

CLARITY! YOUNG SPARTACUS ACTION! WORKERS OF THE WORLD unite!

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On the German Battlefront

The decisive struggle in Germany has not yet taken place. The temporary postponement gives the revolutionary forces, the Communist party, an opportunity to rid itself of its false policies and pursue tactics which would win to its side the majority of the German working class. The present situation is but a short breathing-space for the proletariat which can be terminated only by the extermination of the working class organizations through an open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the proletarian dictatorship.

The present regime of Von Papen, appointed by the republican president, Hindenburg is attempting to govern Germany so that the Fascist arm of the master class will not have to be employed. Fascism is wholeheartedly supported by the bourgeoisie only when it has no other way out, that is, cannot suppress the revolutionary working class movement through legal or extra-legal democratic means. Fascism inevitably implies civil war, street fighting, disorder and chaos. The German capitalists are supporting the Von Papen government to avoid, if possible, such an open violent struggle.

The Von Papen regime has been described by comrade Trotsky as Bonapartist. That is a dictatorial regime apparently above classes and parties based upon the military and governing in the interests of the bourgeoisie. Through emergency decrees and edicts Von Papen has deprived the various state governments of some of their rights, worsened the workers' conditions, declared martial law, banned for a time political demonstrations, censored Communist, Social Democratic and even Fascist newspapers, and instituted emergency courts to deal speedily with "political offenses". In this manner the German capitalists are attempting to avoid the necessity of Fascism to ward off proletarian revolution.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS PAVED WAY FOR FASCISM

The Social Democratic Party, which supported Hindenburg in the last elections, has officially broken with the "iron front", i. e., its formal alliance with the bourgeois parties. In its recent declarations it once again employs the radical Socialist phraseology that it had dropped in the last few years. It calls for the nationalization of big industry, etc. The Social Democracy on whose shoulders rests the responsibility for the present danger of Fascism, for the Von Papen regime, and even for the very existence of capitalist rule in Germany is now attempting to make up for its years of betrayal by radical phrases. Even today it holds the view—shared by Hillquit and his comrades in the United States—that if Hitlerism comes to power it will crumble because of absence of clear policies and personal weakness in leadership. This position which is a plagiarism from the pages of the *Rote Fahne* and the Communist party leadership plays into the hands of the Fascist reactionaries. It minimizes the Fascist danger, disarms the workers and

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Struggle Against Imperialist War

American Young Workers, Demonstrate on International Youth Day

The struggle against Militarism is the foremost task of the Communist and revolutionary youth. The youth movement during the war has a splendid record of such struggles. Lenin, in his message to the 2nd Congress of the Young Communist International stressed the struggle against capitalist war and militarism as the chief activity of the youth. Karl Liebknecht rose mightily in his fight against war and militarism and his life should be an inspiration to every young worker and communist.

More than ever now, the organization and mobilization of the forces of the working class against war must be initiated. The acute conflicts of an economic and political nature between the capitalist powers are leading to war. In Manchuria the Japanese have carried on a war of conquest. This action has incurred the wrath of American imperialism and is by no means over now that Japan has accomplished its aim. Between England and the United States the chief world conflict rages. While these struggles take place on a relatively peaceful plane at present, their conclusion is war! In the midst of acute contradictions among themselves, all the capitalist powers are

mobilizing against the Soviet Union. They await only the proper moment to unleash their hordes against the proletarian dictatorship.

As regular as a clock, in the midst of this situation, the banner of pacifism and disarmament is raised. Since the war over 50 disarmament conferences have been held. The result of these conferences are to be sought in the huge growth of armaments and war preparations. Pacifism acts as the cloak to these war preparations. The pacifists protest mightily against war for all kinds of reasons only to rise to its defense when war breaks out. The great lesson of the war years should not be forgotten. There is only one way to end war: destroy capitalism, which is the cause for war.

It is in this sense that YOUNG SPARTACUS supports the position of the International Left Opposition which has severely criticized the anti-war conference organized on a world scale by Hepri Barbusse and Romain Rolland. The call for this conference appealed to the leaders of the 2nd International as fighters against war—when their record during the war is a record of shameful betrayal of the working class. The call is filled with pacifist drivel and can in no ways

lead the fight against war. We believe too, that the Communists should have initiated such a conference for they alone can correctly fight against the war. They alone can mobilize the wide masses of workers against capitalist militarism. Without the leadership of the Communist the conference could have no other result than be smeared with pacifism and confusion.

THE ANTI-WAR CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK

The conference in New York which selected delegates to attend the conference in Holland is an example of what we mean. The Opposition delegates, comrades Cannon, Shachtman and Oehler were seated only upon a protest of a member of the credential committee against the attempt to unseat the delegates of the Communist League of America. The delegates were given no ample opportunity to present their views to the workers. The most amazing incident at the conference was the adoption of the pacifist resolution written by the intellectual camp-followers of American communism and the rejection of the resolution of the Opposition which word for word followed the outline of Lenin's instruction to the Communist delegates at Hague. The Communist Party led the fight in support of the pacifist resolution which calls for war against any war including the revolutionary war against capitalism.

In addition we must call to mind the absence of delegates from the Young Communist League. They should have been present with a program of struggle against war and militarism. This as we pointed out above is the chief task of the young Communists. Yet here was assembled the conference to select delegates to the World Congress against War and there were no delegates present from the Y. C. L. This is an incident of no little significance and importance. Instead of being in the forefront, the Y. C. L. was not to be found. This absence is a blot upon the League, which is only a further expression of its decline under the present regime. The members of the Y. C. L. should protest against this failure of its leadership to react to so important a task as the struggle against capitalist war and militarism. For a complete report of the above conference we refer you to *The Militant* of Aug. 13th.

Now is the time to act. We call upon all youth to participate on the eighteenth anniversary of International Youth Day. Attend the meetings of the Young Communist League and demonstrate with them locally and nationally. International Youth Day is the holiday of all young workers inside and outside the Communist movement. It is a day of mobilization. Demonstrations everywhere! Fight against capitalist war and militarism! Become active fighters in the ranks of the revolutionary movement! "The future belongs to the youth."

—ALGLO.

ILLINOIS MINERS OUT ON STRIKE

For some years now, the coal miners of this country have carried on struggle against the horrible conditions in the coal fields and the intense exploitation at the hands of the coal operators. Massed against the miners are the operators, the business interests located in the coal areas, the state police, thugs, gunmen, newspapers and all the agents of capitalism. We should not fail to mention that probably the chief obstacle of the coal miners in their struggle for living conditions in the mines and higher wages, is the officialdom at the head of the union. The Lewises, Walkers, Murrys and a host of others have brutally suppressed the coal miners for years and have given aid to the operators in their severe exploitation of the miners. They have maintained themselves at the head of the union by thwarting the rank and file attempts to take the union out of the hands of these fakers. Robbery of union elections, expulsions of progressive and Communist miners, killing of militants has been the means by which Lewis in conjunction with the coal operators, kept control of the union.

But the miners continue their struggle as before. Illinois, in particular has been the scene of many militant struggles in the history of the coal miners. In recent weeks the Illinois miners rose in a mass to fight the new wage-cuts. Since the expiration of the Jacksonville agreement that established the wage rate of \$7.20 a day, the miners have suffered many severe pay reductions. The most recent one calls for a \$5.00 a day

scale. Considering the conditions of work in the coal industry these wages are tantamount to starvation. The reduction is one of the attempts of the operators to solve the crisis in the coal industry—it puts the burden of the crisis upon the coal miners.

In the present struggle we witnessed the march of 25,000 coal miners from the entire state upon the southern Illinois area which was for the most part working. In the attempt to get all the miners out on strike the march was confronted by vicious attacks of the state police, armed company thugs, business men, and the officialdom of the union. The struggle of the miners is by no means over. They still have the immense task of throwing out the Lewis machine which was been the main obstacle to their fight as workers.

In the present situation the Communist Party and the Young Communist League are absent. Some years ago both had good organizations and contacts in the coal fields. The organized communists were a factor in the struggle of the coal miners and provided leadership to them. But in recent years, through a policy of sectarianism which isolated the organized Communist Party and Y. C. L. from the miners, finds both little or no factor in the present struggle. Had the Party pursued a policy of the united front with all the elements in struggle against the Lewis machine, while maintaining their own independence, the

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The Election Show Has Started

While the capitalist parties prepare to let loose floods of bunkum through the medium of the press, movies, radio and all other means which money can buy, to hoodwink the American workers, the number of unemployed continues to swell at a terrific rate. Terrible as the economic conditions are for the masses, it continues to get worse.

The Democratic party strives to load the responsibility for the unprecedented economic crisis on the Hoover administration. The Republican party retaliates by saying had it not been for their policies conditions would have been worse, and were the Democrats in power God knows in what conditions our country would be. So the merry farce between Tweedledum and Tweedledee is enacted while the workers seek hopelessly for jobs and bread. In reality the politicians know it is a struggle as to whether the Republicans are going to retain their lucrative jobs, or whether the democrats are going to get a shot at the spoils in Washington. The party of the elephant has done nothing for the unemployed, except make hypocritical and futile gestures, and the party of the donkey has done as much in the cities where it has been in control. It is a choice as to whether one prefers one clique of politicians to rule the country or the other clique. Impartially it may be stated that the workers under Hoover nationally have fared equally with the workers under Roosevelt in the state of New York.

Neither of these parties could have prevented the outbreak of the crisis, and neither can do anything to terminate it. Both are responsible for maintaining a system in which such crises occur inevitably and periodically. Such crises are inherent in the nature of the capitalist system. They are the result of the exploitation of the workers who can buy only a limited proportion of the goods they produce for the wages they receive, and the anarchy of production, in which commodities are produced for an unknown market. There follows an overproduction of commodities. Workers are thrown out of their jobs. While there exists enormous surpluses of goods the workers have no means with which to obtain them. Such is the crazy system of capitalism.

The Worth of the Pledges of Hoover and Roosevelt

In the early days of the crisis, Hoover held a conference with Mr. Green, president of the A. F. of L., in which an agreement was concluded. While Hoover would undertake to prevent wage-cuts, during the period of the crisis, Mr. Green on his part would undertake to prevent strikes of the workers. Mr. Green adhered faithfully to his part of the bargain. The bosses have slashed wages once, twice, three times and more. Such is the assistance the workers can expect from the Republican party, and from the agents of the bosses, the leaders of the A. F. of L.

In the platform of the Democratic party there is a plank recommending that the states should adopt measures for unemployment insurance. Franklin D. Roosevelt, the democratic candidate for president, is governor of the state of New York. What has he done to pass a law for unemployment insurance? The answer is: nothing. The plank in the Democratic platform is worth as much as Roosevelt's efforts along those lines in the state of New York. And the assistance the Democratic party can render to the workers is equal to the value of the plank on unemployment insurance.

The Socialist Party: The Third Party of Capitalism

The Socialist Party claims to oppose capitalism. But its deeds are in contradiction to its words. It serves cap-

italism by spreading among the workers illusions as to the democratic methods by which they can achieve their emancipation. Instead of preparing the workers for the decisive and forcible overthrow of the capitalist system, it disarms them with pleasant dreams about the ballot box.

The Socialist party advocates entrance of the United States into the League of Nations. The latter has proven itself to be nothing more, and could be nothing more, than an instrument of the imperialists, each jockeying for advantages over the other. Its impotence as a means against war, if anyone had any illusions about it, was clearly revealed in the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. Yet the Socialist party has hopes for the League of Nations. All that is necessary is that socialists should represent the countries at its sessions. The policies of MacDonaldis and Vandervelds, however, have been indistinguishable from the outspoken capitalist representatives whose places they have taken on various occasions. The record of the Socialist parties has been one of betrayal of the interests of the workers. One of the latest examples was its support of Hindenburg in the presidential elections in Germany.

The only party genuinely opposed to the capitalist system is the Communist party. In Russia it was the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, who smashed the capitalist system and instituted a worker's republic. Only the Communists can lead the way to a workers' government in the United States.

The Left Opposition is in disagreement with the policies of the Stalinists in control of the party. We are striving to correct its blunders and mistakes. But this does not prevent us from supporting the Party, as the only party of the working class in the election campaign. A vote for the Communist party, signifies your opposition to capitalism and your willingness to fight for Communism

Vote for Foster and Ford.

—GEORGE RAY.

Japan Plans for New Attacks

This month, exactly one year since the violent seizure of Manchuria by Japanese imperialism, events in the Far East are taking very acute aspects. In Manchuria, Japan has officially recognized its own puppet Manchukuo government. It has full control of the Chinese Eastern Railroad, which is half-owned by the Soviet Union. The Chinese forces are offering staunch resistance to the perpetuation of Japanese control in Manchuria.

More than this. In Shanghai there is a great agitation to revive the anti-Japanese boycott which was squelched by military force. Japanese troops in that city are openly training in preparation for physical combat. Japan sends threatening warnings to the mayor of Shanghai in anticipation of the economic boycott. Within the Chinese national bourgeois government cabinet changes, resignations and struggles have occurred on the question of offering resistance to Japan's aggression.

In a short while the Lytton Investigation Committee appointed by the League of Nations will report on its findings as to the causes of the Manchurian dispute between Japan and China. In anticipation of this, Stimson, the Secretary of State of the United States, made a sharp speech criticizing Japan's policy in Manchuria and refusing to recognize its puppet government there. This arises not out of Stimson's disagreement with imperialism—for Stimson's faithfulness to American imperialism is well-known—but rather an expression on the part of United States capitalism against Japan obtaining a stronger foothold in the Far East, particularly in China, where the United States has growing economic interests.

American warships have been conducting maneuvers in the Pacific. In Japan the ruling class fears American military

concentration in these waters. Many of its politicians are openly questioning its meaning. They explain it as a logical sequence to Stimson's speech.

Japanese armament industries are working at full speed. Imports of military instruments from England, France, Germany and the United States show that Japan is seriously preparing for a large-scale military combat. If she obtains a firmer position in Manchuria and succeeds in coming to a temporary agreement with the United States, she will direct her attention more and more in the direction of the Soviet Union. Even in case of a war between the imperialists an attack on the Soviet Union is inevitable during its course.

SHARPER STRUGGLES IN COMING PERIOD

The next few months will bring greater military activity on the part of Japan in Manchuria and China. The United States and the other imperialist powers will increase their existing forces in China. They will resist the attempt of Japan to gain at their expense. Whatever the report of the Lytton Committee of the imperialist League of Nations the Far East will see sharper military combats which may well light the spark to the highly explosive international situation today and lead to world war.

A Frame-up Against Left Opposition

The Stalinist leadership of the Communist party has accused the Left Opposition of being responsible for the death of two workers murdered at 7th St., and Avenue A, a few weeks ago. This brazen frame-up has been replied to in the form of a leaflet addressed to Communist workers by the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

The statement points out that the latest frame-up is a result of the Left Opposition propaganda on the German question and the Barbusse Anti-War Congress which has had repercussions in the party. It then states the essential facts which are:

"1. We started a meeting on the evening of August 20th, at 7th St., and Avenue A, as one of a series in our campaign on the situation in Germany.

"2. Immediately after we started, organized attempts by Stalinist elements, were made to disrupt our meeting.

"3. A fist fight ensued in which the Opposition held its ground and after which it once more set up the platform for a brief meeting.

"4. The Left Opposition held the platform until word came of the impending arrival of the police. Then it was decided to wind up the meeting in order to prevent the disgraceful spectacle of the capitalist police intervening and deciding a conflict between factions of the Communist movement.

"5. The Left Opposition and a number of sympathizers assembled in close formation, sang the Internationale and returned to headquarters.

"6. That was the end of all our connection with the events at 7th St., and Avenue A on the evening in question. What happened after that happened without any participation on our part."

The statement ends by declaring that the Left Opposition will continue its work despite all terrorism, frame-ups or obstacles.

The Left Opposition has consistently fought against the tactic of breaking-up workers' meetings. Since its formation in late 1928 it has been constantly under physical attack by the Stalinists. We have continued our work. Despite obstacles we will win the more intelligent and advanced workers of the Communist party and the Young Communist League.

Members of the party and Young Communist League should protest against the breaking up of meetings of the Left Opposition as well as that of any working class organization. Compel the party, the T. U. U. L. and the I. L. D. to participate in the public hearing!

With the Spartacus Youth Clubs

N. Y. SPARTACUS CLUB

The Spartacus Youth Club of New York has continued increasing its activities during the last month. At each of its regular meetings it has an educational feature. During the last month such topics as the election campaign, the bonus marchers, the problem of reparations and debts and the Young Spartacus and the youth press were discussed.

The Club, has continued holding its weekly open air meetings with some success. Members of the Communist party and Young Communist League participate in them by questions and hecklings. Literature of the Left Opposition is sold at each meeting.

The youth club had delegates at the recent anti-injunction conference held in New York. The comrades were seated although "no time" (!) was found to have them participate in its proceedings. The Club has elected delegates to the Anti-War Conference as a preparation to the World Congress to be held in Paris at the end of August.

A meeting on the question of the Barbusse Anti-War Congress and the Communists was addressed by comrade Max Shachtman on Friday, August 5th.

In the doll and toy strike in New York a few members of the Club participated on the picket line and in other strike activity. The Club has planned to continue this work.

On Sunday, September 4th the Club will hold a mass meeting celebrating International Youth Day (the first Sunday of each September) and as a preparation for the I. Y. D. demonstration to be held by the Young Communist League September 9th. The Club will participate in the latter demonstration.

The Spartacus Youth Club has challenged the New York branch of the Communist League of America to a baseball game for Sunday, September 11th at the picnic to be held by the latter at Tibbetts Brook Park. Readers of the Young Spartacus should attend this picnic.

All youth are invited to attend the regular meetings of the Spartacus Youth Club Friday evenings at 8:15 P. M. at the Stuyvesant Casino, 9th St., and 2nd Avenue.

CHICAGO

Our Chicago Spartacus Youth Club is progressing well. The group has now a membership of 15, all of them expelled or rejected members of the Y. C. L., because of their support to the Left Opposition. All the comrades are fine spirited youth and the way they go about their work is inspiring. The group is at present holding a class in the fundamentals of Communism, holding open meetings and doing their bit for Young Spartacus. In the next issue we will publish a complete report of the activities of our Chicago comrades. Keep up the good work, Chicago.

MINNEAPOLIS.—

Comrade Capelis in a letter from Minneapolis reports that as soon as some of the comrades return to the city the organization of the Spartacus Youth Club will take place. They are laying the plans for the organization of the club now. Comrade Hilbert Schwartz also writes, promising the support of the Minneapolis comrades in the expansion of our work. He wants to see us put over the eight pager and pledges the comrades in the Twin Cities to do their bit.

TORONTO.—

We have a letter from comrade Quarter of Toronto. He informs us that through a class in Marxism that the comrades have organized, the basis for a Spartacus Youth Club is being laid. It is high time we get something started there and we know that the comrades will step it up. Quarter writes: "I was rather surprised to find out that some of the young workers who find the Militant too deep, are interested in reading Young Spartacus." We have to make one request from Toronto: write for Y. S. regularly. We haven't lost our interest in Canada.

NOTICE:

The August issue of the Young Spartacus was skipped due to technical difficulties in our print shop. Some of the articles planned for that time had to be carried over to the present number.

REMEMBER SACCO AND VANZETTI

August marked four years since the State of Massachusetts carried through the legal murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, two fighters in the ranks of the working class. It is a fitting time now to recall the world-wide protest against the sentence of execution against our two martyrs on the framed-up charge of a pay-roll robbery and the killing of a paymaster, which was established then and even more fully after their death to have been committed by the famous Madeiro gang.

In spite of all the evidence marshaled to show that our comrades were wholly innocent, that the charges were trumped up, that the testimony of the state was false and perjured, the ruling class determined to murder them. Great as the protests were they were not sufficient to halt the hangmen of the capitalists and more specifically Governor Fuller, who insisted on this murder because Sacco and Vanzetti were "radicals".

The revolutionaries have always pointed out that justice under capitalism was and is a myth. The justice served out is a class justice, always carried through in the interests of the capitalists against the workers. Experience bears this out more fully and concretely. We have had the judicial murder of Joe Hill, the lynching of Frank Little, the case of the Centralia victims, Eugene Barnett, the prominent case of Tom Mooney who remains in jail after the conviction against him has been torn to shreds. More recently the cases, the frame-up of the N. Y. Marine Workers, Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer, our own comrades Morgenstern and Goodman who served sentence under the infamous Criminal Syndicalist Law in Pennsylvania State and comrades Lawrence and Lazar of the Communist Party who have also been sentenced, bear out our contention. The Scottsboro case stands out today as an attempt to murder nine negro boys in the South.

That is what we mean by class justice. It is the method by which capitalism strikes against the workers in a legal sense. It seeks to destroy those who stand out from time to time with the loudest voice or those who are in a position to be vanquished easily. And it takes its choice at random—never, forgetting that each time it strikes a blow against the working class.

We recall our comrades Sacco and Vanzetti so that we shall be inspired by their heroic struggle and their intense loyalty to their class, so that we shall not forget them and so that we will fight all the more determinedly against a repetition of this dastardly crime against our class. Sacco and Vanzetti are our comrades and our martyrs—never to be forgotten.

FANNY ROTHMAN

News comes to us of the death of comrade Fanny Rothman a member of the Young Communist League and a militant Needle Trade worker. A victim of capitalism's occupation diseases, comrade Rothman gave all her meagre strength in the struggle against the system that crushed her. She was a devoted comrade who gave everything she had for the movement.

Comrade Rothman did not support the Left Opposition in its struggle against the evil practices of Stalinism. But we feel sure had it been possible for her to become acquainted with our views and struggle, she would have been one of us. The suppression of the Opposition and the fierce fight against it by the official party leadership kept her from our ranks, just as it does to hundreds of other comrades. We who have known comrade Rothman pay our deep respect in her memory as a Communist fighter in the class struggle.

READ THE MILITANT

The Struggle of the Youth in Spain

The Spanish Communist Party at the present moment, after having forfeited many opportunities presented to it since the change of the regime, of building a potent and disciplined organization, finds itself completely removed from the working masses because of its false policies and absurd slogans which never correspond to the actual situation. Because of this the workers have remained indifferent to the Party.

Something similar, although in a different sense, could be said about the Workers' and Peasants' Bloc of Maurin, which in its anxiety to continually change its position was able only to create confusion. With respect to trade union work, its policies corresponded to an organization of an open petty-bourgeois character judging problems in a manner that had nothing in common with Marxism.

The Communist Left Opposition is obliged to expend great efforts to make the Spanish proletariat understand in a concrete way the decay of our revolutionary movement (originated by the adventurism and myopic strategy of the C. N. T.) and the necessity to fight for the attainment of the democratic rights that have been beaten to the ground by the law of the Defense of the Republic. The abolition of this law must be demanded.

YOUTH WORK IMPORTANT

In this work which can only be done by the oppositionists of Spain (Bolshevik-Leninists), the young Communist plays an important role. The law especially affects the young Communists in general, against whom the repressions of the republican-socialist government has been particularly severe.

A large number of young militants of the Opposition were wounded and cruelly handled by the assault guard in the last demonstrations. An arrested comrade in Madrid was assassinated by the prison guard for looking into the window of a cell. Hundreds of young comrades of the Opposition and the official

young Communist League are in the prisons of Spain.

The Left Opposition Youth, notwithstanding the fact of its recent creation, is developing quite satisfactorily. There are already many groups of Left Oppositionists that represent a real Communist force in their respective localities. Some of the comrades have a large influence in the trade unions where they are doing good work. It is to be expected that these groups will be considerably reinforced after we hold our regional conferences at Galicia, Levante, and Andalusia, as well as other regions, during the month of August. Delegates from the National Youth Committee will assist these conferences.

YOUTH OPPOSITIONISTS SUCCESSFUL

In Madrid, we have recently won over many young comrades from the official party. After being convinced of the correctness of our political platform they carried on a struggle in its defense. With the issuance of JOVEN ESPARTACO we enjoy a good advantage in our work. The press is one of the chief weaknesses of the Young Communist League. In spite of their numerical and economic superiority, their organ JUVENTUD ROJA, disappeared.

The success of our magazine surpassed all our hopes. It was received and favorably commented on by the young worker and also by many soldiers whom we were able to reach. The demands of our provincial groups surpassed our calculations and almost the entire edition was sold, despite the suppression by the government. This shows that there are a considerable number of young workers not in our ranks who sympathize with the Left Opposition and are reading our publications. JOVEN ESPARTACO will do everything in its power to bring wider numbers of young workers into the struggle in the interests of their class.

—ERNESTO C. TOJO.

N.Y. YOUNG DOLL WORKERS ON STRIKE

The doll and toy industry is not a heavy or basic industry like steel or coal. Still an examination of the strike now taking place in the industry is extremely significant from many viewpoints.

First, the struggle takes place during the severest crisis ever known in the U. S. There are approximately 15,000,000 workers unemployed. Why is it, then, that about 2,000 workers, mostly semi-skilled, who are surrounded on all sides by poverty and misery, dare to go out on strike? It is because four wage cuts, one after another (making the wages range from \$8 to \$18 per week) plus the intolerable lengthening of the working hours and increased speed-up with long periods of unemployment, have produced a condition under which it is impossible to live. The result is a desperate defensive struggle of the workers.

There are about 3,000 workers in the industry. All of the shops with the exception of a big shop in Trenton, N. J. are located in New York City. The industry is highly specialized, each operation calling forth a "craft" such as sprayers, eye-setters, etc. However, the simplification of tasks in modern industry, which wipes out craft distinctions, has resulted in their organization along industrial lines.

LARGE NUMBER OF YOUTH IN STRIKE

There is a considerable number of young workers in the industry. They are typical Americans, baseball and jazz enthusiasts. Invariably a couple can be seen doing the "Lindy Hop" in the strike hall. This is their first strike. They lack experience but they have that which makes struggle victorious: **militancy**. It is the Communists who should make of these fighters, soldiers of the proletarian legions.

The Lovestoneites are influential in the strike and in the union but they have used their influence for the most reactionary ends. In opposition to the A. F. of L., which never attempted to organize them, the workers built an industrial union. As such they remained outside of the A. F. of L. as an independent union. The bosses aiming to break the spirit of the strikers and to prevent the others from coming out shout: "They are Communist trouble makers who try to destroy our most sacred institutions. They do not belong to the A. F. of L. We will have nothing to do with them."

Instead of combatting this poisonous talk by pointing to the treachery of the A. F. of L., their unwillingness to struggle and to organize them, their policy of collaboration with the bosses and betrayal of the workers' cause, the Lovestoneites became panic-stricken and made hasty negotiations with the A. F. of L. which resulted in their sending in a generalissimo to take charge of the strike and of the union.

Changes have come fast and furious. The word industrial was deleted from the union's name. Communists like comrade Oehler, who have good experience in organizing industrial unions, are denied the floor by Lovestoneites (who call themselves Communists) even after the right to speak was granted him by the officials of the union and the picket committee. Gitlow spoke as a "labor leader", while Thomas spoke in the name of the Socialist party. Contractors ("sub" bosses) are permitted membership in the union and emphasis is put on individual negotiations instead of rapid extension of picketing and of the strike.

HELP DOLL WORKERS

The struggle is still going on. The workers are fighting for shorter hours, 44 hour week, better wages, recognition of the union and other union conditions. All militants should offer their services on the picket line and in other ways. Members of the Communist League and Spartacus Youth Club have already been on the picket line; they should continue to do so. Help the strike young comrades, and in so doing get the experience that cannot be gotten elsewhere.

S. T.

On the German Battlefield

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thereby makes the victory of Fascism easier.

THE PARTY LEADERSHIP CONSTANTLY CHANGES ITS POSITIONS

This theory of the bankruptcy of Hitlerism on the eve of its coming to power was dropped by the Thaelmanns and Remmeles under the pressure of the Left Opposition and comrade Trotsky. These leaders of the German party today refer to the "Fascist Coup d'Etat" of Von Papen. Only yesterday they supported the call for a united front of the Communist and Social Democratic parties in the Berlin-Brandenburg district; today they condemn their own action and again demand a "united front from below." Previously they did not as much as mention the danger of the victory of Fascism to the existence of the Soviet Union, today they give lip-service to this fundamental and important idea.

In opening the recent session of the Reichstag, Clara Zetkin very vaguely called for a workers' united front in extra-parliamentary activities without distinction of parties. If this would mean the acceptance of the Left Opposition's proposal for a genuine united front of workers' organizations, we would welcome it as a turn in the correct direction. But that is to be seen. If the party fails to take advantage of the present period for the junking of its ruinous baggage, the fatal results which will follow will set the international revolutionary movement back for decades.

WHAT ARE WE IN THE UNITED STATES TO DO?

The Communist League of America (Opposition), the United States section of the International Left Opposition has issued thousands of leaflets explaining the present situation in Germany and calling upon the Communist and revolutionary workers of this country to bring pressure upon the leadership of

the German party and the Communist International. The latter have up to this date not even issued a statement on the German situation.

The propaganda of the Left Opposition has not gone by without effects. Sebastian Pappas, a leading militant food-worker and member of the Communist party, has issued a statement endorsing our position on Germany and calling upon Party and Left wing workers to rally behind us in the struggle for the correct tactics. He was expelled from the party.

But it did not stop here. The New York District of the party was compelled to call a mass meeting on Germany. In its leaflet it repeated many of the views hammered into its head by the propaganda of the Left Opposition. Several meetings of functionaries of the party have been held on the question. Many party members are highly sympathetic to comrade Pappas' statement and the leaflet of the Left Opposition.

BRING PRESSURE IN YOUR ORGANIZATION

The Young Communist League is silent. In its general agitation on the war danger it does not even mention Germany. In its ranks no discussions on Germany take place. Its members are kept in ignorance of the situation.

We are determined to break through this criminal silence. With the aid of the Young Spartacus, the Militant, meetings leaflets and pamphlets we will reach the comrades of the League and party, inform them of what is happening, what the party is doing, what the party should do.

Read the Left Opposition publications. Bring pressure on the party, League and Left wing organizations for the exercise of real internationalism in helping our German comrades follow those tactics which alone can lead them to victory.

TROTSKY

EXTRACTS ON PACIFISM



Pacifism springs from the same historical roots as democracy. The bourgeois made a gigantic effort to rationalize human relations, that is, to supplant a blind and stupid tradition by a system of critical reason. The guild

restrictions on industry, class privileges, monarchic autocracy—these were the traditional heritage of the middle ages. Bourgeois democracy demanded legal equality, free competition and parliamentary methods in the conduct of public affairs. Naturally, its rationalistic criteria were applied also in the field of international relations. Here it hit upon war, which appeared to it as a method of solving questions that was a complete denial of all "reason." So bourgeois democracy began to point out to the nation—with the tongues of poesy, moral philosophy, and certified accounting—that they would profit more by the establishment of a condition of eternal peace. Such were the logical roots of bourgeois pacifism.

Theoretically and politically, pacifism stands on the same foundation as does the theory of the harmony of social interests. The antagonisms between capitalist nations have the same economic roots as the antagonism between the classes. And if we admit the possibility of a progressive blunting of the edge of the class struggle, it requires but a single further step to accept a gradual softening and regulating of international relations.

The source of the ideology of democracy with all its traditions and illusions, is the petty bourgeoisie. In the second half of the nineteenth century, it suffered a complete internal transformation, but was by no means eliminated from political life. At the very moment that the development of capitalist technology was inexorably undermining its economic function, the general suffrage right and universal military service were still giving to the petty bourgeoisie, thanks to its numerical strength, an appearance of political importance. Big capital, in so far as it did not completely wipe out this class, subordinated it to its own ends by means of the application of the credit system. All that remained for the political representatives of big capital to do was to subjugate the petty bourgeoisie, in the political arena, to their purposes, by opening a fictitious credit to the declared theories and prejudices of this class. It is for this reason that, in the decade preceding the war, we witnessed, side by side with the gigantic efforts of a reactionary-imperialistic policy, a deceptive flowering of bourgeois democracy with its accompanying reformism and pacifism. Capital was making use of the petty bourgeoisie for the prosecution of capital's imperialistic purposes by exploiting the ideological prejudices of the petty bourgeoisie.

English and American pacifism, in spite of the differences in social and ideological forms (or in the absence of such, as in America) is carrying on, at bottom, the same task; it offers to the petty and middle bourgeoisie an expression for their fears of world cataclysms in which they may lose their last remnants of independence; their pacifism chloroforms their consciences—by means of impotent ideas of disarmament, international law and world courts—only to deliver them up body and soul, at the decisive moment, to imperialistic capital, which now mobilizes everything for its own purposes: industry, the church, art, bourgeois pacifism and patriotic "socialism." Petrograd, June 30, 1917.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENT

CALL FOR THE FIRST I. Y. D.

(On the occasion of the eighteenth anniversary of International Youth Day, YOUNG SPARTACUS reprints the call for the 1st demonstration. This call was written by the Berne Conference of the International Union of Socialist Youth, held in 1915. Many years have since gone by in which we witnessed such gigantic events as the Russian Revolution, the formation of the Communist International and the Young Communist International which helped to clarify the struggles of the revolutionary movement. Some of the unclarity and confusion of the Berne conference was cleared up in the ensuing years. We believe it of importance to reprint for the first time in America this call which is of great historical importance.—Eds.)

TO THE SOCIALIST YOUTH OF ALL COUNTRIES!

Friends! Comrades! In all countries a part of the Socialists are moving powerfully forward to prepare a quick end to this most terrible of all wars by resuming class struggle action. Tirelessly and with remarkable perseverance some of the comrades in Germany are at work under the most difficult conditions, striving to realize this aim. The heroic struggles of our Italian comrades against the war are still fresh in our memory. They are struggles that belong to the most significant deeds of the proletarian movement. And even today the Italian proletariat is once more arming to impede with its might and its solidarity, the slaughter of its sons and if possible to prevent it altogether. With the very self-same enthusiasm and joyous sacrifice all the comrades loyal to our idea, also in France, Russia, Poland, Austria, Great Britain, Siberia and all the other countries are at work agitating for an understanding among the people and for the fraternization of humanity.

Comrades! Young Socialists! Intoxicated by their orgy of blood supported—to the everlasting shame of the proletariat—by the social patriotic labor leaders—the reactionary governments of all countries are attempting with all the means of raw and brutal power at their disposal, to suppress the heroic struggle of our comrades and to stifle their cries for peace in the dungeons. In Germany as well as in Italy, in Russia as well as in France, mass arrests of our comrades and friends have taken place. The governments of all countries are today zealously competing with one another in the murder of their "natives" and in the brutal trampling of every peace move. The victims which our comrades have brought on the altar of liberty are legion. The present state of affairs demand most urgently and most quickly, aid and support of our fighting comrades lest in spite of all their bravery and readiness for sacrifice, the governments should triumph and sink the last remnants of humanity and freedom in a sea of blood.

This aid, you, the young socialists of all countries must bring to our hard-pressed friends. You, who by your conference at Berne, in the spring of 1915, by your uninterrupted mutual relationships and by much more than that, have proved that in your hearts and soul the liberating thoughts of international socialist labor fraternization, revolutionary struggle for peace and for freedom.

We call upon you everywhere in all

countries to effectively and militantly support the attempts to resume revolutionary and class struggle activity.

Participate as speakers at conferences and meetings, spread pamphlets and newspapers in which you call for class struggle international action, agitate tirelessly from mouth to mouth among your colleagues at work, among your friends and relatives. The governments of all countries and the press which is entirely subordinated to them are attempting to conceal the peace efforts and the revolutionary activities of our comrades; by lies and by fake reports they are attempting to precipitate the people into an ever-greater whirlpool of hate and blind wrath. Comrades, tear down everywhere this texture of lies. You friends in Italy, France, Russia and England, tell the story of what a part of the German and Austrian comrades are sacrificing for peace. You comrades in Germany and Austria tell in your countries what heroic struggles which the workers in Italy, Russia, France, England and the other countries are conducting for peace. Comrades! The resumption of a decisive, clearly defined class struggle by the majority of the socialistically thinking workers ever allows for the possibility of victory. The hour of action has come. A second winter campaign can only immeasurably increase the sufferings and the destitution to the working masses of all countries. The soil is prepared for revolutionary indignation. Let us sow.

The bourgeois peace conferences will never be able to prevent war even if they wanted to and even if they were ever so impressively arranged. Only the full might of the proletariat and of this revolutionary action can hold in check the greed for profit and blood of the exploiters.

Comrades, Socialist Youth organizations of all countries. We call upon you to manifest by powerful demonstrations in all countries your unshakable will to work tirelessly against militarism and for socialism. On one day, on October 3, 1915, at one hour, let us all meet. The comrades in Copenhagen, in Christiania, Stockholm, Paris and Berlin must know that at the same time when they demonstrate for peace and socialism the same will done by their friends in Amsterdam, Wien, Bern, Bucharest, Rome and other cities.

We are directing this urgent appeal to groups, that they might support effectively and militantly the action of the youth all socialist, trade union and party by mass participation. Above all we expect an abundant participation on the part of the wives and the mothers of the young people who have been condemned to slaughter.

Arise young socialists of all countries, let your words follow your thoughts, let your acts follow your words.

Long live the International of the young worker generation, which shall one day bring to all countries peace and freedom. Long live the struggle against murder among the nations, against the greed for blood. Long live the struggle for the highest ideal of humanity, for Socialism.

—BUREAU OF THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF SOCIALIST YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS.

LENIN

EXTRACTS ON THE WAR

Why are wars waged? We know that most wars have been waged in the interests of dynasties and have therefore been called dynastic wars. But sometimes wars are waged in the interests of the oppressed Spar-

taeus inaugurated a war for the defense of the enslaved classes. Such wars were waged during the epoch of colonial subjection, an epoch which has not yet ceased, as well as in the epoch of slavery, etc. These wars were righteous wars; these wars cannot be condemned.

But when we speak of the present European War in terms of condemnation, it is for the simple reason that this war is waged by the class of the oppressors.

We, however, are aware that this war was carefully prepared for, that it came slowly to maturity, and that it was inevitable. It was just as inevitable as is the ultimate war between America and Japan. In what does this inevitability consist?

It consists in the fact that capitalism had concentrated the riches of the earth in the hands of certain states which had divided the earth down to the last acre. Any further division, any further enrichment, had to be accomplished at the expense of those already enriched, by one government at the expense of the other. The only decision in such a question was of course that of force—and the war between the world bandits therefore became inevitable.

Up to the present time the principal going concerns engaged in this war were the firms of "England" and "Germany". England was the most powerful colonial nation. Although the population of England itself is not more than forty millions, its colonies have a population of over four hundred millions. Not so long ago, by right of conquest, England seized additional colonies, additional land areas, and has profited by their exploitation. But, economically speaking, England has been outdistanced in the last fifty years by Germany. The industries of Germany were eclipsing those of England. The immense state capitalism of Germany had united with its bureaucratism, and Germany beat the record.

There was no other means of deciding the struggle for primacy between these two giants than the resort to force.

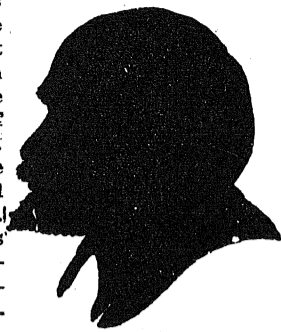
While England had at times, by the right of the stronger, taken land away from Holland, Portugal, etc., it was now Germany that had come out upon the scene with the declaration that its turn had now come to enrich itself at the expense of others.

That is the question at stake; it was a struggle for the division of the world between the strongest. And, by reason of the fact that each side possessed capital amounting to hundreds of millions, the struggle between them was transformed into a world struggle.

It is childish to attempt to hold individual persons guilty for the inception of the war; it is a mistake to accuse Kings and Tsars of having created the present war. The war was made by capital. Capitalism had run into a blind alley. This blind alley was nothing more nor less than the imperialism which dictated a war between those competing for the ownership of the world.

It was a tremendous lie to declare war for the liberation of small nations. Both bandits, though they regard each other with the most bloodthirsty glances, are equally vicious in their attitude toward the small nations.

And we declare: there is no exit from the imperialist war except by means of a civil war.



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The Origin of International Youth Day

By Albert Glotzer

I.
CAPITALISM brought about the birth of the modern proletariat. In its history, as in the history of all other class societies, the struggle of the classes, between the exploiters and the exploited, the bosses and the workers, continued its steady path, growing more fierce with every decade. Within capitalism a new factor enters the class struggle: the millions of young workers drawn into industry with the advent of the factory system of production and the introduction of machine manufacture. The increasingly important role of the youth reaches its height with the development of imperialism which provided a broader economic base for increasing the economic role of the young worker and thereby increasing manifold the role played by the youth in the class struggle.

The first organizations of the young are dated back to 1885. While it is true that even prior to that time small sporadic youth organizations of an economic character existed in central Europe, their period of life was short. From the year 1885 until 1907 youth organizations grew up in many countries. In chronological order we see the organization of the Young Guards of Belgium, the Socialist Youth League of Sweden, the Italian Socialist Youth Federation, the Social Democratic Youth League of Norway, the Socialist Youth of Spain, and the Young Workers League of South Germany. The above organizations in the main concentrated their work in the struggle against militarism. To these organizations should be added the Young Workers League of Austria and the Federation of Free Youth Leagues of North Germany, both directing their activity mainly in the economic struggles of the youth.

II.

The year 1907 ushered in a new stage in the history of the proletarian youth. Upon the initiative during that year of the South German Young Workers League an International Bureau was formed with the aim of establishing contact with the individual countries and preparing an international conference. On this committee was Karl Liebknecht. The committee carried out all the preparatory work and on August 24, 1907 at Stuttgart, the first international conference of youth organizations convened. Represented at the conference was Germany, Belgium, Austria, Sweden, Italy, Spain, Bohemia, Switzerland, Holland, Hungary and Australia.

The conference established the first program of action on an international scale for the youth of the world. There, the first program on anti-militarist work was adopted. Of equal importance was the discussion and decisions on the economic struggle of the young workers and socialist education. Liebknecht played a dominant role in the conference and helped to give it a fighting character.

The defeat of the 1905 Russian Revolution brought about a certain stagnation in the general movement of the proletariat. This had no little effect upon the youth. The Socialist Parties everywhere put an end to the independent role of the youth organization attained at Stuttgart. This was given concrete expression at the second international conference in 1912, when at the head of the International Bureau, Robert Danneberg of Austria, was placed when he was elected secretary. Danneberg turned social patriot during the war and more than anyone else was responsible for the decline in the activity of the international direction. Danneberg did nothing, the Bureau ceased to exist.

III.

When the war broke out two groups in the revolutionary movement assumed distinct form. The outbreak of the war was the signal for the great betrayal. International social democracy forsook its opposition to war by coming to the support of it. The Social Democratic Party of Germany which stood at the head of the 2nd International gave the

signal by voting for war credits. The other parties followed and in place of a world-wide opposition to war the Social Democracy came to the support of world capitalism. The reformist Right wing, dominated the International. In this mire, growing stronger every day, was the Left wing led by the Bolsheviks under Lenin on the one hand, and the revolutionary internationalists Liebknecht, Luxemburg and Trotsky on the other. Under the leadership of this small group the youth organizations remained true to their class.

When the war broke out they waged a relentless struggle against it. Everywhere youth organizations issued leaflets, propagandized the army, struggled brave-

ly in the face of the betrayal of the 2nd International. This resolution was prepared by Grimm of Switzerland, who stood between the second and third international. In spite of its opposition to the war its conclusions were pacifist. The only dissenting vote was that of the Bolshevik delegation which introduced their own resolution.

But on the whole the Berne conference represented a rearming of the youth movement. The conference decided to issue an international paper (Jugend-Internationale). This paper played a tremendous role during the war. Its contents were thoroughly revolutionary. Some of the most famous articles of Lenin, Luxemburg, Trotsky, Liebknecht and other leaders of the rev-

olutionary movement are contained in its pages. The paper gave political direction to the movement during those turbulent years. The Berne Conference, which was the fore-runner of the Young Communist International, decided on the convening of a day of demonstration against militarism on an international scale. There was born International Youth Day, which has been celebrated now for eighteen years by the Communist youth of the world. The conference decided on October 3, 1915 as the first International Youth Day. The call was sent out to all countries and to all youth organizations calling upon them to demonstrate against the war and against militarism. During those years these anti-war demonstrations assumed tremendous proportions. In many countries they represented the only voice against the war, drawing in thousands upon thousands of adult workers. Since 1915, every year witnessed a world-wide demonstration against war and militarism. These demonstrations grew larger and larger as the years passed. The slogan of Berne, war against war, became a watchword of the revolutionary youth.

of Munzenberg, who was secretary of the International Bureau, and the suppression of the Swiss comrades who took charge of the work after his arrest, brought about a weakening of the youth movement. The October Revolution, the growing class struggle and revolutionary outbursts throughout Europe forced a decisive change in the workers' movement. A reorganization was necessary. The reorganization of the Communist International clarified the fog of the war years. It established a clear line of demarcation between opportunism and communism, between social chauvinism and revolutionary internationalism. The deliberations of the Berne conference needed revision and amplification. The youth movement needed a clear orientation and a stronger international organization. That organization was destined to be the Young Communist International, which was built upon the solid structure of the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky.

V.

The advent of Stalinism has brought a new depression in the International Youth movement. Under a banner of the revision of the basic principles of Marxism and Leninism, the present leadership has carried on a ruthless and desperate struggle against the International Left Opposition. This deep and significant struggle left heavy traces in the youth international, which has in the past years been suffering a steady decline. Attempting to reconcile revolutionary policy with revisionist premises has brought about this decline. Space does not allow for the development of this theme. Suffice it to say, that the bureaucratic direction, revisionist changes, adventurist zigzags of Stalinism has dealt heavy blows against the youth.

The present decline in the revolutionary movement, just as in previous times, finds a Left wing, struggling as before, in defence of the revolutionary principles of Marx. During the war it was Lenin and the revolutionary internationalists. Today it is Trotsky, Lenin's co-worker, and the International Left Opposition. We will continue to fight for a regeneration of the entire movement without which there can be no special regeneration of the youth movement.

International Youth Day should not only be a day of demonstration against war and Militarism. It must be a day when we take inventory of our movement, to know where we stand, where we are going and what is to be done.

We call upon all workers and particularly the youth to celebrate International Youth Day as a demonstration against war and militarism, against capitalism, against the revisionism of the revolutionary principles of Marxism. This is all the more imperative at a time when the world is an armed camp. War lurks everywhere. Particularly is this so with regard to the Soviet Union. In the struggle against war as in the general class struggle clarity is needed above all. Now is the time to raise again the slogans of the youth: clarity and action.

We build upon the history of the past, upon Liebknecht, Luxemburg and Lenin. We carry forward the work they have begun. Let us cherish their memory in the struggle.



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While the conference marked a tremendous step forward, confusion nevertheless existed in its ranks. For example it was decided that there shall be one vote representing each country. This brought about the first dispute, since from Russia were present delegates representing both the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. The Bolsheviks left the conference when the delegates insisted on the above representation. Only upon a change which allowed a vote for both the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks, did the latter return to the conference. The same confusion, which did not yet clearly distinguish the three trends in the international movement (the Right wing, the Centrists and the Bolsheviks plus the revolutionary internationalists), was evidenced in the resolution against the

of Munzenberg, who was secretary of the International Bureau, and the suppression of the Swiss comrades who took charge of the work after his arrest, brought about a weakening of the youth movement. The October Revolution, the growing class struggle and revolutionary outbursts throughout Europe forced a decisive change in the workers' movement. A reorganization was necessary. The reorganization of the Communist International clarified the fog of the war years. It established a clear line of demarcation between opportunism and communism, between social chauvinism and revolutionary internationalism. The deliberations of the Berne conference needed revision and amplification. The youth movement needed a clear orientation and a stronger international organization. That organization was destined to be the Young Communist International, which was built upon the solid structure of the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky.

The first organization conference met in Berlin on November 20, 1919. The Young Communist International lent a new force to the International Youth movement. It developed the activity of the youth primarily around three points: (a) Anti-Militarism, (b) the Economic Struggles of the Youth, (c) Education. The early years of the Y. C. I. were years of steady growth and healthy inner development. During those years International Youth Day grew in importance. The tremendous development of militarism since the war has made it imperative to demonstrate, and struggle now, and in the years before the outbreak of war. Prepare and organize! These were the watchwords.

Toward the close of the war the severe persecution of the movement, the arrest

Proletarian Youth Day

Come—young brother—

Your feet are wasting, your voice

Cracking over stupid songs!

Come—let us march together—

To the Revolution's rights and wrongs!

Look! The dust of yester year—

In the shuffling mud of France:

Who was that—they were fighting for—

To-day you've not even a pair of pants!

Who was that they were fighting for?

You know—then why your sleeping stance—

Awake! Away with your dancing, they'll give us war—

Arise—out of your Democratic trance!

Come—young brother!

Your eyes—gleam past the horizons:

A thousand banners enshroud you— in the wind's defiance.

Up like the Wind, Up—

Storm of the Young, March!

To-day—you sing—for the Future!

—ANON.

The Student Review

(The article below is a discussion of the problems of the National Student League, its program and tasks. Readers of the *Young Spartacus* are invited to send in articles on the student question. Comments should confine themselves to one column.—Eds.)

Since December last, five issues of the *STUDENT REVIEW* have appeared. Published first by the New York Student League, thereafter by the National Student League, the magazine reflects the development of the organization.

The weakness of the magazine, at the time of its initial appearance, was the weakness of the Student League—an ambiguous program. Well written, fairly attractive, commendable in many respects—as have been all five—it suffered from the intent of leading the students towards revolutionary thinking under a veneer of liberalism. It aimed at that time:—“to arouse in students an interest in the fundamental questions of social justice”; “to make the student realize the part he must play ‘by critically evaluating and reorganizing the social environment’”; “to make students conscious of their intellectual obligations and sensitive to all the duties involved.” Nothing concrete—sounding like so much confused blabber. The result was . . . a magazine, general in character, instructive, devoted for the most part to the war danger, containing a timely article on Gandhi—but offering nothing to the student around which he could build a movement, presenting no clear organizational perspective.

With the second issue the Student League had already progressed to the extent of understanding that no movement could be built on the basis of the first program. A suggested basis was projected which correctly united the struggles of the working class with the student. The final program, adopted at a National Conference, and printed in the fourth issue of the Review, is an improvement of what was proposed in the January-February issue. In the latter along with the suggested program and some smaller articles, was printed another good article on Gandhi, one on the Chinese student movement, an interesting picture of the Kentucky mine strikers, and an unnecessary letter on the Young Pioneers of Pennsylvania.

The third issue, that of March, devoted more space to a consideration of students news than the preceding two had. In fact the balance was too much to that side. There appeared, very properly, an open letter to Seventeen Chinese Students who had volunteered for service against Japan. This, together with a worthy article on the Negro student, and an answer to Stuart Chase by Karl Radek on the question of planned economy, constituted the feature items. By this time it was clear, if it had not been previously, that the Student League was Communist in sympathy and aim—thereby raising the necessity of opening a discussion to clarify its position. Of this we shall speak later.

In the period that elapsed between the third and fourth issues, March to May, the Student League changed from a propaganda organization to one that engaged in activity. As presented in the May *STUDENT REVIEW*, the N. S. L. had led an investigating committee into the mine regions of Kentucky, and taken leading steps against the expulsion of Reed Harris from Columbia University. A national conference had been held—extending over three days in New York. The program adopted at that conference formed the most important item in the issue.

An article on the League for Industrial Democracy is also included. Considering the fact that the L. I. D. is a rival organization it was high time that an exposition of the differences between the two organizations appeared. Giving interesting information as to the origin of the L. I. D.—it was written by a former director—the article falls short of our expectations. Analysis of program, explanation of the chasm between the L. I. D. and the N. S. L.—these are pro-

mised for the next issue.

Too great is the tendency in the Student League and in the *STUDENT REVIEW* to resort to the method of argument by epithet rather than analysis. For example, it has been the policy to dismiss the L. I. D. as “Socialist”, an organization in decline, just as the L. I. D. dismisses the N. S. L. as “Communist.” Similarly in the third issue the International Ladies Garment Workers Union is criticized by the calling of names and the making of accusations, true though they all be, without the support of explanation and proof. The student reader, who has had no experience with the union or organization, is not convinced—he remains skeptical.

The reference to the L. I. D.'s calling of the Student League “Communist” brings us back to a question already raised. Much confusion exists in the N. S. L. as to the stand that should be taken, hence the same in the magazine. An editorial in the latest issue that is supposed to answer the “calumny” of the L. I. D. denies and affirms the “accusation”. What it succeeds in doing is leaving a bad taste in the mouth of the reader who wants a definite statement of policy. The character of the magazine has left no doubt that it is Communist in principle—which we state not as an accusation, but as a commendation. However, failure to say so openly, will merely breed distrust in the minds of the student follower who will fear being “fool-ed”.

The fault does not lie with the editorial committee. Its roots are deeper—they are embedded in a serious deficiency of the Student League itself. To this date the membership has not been invited to participate in a discussion of the question. Among the leadership there prevails uncertainty.

The Student League has come out against the Socialist party; it has participated in the demonstrations of the Communist party; it endorses Foster and Ford. Nothing remains, but to openly declare itself Communist in ideology. And when we speak out for Communist principle and policy, we by no means advocate the introduction of those tactics which are associated with the Stalinist party. The membership should, and must, discuss the policies of the organization; the leadership must be made responsible to the organization.

A magazine is an invaluable organ of propaganda. Armed with a program that is fundamentally correct, the N. S. L. can build a militant student movement. In this process the *STUDENT REVIEW* will play an important role as agitator and organizer. To make this fully possible, it becomes essential that it be made sensitive to the criticism of its readers. Greater activity, greater clarification, a clearer perspective—organizational remedies, they will proportionately improve the *STUDENT REVIEW*.

—M. GARRETT.

The Eclipse Turned Into A Grand Show

The total eclipse which has come and gone and excited millions of people was played up in the nation's press as they would play up some prominent Hollywood prima donna in a divorce scandal—or the rise—or fall of some popular bootlegger. It made copy for Walter Winchell. It was photographed with the zeal and pain that is usually attendant upon capturing the image of a chorus girl's legs. The sedate Times vied with the more pornographic tabloids in the space, allotted this particular juicy bit of “news”.

Specialists were hired to make this scientific confusion more confounded. They were the ones employed to lend a serious tone to the ballyhoo atmosphere created by this “Drama of Nature” as one of the tabloids termed it. A mystic feeling was created. The awe of God—

America's Homeless Waifs

Many should recall that some years ago the capitalist press of the entire world, and more particularly that of the United States, filled many columns deploring the homeless waifs in the Soviet Union. These children, called bezprisornie, we were told, was the product of the revolution which overthrew capitalism in Russia. They roamed the cities, slept in hovels, begged, robbed and killed. And the paid journalists of the ruling class wrote volumes in contrasting the “heaven” for children in capitalist countries with those in Russia where the proletariat rules.

Without denying the existence of thousands upon thousands of these homeless children the Soviet Union proceeded to liquidate this condition and turn these children into useful citizens of the workers' republic. It was not the revolution which gave power to the Russian working class, that was responsible for the existence of the bezprisornie. That which brought about this situation was the four long years of imperialist war which resulted in a dislocation of the life, not only of the capitalist structure in Russia, but also of the proletariat. The war was followed by the counter-revolution, the allied intervention and the inhuman allied blockade which hoped to starve the Russian revolution into submission. With all their might the world capitalists tried to defeat the Russian workers. Out of this welter of struggle the homeless children were born and bred.

Only after the Revolution successfully defeated the remnants of Czarism and the Allied intervention and had begun to gird itself for the tremendous tasks confronting it, was it possible to liquidate the above condition. A nation-wide campaign was initiated throughout the Soviet Union to wipe away this product of the war years and the intervention. The Communist party, the Young Communist League, the Pioneer organization, the Trade Unions, all united their forces to rid the country of the homeless children. Collective homes were built, schools were dedicated to this task, vocational training was instituted as the means of solving the great problem. Before long the tens of thousands of children were transformed into model citizens. Today this is no longer a problem in the Soviet Union only because the Dictatorship of the Proletariat responded to the situation. The homeless waifs no longer exist. They have become

good citizens of the worker's republic.

But lo and behold! What was considered as a “normal” condition of the revolution in Russia recurs before our very eyes. But this time it is in the United States. Without war, without intervention or a blockade, capitalist United States claims over 300,000 homeless boys between the ages of 12 and 20. This condition speaks sharply of the effects of the present crisis and its affect on the American working class. The report of the United States Children's Bureau states:

“Conservative and reliable authorities estimate that between 200,000 and 300,000 boys between the ages of 12 and 20 are ‘on the road’ cut loose from their home surroundings and unable to adjust themselves into any normal picture. And the total is constantly increasing.”

The reports goes on to say: “They may go for days with nothing to eat but coffee, bread and beans. In winter they suffer from exposure. Last winter, in one western city 35 young men and boys were removed from box-cars seriously ill, some of them in an advanced stage of pneumonia.” The kept press in the meantime maintains a calculated silence. Only the pseudo-liberal New York *World-Telegram* has commented on the situation. In an editorial page on August 15, they remark:

“We read that many are killed and maimed in boarding freight cars. Disease, vermin, filth, perversion is rife. Many eat nothing but a meagre ration of coffee, bread and beans. Their ‘homes’ are the ‘jungles’; their companions and teachers are criminals and degenerates”.

Girls likewise form a great part of this “army”. While the report makes no mention of them there are thousands who help to swell this aggregate.

The growth of these homeless waifs in capitalist America has gone on steadily for the past three years. They are the direct product of the economic crisis. Yet in all these months not a finger has been raised in giving them aid. They are driven from city to city, living on “doles”, snatching meals wherever possible. This army will continue to grow. It is a product of capitalism. There is only one solution to the problem: the destruction of capitalism and its substitution by a worker's government. Meanwhile the “rugged individualism” of capitalism is marked by unemployment, hunger, war, and—homeless children.

the mover of things—ulated with a ‘scientific’ unctuousness through all the dispatches of the semi-demi-pseudo-scientific commentators on the subject. A higher type of animism was created for the masses. The tone of these scientific lackeys was: “God moves in a mysterious way his wonders to perform.” What a show shrieked the tabloids. Hotcha groaned the Broadway gossip mongers. “Gee”, whined Joe Leblang, “too bad I couldn't get it in on the cut-rates.”

It was a show with a ninety-second climax. What was it all about?

WHAT IS THE ECLIPSE?

What is there in the phenomenon of eclipse that it should have an especial interest for workers—class conscious workers? The eclipse in question was a solar eclipse—which means that it was the sun that was eclipsed (overshadowed) by the simming of the moon between the earth and the sun. The sun was totally eclipsed through a section of Canada and the New England States. Here in New York it was only ninety-five percent eclipsed. That is: at the highest point of the eclipse, a slim crescent could still be seen protruding from the darkness.

The almost hundred percent accuracy with which eclipses and similar solar phenomena are predicted is one of the proofs of man's scientific conquest over superstition—more than that—man's slow but painstaking conquest over nature. It is that ability to predict events from knowledge of past and present experiences—with that proportion of accuracy as the development of the scientific in-

struments will allow—that makes science the arch enemy of religious flim-flam and super-mystical hocus-pocus.

It is not by accident that the science of astronomy is one of the first of the physical sciences. It was those primitive peoples along the banks of the Nile that first concerned themselves with two stars above—the sun and the moon—and its eclipses. Nor did they star-gaze for love of the sight of the myriad twinkling stars overhead. Not that that is to minimize it as some influencing factor. The primitive mystical approach led to the scientific approach. From astrology came astronomy and from alchemy—chemistry. This primitive pondering of the heavens soon brought to the attention of the Babylonians the effects of the moon on the tides—and the tides to them were very important. It meant an ability to predict and control the success or failure, to a great extent, of the crops within the Nile Valley. An inundated valley meant abundance of food. The moon and the stars and the heavens above became subjects of serious materialistic research—they established an astonishingly accurate calendar for their time. “Shooting stars” and tailed comets and all the wonders of the skies were scrutinized by these scientific pathfinders with a beautiful zeal and precision. Necessity, the mother of research and invention, plus a bit of the subjective will to conquer and control the forces of nature, proved itself to be the most potent driving force in nature.

—M. GLEE.

Several months ago the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International sent a resolution on the "Immediate Task in the Fight for the Working Youth" to the American League. The resolution has been published in pamphlet form for discussion in the units of the League.

Much in the resolution is a repetition of what the Left Opposition youth have been saying through the *Militant*, the *Young Vanguard*, and the *Young Spartacus*. The resolution reads: "The objective possibilities for the growth of the League are now greater than ever before. The young workers are showing greater resistance to the capitalist offensive. Despite the achievements of the League, however, it continues to lag behind the revolutionary possibilities and the higher requirements demanded by the changed conditions." Or the "main obstacles" towards effective mass work are "Firstly, the deep-rooted sectarianism, formalism and bureaucracy in the entire work of the League and in the auxiliary organizations. . . ." and "Secondly, in the bureaucracy in the League, which expresses itself in the continuation of the 'circular letter' system of leadership, and the excessive number of full time functionaries and their wrong system of work. (Emphasis in original—J. C.) Truly a "Trotskyite" characterization!

Of course, mistakes were made because the line (!) of the Young Communist International was not carried out. "Right" and "Left" deviations are uncovered and exposed. We find . . . that the National Committee manifested a rotten liberalism in regard to the Chicago Satir group, which is a group foreign to the Y. C. I." Yet what were the criticisms of the Satir group? In what did its rotten liberalism consist of? Not a word! The Chicago members of the Young Communist League will recall that comrades Satir, Gould, and Andres were expelled for fighting the bureaucracy in the League proposing more shop and industrial work, demanding thorough Marxian education of the membership,

The Meaning of the Y.C.I. Letter to the American League

etc. The Y. C. I. could not very well mention this fact because they repeat in the same resolution some of these criticisms.

We read further: "The N. E. C. did not expose the petty bourgeois mistakes of the old leadership (Steuben) removed by the Y. C. I. and the N. E. C. Plenum . . ." But when we exposed these mistakes many epithets were hurled at us. When the Chicago comrades fought against Steuben and Co. they were expelled! Such so-called Bolshevik self-criticism is farcical! (It should be noted that Steuben was punished for his "petty bourgeois mistakes" by being made the head of the New York Trade Union Unity League!)

Among the shortcomings the resolution notes the "failure to expose the Trotskyites at the anti-war youth conference in New York". (See Feb. 1932 issue of *Young Spartacus* for report of conference). What was this failure? Certainly it does not refer to the absence of slander and attack on us as "counter-revolutionists" and "renegades"—there was plenty of it. It can only mean that the *Young Communist International* disapproves of the seating of our delegates. It dares not openly present such a sectarian and false viewpoint.

If space permitted one could treat some of the other criticisms—real and false—of the resolution, in a similar manner. We will not discuss the false and slanderous attack on us, the "Cannon renegades", in reference to our "support" (!) of plans for the militarization of the youth or the campaign against the Soviet Union. Our press and activities suffice as a damning reply to such accusations. The attempt to link up with the Lovestone Right wing is an old practice of those who united with Lovestone-Herberg-Zain to expel us from the party and League and even today accept a common program of revisionism against

us.

. . . the basic task of the League and its leadership is the struggle for the bolshevisation of the Y. C. L. That is the sharpest struggle against imperialist war and for the correct line of the Comintern and KIM (The Russian initials for the Y. C. I.!) on the basis of the letter of comrade Stalin."! Letter of comrade Stalin? What letter? On first reading one is uncertain. After some reflection it is recalled that this refers to the slanderous attack of Stalin on that revolutionary Marxian hero and teacher, Rosa Luxemburg for being a—"semi-Trotskyite"!

Much water has passed under the bridge since the early days of the Young Communist International if such an attack on the revolutionary Luxemburg is to be a basis for a turn in the League. No longer are the youth in the Y. C. L. to be educated in the teachings of Rosa Luxemburg. No, they will be trained in the struggle against her so-called mistakes. This will bolshevize the League! (See the *Militant* of August 6, 1932 for Trotsky's reply to Stalin called "Hands Off Rosa Luxemburg!")

The line of the Comintern with its "united front from below", "social Fascism" and its false Program accepted at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International (July 1928) in common with the Right wing, (Bucharin-Lovestone), the theory of socialism in one country, bourgeois-democratic dictatorship in the backward countries, etc., cannot aid the League.

Effective Communist work in the factories, mines and mills, among the unemployed youth, and the young negroes can be accomplished only on the basis of a correct program, correct strategy and tactics. Perhaps, empty criticisms, parrot talk about "Rotten liberalism!"—the most popular phrase in the upper circles of the League today—and the

like can solve nothing. It can only lead to more mistakes, errors, blunders, shortcomings, and the continuation of the sectarian life of the League.

Why the need of a resolution on the American League? The answer is obvious: The failure of the League leadership, the falseness of its policies is becoming obvious to larger sections of the League itself. Young comrades are questioning; others are proposing measures for a change.

The voice of the Left Opposition is being heard in the ranks. Our criticisms have had some effect.

Who are the leaders of the Young Communist International who so ruthlessly criticize the American League? Their names—hardly anyone knows! Their accomplishments? The less said the better!

They as the American Steubens, Greens and Minerichs were appointed from above and are controlled by no rank and file. They like their American counterparts hold office because of their subservience to the Stalinist regime in the Comintern and the Russian Communist Party. A new turn will find them on the "outs".

The comrades in the League should begin to study the program, strategy and tactics of the Comintern and Y. C. L. that they are supposed to accept. They should study particularly the decisions of the first four congresses of the Comintern and the Y. C. I. which are defended by the Left Opposition. They should read and discuss the pamphlets and writings of comrade Trotsky.

In this manner they will understand what is wrong with the American Young Communist League as well as the Communist party and Comintern. They will become revolutionary Marxian fighters in the class struggle.

Comrades who follow the path of Satir, Gould, Andes and the recent expelled Chicago Young Communists will take their place in the ranks of the Left Opposition and struggle for a mass Young Communist League in America which will succeed in winning the majority of the American working youth for Communism. —JOS. C.

A Report on the Convention of the Young Peoples Socialist League

The National Convention of the Young Peoples Socialist League of America, was held in the city of Cleveland, on Saturday and Sunday, July 23 and 24, in the presence of 88 delegates, 31 alternates and 10 fraternal delegates representing 65 (of the claimed 130) circles. According to a survey a few months before the convention, there were approximately 2,600 members in the Y. P. S. L.

If these statistics are correct, the Y. P. S. L. has more than doubled its membership since last year and is over half way up to its 1917 figure, when it had a membership of 5,000, 147 circles and a circulation of over 9,000 for the socialist youth paper.

In speaking to eleven delegates at the convention I received the following report. Nine agreed wholeheartedly with the position of the Communist party on all principle questions (i. e. on the necessity for the proletarian revolution, the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the state, the defence of the Soviet Union, etc.) Ten of them condemned the leadership of the Socialist party, the *Forward* and the *New Leader*.

The first point of interest was raised when a representative of the *Young Worker* (the official organ of the Y. C. L.) presented a credential asking permission to remain at the convention as a reporter. The motion by Larks, that his credential be accepted was passed by a vote of 55 to 14.

Following the report of the credential committee a motion was made that the Toronto and Hamilton delegation not be seated. The misdemeanors committed by these two groups were:

1. They conducted joint open air meetings with the Y. C. L. of Canada against the Dies Bill and for the freedom of Tom Mooney.
2. Because the *Daily Worker* and *Young Worker* supported both groups.

(Both groups however, were seated.)

To this we of the Left Opposition can only say that we greet the move on the part of the Toronto and Hamilton Y. C. L. and Y. P. S. L. for a united front upon these questions. We are behind any such advances. Your position will help to call the attention of the Y. C. L. and Y. P. S. L. to the value of the united front as a means of unifying the workers' struggle against capitalism.

REPORT OF SOCIALIST PARTY SECRETARY

At this point the convention heard greetings from Clarence Senior, National Secretary of the Socialist Party. He made a special effort to urge the youth, not to take issue upon any international problems, but "first to study our banking system, the federal reserve plan, the relation to the stock market, etc." This was the plea of the representative of the National Committee of the Socialist Party. "Do not take issue upon international problems or mangle in the affairs of the international (The Socialist International—N. G.)" More than that he makes no mention of directing their attention toward the class struggle but rather toward a study of the federal reserve system! The reason for this "advice" to the Socialist youth is only too obvious when one recalls the treacherous history of the 2nd International.

Here let us deviate and launch into a discussion on the report of the organization-education committee, leaving the discussion on the disputed resolutions (Scottsboro, Russia and War) for later.

Notwithstanding the fact that an industrial committee was established, plans for working among the youth in industry was nil, save for a few remarks here and there. The report of the national secretary neglected this point completely.

DIFFERENCES AT CONVENTION

The report of the organization-educational committee gave five suggestions, two of which were general, calling for work among the employed youth. There was no discussion upon the proposals, no elaborate or even general plan for industrial work, no slogans or immediate demands; nothing but an expression of lack of interest in the subject. Similarly with the work among the unemployed youth. Not a word was uttered about singularly important questions.

The majority and minority resolutions upon Russia created quite a row. In the main, both resolutions agreed upon the successes of the Soviet Union and the role it plays as an inspirer of the world proletariat. Herein lies the difference. Whereas the majority resolution called for "aggressive friendliness" toward the S. U., the minority resolution pledged to offer all strength of our movement to defend the Soviet Union against capitalist aggression." The Majority resolution was adopted.

Similarly on the resolution on war. The majority was willing to recognize the evil of war—but that meant also the evil of revolution. But the national chairman of the League was willing to grant that revolution was the lesser evil. On the whole the position adopted by the convention is in no ways different than the position held by their adult directors. The minority position called for turning the capitalist war into civil war and was rejected.

The convention brought nothing new to light. The Y. P. S. L. as a whole is dominated by the reformist ideology of the Socialist party. There is a current present far to the left of the conservative leadership. And this makes for good possibilities in winning them to Communism. A lot depends upon the tactics of the Communists as to how successful the fight against the reformism of official Socialism is carried on.

—GOULD.

Y.C.L. MEMBERS! ASK YOUR LEADERS THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS

Why did the Young Communist League have no delegates at the Anti-War Conference held in New York in preparation for the World Barbusse Congress?

What is the attitude of the Young Communist International and the American Young Communist League leadership towards the Barbusse-Rolland-Sinclair Congress?

Do the leaders of the American Young Communist League support the liberal and pacifist resolution accepted by the New York Anti-War conference which was put forward by the representatives of the Communist party?

What is the position of the Young Communist League towards the Leninist anti-war resolution presented at the New York Conference by the Left Opposition?

Young comrades! Demand of your leadership replies to all these questions!

YOUNG SPARTACUS

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Labor Day -- Theirs and Ours

The first Monday in September has been designated by the U. S. government as the national holiday of Labor. For every worker this in itself should have great significance. How is it that the government of the capitalists should establish a national holiday for the workers of the country? This is not without explanation.

Labor Day was not granted to the working class in recognition of its role in society nor because of any "respect for the mass of toilers", as is taught to the youth in the schools and the workers generally in the press. It was established as a concession to the workers and as a means of confusing them. To understand Labor Day and its significance is to recall the early history of the American working class.

EARLY STRUGGLES OF WORKERS

Toward the close of the Nineteenth century the American workers in great numbers were carrying on a brilliant struggle for the 6 hour work day. In unison with their European comrades the American workers fought heroically for the shorter work day and for better conditions in the mills, factories and mines. At the time these struggles took on fierce form. The railroad strikes in the 1870's led to the seizure of the City of St. Louis by the workers. The general struggle culminated in the Haymarket Riot which led to the judicial murder of the five anarchist martyrs in Chicago, under the leadership of Parsons.

The workers through their struggle forced the capitalist class to recognize the 8 hour day. While it is well known that the 8 hour day in reality does not exist, a decrease in the work day of 14, 15 and 16 hours did take place, and this only because of the brilliant struggles of the workers.

In commemoration of these struggles of the workers of the world for the shorter work day, the socialist and revolutionary proletariat of that time established May Day as the international holiday of the workers. For many decades the workers everywhere have demonstrated their solidarity in the struggle against capitalism on the 1st of May.

THEIR HOLIDAY AND OURS

In the United States there are two holidays. One in September, "granted" by the government as a sop to the workers, but which in reality is the occasion for the preaching of class collaboration. On this day the ruling class in conjunction with the fake leaders of the American Federation of Labor get together to preach the policy of employer-worker cooperation and the dissolution of the class struggle. The workers are taught to accept their paltry existence under capitalism and to accept their status as wage slaves.

In contrast to this day, the holiday of the workers in May is a mobilization of the toiling masses for struggle. That is our day of demonstration and celebration. The distinction should be clear. Labor Day is the holiday of the ruling class, the capitalists. May Day is the holiday of the workers, not only in the United States, but over the entire world to demonstrate against capitalism.

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by
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Olympics and Sports

The quadriannual world Olympics meet taking place in Los Angeles now presses to the foreground the question of sports under capitalism. Under class social systems, sports are always subordinated to the interests of the dominant class. So it was in the ancient times when sports were held for the enjoyment of the ruling classes. Sports then were characterized by its vulgar brutality. Such events as did not bear death for their conclusion were accompanied by vicious competition.

The development of society brought with it a development and "refinement" in sports. But only under capitalism did it find an opportunity for a widespread participation of the masses. The character of capitalism, which demanded a "freer" exploited class, in order to meet the needs of wage slavery under the factory system, developed sports with one purpose primarily in mind. That purpose is: the subordination of sports to the militarist needs of capitalism. To build "strong bodies and healthy minds" meant to turn out perfect soldiers. It has an additional purpose, equally important to the bourgeoisie: to develop a deep interest and participation in sports as a means of curbing the growth of class consciousness, especially among the youth.

How well this is expressed can be illustrated in the individuals in charge of 1932 American Olympic team. Listed as officials we find first and foremost the bourgeois Hoover as honorary president of the Olympics, Secretary of State Stimson, Secretary of War Hurley, Secretary of Navy Adams, Colonel Frank Knox former official of the Hearst papers, General A. Davis, General Mac Arthur, Melvin Traylor of the First National Bank of Chicago, and scores of other representatives of financial and industrial capitalism, plus the Army and Navy, jingoistic and patriotic societies, the American Federation of Labor and others.

The outstanding feature of sports under capitalism is its commercialized and individualized character. It is rooted with scandal and fakery. One can hardly draw the line between professionalism and amateurism. But these are only the by-products of capitalist sports. Its individualized and militarized character is outstanding.

The close relation of sports to militarism was once emphasized by a leading

representative of the U. S. War Department. He pointed out that each sport had within it the fundamental training of soldiers. For example, the boxer who develops shiftiness of feet and arms, becomes easily adept in the art of bayoneting. The track athlete prepares himself for various maneuvers of the infantry, the baseball player becomes the expert grenade thrower. The psychology of individualism in sports is transformed into a political ideology and lays the basis for a reactionary development of youth under capitalism.

Have the glorifiers of the Olympics missed the point when they state: "In recent years there has been a surprising lack of social unrest in the U. S. probably the most important factor in preventing general disturbances of any kind is the nation-wide interest and participation in athletic sports and games. The ideals of sport have left a definite impression on the character of the people of this country. For this reason, if for no other, our program merits the support of every patriotic citizen." Hardly! They know what they are about.

In contrast to the \$6,000,000 Olympics at Los Angeles was the counter Olympic meet organized by the Labor Sports Union, held in Chicago at the end of July. Here were gathered worker athletes untarnished by the corrupt sports under the domination of the ruling class. The meet of the Labor Sports Union was dominated by the spirit of collectivism and mass participation as against individualized sports. Here working class solidarity was contrasted to the spirit of capitalist competition; class consciousness was promoted against class collaboration; anti-militarism and the struggle against war contrasted with nationalism and the spirit of war. These are some of the fundamental differences between the two meets.

The problem of sports is a class question. The class conscious workers must seek to promote their own sport movement as against the sports dominated by the ruling class. That is why every effort must be made to build the workers sport movement into a mass organization embracing hundreds of thousands of young workers. In such a way you will strike a powerful blow at the heart of capitalism. For then you are really winning the youth to the revolutionary banner.

A. G.

ILLINOIS MINERS OUT ON STRIKE

(Continued from page 1)

National Miners Union would today be leading the struggle of the miners. Having driven the miners away from them the Party today is isolated in the struggle.

What we witness in place of a policy of united front struggle is an attack upon comrade Gerry Allard, young Left Oppositionist and one of the main leaders in the present miners fight. The slanderous attack upon Gerry is the result of his heroic work in which his life is in constant danger. Allard has been elected by his local union to every conference of the coal miners. They put him in charge of miners relief. They look upon Allard as a sincere and devoted fighter for their cause. Allard is known as a Communist. His record is a good one and despite his youth is recognized by the coal miners as one of their leaders.

Because comrade Allard is a Left Oppositionist the Party and the Young Communist League has opened a shameful attack upon him. The charges made against Gerry are false and barren. We quote from the following letter received by us from comrade Allard:

"I worked like I never worked before to win the Illinois miners' strike. On Sundays I went to every mass meeting held in Illinois or Indiana. Some nights I worked until 1 A. M. I never let myself be isolated from the rank and file.

Rank and file came to my office daily and I attended all meetings of the Springfield Educational League. During the whole time in office the district official complied with the request of the miners and the decisions of our convention. When the day came that they agreed to a wage cut I INSTANTLY SEVERED MY RELATIONS WITH THE HEADQUARTERS, RESIGNED MY POSITION AND SPOKE AT THE FIRST GIGANTIC OPPOSITION MEETING HELD IN THE ARMORY OF SPRINGFIELD. I began an energetic campaign to form a united front of all progressives, also inviting the Party."

The letter goes on in this spirit to show Allard's record in the struggle. The section quoted above is a fitting answer to the Party and the Y. C. L. which have made it a particular sport of attacking our comrade. In particular is it an answer to the Y. C. L. students in Chicago who only a few days ago unleashed a vicious campaign against Gerry. Comrade Allard's record speaks for itself. The support he has among the miners is an additional answer to the slanderous campaign against him.

In the meantime the miner's after the vicious attack upon their line of march are reassembling their forces for further offensive. Recent issues of the **Militant** contain detailed accounts of the situation. We refer our readers to them.

A Letter from Spain

To the National Youth Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

Dear Comrades:

We have received your letter of the third of this month. We send our thanks for the interest you are showing for our YOUNG SPARTACUS, and also in anticipation of the economic help you are planning.

It is of great value for our paper to have your collaboration. The fact that the United States is the country where capitalism has attained its greatest development, attracts enormous attention of the revolutionary youth. We await therefore articles of collaboration as often as is possible for you to send them. In reference to our own collaboration with the American YOUNG SPARTACUS, we can inform you that we have already selected a comrade for that purpose.

It appears that your idea of creating youth clubs is a good one. We do not doubt that you will be able to make good revolutionary organizations of them.

We are in agreement with the proposals of the Belgian youth comrades with regard to the international organization of the Opposition youth. From every point of view that is indispensable. It will insure the cohesion of, and increase the capacities of the Opposition youth.

At the present time we have several groups of good comrades in the provinces and we expect that in a short time these groups will increase many times. The group in Madrid has started a discussion circle to which all workers and comrades are invited to attend. We are expecting good turnouts for these discussions.

The first number of JOVEN ESPARTACO was suppressed because of the article: "A Talk With a Soldier". Fortunately the edition was completely sold before the police had a chance to confiscate it. This denunciation by the government only tempers us with the desire to struggle and show the Party comrades that we are not the counter-revolutionists their leaders pretend us to be.

Accept, dear comrades, our fraternal and Communist greetings,

For the National Committee
of the Youth,
G. MUNIS.

An Appeal for the Spanish Youth Comrades

The first issue of **Joven Espartaco** (Young Spartacus), the youth organ of our Spanish comrades, has recently arrived. It is a sixteen page small size magazine. It contains greetings from comrade Trotsky, the International Secretariat of the Left Opposition and the Belgian youth group. There are a number of interesting articles on the situation in the Spanish working class and Communist movement. Several articles are devoted to the problems of the proletarian youth of Spain. Young Spartacus greets the appearance of its brother organ **Joven Espartaco** and wishes for it a long and vigorous life.

The National Youth Committee has called for donations from all comrades and sympathizers to help raise this pledge. We are yet short of the mark and are therefore appealing once more to the comrades. Recently we received a letter from comrade Trotsky stressing the extreme importance of such a paper for our Spanish movement and called upon all organizations to help in its establishment. Let's pitch into it and come through at once. Send all donations to:

Albert Glotzer, Secy.,
National Youth Committee
84 East 10th Street,
New York, N. Y.

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