

CLARITY
AND
ACTION

Young Spartacus

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WORKERS
OF THE WORLD,
UNITE!

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War in Manchuria

Youth Must Combat Capitalist Militarism

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On the fields of Manchuria the Japanese imperialist government conducts war against China for the power to exploit the natural resources, wealth and population of Manchuria. Japan intends by all means, no matter what the momentary outcome of the present struggle, to maintain and extend her economic, social and political influence in Manchuria. The other imperialist powers watch Japan's aggression fearfully, but hesitate as yet at open warfare. After all, what Japan does in Manchuria today, the other capitalist powers—the United States, Great Britain, France, Holland and others—have done for decades in Nicaragua, Cuba, India, Indo-China, Java and other colonial and semi-colonial countries. The aim in each case is subjection and exploitation of the native masses.

Only the Soviet Union stands for and conducts a policy of peace and collaboration between the working masses of all countries. Because the Soviet Republic has set its foot down against all exploitation, military aggression and against annexation of territory outside her boundaries, the imperialist nations of the world, led by United States, aim at a combination of the capitalist powers to smash the Soviet Union, and incite the Soviet Republic into war.

The rapacious imperialists will not succeed,—provided that the workers will expose the war maneuvers and aims of the ruling capitalist class in each country. The war in Manchuria is evidence that the world can again easily be dragged into a world war for capitalist purposes unless the workers are awake to the great danger, and mobilize their forces to combat war manifestations and the curse of capitalist militarism.

Support the Chinese Toilers

Every support must be given to the Chinese masses in their struggle against the Chinese bourgeoisie, militarists and land-lords—the native enemies and exploiters; to strengthen them in their resistance against invasion and aggressions by the foreign powers, among them Japan, United States, Great Britain and France. American capitalism has already coined blood-money through the sales of military supplies both to the Japanese militarists and the Chinese National Government.

Already thousands of youth in the armed forces of Japan and China have fallen—victims of the war between these capitalist nations.

The youth are the major victims of capitalist militarism. But the revolutionary youth, the Communists, cannot have pacifist illusions that war or militarism can cease under capitalism. Militarism and war are part and parcel of the capitalist system of exploitation, and can ultimately only be done away with when capitalism is destroyed to its very roots, and the workers have built a new social order.

Militarism Is A Class Problem

Under the given conditions, the working youth must understand—and the Communist youth must lead in teaching them—that militarism is a class problem. Militarism, so long as capitalism or remnants of it in any form remain, must be approached from the standpoint: which class does it serve, the workers or the capitalists?

The object of capitalist militarism and its outgrowth, war, is to ensure the

Build Communist Youth Movement

«Young Spartacus» to Work for Clarity and Action

With this issue we introduce **Young Spartacus** to the Communist youth and young workers in the United States. There is a sore need for what the organ of the Communist youth of the Communist League of America (Opposition) sets out to accomplish.

What **The Militant** has been achieving in its tasks of regeneration of the official Communist Party, now under the domination of the American political underlings of Stalin, the youth of the Communist Left hope to carry through on an ever wider front among the members of the Young Communist League and youth in this country. **Young Spartacus** will be a spokesman and guide in this necessary work. The confusion and misleadership of the Y. C. I. and Y. C. L. have brought the official Y. C. L. to a sorry state of theory and practice. **Young Spartacus**, we hope, can cleanse this Augean stable with the fresh air of Marxism and Leninism. It is imperative again to begin the work of clarification and education of the American working youth along Marxian lines.

The Low Level of the Y. C. L. To-day

We but merely assert here, what **Young Spartacus** will have occasion again and again to prove; namely, that the Y. C. L., like the official Communist Party, having acquiesced in the expulsion, oppression and exile of the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union, led by Leon Trotsky, and of countless hundreds of Bolsheviks in the other Parties and Youth Leagues,

has fallen also into a theoretical swamp and adopted the pernicious practices of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The result has been that the Communist Parties and Y. C. L.s everywhere are but caricatures of what genuine Communist Parties and Young Communist Leagues should be.

By the printing and distribution of the writings and platform of the International Left Opposition and its sections, we shall in time demonstrate that the salvation of the international Communist movement, of the Comintern and Youth Comintern lies,—first; in the abandonment of the false, anti-Marxian doctrine of "socialism in one country", the theory from which Stalin proceeds and from which flow the other incorrect doctrines and practices that prevail in the official movement of Communism; and, second; in the acceptance of the platform of the Left Opposition, led by Leon Trotsky, and which, in a few words, is but the acceptance again of the original theories of Marx and Lenin and which enabled the Comintern during the first four congresses of its existence, to flourish.

The "leadership" of Mineriches and Greens

We state plainly and unequivocally in here addressing ourselves to the membership of the Y. C. L.: Nothing can be hoped for from a leadership of acquiescent Mineriches and the tiny bureaucrats like the Greens. They epitomize

the groveling type of "leadership". As they demand it from those below them, so they, like fawning lap-dogs whining for a bone, submit unquestioningly to the lash of those above them, to the party whip. Stalin and Stalinism are the source of the cancerous growth of political boot-blackening in the Party and Y. C. L. Will a thinking, red-blooded Communist youth in the Y. C. L. long accept such a situation? We think not, if the truth is laid before his eyes to read and judge.

The Dismal Y. C. L. Paper—"Young Worker"

The official organ of the Y. C. L. is the **Young Worker**. In its columns we can find the quintessence of the "ideas" and practices of the Greens and Mineriches. A paper should be one of the best, if not actually the best, means for the development of an educated, theoretically clear and militant Communist youth. In this fundamental task of education, of clarity to achieve correct actions, the **Young Worker** has signally and woefully failed. We believe that we are only stating what every honest member of the Y. C. L. thinks, when we say that the **Young Worker** is a crude and vulgar mish-mash of ideas and events. In it is to be learned—exactly nothing. It is a perfect reflection of the youth leadership that runs it and the Y. C. L.

The members of the Y. C. L. are expected to accept policies from above without question. Free discussion and democracy, as within the Party itself, is on the Catholic index, it does not exist. Genuine examination of the validity of theories and policies is not allowed; the practices and results are to be noted in the low ideological and numerical status and influence of the Y. C. L. Other columns of **Young Spartacus** tell the unpleasant story. What discussion takes place in the Y. C. L. membership is either in secret or in the secret chambers of their minds.

"Young Spartacus" and Its Aims

Young Spartacus aims to assist in the reformation of the Y. C. L. The youth of the Left Opposition accept this policy and will work to revitalize the Y. C. L. in all respects. A Y. C. L. must have the spirit of youth, militancy and independent thinking. It must aim to be broad organizationally, to make it possible for young workers and youth who WANT TO LEARN COMMUNISM to be able to become members and to feel that they have full rights in the organization. In a Communist youth organization the first task is to learn, to become equipped with the theoretical weapons of Marx and Lenin which will best enable them to put them into practice in the shops, in the factories, in the unions, in the fields, among the student youth, wherever the youth is to be found. The field is broad and immense. A Communist youth organization must take this into consideration in outlining its tasks. A youth movement is a **young** movement, and there must be no fear about the youth who wants to learn. Let there be fearlessness in expression. The youth will learn through education, mistakes, practices. It is necessary to follow a route instead of the rut that is the Y. C. L. today. This is the road toward Communist CLARITY AND ACTION.

Trotsky on the Youth

Trotsky, in his famous letter, on **The New Course** to his Party nucleus, has this to say concerning the youth:

"The bureaucratism of the apparatus (Continued on Page Two)

Chicago Y.C.L. Activities in Decline

A profound ignorance from the lowest to the highest ranks pervades the Y. C. L. concerning the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The education of the youth is completely neglected. Naturally accompanying this backwardness is a shocking cynicism and a snobbish group of youthful bureaucrats.

The young worker, attracted to Communism is appalled at this bureaucratic attitude, and not being fortified by an understanding of Communism, soon disappears in disgust. Practically whole Y. C. L. units in Chicago have vanished, as, for example, on the South Side; af-

domination of the capitalist class, the bourgeoisie, over the means of production and distribution, the world market, the banks, etc.; and, second, to assert and maintain its domination over the working masses. If the working youth will look at the question of militarism in this fundamental manner, then they will be on the way to a solution of the problem of war and militarism.

It is the aim of the class conscious youth not to have to perform military services in the interests of his class enemy, the bourgeoisie. Should the young worker be forced into military activity, he must learn, as a soldier, to undermine the class enemy from within.

In the spirit of class war, the American youth must now assist in the mobilization of all forces and organizations against the continuation of war on the Manchurian field. We must demand that the United States withdraw all military forces and battle-ships from Chinese territory and waters. We must expose the jingo propaganda that aims to involve the Soviet Union in war and be ready to defend the Soviet Union in every possible manner.

ter being organized but a few weeks.

The action of the League based on this lack of principled understanding, suffers. The work at the shops where young workers are employed is almost nil; the little carried on is done spasmodically. Anti-militarist work is not mentioned.

The work among the unemployed is carried on as a drag to the unemployed councils. There is no independent approach to the young unemployed, but the establishment instead, by edict, of youth sections in every unemployed council. Whenever a general conference is called, the youth will call one at the same time and place, and thereby there is as achievement!

The Pioneer work has been most fortunate, but has also been hard-hit by the Y. C. L. bureaucrats.

The Protests in the Y. C. L.

The shortcomings have not gone unnoticed and unprotected by certain wide-awake elements among the Y. C. L. Comrades Norman Satir, Nathan Gould and Ruth Andris, supported by other comrades have raised a vigorous protest against the state of affairs. The only possible answer of the organizer Kling and the National Committee came: **expulsion**. By this expulsion they did not remedy the faults so correctly and sharply pointed out by these comrades, and before them, by the Left Opposition. The next protest will soon follow, and then the next, so long as the situation remains and Stalinist methods prevail.

Those who are now expelled are faced with an enigma. They will not drop out of the movement. They cannot go back to the League except as penitents. The expelled comrades have discovered and reacted to the symptoms. They will only find the cause and solution to the situation of the Y. C. L. in the platform of the Left Opposition under the leadership of L. D. Trotsky.

In the Y. C. I.

Organization Records Feeble Growth

Since 1924 there has been no real and flourishing growth of the Young Communist International. Following 1924 a retrogression set in—a decline in membership and influence. This decline coincides with the period of the struggle against the Left Opposition. No durable growth can be expected when correct Marxist policies are repudiated, and those defending them expelled from the Communist International and Y. C. I.

Let us examine the present condition of the Y. C. I. as described by Chemodanov in his speech to the XI Plenum of the Executive Committee of the C. I., held several months ago.

In November 1929 the legal leagues (all these figures exclude the Soviet Union) possessed a membership of 61,000, which was 15% less than the membership in 1928. The illegal leagues had 22,000 members, which compared to 1928 was a drop of 27%. After the November Plenum this decrease continued, so that by March 1930 the legal leagues had lost 4,000 more members.

Beginning in the middle of 1930, Chemodanov informs us, there has been an upward swing. Thus the German Y. C. L. doubled its membership, which is now 50,000. Similarly in Czechoslovakia the League has grown from 3,000 in Nov. 1929 to 6,000 at present. The legal leagues now possess a membership of 62,000 and the illegal leagues, 36,000.

Y. C. I. Loss in Membership

When we analyze these figures we arrive at the following conclusions: In November 1929 the Y. C. I. had 83,000 members (legal and illegal leagues, excluding Soviet Union). At the time of the XI Plenum the Y. C. I. had 98,000 members. Accordingly there has been an absolute increase of 15,000 members. But we were informed that the German Y. C. L. increased its membership by 25,000 and the Czechoslovakian League by 3,000, totalling together an increase of 28,000 members. Thus while these two leagues recruit 28,000 members the Y. C. I. as a whole recruits 15,000 new members. What does this mean? Simply this: that while in Germany and Czechoslovakia there has been an increase of 28,000 members, in the other sections of the Y. C. I. there has a loss of 13,000 members.

The gain in Germany is good, speaking in arithmetical terms. But from a political viewpoint it is poor. In Germany today there exists the prerequisites for a revolutionary situation. The rapid growth of the fascist movement indicates the desperation among the masses. If the Communist Party pursued a Marxist policy instead of its policy of national Communism, and there was a correct regime and a correct policy for the Y. C. L. it would now count its members in the hundreds of thousands. It should not be forgotten that the Party claims 200,000 members.

The Opponent Youth Organizations

How goes it with opponent youth organizations? Chemodanov tells us: "The fact that the opponent youth organizations are growing in strength, and that the network of all sorts of auxiliary bourgeois organizations is spreading, is out of harmony with the general process of the radicalization of the working youth." While, says Chemodanov, the position of the young socialists is being undermined in Germany and Poland, it has been consolidated in such countries as France and Sweden, and new sections have been established in Bulgaria, Spain, and Rumania.

The fact that their growth "is out of harmony with the general process of radicalization" does not seem to disturb the opponent youth organizations, and they go on growing. What every young Communist should learn from this is, that favorable objective conditions alone are insufficient for the advance of Communism. What is needed in addition is a correct policy.

The Party and the League

Chemodanov complains that there is an

enormous disproportion between the size of the Leagues and their respective Parties. The German Party is about five times larger than the League, the French, ten times larger, the British, four times, the Czechoslovakian seven times and the American ten times.

At every congress, plenum, convention, and all other opportune and inopportune occasions, it is reiterated that the Y. C. L. ought to be larger than the Party because it is a broader form of organization. (Chemodanov exposes his misunderstanding of the whole question when he speaks of a broader social basis for the Y. C. L. instead of a broader form of organization. Should the young Pioneers have a larger organization because they have a broader social basis?) Why have not the Leagues exceeded the Parties in numbers? Because in actuality they have not been broader in form than the Party? Because they have not functioned as educational organizations. The Leagues are stifled under the weight of the Stalinist bureaucratic regime.

The situation in the Y. C. I. cannot be changed by the Stalinist bureaucrats. For this is required a Marxist program, the program of Lenin and Trotsky. This program is now in the hands of the Left Opposition. It must become the property of every young Communist.

—GEORGE RAY.

The Labor Youth Press

The radical youth press in this country reflects the state of affairs in the youth movement in America. Its feebleness, ideological poverty, isolation and sectarian character is clearly seen by a reading of its publications.

Both the Young Communist League and the Young Peoples' Socialist League have official organs, the **Young Worker** and **Free Youth**, respectively. The youth of the Lovestone group issued a few numbers of a sterile monthly, but have since suspended publication.

The **Free Youth**, a four page tabloid size, semi-monthly, aims to win the youth for the yipsels (Y. P. S. L.). It is a feeble voice of a weak organization. The young socialists in this country confine themselves largely to social, light educational and election campaign work.

The Socialist "Free Youth"

The **Free Youth** employs "radical phrases" much more freely than the adult socialist paper, the **New Leader**. Its October 1st issue carries a manifesto of the Y. P. S. L. calling on youth to participate in "International Solidarity Day, October 3rd". The statement repeats the catchwords of the pacifists against militarism and war, calls for socialism, etc. It is meaningless. How to effectively struggle against war? How to fight for Socialism? or the lessons of the last war are omitted.

In its issue of October 15th there is a letter from "German youth comrades", which accompanied a "storm banner" sent to America. It reads: "May it (flag) serve you just as it served the German proletariat in the German Revolution as a symbol of the struggle of the International proletariat for a better world."! The **Free Youth** does not comment! Not a word on how the German social democracy dragged the red flag through the muddy streets of Berlin! How it murdered Liebknecht and Luxemburg, the true defenders of the interests of the German and world proletariat, of how it is today defending the Bruening capitalist government. The Hillquits and the Thomases, under similar circumstances in this country, would undoubtedly use the "storm banner" as their German comrades did in 1918.

The **Free Youth** is at present an influential paper. But if the Y. P. S. L.

For Communist Clarity & Action

(Continued from Page One)
has its heaviest consequences in the intellectual-political growth of the young generation of the party. This explains the fact that the youth—the most reliable barometer of the party—react the most sharply of all against party bureaucratism. . . .

It is wholly inadequate that the youth should repeat our formulas. It is necessary that the youth should take the revolutionary formulas fighting, transform them into flesh and blood, work out for themselves their own opinion; their own personality, and be able to fight for their own opinion with that courage which comes from sincere conviction and independence of character. Passive obedience, mechanical drill, characterlessness, obsequiousness, careerism—away with these things from the party! A Bolshevik is not only a disciplined man; no, a Bolshevik is a man who, boring deep, has worked out for himself in each given instance a firm opinion, and courageously and independently defends it, not only in war with his enemies, but also within his own organization. To-day he may be in the minority in the organization. He submits

grows, as it surely will if the Young Communist League pursues its present false course, its official organ will make headway. It will help sow the illusions of pacifism and social reformism among the youth.

What of the **Young Worker**? Is it teaching the youth the principles of Communism? Does it explain the elements of Communist anti-militarism? combat pacifism? Does it even attempt to educate the youth along any lines? **The Triviality of the "Young Worker"**

Some time ago the post office authorities deprived it of second class mailing privileges. A 'campaign' against this act was started. It withered away. Few young workers are interested in the paper. Even in the Y. C. L. the **Young Worker** has very little popularity. At present it is struggling to maintain itself as a weekly.

The attempt to convert the **Young Worker** into a "mass paper" results in the publication of the most trivial occurrences in the shops and factories. The reports of foreign news follows the style of the **Daily Worker** exaggerations, even falsifications. Some time ago it contained a report of the organization of Soviets in India! The desire to be "practical", coupled with the lack of capable people accounts for the total absence of any educational material. Stalinist "practicality" and contempt for theory and study, is strikingly exemplified by the **Young Worker**.

With the launching of the **Young Spartacus** the Left Opposition youth offers to the Communist and working class youth an eye with which to observe events, a medium of education, a voice with which to speak, a "collective organizer". It will aim to educate the working class and the student youth for Communism, win the Communist youth to the platform of the Left Opposition. It will teach the socialist and proletarian youth the anti-working class character of the Socialist party and the Y. P. S. L.; expose their pacifism and social reformism.

—Jos. C.

because it is his party. But that obviously does not always mean that was wrong. . . .

For Clarity and Action

The slogans of **Young Spartacus**, as in the early and best days of the revolutionary youth movement in the United States, the Young Workers League, are CLARITY AND ACTION.

Young Spartacus espouses the cause of the Left Opposition. It will, however, endeavor to be a **youth paper**, reflecting the attitudes and needs of the youth in the fields of education, sport, economic, trade union and political activity.

The youth of the Left Opposition regard themselves as the Left fraction of the Y. C. L., whether officially members or otherwise, and therefore endeavors to redress the organization of the Y. C. L. At the same time, recognizing the broad field of work before them, and the failure of the official Y. C. L. to reach even a fragment of the youth and young workers that properly belong in a Communist youth organization, the Communist Youth Opposition will try to draw every possible young worker into conscious, active, revolutionary work in the Communist movement. Through **Young Spartacus**, we hope to be able to achieve a measure of success.

Young Spartacus will no doubt not be all that we want it to be. Mistakes will be made—errors of initiative and lack of knowledge and experience. But that is not to be feared. The Communist Youth Opposition WANTS TO LEARN that it may be ABLE TO TEACH, organize and win the American youth to Communism.

The Course of the Communist Youth Opposition

In **Young Spartacus** will be reflected the policies and activities of the Communist Youth Opposition on all phases of youth work. This need not therefore be discussed here. In line with the program of the Communist League of America (Opposition), the Communist Youth Opposition and **Young Spartacus**, will steer its independent course on all youth and political issues before the Communist movement. Although a fraction of the Communist movement, the Communist Youth Opposition will endeavor, to the extent possible under the conditions, to develop its own independent activity wherever the official Y. C. L. fails, is negligent or persists in a false line.

Lastly, we have adopted the name **Young Spartacus** in honor of Spartacus, the great leader of the revolt of the oppressed slaves and gladiators in Rome; further, we take this name in an effort to follow in the traditions of the Spartacus League of Germany, organized by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in their revolt against the German Social-Democracy that trampled revolutionary theory and practices into the dust.

In the glorious name of Spartacus, Liebknecht, Luxemburg and Lenin, we pick up the banner of Communism now being besmirched by the Stalinist Comintern; under the leadership of Leon Trotsky, we will march forward to again win the Comintern and Y. C. L. to Leninism.

Upon this program we call upon the Y. C. L. members and class-conscious youth everywhere to support **Young Spartacus**.

—MARTIN ABERN.

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TO

Young Spartacus

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YOUNG SPARTACUS

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Spartacus Speaks to the Gladiators

society in ancient Rome, as today, divided into classes—patricians and plebeians, freeman and slaves. The slaves were the lowest category in society—the chattel. They were people captured in the Roman wars of conquest. And the lowest order of the slaves were the gladiators. These were slaves trained to slaughter each other in combat in the great amphitheatres of Rome for the pleasure of the multitudes.

Spartacus came from this class. Therefore, the terror, horror and humiliation of the Romans may be imagined when, under the leadership of Spartacus, an army of tens of thousands of gladiators was formed, and for three years (73 to 71 B. C.) victoriously opposed the armies of Rome, frequently inflicting crushing defeats upon them. In these struggles Spartacus displayed genius as a military general. Finally, weakened by dissensions in the camp of Spartacus, the slave revolt was defeated and Spartacus himself was mortally wounded in battle. But this great slave war remains one of the most glorious and inspiring pages in the long history of the struggles of the oppressed against their oppressors. The name of Spartacus has become a symbol for revolt and struggle for freedom of the oppressed.—(Ed.)



"Ye call me chief; and ye do well to call him chief who, for twelve long years, has met upon the arena every shape of man or beast the broad Empire of Rome could furnish, and who never yet lowered his arm. If there be one among you who can say, that ever, in public fight or private brawl, my actions did belie my tongue, let him stand forth and say it. If there be three in all your company dare face me on the bloody sands, let them come on. And yet I was not always thus,—a hired butcher, a savage chief of still more savage men. My ancestors came from old Sparta, and, settled among the vine-clad rocks and citron groves of Syrasella. My early life ran quiet as the brooks by which I sported; and, when at noon, I gathered the sheep beneath the shade, and played upon the shepherd's flute, there was a friend, the son of a neighbor, to join me in the pastime. We led our flocks to the same pasture, and partook together our rustic meal.

"One evening, after the sheep were folded, and we were all seated beneath the myrtle which shaded our cottage, my grandsire, an old man, was telling of Marathon and Leuctra; and how, in ancient times, a little band of Spartans, in a defile of the mountains, had withstood a whole army. I did not know then what war was; but my cheeks burned, I know not why, and I clasped the knees of that venerable man, until my mother, parting the hair from off my forehead, kissed my throbbing temples and bade me go to rest, and think no more of those old tales of savage wars.

"That very night the Romans landed on our coast. I saw the breast that had nourished me trampled by the hoof of the war-horse,—the bleeding form of my father flung amidst the blazing rafters of our dwelling! To-day I killed a man in the arena; and, when I broke his helmet clasps, behold! he was my friend. He knew me, smiled faintly, gasped, and died;—the same sweet smile upon his lips that I had marked, when, in adventurous boyhood, we scaled the lofty cliff to pluck the first ripe grapes, and bore them home in childish triumph! I told the praetor that the dead man had been my friend, generous and brave; and I begged that I might bear away the body to burn it on a funeral pile and mourn over its ashes. Ay, upon my knees, amid the dust and blood of the arena, I begged that poor boon, while all the assembled maids and matrons, and the holy virgins they call Vestals, and the rabble, shouted in derision, deeming it rare sport, forsooth, to see Rome's fiercest gladiator turn pale and tremble at sight of that piece of bleeding clay! And the praetor drew back as if I were pollution, and sternly said: "Let the carrion rot; there are no noble men but Romans."

"And so, fellow-gladiators, must you, and so must I, die like dogs. O Rome! Rome! thou hast been a tender nurse to me. Ay! thou hast given to that poor, gentle, timid shepherd lad, who never knew a harsher tone than a flute-note, muscles of iron and a heart of flint; taught him to drive the sword through plaited mail and links of rugged brass, and warm it in the marrow of his foe;—to gaze into the glaring eyeballs of the fierce Numidian lion, even as boy upon a laughing girl! And he shall pay thee back, until the yellow Tiber is red as frothing wine, and in its deepest ooze thy life-blood lies curdled!

"Ye stand here now like giants, as ye are! The strength of brass is in your toughened sinews, but tomorrow some Roman Adonis breathing sweet perfume from his curly locks, shall with his lily fingers pat your red brawn, and bet his sesterces upon your blood. Hark! hear ye yon lion roaring in his den? 'Tis three days since he has tasted flesh; but tomorrow he shall break his fast upon yours,—and a dainty meal for him ye will be!

"If ye are beasts, then stand here like fat oxen, waiting for the butcher's knife! If ye are men,—follow me! Strike down yon guard, gain the mountain passes, and then do bloody work, as did your sires at Old Thermopylae! Is Sparta dead? Is the old Grecian spirit frozen in your veins, that you do crouch and cower like a belabored hound beneath his master's ash? O comrades! warriors! Thracians! if we must fight, let us fight for ourselves! If we must slaughter, let us slaughter our oppressors! If we must die, let it be under the clear sky by the bright waters, in noble, honorable battle!"

—S. B. KELLOGG.

Question and Answer Column

Question: Explain briefly the "materialistic conception of history".

Answer: "In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange and the social organization necessarily following from it, forms the basis upon which is built up and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch." The laws, customs, education, religion, public opinion and morals are controlled and shaped by economic and material factors and conditions; or, in other terms, by the dominant ruling class which the economic system of any given period forces to the front.

Question: What is meant by "Determinism".

Answer: The theory that every effect is the result of certain causes, and vice versa. It is still true whether we as yet understand the causes or not.

Question: What is meant by "human nature"; explain popularly.

Answer: A favorite catch-phrase of those who are opposed to all revolutionary thought. When cornered in a discussion, the bourgeois apologist invariably resorts to this convenient time-honored subterfuge and replies with his conventional cant: "Well, anyway, it's against human nature". He implies thereby that human nature is something absolute and fixed for all time. With his cheap, commercialized, metaphysical and idolatrous mind, he cannot comprehend the evolutionary and revolutionary processes of all things, and as a class never will. It is for the historical class, in line with social and economic evolution, to grasp the ever-changing character of man in accordance with the economic and social changes in men's lives. That class is the industrial proletariat, produced out of capitalism itself, but destined to destroy capitalism. History, sociology, criminology and the actual experiences of man, travelers, easily disprove the lying clerical dogma that man

was born in sin and is by nature bad. For instance, in the Maori, Hawaiian, Zulu and other primitive languages there are no words such as poverty, lend, jail, child-labor, etc.

And, in the modern day, we see a complete refutation of the so-called unchangeability of "human nature" in the attitude of millions of workers and peasants in the Soviet Union toward social and economic problems. The rest of the world will yet change its "human nature" similarly.

(The Questions and Answers Column will be a regular feature of **Young Spartacus**. Send in your questions and efforts will be made to answer them in this column.)

Youth Victims of Class Justice

The number of militant young workers who are being thrust into the jails of America is increasing. The bosses are lashing their most venomous fury particularly against the most aggressive, courageous, and conscious section of the working class youth, those who stand in the forefront of the struggle—the young Communists. The movements for their defense must assume ever-widening proportions.

In the **Young Worker** of Nov. 2 the following cases of youthful class-war victims are enumerated:

"Outstanding is the case of the two members of the Young Communist League in Colorado, Shantzek and Greenburg, who have been framed and are facing twenty-year sentences on the fake charge of passing 'seditious' leaflets to National Guardsmen.

In Pittsburgh, Leo Thompson and Stella Rasefski are already serving the beginning of their long jail sentences for the part they played in the recent miner's strike.

"Bill Sroka, youth organizer for the National Textile Workers Union is behind bars on a six-month sentence for his militancy in the Putman strike. In California, Archie Brown is serving a six-month sentence as a result of the white terror raging in that state. Irving Keith is held in Massachusetts for 'Criminal Anarchy'. In Alabama the nine Scottsboro boys face legal lynching at the hands of the southern bourbons.

There are two names missing from this list which must be included. These are the names of Bernard Morgenstern and Leon Goodman, two young Communists who were convicted of violation of the notorious Flynn sedition act in Philadelphia. Why are their names omitted? Why has there been no mention of their case in the **Daily Worker**, in the **Young Worker** or the **Labor Defender**? Worse yet, why has the I. L. D. refused to defend them? The answer is this: because they are members of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and because they have internal Party disagreements with its present leaders. We ask: are two militants to be delivered into the hands of capitalist class justice because they have political differences with the Stalinist faction? Is the I. L. D. for the defense of class-war prisoners, regardless of political opinions, or must one first agree with Browder in everything in order to be defended? We want to know. What do the members of the Y. C. L. have to say about this?

We demand: A united front for all class-war prisoners!

YOUNG SPARTACUS

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Book Review



"Where To Begin"—by F. Fuernberg
Distributed by Y. C. L. (U. S. A.)

One can learn a great deal about the causes for the present deplorable state of the Y. C. L. from a careful reading of this pamphlet. One can also learn a great deal of nonsense. The pamphlet written (no date appears throughout the entire pamphlet) presumably in 1930, attempts to explain, and thereby to correct, the causes underlying the fact that the Young Communist Leagues, "were pushed back a few steps in many countries last year".

Comrade Fuernberg advances many explanations for this state of affairs, each of which he designates as "the most important" or "decisive", thereby making out of what might have been a valuable corrective for the Y. C. L.'ers, a jumbled mess. On page 8 we read that the most important shortcoming of the various leagues is that they are "lagging behind the activity of the working youth." Coming to page 9, however, we read that the shortcoming is the failure to apply the policy of the Communists into youth forms. Later in developing this point, comrade Fuernberg speaks concretely of the necessity of remembering that the League is not a "young party", but rather a training ground for future communists. On page 10 however, we read of the 3rd "chief obstacle"—the failure to do "detail work".

On page 11 the main danger presents itself as a fourfold one in addition to those already mentioned). The four manifestations of this so called Right danger are: (1) underestimation of the radicalization of the working youth; (2) underestimation of the necessity for sharpening the struggle against "social-fascism" and "social-reformism;" (3) the attempt to reduce the activity of the Y. C. L. to purely cultural work; (4) underestimation of the growing role of the youth.

The Y. C. L. and the Party

For the next few pages he devotes himself to a consideration of the failure to realize that the Y. C. L. is not a "Youth Party". This, we hope, would sink home in the minds of all the Y. C. L.ers in the U. S. We should always remember—that the one who has not yet become convinced that the Communist movement is his movement, will merely be alienated and pushed away from the League by the imposition of too many "odious" tasks upon him. Although most comrades recognize the necessity of collecting signatures, and selling **Young Workers**, and distributing literature—the average Y. C. L.er does not. He does not protest—he drops out.

Above all the Y. C. L. should serve as a training ground for Communists. Only a proper combination of education and "menial tasks" will train the newcomer to the necessity and importance of the what at first appeared to him "detail work". It is this that is the big shortcoming of the League.

What A Member Must Do

The sections on "democratic centralization" and "leadership" should be memorized. "The mass of the members must themselves decide the most important questions of the League, because only then can and will the members carry out the work of the League". The opposite condition prevails today.

Little need be said about the last section, on "Shock Troops". Completely discredited as the idea already is, this "playing at revolution" should be dropped. Steady systematic work—not jerky spasmodic activity is what is needed!

In conclusion, whatever of value can be learned from this pamphlet, it will have no effect whatsoever unless the following words of comrade Fuernberg are burned into the minds of every League member. "The membership itself must check up on the leadership. The Communist must be uncompromising with regard to all mistakes."

—H. S.

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Lenin - Working Class Leader

Nature has done its best in bringing forth the embodiment of the undaunted revolutionary energy of the working class Lenin. The gallery of labor leaders and revolutionary fighters is very varied and comprehensive, but the person of Comrade Lenin is the one and only man who has been evolved especially for our epoch of blood and iron.

The epoch of so-called peaceful development of bourgeois society has faded into the past: it was an epoch of over intensifying discrepancies when Europe was passing through a stage of armed peace, when only the colonial countries saw rivers of blood loosened by greedy capitalism. Europe enjoyed the so-called truce of capitalist militarism.

This epoch witnessed the birth and rise of the foremost leaders of the European labor movement, among them the great August Bebel. He reflected the slowly gathering, the hardly perceptible strength of the working class, and his concepts progressed step by step, as did the German working class which, during the epoch of world reaction, slowly raised its head and gradually shook itself free from all prejudice.

History Produces—Lenin

Our epoch is made up of different material. It is an epoch when the volcano smoldering beneath the classes has erupted and broken through the topmost layer of bourgeois society, and to produce a leader for this epoch, Western Europe has neither not been able capable or has forgotten. All those leaders who at the eve of the war enjoyed the confidence of the toiling masses, reflected only the past and not their present. And when the new epoch dawned, it became quite evident that the former leaders were incompetent to cope with it.

There and then History brought forth in Russia a REAL man,—Lenin, the greatest in our epoch.

From many sources,—including myself—criticism has been passed upon N. Lenin, because he saw fit to overlook a number of things of secondary importance and secondary cause. This I must say would be a politician during an epoch of "normal", slow development, but today it is Lenin's chief quality as the leader of a new epoch, when everything of secondary importance pales beside those great things that really matter.

—LEON TROTSKY.

N.Y. Youth Club Formed

About thirty young workers and students met on November 5th in New York to form a youth club. The provisional committee reported on the purpose of the meeting. The need for an organization where young people could freely discuss the problems of the working class, study the principles of Communism and prepare themselves for active participation in the class struggle, and at the same time conduct social and athletic activities was pointed out. The absence of such an organization today prompts the formation of the Club.

After the discussion on the purpose of the Club, and the registration of members, it was decided to call it the Marxian Youth Club. In this way the educational character as well as the attitude of the Club towards the labor and revolutionary movement is made clear.

Officers of the Club were elected as follows: President, Max Sterling; Treasurer, M. Geltman; secretary, Lillian Bord; educational director, Reva Craine; Social and Sports director, Harry Ross. The executive committee is to consist of the five officers. The committee was directed to bring in a draft of a constitution for the next meeting, together with an outline of work and activities.

An excellent spirit prevailed and the discussions gave promise of a good future for the Marxian Youth Club.

Thesis on Youth Question

(We are here reprinting the first four sections of the thesis on the youth question adopted at the Second National Conference of the Communist League of America (Opposition), held in New York City, from September 24-27, 1931. Additional sections will be published in forthcoming issues of *Young Spartacus*—Ed.).

1. Capitalism draws the youth of the proletarian families into the productive process. The cheapness of its labor power, its physical and intellectual immaturity, its lack of trade union organization makes it particularly profitable objects for exploitation. These same characteristics and the needs growing out of them—need for physical and intellectual development, for play, "social life"—were left almost wholly unsatisfied. From a position of helpers and apprentices the youth was absorbed ever more into the general industries and process of capitalism.

These exceptional conditions of exploitation, the development of militarism as a support of the growing imperialism, and the need for the education of the youth for socialism resulted in the early formation of young worker and socialist youth organizations.

2. The Y. C. I. was founded in November 1919 out of a need for an organization which would attract the working youth towards Communism, win, organize and train it for the Communist parties. The need for a special organization is called forth by the psychological peculiarities of youth—its immaturity and impulsiveness, its special activities—sports, "social" affairs, and its physical and intellectual requirements. These can be satisfied only by particular methods, activities and organization.

The Y. C. I. is broad educational organizations of youth. Communist training and education requires the intimate linking up of the theoretical with the practical, the study-group with the field of the class struggle. The Y. C. I. is in the forefront of the struggles of the working youth; leads and organizes it for immediate economic and cultural needs and demands; struggles inside and outside the armed forces against capitalist militarism; develops itself in the struggle against the bourgeois and petty bourgeois (especially reformist) organizations and influence, as the cultural center and political leader of the youth.

The League which aspires to be the leader of a section of the working class the youth, is politically subordinate to the Communist party, the vanguard of the proletariat as a whole. The strategy and tactics of the party are the strategy and tactics of the League. This political subordination is accompanied by the organizational autonomy of the League, i. e., its right to elect its own committees and officers, and regulate the League's inner policies and life. Political subordination is maintained by a capable party cadre inside the League, which directs and leads it, exchange of representatives on committees, and a sound Marxian policy in the class struggle which the Leaguers will readily follow. A thorough discussion of the party questions affecting the League should take place during the latter's pre-convention discussion.

The restatement of these elementary and fundamental principles of the Communist youth, laid down by the first three congresses of the Y. C. I., is made imperative by their revision, in theory and practice, by the present leaders of the Comintern and Y. C. I.

3. Limited experience with Communist youth work requires that youth tactics, demands, slogans and special organizational forms should be put forward not as dogmas or finished products which have universal validity, but rather with a view of testing them in practice, examining the results, and thereby laying the ground for more effective tactics, slogans, etc. The Comintern under

Zinoviev and later Bucharin and Stalin converted the Y. C. I.'s into factional pawns. Youth policies were completely subordinated to the factional requirements of the moment.

YOUTH IN AMERICA

4. Due to the increased mechanization and rationalization in American industry since the last war, youth labor is to be found in every important industry of the country. Over one-fourth of the workers in the U. S. are under the age of twenty-five—about twelve million. Of these, five million are between the ages of 10 and 19. There are over one million children employed under the age of 16, exclusive of those under 10.

For the youth between the ages of 18 and 24 who are being drawn in increasing numbers into the basic industries of the country (coal, metal) doing the same work as the unskilled adult, in many cases getting the same pay and suffering from the same oppressive conditions, the special forms of exploitation to which the young worker is submitted under the apprentice and helpers' systems are substituted for by the greater speed-up, and an increase in the intensity of exploitation. The youth in these industries are being increasingly absorbed into the unskilled proletariat. This strengthens the solidarity between the adult and youth (present coal strike) Special youth demands in such cases, do not arise out of the special economic position of the young workers but rather out of their psychological and physiological peculiarities and requirements—their immaturity, need for development, etc.

In those as well as in the light industries (electrical, radio electrical parts production, foods, etc.) special attention should be paid to the youth under the age of 18. Special hours of work, wages, conditions of labor can be determined only on the basis of the particular industry. At the same time the Y. C. I. should put forward demands which link up the struggles of the youth in the shop factory, mine and mill with the fight against the capitalists as a class. The official Y. C. I. today utilizes its slogans and demands only on holiday occasions.

These demands should be put forward in the sense discussed in section 3. At present they can at best be agitational and propaganda demands. When the opportunity offers itself either in an industry or in the country as a whole, they can be put forward as concrete immediate slogans of action.

The struggle for the youth demands should be accompanied by a comparison of the conditions of the young worker under capitalism and what it would be under a proletarian rule—as illustrated by the Soviet Union. The slogan for an annual month vacation with pay for youth under 23 can be made a powerful weapon against the Citizens' Military Training Camps.

At the same time a struggle for the unionization of the youth should be carried on. In textile, coal, automobile, radio, etc., the youth should be organized into the revolutionary unions or leagues. Special youth forms of organization (committees or sections) should develop special forms of activities to attract and hold the young workers. In industries where the A. F. of L. has some control (men's clothing, building, hat manufacturing, etc.) are large sections of youth are employed, they are almost completely barred from the unions. Work among them is extremely important. It can be an aid in the building of Left wing groups in the unions. Further, the most persistent struggle must be carried on to remove all discriminatory rules and practices in all trade unions.

Read **THE MILITANT**, official organ of the Communist League of America (Opposition)

Communist Student Expelled

As happens in the class-struggle in the broader and more serious sense, when the masses begin to stir, bourgeois democracy is exposed as a farce. So has the American school system revealed its true nature and purpose. This is typified by the expulsion of a member of the Young Communist League from the Morris High School in New York City about two weeks ago.

At the beginning of this school year the prices in the students' lunch room were raised. Membership in the school organization (which amounts in reality to the mere payment of a fee) is compulsory. Rose Tekulsky began to talk to the students to resist these actions. Although she was compelled to promise upon her admission to the school not to spread "red propaganda", as a Communist and a working class student, she naturally had to place her class interests on a higher level and continued to organize the students. As soon as she was discovered, she was expelled from the school.

The group of Y. C. L. members called a student protest meeting for November 6th. About 150 students attended. Plans were laid for further activity. A committee was elected and the ground laid for the formation of a Young Defender group in the school. A report was heard from the Alumni Committee which was formed and urged the preparation for a student strike. There was a speaker from the New Utrecht High School Students Council and one from the I. L. D.

The Committee elected will meet to work out the accepted proposals. In the meantime, it is necessary for every student who wishes to aid to get in contact with the committee by writing to: Rose Tekulsky, 1034 Ave St. John, New York, N. Y., and for every alumnus to get in contact with Reva Craine, 1635 Montgomery Ave., Bronx.

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