese, nevertheless, lead to war with the U. S. S. R. It is understood, this is not excluded even with the wisest and most cautious policy on the part of the Soviet government. The internal contradictions of feudal capitalist Japan have obviously unbalanced her government. There is no lack of instigators (France). And from the historical experiences of Czarism in the Far East, we know what an unbalanced military-bureaucratic monarchy is capable." (Germany—the Key to the International Situation—November 26, 1931.)

DANGER OF WAR ON TWO FRONTS

Since then the uncertainties have unquestionably increased. The actual outbreak of a war usually comes with a surprising suddenness. The secrecy of diplomacy, foreign intrigues and alliances based on the existence of innumerable causes and conditions for World war and particularly war against the Soviet Union makes the present situation extremely dangerous. At the same time the danger of a Hitler Fascist coup d'Etat in Germany, which would strengthen the anti-Soviet imperialist bloc in Europe, means that the Soviet Union is threatened on two fronts. Comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition have emphasized that the Soviet Union is absolutely correct in refusing to be implicated in a war in

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Fascist Danger Grows Junker Government Prepares the Way for Hitler's Regime

The decisive day is approaching in Germany. The second meeting of the recently elected Prussian Diet at which the National Socialists attempted to forcibly eject the Communist deputies was the signal for a whole series of street fights and riots between the Communists and the Hitler Fascists. But a few days later Hindenburg dismissed the Brüning government and instituted in its place the Junker government of Von Papen. This government, admittedly representing the big bourgeoisie and large landowners, has but one reason for existence—to prepare the State machinery and forces for an outright dictatorship. The coming two months will see hasty final preparations on the part of the bourgeoisie for coping with working class resistance that will inevitably arise the moment Hitler attempts to take over the reins of power. The class struggle is breaking through the shams of bourgeois democracy. The outcome will be decided not in the majestic parliamentary halls but in the factories, in the unions and on the streets.

The issues should be clear. Hitler is preparing to seize the state power (whether legally or illegally is not of much difference. He is preparing to shoot and kill all workers who oppose him, whether they will come from the Communist party, the Socialist party or the trade unions. Hitler stands with a gun aimed at the heads of the working class. The latter must take immediate steps to defeat him.

The workers desire a united front in the struggle against Fascism. The party should have been the one to organize the movement. Instead they trumpeted aloud their cries of social-Fascism and proceeded to organize "red united fronts from below". A united front with the social democratic workers, but not with the leaders; with the workers as individuals, but not with their groups and organizations. The movement failed to attract any but Communist sympathetic workers. Today, we cannot exclude the possi-

bility of a legal Hitler government (either alone or together with some other group). Already a National-Socialist has succeeded in being elected chairman of the Prussian Diet. The workers must prepare for this. But they should not concentrate their efforts on parliamentary struggles. The question will be decided in the factories and on the streets.

Whether his steps be legal or illegal, he will immediately take steps leading the country to a pure Fascist dictatorship. Undoubtedly events in Germany will develop at an infinitely more rapid tempo than in Italy. We can gain an inkling of the trend from the history of Fascism in Italy.

We must point out that Hitler will travel the whole road if permitted to. What the working class must do is to strike back while he is taking the first step. The full force of the united front must be brought to defend the privileges won by years of struggle with the bourgeoisie. The defense must immediately be turned into an offensive all along the line. The workers fighting for their very lives should throw the full weight of their united strength upon the Hitler forces before the latter will have been able to consolidate his forces, thereby making that much more favorable the position of the working class.

In conclusion, we repeat, the social democratic workers have not yet been won over. They will not be with a continuation of the policies of social Fascism and red united front. A genuine united front is needed. The Social Democracy must be forced into a bloc against Hitler. The day the National Socialists make steps to take over the government, the full force of the united proletariat must be brought down upon the heads of the fascist hordes. The victory of fascism in Germany will constitute the greatest danger to the Soviet Union and the Communist International. It is not yet too late to create the forces for the defeat of Hitler. Tomorrow we may not be able to say this. —H. S.

Youth Fight Against Capitalist War

National Youth Day was set aside last year by the American Young Communist League as a counter-action to the bosses, Memorial Day, May 30th. Memorial or Decoration Day, held for the commemoration of the fallen American soldiers of the Civil, Spanish-American and World wars, is the occasion for a great display of the military forces of the country and the whipping-up of a patriotic and pro-war spirit. This year especially is this so.

The war in Manchuria may easily become the beginning of a new World War, American capitalism is looking for a way out of the economic crisis. The American workers are made to bear the brunt of this situation. The soldiers, the 'heroes' of the last war, are now begging of the United States government a pittance in the form of a bonus. They fought for the bosses—without knowing it. Now they are compelled to resort to that un-American (!) tactic of mass demonstrations. Over eight thousand of them are expected in Washington to demand the bonus.

The more militant, class conscious youth and adult workers demonstrated on National Youth Day against bosses' war, for the defense of the Soviet Union, for a united American working class

against the capitalists offensive. In New York, about three thousand workers, primarily youth, paraded and demonstrated for the above demands. In other cities similar meetings took place.

The American youth should say: Yes on Memorial Day we will remember that the American soldiers should not have died in vain! The Northern troops during the Civil War fought against chattel slavery. We will remember that is the only way of doing away with an exploiting economic system. In the Spanish-American War the American soldiers died for American capitalism in its early imperialist development. In the World War they fought for a more developed imperialist America. In both these later wars they fought for the bosses, those who exploit them on the job in peacetime, who strive, profit and grow by and through war.

We will turn Memorial Day into National Youth Day, rally with our class, demonstrate against bosses' war and exploitation. Thus we will be stronger, more organized and more prepared to fight the every day struggles and meet war when it does come by overthrowing capitalism and instituting a workers' state.

FOR UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST RANKS

To the N. E. C. of the Y. C. L.
To the Members of the Young Communist League

Comrades:-

The question of Communist unity is raised to the foreground acutely now by the pressure of international events. The menacing growth of Fascism in Germany whose assumption to power would mean a ruthless suppression and crushing of the Communists and revolutionary workers a threat to the existence of the Soviet Union, and a setback to the international proletarian movement; the perilous events in the Far East, carrying in their wake the danger of another world conflict and an attack upon the Soviet Union; the continued sharp crisis in American capitalism creating excellent opportunities for the Communists; all these force the question of such a unity.

It becomes even more imperative when we consider that (1) in Germany the Communists have failed to stem the tide of Fascism nor have they succeeded in winning a majority of the workers who for the most part still follow the social democracy—a condition which prevents a successful struggle; (2) the Party here as elsewhere has failed to mobilize a sufficiently strong movement of the proletariat that could prevent an outbreak of a new world conflict or an attack against the Soviet Union (and it is this particular problem of war and militarism which for the Young Communist League assumes a special and particular importance); (3) while the League has made gains, won new forces, the turnover of membership assumes a terrific rate, so that the gains are erased by equal number of losses (See the *Young Worker*, May 30, 1932).

The recent letter of the Young Communist International which criticizes the bureaucratic and mechanical leadership in the American Y. C. L. and its youth auxiliaries points out the mistakes and shortcomings of this leadership. The letter repeats what we have been saying and for which we have been condemned repeatedly. What is true of the American League is true also of the Y. C. I. When the bourgeoisie is making concerted drives in winning the youth from our banner and while opponent youth organizations are growing as a result of increased activities of the reformists, the gains of our League are small. The present economic crisis driving the workers toward struggle raises acutely the question of Communist leadership in struggle and affords both the Party and the Y. C. L., the possibility of assuming this leadership and becoming mass organizations.

Negotiations for unity were already begun between the Party and the Lovestone Right wing group. But these acts were secret. They were carried on behind closed doors so that even the membership of the Party and Young Communist League was unaware of it. We believe that unity can be achieved only in the open before the eyes of all workers and members. There is a need for unity and there is a desire for it on the part of the membership. In calling for the unity of the Communists we say quite openly to all comrades that we do not give up our ideas and differences. We believe that such differences and opinions that we have can be maintained within the framework of the Party and Y. C. L. and solved within its framework, not by deception but by an open and clear discussion carried out in accordance with the statutes and provisions of the organization.

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FOR INTERNATIONAL COORDINATION

The international organization of the Left Opposition gave a mighty impulse to the struggle against the Centrist and Right elements in the Communist International. Such an organization consolidated the work of the various national sections, unified our outlook, cleansed its ranks of elements out of place in the Left Opposition and allowed for an organized activity of the Bolshevik-Leninists on an international scale. That step was one of the most important and indispensable one for our movement. Without it the Left Opposition would be today much weaker, disorganized and lacking in unified purpose.

Up until now the fight of the Opposition paid no special attention to the revolutionary youth. The task of consolidating the general movement of the Left Opposition would not permit a separate organization and division of activity between our adult and youth comrades. Today however, the solid basis for the international organization of the Left Opposition has been founded. It grows stronger every day, it permits of a wider activity. Particularly is this true of our work of winning the young Communists to our banner.

The task of winning the youth to the Left Opposition is not our least important one. Quite the contrary. It is one of the most important tasks for our movement. A good deal of our success depends upon our ability to win the youth and train them for the future. They will be our shock-troops in the struggle for the line of Marx-Lenin in the world Communist movement. Comrade Trotsky is entirely correct in stressing the need of a concentration upon the youth and making special efforts to win them to us.

In this issue of *Young Spartacus* is a letter from our comrades in Paris which reports of their progress in the organization of a center for young workers with the objective of transforming this center into an Opposition movement. From Spain came reports of successive adherents of young Communists to the Spanish Left Opposition. Whole locals of the Young Communist League there, have joined the Spanish organization. In Germany, the Opposition is making special efforts in youth activity. The work in America has already made good progress through the organization of the youth activity and especially through the issuance of *Young Spartacus*, the first Opposition Youth paper in the world.

In order to make the struggle more effective, to outline program for our youth comrades internationally, to unify and consolidate this activity, forms of an international organization are necessary. We are yet some distance from this objective. But for the present some steps can be taken that will lead in that direction. The International Secretariat should begin at once to discuss the question of the youth and outline immediate steps for the setting up of a special committee that will concentrate upon this work, build up contact of the international sections with the aim of unifying the present work. Such a beginning would in the course of time lay a solid basis for the eventual step: **The International organization of the Opposition youth.**

This article is written in the sense of beginning a discussion on this important question.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

CHICAGO DEBATE

CAN THE SOCIALIST PARTY PLAY A REVOLUTIONARY ROLE IN AMERICA?

YES

Young Peoples' Socialist League

NO

Communist League of America (Opposition) Youth Group

Sunday, June 12, 1932 at 8 P. M.
3036 West Roosevelt Road

Activities of Opposition Youth

New York Spartacus Youth Club

In the past month, the Spartacus Youth Club of New York concentrated most of its attention on debates with the Young Peoples' Socialist League and the Vanguard group, a young Anarchist organization.

The first one with the young Socialists drew a crowd of over three hundred people at the 14th Street Labor Temple. An attentive audience listened to the respective arguments. The actual betrayals of the working class by the Socialist parties throughout the world during and since the World War were exposed by our comrades. That these opportunist and reactionary positions are an inevitable result of the false theories of the Socialists was the theme of the Communist presentation given by comrades Ray and Glotzer.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS DEFEND VIEW OF PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT

The representatives of the Y. P. S. L. responded with the usual array of quotations and misquotations from Marx and Engels to prove that society can and must evolve peacefully into the socialist society. The support of the last imperialist war, the murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, the betrayals by Noske and Scheiderman of the German working class, the dastardly "Labour" regime of MacDonald of wage cuts and imperialism, the support by the Socialist International of the League of Nations, the World Court and the 'disarmament' conferences, etc., ad infinitum, are but a murderous knifing of the workers by those whom they trusted and followed, the Socialist parties the world over. Academicians, thriving on radical phraseology, and non-digested or misused quotations, the young Socialists did not even make an attempt to defend the record and activities of the Socialist International. This in itself sufficed to condemn their entire case in support of the Socialist party.

ANARCHIST YOUTH DEBATE

Following the debate with the Young Socialists, the Spartacus Youth Club met the young Anarchists, the Vanguard Group in debate, at the Anarchist Hall, the Free Workers' Center.

An audience that packed the hall listened attentively to the presentations of both organizations. Our comrades Glotzer and Capelis took the affirmative on the subject "Is a Proletarian Dictatorship Necessary?". Presenting first a scientific analysis of the origin and development of the state, they drew the lessons that the historically reactionary class has always fought back bitterly against the new and progressive class. That with the overthrow of capitalism, the working class must establish itself as the ruling class and its own workers' state to smash the resistance of the overthrown bourgeoisie. That to each deposed national bourgeoisie would rally the international capitalist rulers—for this reason the new workers' rule must have its strong, centralized state and Red Army capable of concentrating against every step of intervention against it in any spot.

The masses never have presented a unified monolithic aggregation of individuals at the time of revolution—always a leading vanguard of trained revolutionists, conscious of their aims and the desires of the masses have directed and actively led the moving masses through the revolution. Today that vanguard is the Communist party.

The experiences of the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution were analyzed; the correctness of the ideas of the Communists on the necessity of the Proletarian dictatorship demonstrated first in the brief and premature Paris Commune and then, the triumphant vindication in the Russian Revolution.

The Young Anarchists replies essentially as do all the Anarchists: no program for leading the masses towards revolution except the abstract slogans of the revolution; no understanding of the necessity

for an organized, centralized uprising—which led to the disastrous putsch in Salente, Spain; "federal decentralization" and "the masses will know what to do after the revolution". Finally, with the actual fact of a workers' state, the Soviet Union, staring them in the face—the Anarchists see only the Stalinist bureaucracy, fail to understand that the existence of such a bureaucracy has its roots in the influence of reaction within the party itself—and end up by agreeing with Kropotkin that the "reaction is inevitable; we must wait for the reaction". Nor can the Anarchists tell the workers why they were unable to lead that revolution and why the Bolsheviks alone were able to perform that task. Not a word about how to strengthen the proletarian elements in the Soviet Union, of how to fight the bureaucracy; as the Left Opposition does today. On this attitude alone, if by nothing else the Anarchists betray their anti-Soviet and therefore anti-revolutionary character which can in practice lead to active counter-revolution.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS HELD BY YOUTH CLUB

Financially, both debates turned in fair sums to both organizations. Politically, they were undoubtedly of value in clarification of the different viewpoints. The Spartacus Youth Club intends to conduct several more debates next fall and winter and is already arranging for them.

In the past month, several open air meetings were held. Such will be a regular activity of the Club during the entire summer. Any young worker or student wishing to get in touch with the Spartacus Youth Club should attend its regular meetings on Fridays at the Stuyvesant Casino, 9th Street and 2nd Ave., at 8 o'clock sharp.

Morgenstern Goodman Released

After serving three months imprisonment for their participation in an unemployment demonstration in Philadelphia, about a year ago, comrades Morgenstern and Goodman were released on May 18th.

Our comrades were arrested for distributing leaflets on unemployment issued by the Communist League of America (Opposition), which called for the overthrow of capitalism. They were "pinched" at a demonstration called by the Communist party and convicted under the infamous criminal-syndicalist law of Pennsylvania at a trial made notable by the refusal of the International Labor Defense to aid our comrades because they were "Trotskyites".

They were present at a picnic of the New York branch on May 30 and spoke, telling of their short experience and their readiness to carry on as before. We welcome their return heartily to our ranks and extend our warm greetings to them.

Letter from Paris

Dear Comrades:-

We are making progress. In Paris, we have opened a young workers club (open all day) which has a fairly good library, a reading room and two small meeting rooms. With us are about twenty youth, who are sympathetic to the Opposition and have in mind the organization of a Spartacus Youth Group. We have held gatherings in the Club and are beginning a series of study courses with the comrades, as well as preparing an open discussion.

Even though the Stalinist leadership assail us in every issue of their paper, our progress is rapid . . . in spite of that, there is much to do. Our youth supplement (in *La Verite*) appears as yet too seldom . . . We have youth comrades in Marseille, Nizza, Aix (Toulouse), Soissons.

Do you not think comrades, that it is absolutely necessary in order to streng-

STUDENTS ORGANIZE TO FIGHT FEES

In a further attempt to place the burden of the crisis upon those who can least afford to bear it, the New York City administration is seriously considering the imposition of a regular tuition fee in the "free" city colleges. Already, the Higher Board of Education, urged by the brokerage and real estate interests, has increased the number of minor fees—which it may do without added legislation.

Beginning with next term Hunter College, which had very few fees before, will have the same fees as the other city colleges—textbook, laboratory, etc. In all the colleges fewer textbooks will be distributed free, and the courses, for which fees are charged, increased, i. e., many courses that are now "normal" will be made "special". What this means is indicated in the fact that, even at present, a City College Evening student pays as high as eighty-five dollars a semester if he takes certain technological subjects. The same applies to all the city schools, in greater or lesser degree.

Furthermore, the number of students entering the college has been limited. Entrance requirements have been raised with the understanding that a not regularly matriculated high school student may continue his education by paying \$2.50 per credit in an evening school. No comment need be made regarding the significance of this act in relation to unemployed or low-paid worker-students.

NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE LEADS STRUGGLE ON FEES

Initiated by the National Student League, a city-wide student movement was set into motion; not only against pending fees, but also against existing fees which the majority of students meet only with difficulty. Questionnaires that were circulated disclosed the conditions among the students, and what can be expected from them by way of support. In Hunter College, of 2,000 students answering, a mere eighteen percent said they would return should more fees be charged. Ninety-four percent promised to support an opposition movement.

Results in the Brooklyn Colleges, City College Day and Evening are much the same. For example, seventy-four percent of the answers in the latter school were to the effect that those writing them would not remain in school under the burden of added fees. The questionnaires also indicated the surprising amount of unemployment among the parents of the students.

In conducting their fight the N. Y. students have the brilliant example of the Detroit students to emulate. There a \$100 charge was revoked as a direct result of student demonstration. At present it is necessary to continue agitation, to hold meetings, to demonstrate; so that the students will be ready—for a strike if need be. However, it should be borne in mind that to successfully repulse fees is not sufficient. There are countless issues of student protest more than are expressed in the slogan of the fees committee for a "free and democratic education."

The victory of the fees movement will only be final if lasting organization is achieved, and if the students proceed from fees to academic freedom, anti-war, workers' demands, etc. To this end the ranks must be consolidated and educated. Therein lies the work of the National Student League! to attract these students now protesting fees into a permanent organization with a revolutionary perspective. Through all this the principle of united front must be observed.

—M. G.

then our international viewpoint to work out international theses of the Left Opposition youth? Our Belgian comrades wish to propose a platform which we will earnestly have to discuss. But every section will have to work out a document: 1. On the situation of the working youth in their own country; 2. On the situation in the Y. C. L. of their own country; 3. On the situation of the Opposition movement amongst the youth.

—Communist Greetings.

On Child Labor Legislation

The liberals and the rest of the good-hearted people amongst us violently combat the "bad" people who ruin our children; they wax eloquent in their defense of legal decree as a means of putting an end to this horror. Outstanding is the "Organizations Associated for the Ratification of the Child Labor Amendment", with headquarters in Washington, D. C.; who offer some extremely interesting facts on this score.

The first Federal Child Labor Law was enacted on Sept. 1, 1916. It prohibited shipment of goods of mines and quarries employing children under sixteen, and of factories employing those under fourteen. Less than two years later, on June 3, 1918, it was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court!

The second Federal Child Labor Law, placing a tax on profits of those employing children in violation of the law, lived about the same length of time. On May 15, 1922, the Supreme Court again manifested this ardent desire to protect the children of this country by declaring this law likewise unconstitutional.

LATEST ATTEMPT AT FEDERAL LEGISLATION

The third and latest attempt was made in 1924, by the sixty-eighth Congress; which passed a resolution giving Congress power to limit, regulate, and prohibit labor of persons under eighteen years of age. In the seven years since then, it has been ratified by exactly five states. In three states, one house has ratified it: in three it has never even been considered; and in the rest it is either being shelved or rejected outright!

The reason for this is revealed in the publication of the organization mentioned a few paragraphs above: that the National Manufacturers' Association and other similar organizations opened up a terrific campaign against the Amendment through hundreds of newspapers, buying them outright if necessary. They bribed whole editorial staffs, broadcasted hundreds of hours over the radio, printed thousands of pages of falsifications. They charged that the Amendment originated in Soviet Russia! They shouted that the Amendment would "nationalize the children"; that exclusive power would be given to Congress, etc., ad infinitum.

STATE CHILD LABOR LAWS INEFFECTIVE

What have the various state governments done in the matter of Child Labor legislation? Only two states prohibit the employment of children under sixteen. Eight states legally permit a nine to eleven hour workday for children under sixteen. The violation of even such law is so rampant, that every single investigator of child labor spends chapter after chapter enumerating them.

In fourteen states, there is not even mention of requirements for health certificates in the law! Despite the fact, for example, that in New York State alone, 95% of all the children in industry suffer from physical defects of one kind or another. (Study by Bureau of Women in Industry, 1924). Out of the entire forty-eight states, only two prohibit children from leaving school at the age of sixteen. It is interesting to note that thirty-five states permit children under fourteen to make their living in the street-trades—and here our liberal friends remark in a shocked tone, that the terrible growth of immorality finds its best source.

Carrying on meanwhile its hypocritical psalm singing for the welfare of "their" children, their rulers utilize their servile committees and agents of all shades to minimize the extent of their greedy exploitation. The 1920 census gives the number of children "gainfully employed" as 1,060,858, between the ages of ten and sixteen. Of this number, agriculture claimed 647,309; industry and non-agricultural occupation absorbed the other 413,549.

1920 CENSUS REPORT TAKEN DURING ECONOMIC CRISES

First of all we find, however, that the year 1920 was a year of depression. The contradictions of capitalism had once

again resulted in overproduction and unemployment. By 1923, in a survey taken of nineteen of the largest cities in the country, the number of child laborers had increased over 20%—and in nine of the nineteen increased over 50%. ("Child Labor", by Julia Johnson). And these figures denote only those children legally registered! These percentage figures may be taken as a barometer to indicate the gradual rise of child labor throughout the years of "prosperity" until the depression of the last three years set in.

Further, the 1920 census lists only those children over ten years of age. Yet reams of paper are devoted to recount the instances of employers grinding out profits of the lives of children under ten and even as young as five. The *Washington Post* (1924) reported that in the textile mills of the south, thousands of children were found working behind locked doors and barred windows. "The average life of the child after it enters the mill is four years, contracting tuberculosis and pneumonia." Four years of misery and death mercilessly terminate thousands of young lives. America, land of happiness!

To relate the horrors children in industry undergo is a task that figures cannot accomplish. In the three industrial states of New Jersey, Massachusetts and Wisconsin, the Federal Children's Bureau recounts 2534 accidents in one year; 819 children permanently disabled, seven dead. Arms, legs, lives—human beings laid waste that the parasites may pile up mountains of profits!

Illiteracy in this advanced country? The 1920 census reports over five million children over the age of ten as illiterate, **three million of them native born Americans.**

Thus far we have not touched upon agriculture, to which the census allots 650,000 of the total child labor. When the census was taken it did not include many thousands in the crop farming section; cotton, tobacco, beet, etc. Nor, we must remember, does it include children under ten. Yet various studies of agricultural states reveal the percentage of children under ten to be 20%, 33 1-3% or more!

ONLY ORGANIZED LABOR CAN STRUGGLE EFFECTIVELY FOR CONCESSIONS

Out of this whole disgusting mess of hypocrisy, can there be any doubt as to the kind of a government and system we live under? The answer can only be a terrific condemnation of both, and a determined struggle to wipe these monstrosities from the face of the earth. The boss class will fight every attempt of the working class in its struggle for better conditions; it will make concessions **only when the organized force of labor compels it to.** A hundred child labor laws, even if passed, will be violated in the future just as in the past. The hand and rule that oppress and enslave the working man and women are the same that tear from their arms the child that is theirs.

The abolition of wage slavery by the taking over of the means of production and exchange by the workers through the overthrow of the capitalist state machinery and the institution of a proletarian state leading to a classless society is the way out for the exploited adult and youth.

Let every youth, every adult, recognize this fact, take his place in the fighting ranks of labor, and there translate into action his hatred of this system of oppression by furthering its overthrow.

—HERBERT CAPELIS

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BOOK REVIEW

Foster on Soviet America

Towards Soviet America, by William Z. Foster.—Coward-McCann, Inc.

In this book, the presidential candidate of the Communist Party, William Z. Foster has the possibility of reaching a wide circle of workers, students, and intellectuals with the ideas of communism. First, because it appears during an election campaign when seemingly powerful American capitalism is floundering helplessly in the midst of a deep and unprecedented economic crisis. And secondly, because it has been published by a capitalist concern, which can circulate it wider than could a Communist organization. Foster does not and cannot use this opportunity to the greatest advantage because as a Stalinist, his book is permeated with the false and stupid theories of the faction to which he belongs. Thus together with an analysis of the contradictions of capitalism, successes of the Soviet Union, we are presented with slanders against the Left Opposition in general and comrade Trotsky in particular.

Trotsky does not believe in the theory of socialism in one country. Trotsky is a counter-revolutionist. The logic of Trotsky's position leads to the precipitation of abortive and fatal Communist revolts in capitalist countries. If Trotsky is a counter-revolutionist, why should he believe in Communist revolts altogether? It is really an incomprehensible counter-revolutionist who believes in workers revolting against capitalism! There is no logic in Foster's position! As for precipitated revolts, let us remind Foster that it was comrade Trotsky who fought the ultra-Lefts at the Third Congress, who opposed the Bulgarian and Estonian adventures of 1924, and the Canton putsch of 1927. Or perhaps it was Trotsky who invented the "third period"? Why does not Foster mention the "third period" which resounded so thunderously not so long ago?

THE RECORD OF FOSTER

And since Foster has seen fit to raise the question of "counter-revolutionists", it is entirely in place to recall to his memory where he stood during the World War. From a revolutionary syndicalist, he evolved into a social-patriot, an agent of the bourgeoisie among the workers, a peddler of liberty bonds. While Trotsky, leading the Red Army, was defending the Soviet Union, against counter-revolutionary intervention, Foster, under the leadership of Gompers, was testifying before the Senate Investigation Committee how he helped win the war.

Foster heaps ridicule, and justly, on the heads of the capitalists and social-democrats who scoffed at the Soviet plans for industrialization. But he forgot to include Stalin in the category of those who scoffed. He is silent on the denunciations of super-industrialism hurled against the Left Opposition by the Stalin-Bucharin bloc for demanding rapid and realistic (as events have demonstrated) tempos of industrialization and collectivization. Foster rejoices that the great Dnieperstroy power plant has been completed six months ahead of schedule. But he is silent on the fact that in April, 1927, Stalin, answering Trotsky, then president of the Dnieperstroy Commission, declared at a meeting of the Central Executive Committee: "For us to build the Dnieperstroy would be just the same as to buy the mouzhik (peasant) a gramophone instead of a cow."

BUREAUCRATIC OPTIMISM

The chapter on the Soviet Union is saturated with the customary Stalinist bureaucratic optimism. It is correctly stated that the Russian workers are accomplishing gigantic successes unknown to history, but it is not stated that they are also confronted with dangers and difficulties which arise from the contradictions between town and country, between the general cultural-economic backwardness of Russia and the tasks of Socialist transformation, between the monopoly of foreign trade and the world market, all of which will be finally solved on the arena of victorious international

proletarian revolution. To do this would run counter to the anti-Marxian theory of socialism in one country.

In accordance with the present line, Foster applies the terms fascism, social-fascism, left social fascism ungrudgingly, it must be admitted. It is interesting to note that Foster in developing the idea of social-fascism presents it as if it commenced with the world war. This of course frees him from the necessity of explaining why the term social-fascism as a synonym for social-democracy was unknown in the Communist movement prior to 1929. He might have to explain that it was 180 degree turn away from the Stalin-Bucharin opportunistic united front policies with the Chiang-Kai-Sheks, and the Purcells. The attempt of Foster to indiscriminately link the Left Opposition with Muste or Lovestone or others is futile. He can assert but he cannot prove it.

In presenting the strength of the Communist Party Foster indulges in a few exaggerations. For example, he claims 5,000 dues paying members in the Young Communist League. The *Young Worker* of May 30, 1932, informs us however that there are only 2,862 dues paying members. The Unemployed Councils number 75,000 members. The resolution of the Central Committee however, states: "The fact that during more than two years of mass unemployment the Party has not organized more than 20,000 unemployed workers, is the most outstanding illustration of this fact (lagging behind)". Even this is an exaggeration.

In so far as the book explains the fundamental ideas of Communism it is useful. It contains a good deal of such material. But it suffers from Stalinism.

—GEORGE RAY.

Scottsboro Boys Execution Stayed

On May 31st, the United States Supreme Court resolved a decision to review the Scottsboro Case. The review of the case, scheduled for October, will stay the execution of seven of the nine young negro boys who were framed up on a charge of rape, more than a year ago. The other two await a new trial.

The action of the Supreme Court is not without reason. World-wide mass pressure and the inauguration of working class movements in this country, gaining momentum from day to day in protesting this attempt at legal murder, forced the action of the high priests of American "justice".

The greater part of the work however, lies ahead of us. It must be understood that the decision to review the case is a partial victory, not alone for the convicted boys, but also for the working class as a whole. The pressure of an organized protest as a result of a wide organization and mobilization of the workers made this partial victory possible. But the work is not finished. Between the present time and date of review, an intensified activity must be carried on.

The mobilization of the workers, negro and white, adult and youth, native and foreign born, must not be halted. The weapon in our hands is the broad united front embracing all workers. The use of this weapon in part has made possible the splendid struggle in defense of the boys. It needs to be even more applied. Spread the fight further. Broaden still more the united front tactic to embrace everyone willing to join hands in the struggle.

There is no time to be lost. Flood the country with protests and demonstrations in behalf of our negro comrades. Fight against capitalist class justice, against the legal murder of our fellow workers.

—A. G.

Read the weekly **MILITANT** the official organ of the Communist League of America (Opposition) for articles on current questions and the problems of the Communist movement.

Spartacan Comments

SPANISH LEFT OPPOSITIONISTS ARRESTED

The re-issuance of the *El Soviet*, the official organ of the Spanish section of the International Left, was a signal to the master class of that country, actively aided by its faithful lackeys, the Socialists, to arrest and imprison our comrades. On May 9th comrades Lacroix and Alberto and Eugenio Fernandez received this democratic (.) treatment at the hands of the saviours of the Republic, the Civil Guard. Later Andres Nin and twenty other leading Oppositionists were arrested.

The young Communists who believe the slander of the Stalinists that our comrades are counter-revolutionists should question: Why are the Left Oppositionists the first to be attacked by our class enemies? Or why does the bourgeoisie show disfavor to a "social Fascist" group and its paper?

The Socialist youth, on the other hand, who brag about the democracy prevalent in the "Workers' Republic" of Spain, should ask their leaders to reconcile (.) above act (and innumerable similar ones) with talk about freedom of speech, press and assemblage. Why don't those young Socialists who really favor such rights publicly protest against the arrest and imprisonment of the Communists in Spain?

I. L. P. GUILD OF YOUTH CONVENTION

The recent National Convention of the Independent Labour Party (Great Britain) youth organization decided to disaffiliate from the Socialist International. Apparently a very radical step far in advance of its adult organization.

But we read in the official organ of the I. L. P., the *New Leader*, May 20, 1932, the following report:

"A further move was the decision to disaffiliate from the Second (Socialist) International, which delegates felt, was so little in sympathy with the advanced views of the Guild as not to warrant the somewhat heavy expenses of affiliation and representation."

Comment is almost superfluous. Except to add that the Conference delegates rejected the proposal (?!) of a fraternal delegate of the Young Communist League to leave the Guild and join the Y. C. L. (How surprising!). It however decided to affiliate to the home for the homeless, the friend of the friendless, the homage place for platonic Soviet supporters, the radical cover for needy reformists, the Friends of the Soviet Union.

IVAN KRUEGER AN EXAMPLE OF CAPITALIST GENIUS

The capitalist press for sometime has been carrying reports on the fraud put across by Ivan Krueger, the millionaire Match king who bumped himself off. Here was a gentleman—if there ever was one—who had the confidence of the largest international bankers without any securities and on the basis of a mere request for funds was able to obtain it. A shrewd fellow, he got money for companies for which account was never given. In fact, three of his alleged subsidiary companies were marked as 'X', 'Y', 'Z' and his financial backers claim they do not even know in what countries these companies are!

Surely a capitalist genius! He made millions by the sweat of the workers; few complained. He made more millions by playing a unique confidence game with his wealthy colleague; howls and cries are raised at the unscrupulous, fraudulent Swede.

But after all, why complain, isn't that what one should expect as things are being run today? Why should a capitalist stop at exploiting the worker, when he can continue and further enrich himself by robbing another exploiter? Isn't that how capitalism works.

—PLEBIAN.

LEON TROTSKY

Appeal to C. C. of the Soviet Union

(We reprint excerpts from the open letter of comrade Leon Trotsky, to the C. E. C. of the U. S. S. R., on the occasion of the removal of his citizenship rights of the Soviet Union. The letter is a scathing exposure of the Stalin regime against the Left Opposition and we think an effective answer to such methods and actions. —Ed.)

* * * *

With inevitable delay I learn from *Pravda* of your decision of February 20, 1932, depriving me and the members of my family sharing with me expulsion, exile and work, of the rights of Soviet citizenship and forbidding our entry to the U. S. S. R. Wherein my "counter-revolutionary" activity lies, the decision does not say.

Thus you did not consider it possible to adopt your decision before two of the most responsible papers of the Soviet Union—the central organ of the party and the official organ of the government—had deceived the people with the aid of forgeries fabricated by Polish and German Fascists. This is a fact which can neither be erased nor obliterated.

Stalin will tell you that it is not a question of "isolated" facts but that the decision is based on the whole counter-revolutionary activity of myself and of my family, in general, which needs no proofs. If this is so why was it necessary to resort to false documents and introduce elements of an unworthy masquerade into the decision itself? He cannot wriggle out of this. The fact that after nine years of uninterrupted baiting—do not forget that the beginning of the struggle against "Trotskyism" coincided with the death of Lenin—you had to resort to borrowings from the filthy sheets of Polish and German chauvinism in order to pass this exceptional law against me and my family to hide under an amalgam—this fact alone discloses and strips bare to the bone the impotence of all the campaigns against "Trotskyism" and irreparably compromises your last creative act.

The Opposition fought against the Stalinist faction for industrialization, for planning, for higher tempos of economy, against the stake on the kulak, for collectivization. From the year 1923 on, the Opposition demanded the preparation of a five year plan and itself indicated its basic elements. All the economic successes of the Soviet Union were theoretically and partially organizationally prepared by the Left Opposition. Your president Kalinin, who supported Stalin from the Right against the Left Opposition, knows more about it than any one else. Yet in April 1927, Stalin, in the struggle against me, with the support of Molotov, Kalinin, Voroshilov and others, declared that "we need the Dnieprostroy as a mujik needs a phonograph". In this formula is contained a whole historic philosophy. For the struggle against it and for its defeat, Rakovsky is chained down to Barnoul, hundreds and thousands of unbending revolutionaries fill the places of detention and exile, several Bolshevik-Leninists—are shot.

On the international arena, the situation was not different. The Opposition fought in 1923 against the capitulationist policies of Brandler who was supported on the Right side by Stalin; against the Stalinist theory of the work-

er-peasant parties; against the confinement of Chinese Communism within the iron cage of the Kuo Min Tang; against the bloc of the Politburo with the clique of British strike-breakers; against the whole opportunistic, ruinous, shameful, thoroughly treacherous policy of Stalin, who for several years supported the stirrup of Chiang Kai-Shek and exchanged portraits with this on the very eve of the day when Chiang Kai-Shek instituted the blood-bath of Shanghai.

You long ago substituted for inner-party democracy, "self-criticism". In the beginning it meant that one may criticize anyone outside of the Central Committee. Later it means that one may criticize only those whom the C. C. orders to be criticized. Now it means that one may criticize any one but Stalin and must bait any member of the C. C. who does not swear by the name of Stalin. Above the party, above the apparatus, above criticism—stands Stalin. The law of his infallibility takes on a retroactive character. The history of the party is rebuilt around the Stalinist infallibility as around a new axis. Anyone who had not succeeded in rearming himself, inevitably falls under the knife.

Can there be anything more malignant, more debased and shameful than the introduction of super-monarchical authority into the Party of the proletariat? Perhaps you do not know where it leads to: Re-read history. The dogma of lifetime infallibility is the most unquestionable, the most shameful expression of the fact that Stalin's management is in irreconcilable contradiction with the economic, political and cultural development of Soviet democracy, and—what is no less important—with the historical problems of the world proletarian vanguard.

Already in not less than twenty countries there are cadres of Bolsheviks who by right feel themselves to be the continuators of the Marxian tradition, of the school of Lenin, of the commandants of the October revolution. You will not shut them up!

Read again the resolutions of the plenums of the Central Committee, for the years 1925 and 1927, read again the statements of the Opposition, you have a fuller set of documents than I have. And you will be convinced again that the whole evolution of the party, of the apparatus, of the Stalinist clique were foretold by us, all the milestones were indicated before. The decomposition of the Stalinist system accuses with the exact observance of the manner indicated by the Opposition. Do you want to follow this road further? But there is no road further. Stalin has brought you to an impasse. You cannot come out on the road without liquidating Stalinism. You must trust to the working class, give the proletarian vanguard the possibility, through free criticism from top to bottom, to review the whole Soviet system and pitilessly cleanse it of the accumulated rubbish. It is time, finally, to fulfill the last urgent advice of Lenin: to REMOVE Stalin.

Great problems are again being placed by history on the order of the day: in the Far East and especially in the center of Europe, in Germany. When measures of great policy are needed Stalin finesses with petty police measures. The Opposition will step over the decision of February 20th as a worker on the way to work steps over a mud puddle. Prinkipo, March 1, 1932

Japan's War Threat to Soviet Union

(Continued from page one)

the Far East which would require a concentration of all its military forces on the eastern front. This would leave the western borders of Russia open for attack in case of a Fascist victory in Germany. Herein lies the acute danger of an imperialist struggle against the workers' Fatherland.

DEMONSTRATE AND ORGANIZE AGAINST WAR

The *Young Worker* leading editorial (March 28th, 1932) which states that at

present"—Trotsky plays the role of hand-aid to world imperialism by disarming the working class and making them doubt the immediacy of an attack on the Soviet Union," repeats the vicious and slanderous attacks on the outstanding leader of world Communism in the vilest form.

The young Communist should protest against such slander. Read the writings of comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition. The working and student youth should demonstrate and organize for the

Communist Unity

(Continued from page one)

This is not the first time we have asked for unity and readmission. We have never made any stipulations for such unity other than the right to maintain our opinions. Nor do we now make any demands or conditions for the unification of our ranks. In our efforts to collaborate with the Y. C. L. we have only requested the right to participate in its activities and to aid the League. At times our aid was rejected—at other times accepted—but no matter, at all times official policy has been to prevent us from effectively working with the Y. C. L. In spite of this we have participated in conferences and demonstrations, etc., called by the League. We intend to continue this work.

We think that this policy of hindering our collaboration is wrong. Particularly so, when the League lacks experienced forces to aid in the work. By a unification of our ranks through the re-admission into the League of the Left Opposition Youth, the League will be strengthened by the addition of a number of experienced and mature comrades who would function in any capacity required. That would be a tremendous aid and accelerating force to the Communist youth movement.

In the declaration to the Communist Party, the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) states:

"In putting before the party now our request for its unification by the re-admission of the members of the Left Opposition, we again put no conditions whatsoever. We stand for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union, the workers' fatherland, the test for every revolutionist especially now when the danger of intervention and counter-revolution is becoming more acute. We stand for the unconditional support of our party, which we built and defended in the past and are ready to build and defend in the future. These paramount questions take precedence with us and determine our appeal for re-admission. The differences which we have with the present party policy can, we repeat, and should be settled within the framework of one single organization, the Communist Party. We aspire only to defend our point of view inside the party, to speak for it in the proper manner and at the proper time, in accordance with the provisions made for such discussion by the statutes of the party and the International and in accordance with the principle of democratic centrism. . . . We are quite prepared to go all the way towards making this unity a reality, a reality which we are sure will give our party a new impetus and added effectiveness in the class struggle." (Militant—May 28, 1932).

We stand by that declaration. All that is stated therein applies to the Y. C. L. with equal force. We ask you comrades, to consider our request for unity and sincerely hope that a reply will be forthcoming.

With Communist greetings,
National Youth Committee,
Communist League of America
(Opposition)

For 8 Page Young Spartacus

At a recent meeting of the National Youth Committee it was decided to launch a campaign for an eight page monthly *Young Spartacus* to be issued in September. When our paper was first issued in its present form last December this was only a step in the direction of an eight pager as well as towards further advance. Now we have decided on a definite date for the change.

On the job. Get on your toes. Let us stride forward to an eight page Monthly *Young Spartacus* by September!

immediate economic needs of its class, against imperialist war, for the stopping of the shipment of munitions to Japan, for the withdrawal of American troops in the Far East, for the defense of the Soviet Union.

—JOS. C.