

YOUNG SPARTACUS SUPPLEMENT

Draft Resolutions of N. C. for First National Convention of S. Y. L.

In early December of this year the first national convention of the Spartacus Youth League will be held. We present the major draft resolutions for the convention. Other resolutions will follow. We invite members of the Spartacus Youth League and Communist League of America to contribute critical discussion articles. All branches of the Spartacus Youth League are to immediately prepare discussions on the drafts and send us reports.

Only by the full cooperation of all the Spartacus Youth can we hammer out effective policies of work. Our past activities have prepared us for our present task: the building of a mass revolutionary youth organization.

All references to relations between the Spartacus Youth League and the Communist League of America would hold with equal force in the relations between the new revolutionary youth league and the new party. The militant youth have and will continue to contribute to the construction of the new revolutionary movement.

Let us make our convention a milestone on this road!

**National Committee,
Spartacus Youth League**
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The main immediate task of the Spartacus Youth League is to aid the Communist League of America in building the new revolutionary party. The specific instrument through which the young workers and students can be won over for the new party is a new revolutionary youth league. Just as the Communist League forms the basic kernel for the new party, so the S.Y.L. is the nucleus for the new youth league.

To accomplish this task it behooves the S.Y.L. to carefully analyze the existing workers' political youth organizations, indicate their inadequacies as militant leaders of the youth and formulate such policies as can win allies from these groups for the construction of a new youth movement.

At no time have either the Young Communist League or the Young Peoples Socialist League succeeded in reaching, not to speak of organizing, the large masses of young workers and students. Their fundamental defect is their organizational and political domination by the traditional workers' parties, the Stalinist Communist party and the Socialist party, respectively. Both parties, rejecting revolutionary Marxism, are incapable of developing militant youth organizations which can win the young workers against capitalism.

The same causes which have resulted in crises in the world Stalinist and Socialist movements (the bankruptcy of

1. Inadequacies of the Existing Workers' Political Youth Organizations and the Need For a New Revolutionary Youth League

Stalinism and Social Democracy in Germany and Austria, the quickening march of Fascism and the sharpening class struggle) have had deep effects on the respective youth movements.

Among the young Socialists particularly, these events have had a profound effect. In the United States it has taken the form of a strong centrist current which is the leading force in the Y.P.S.L. In the Stalinist ranks the discontent with the old policies takes on different forms, above all increased turnover of membership and expulsions.

On this background the specific inadequacies of the Y.C.L. and Y.P.S.L. can best be examined. Together they embrace, including periphery groups, the overwhelming majority of the radical youth; but a small fraction of the young workers and students.

Young Communist League

The plight of the Young Communist League is graphically shown by its official organization figures. In 1931, 3,000 members. In the period between 1931 and June 1934 a gain of 15,000. Yet at the end of the period (June 1934) a total membership of only 6,000. A loss of 12,000 members in three years!

Of these some were expelled—even during pre-convention periods!—for questioning the official policies. Others were repelled by the stifling inner life and false policies—and left the movement entirely. Still others, unable to find their places in the Y.C.L., joined its periphery organizations. These clubs and youth sections of Communist party auxiliaries serve as substitutes for the Y.C.L.

Only in one field, among the students, has the Young Communist League made even partial gains. Even here, in the midst of a great potential radicalization of the students, the National Student League has an unstable basis, confused program and conducts only sporadic activities.

In the industrial field, despite much noise, the Stalinist youth, following the fatal trade union course of the Communist party and adding to it the most arbitrary policy of youth demands and organizational forms, are completely isolated from the young workers involved in the strike wave.

On the anti-militarist front the Y.C.L. has completely abandoned the program of Lenin. Instead of consistent education of the youth in the revolutionary anti-militarist program, it repeats slogans taken out of context—rendering them meaningless. Instead of an intransigent struggle against pacifism in all its forms, it capitulates to this program by failing to attack the slogan of disarmament and even supporting it in a particular form. ("Support the Soviet Union's proposal for disarmament"). As a substitute for a genuine united front against imperialist war preparations, a united front limited to definite demands and to a specific period of time, the Y.C.L. creates the Youth Section of the League Against War and Fascism, a bloc of Stalinist youth organizations, on a pacifist program and on a permanent basis (until imperialist war is abolished!). The program serves as a substitute for a revolutionary anti-militarist program; the "united front" organization is already attempting factory work!

The Y.C.L. antics reach their height in the anti-Fascist struggle. Clarity, on this and other questions, is the prere-

quisite for effective action. For the Stalinists, everybody, except themselves, are "fascists" of one kind or another. The Yipsels and the S.Y.L. are "social fascists". New America and its youth section, Young America, are "Fascists". The Roosevelt Central Bureau for Young America is also "Fascist".

Yet in the "struggle against Fascism" they propose a united front to the Yipsels, elect Harry F. Ward, the head of the "Fascist" (!) New America the chairman of the League Against War and Fascism, form a united front with Young America and even try to reconcile themselves with the Central Bureau for Young America—at the recent American Youth Congress. United front with "Fascists" against Fascism! What a muddleheaded program.

Only by a correct appreciation of the character of the opponent youth organizations can a genuine united front be formed. Only by a clear and precise understanding of the meaning of Fascism can this deadly menace be combatted.

Nor do the Stalinist youth fare better in their educational work. Accepting the revisionist program of Stalinism and the ensuing false policies and actions, they are incapable of teaching revolutionary Marxism. But even the most elementary class struggle education is neglected. Falsely counterposing practical work to study, the Y.C.L. has not only developed in its ranks a contempt for revolutionary theory but thereby made its members incapable of intelligently participating in the class struggle.

The impotence of the Y.C.L. is additionally proved by its inability to win any real influence among the Yipsels. With the exception of a small group in Chicago won by the Y.C.L., it has failed to make any inroads on the Young Peoples Socialist League.

Is it a wonder that the leaders of the Y.C.L., themselves appointed by the bureaucrats of the Communist party, fear internal discussions, stifle the democratic rights of the members? Is it surprising that with such a regime and false policies they are unable to hold the young workers they attract?

However, the mass of youth in the Y.C.L. are young militants who want to become revolutionaries. It is an important task of the S.Y.L. to make special efforts to attract them to the new revolutionary youth movement. Through intimate connection with them, fraternal discussions and joint work coupled with our ability to work effectively in the class struggle we will be able to win them for revolutionary Marxism.

Young Peoples Socialist League

An even greater potential source of recruitment for the new revolutionary youth movement is the Young Peoples Socialist League. Under the impact of events in Germany and Austria and the sharpening class struggle in the United States, the Y.P.S.L. has taken on new life, increased organizationally and multiplied its educational and industrial work. The new young workers who have been attracted in recent years have brought with them their problems and have pressed for their solution. Above all, the failures of the Young Communist League, the official revolutionary youth organization, have permitted this new lease on life for the Y.P.S.L.

The Y.P.S.L. is a definite centrist or-

ganization. It has no clear program on any of the burning issues (militarism and war, Fascism, trade unions, students) or the basic issue of the road to power. Its leadership and the bulk of its membership accept the declaration of principles adopted at the Detroit Convention as either a revolutionary document or a step in that direction. Within the ranks a serious interest is displayed towards the fundamental problems of the revolutionary movement.

Organizationally the Yipsels claim a membership of 5,000, a growth of about 150% since its national reorganization in 1929. However, as yet, its strength lies in New York and to a lesser degree in Reading, Milwaukee and Chicago. It undoubtedly has good possibilities for growth, particularly with the increased influence of the Socialist party and its own increased industrial activity. This potential growth is seriously limited precisely because of the centrist program of the S. P., its own confused policies and its feeble organizational ability.

The progressive character of the leftward drift within the Yipsels, its state of flux, offers excellent opportunities for the Spartacus Youth League. The future of this movement depends a great deal on the effectiveness of our forms and methods of work. The S.Y.L., despite its small and handicapped organization, has succeeded in establishing excellent relations with the Y.P.S.L., above all with the members. Intimate connection has been maintained with the young Socialists through such mediums as having speakers at Yipsel meetings, debates and united front actions (Anti-Fascist, anti-imperialist and trade union). Young Spartacus has played an important part in this work.

The present conditions do not warrant a change of these forms and methods but rather an increased application of them. The fusion of the Communist League of America with other revolutionary forces for the building of a new party will have a powerful effect on the left wing Socialists. Revolutionary unity is the growing demand of all militants.

An invaluable aid in building this party is a revolutionary youth league, which can not only have an attracting power for the militant youth in the camp of Stalinism, and the politically unorganized youth, but by its application of Marxism to the daily problems confronting the youth, by constantly hammering home the revolutionary teachings on the road to power and the role of the revolutionary party, by building a strong youth organization, becomes the instrument through which the leftwing Socialists in the Yipsels and Socialist party can be won for the new party.

Spartacus Youth League

To build such an organization is the foremost immediate task of the S.Y.L. Despite its small number, the S.Y.L. in its brief period of existence has prepared itself for this role. By its program and membership it forms the most experienced and stable nucleus for the new militant youth movement. It will provide the basic cadre for the revolutionary youth league.

Among the youth, the Spartacus Youth League has been the foremost and most consistent advocate of the united front of action. It will continue with even greater force to put forward this tactic as the unifying slogan for the common action of all workers' youth organizations.

On this road, with unswerving conviction in our program, a keen understanding of our tasks and a determined will to fulfill them, we go forward through Clarity and Action to win the youth for the new party, for the revolutionary struggle against capitalism, for working class victory.

Dates to Remember...

August 24-26, 1907—First Congress of International Union of Socialist Youth Organizations (commonly called Young Socialist International) organized at Stuttgart, Germany.

December, 1919—Young Communist International founded in Berlin.

November, 1931—Beginning of Spartacus Youth movement in United States by organization of Club in New York City.

August 28, 1933—Joint Declaration for Fourth International by International Opposition, Socialist Workers Party of Germany, Independent Socialist Party of Holland and Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland.

February 28, 1934—World Conference of revolutionary Socialist and Independent Communist youth organizations held at Luxemburg. Proclaimed need for New International and organized International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations.

2. General Character of the S.Y.L. and its Relation to the Communist League

1. The relation between the Spartacus Youth League and the Communist League of America, which is today building the new party, is governed by the fact that there is but one political vanguard of the working class. The latter is composed of the most militant and far-sighted members of the working class who realize that only the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system can satisfy the needs of the workers and the oppressed masses. Thus, the party is the vanguard of the working class whose aim is to lead the oppressed classes as a whole to the establishment of a workers government, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

2. While the party (or C.L.A.) consists of those workers who are conscious of their goal, the S.Y.L. aims to attract the greatest number of youth, workers and students, who are yet to be made conscious of that goal. In so doing the S.Y.L. recognizes that the political program of the working class is the program advanced by the Communist League and consequently agrees to be politically subordinate to it; that is, the S.Y.L. accepts the political program of the C.L.A. as its own. Unquestioning acceptance of the party line is not demanded. On the contrary, the S.Y.L. discusses critically the program of the party, so that its agreement with Party policy is the result of understanding and not of dictation. "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 courage which comes from sincere conviction and independence of character." (Trotsky—"New Course")

3. At the same time a rigid organizational control would be detrimental to the life of the S.Y.L. Hence the S.Y.L. maintains its organizational autonomy; that is, it elects its own committees and officers, conducts its own meetings and conventions, etc. Close relations with the C.L.A. are maintained by exchange representation on leading committees and bodies.

4. It is not a difference in fundamental interests that makes a youth organization, separate from that of the adult workers, necessary. Rather, it is the identity of interests that compels the workers, young and old, to combat together their common exploiters, the capitalists. In the factory, in the class struggle as a whole, the young worker is faced with the same conditions as oppress the entire class. However, the youth have special needs which must be satisfied by a revolutionary youth organization if these youth are to become fighters in the cause of revolution.

5. Because the youth who join are not yet communists, the task of so educating them becomes the primary duty of the S.Y.L. To accomplish this the S.Y.L. must work with the youth, wherever they are found, and educate them in the duties of the class struggle by participation in it. This is coupled with formal education, classes, study circles, reading, discussion and training them in the theory and practice of communism. The cadres for the future Communist Party will be developed.

6. Moreover, what makes a Communist youth organization particularly necessary is the attempt of the capitalists to utilize the youth for their own purposes. The capitalist class depends in great measure for its armed forces upon the youth who are most affected by the wars and war propaganda of the bourgeoisie. Work in the army, navy, national guard, C.M.T.C., R.O.T.C., and other agencies used by the capitalists for the militarization of the youth, is therefore a prime objective of the S.Y.L. By working inside these bodies, and by exposing

their purposes to those who, while they are not in them are nevertheless susceptible to their "attraction", and who will be called upon to lay down their lives in the next war of the imperialists, the S.Y.L. lays the basis for "turning the imperialist war into a civil war".

7. Industrial, and unemployed work require particularly close relations with the C.L.A. The general policy in the industry and union is determined by the adult organization. The trade fractions of the S.Y.L. meet with the corresponding trade fractions of the C.L.A. to discuss the problems of the industry and union. In cases where the S.Y.L. has a fraction in an industry, and the C.L.A. has not, the youth fraction meets with a delegate of the C.L.A. present. Similarly, a delegate of the youth should meet with the C.L.A. fraction where specific youth questions arise. In all cases where the youth comrades are involved they must participate with the adult comrades in the organization of the work. Special care must be taken by the S.Y.L. members to see that in decisions on policy the interests of the youth, if they for example should be a more highly exploited section of the industry, be answered.

8. However, before the youth can be educated, they must be won over. In order to do so, the S.Y.L. must truly appeal to them wherever they are, and in appealing to them, must base itself on their intellectual and social interests. Organized on a territorial basis, it is the intention of the S.Y.L. to become the neighborhood rallying center of the young workers and students. This requires systematic social, sports, and cultural work. The young worker who joins the S.Y.L. needs but be willing to become a Communist. After he joins, the S.Y.L. assumes the responsibility of actually making him one.

9. Inasmuch as the member who joins the S.Y.L. is not yet a communist, every effort must be made to convince him of the reason for carrying out any assignment or type of work. Nevertheless, precisely because the S.Y.L. is a communist organization with a highly important task to perform in the revolutionary struggle of the working class, the S.Y.L. cannot tolerate in its ranks youth who are hostile to its aims, or youth, who, by refusing to carry out democratically arrived at decisions, injure the work of the League. Decisions arrived at by majority vote are binding upon all members.

10. Similarly because the nature of the work requires a centralized organization that acts cohesively, the S.Y.L. must act under the direction of leading committees which are composed of its most able comrades. Just as the executive

Study Past War Experiences

"The study of the historic experience of Bolshevism has an invaluable educational importance for the advanced workers: it shows them the terrific force of the pressure of bourgeois public opinion that they will have to withstand and teaches them at the same time not to despair, not to sheath weapons, not to lose courage despite complete isolation at the beginning of the war.

"It is necessary to study no less carefully the political alignments within the proletariat of other countries, both those that participated in the war and those that remained neutral. Of special significance is the experience of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in Germany where events took a different course than in Russia but in the final analysis led to the same conclusion: that it is necessary to learn to swim against the stream."

—War and the Fourth International.

3. The Need for a Revolutionary Youth International

I. The Spartacus Youth League accepts the declaration of the Communist League of America on the necessity to create the Fourth International and the new party. All the conditions which make imperative this line of march for the revolutionary movement in general, apply with identical force to the tasks and perspectives of the proletarian youth.

II. The danger of war and Fascism becomes daily more acute. International capitalism, in attempting to preserve itself from the processes of decay, pushes to the foreground the immediate task: to transform the bourgeois social order into the socialist. But, while the international situation presents an intense struggle between capitalism and socialism, the working class movement lies crippled. Both the 2nd and 3rd Internationals and their youth organizations have demonstrated only their ability to lead the working class from defeat to defeat. Both have trampled on the banner of internationalism, precisely when this banner must be raised higher than ever. Victory for the international working class is possible only on the foundations of revolutionary internationalism, the 4th International.

III. In the general bankruptcy of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, so glaringly exhibited in the German and Austrian events, is to be sought both the decline and stagnation of the youth movements. The youth movement, in fact, does not

exist. Contrasted to the vital organizations of the International of Socialist Youth of the war years, and the Leagues during the early period of the Young Communist International, the present Social Democratic and Stalinist youth organizations are lifeless automatons, acting only at the behest of their bureaucratic tutors. It is necessary to begin at once to build the world youth movement. The advance of war and the rise of Fascism make this imperative. But this cannot be done by the two bankrupt internationals, i.e., by "combining Stalinist errors with reformist crimes." Nor can the re-unity of the proletarian youth of the world and the creation of their international organization take place independently of the workers' movement in general. This unity can occur in a new revolutionary youth international under the banner of the 4th International, which draws from the experiences and failures of its predecessors and raises aloft the banner of Marxism.

IV. The first step taken in this direction was the Declaration of Four (O.S.P., R.S.P., S.A.P., and I.C.L.) which correctly characterized the present world situation and called for the creation of the 4th International. A second step in the same direction was exemplified in the Luxemburg conference of independent revolutionary youth organizations, held in February, 1934, and at which a representative of our organization was present and played a leading part. While we are of the opinion that this conference did not go far enough in many fundamental questions, or deal in any way with other equally important problems, it did, in spite of police persecution and many-sided efforts to prevent its consummation, go on record in favor of the new youth international based generally upon a communist program of principles. The conference did not sharply and plainly declare its rejection of centrism in all its forms, nor did it clearly distinguish between a "new international and the Fourth International". These questions have yet to be clarified by it. But the conference recognized and stated the bankruptcy of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, the impossibility of reconciliation with reformism and bureaucratic centrism. And, it did declare the necessity of the new international in general and the new youth international. Thus, its direction is unmistakably clear.

The Luxemburg conference must march ahead. Once recognizing the historic need of the working class and its youth section, the Buro must work to realize this aim. It is not enough to recognize these needs. The value of correct ideas lies in the practical work to realize these ideas. It is most important to work in order to realize the above needs. The S.Y.L. of America, thus feels that the greatest task of the Buro of the Luxemburg Conference is to work concretely to build the new youth organization under the banner of the 4th International, which rests upon the granite foundation of revolutionary Marxism.

V. In view of the world situation the Buro must work out a detailed program by which the proletarian youth can be rallied in a struggle against war and militarism. It must apply its energies in a concerted struggle against world Fascism. Further, it must begin to develop the struggle for the economic interests of the working youth. Correct ideas, energetic work, Marxist education of the proletarian youth, can and will lead to the resurrection of the movement begun by the Young Communist International.

VI. The S.Y.L. declares itself ready to continue the work of the Luxemburg conference. In the spirit of the great champions of the working class youth, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, we stand ready to march toward the proletarian revolution. Forward, under the banner of the 4th International, to the creation of a new communist youth international.

Karl Liebknecht Said . . .

"Proceed but slowly! We have not fled, we are not beaten. . . . We are here and here we remain! And victory will be ours. . . . For Spartacus means fire and spirit. For Spartacus means soul and heart. For Spartacus means socialism and world revolution."

—Karl Liebknecht, Jan. 1919.

4. Economic Conditions of The Youth and S. Y. L. Tasks

1. Five years of crisis of American capitalism have left their imprint deep upon the youth. American capitalism can no longer find any place in the process of production for the mass of young people. Year by year the surplus army mounts, part of a permanent army of unemployed. The homeless youth as an important social factor are a new phenomenon which is serious both for the capitalists and the revolutionaries. With the huge development of machinery, the system of apprenticeships has become a factor of but small importance. The status of youth in industry is little different from that of adults.

Since the 1930 census, which gives the estimate of over 4,000,000 youth between 16-19 years of age gainfully employed in industry, the number has declined to approximately 3,200,000. Such manufacturing industries as radio, mining, textiles, automobile, munitions and many secondary industries employ the greatest number of young people. Over a million and a half youth are concentrated in the manufacturing industries. Youth occupies an important place, decisive in some industries.

2. The New Deal program of Roosevelt aims in great part to give a capitalist answer to the problems of the youth. The master class has thereby given recognition to the fundamental character in these changes of the status of youth in the United States. They are not problems which will be solved with temporary economic recovery. They are deeply rooted in the economic system itself.

3. The New Deal program includes the NRA Codes which "abolish" child labor, and the clauses on "learners" and "apprentices", the establishment of Civilian Conservation Camps, Transient Camps for youth and adults, and the subsidizing of homesteads. This program has to be clearly analyzed in order to be better able to fight it, defend the interests of the youth, and convince them of the correctness of the Communist position.

4. Despite the ballyhoo of the NRA and the Industrial Codes, the status of the youth has not improved. As a matter of fact, it has been lowered. The rise in the cost of living has meant an indirect wage-cut to the tune of a 27% jump in prices in one year. Much of the so-called raises in wages of the codes have been evaded through the learner and apprentice clauses in the Codes. The National Child Labor Committee has pointed out in many reports how this scheme works: "the firing of entire crews and rehiring them as 'learners'". The New Deal has lowered the standard of living of the working class, adult and youth.

5. The Roosevelt regime has boasted much of the abolition of child labor. It is claimed that 100,000 children have been withdrawn from industry; children under the age of sixteen. This Committee estimates that 100,000 children still remain in "industrialized agriculture", with 40,000 employed as domestic servants. Hundreds of thousands of children have been ignored by every census report—and they have not been touched by the NRA. Largely, they are the children of the migratory workers, who roam the country and follow the crops. Children under ten years of age are not included in the census reports. Further, the National Child Labor Committee reveals that bootlegging of children into shops (especially in the textile industry), continues under even worse conditions in their now "illegal form". Since the children are "violating the code" by falsifying their ages, they are forced to take whatever wages the boss is willing to give them—to keep quiet for fear of being caught. This applies equally as well for homework and the sweatshop system. (See report of N.C.L.C. on Artificial Flower and Feather Industry).

Even taking the above figures for granted, that 100,000 children have been withdrawn from industry, what has been

done for these children taken out of industry by the NRA? Absolutely nothing. This means additional mouths for the parents to feed. When children were drawn into industry in the first place, it resulted in a general lowering of the wages of the working class (since the wages of the adult workers no longer had to cover the family expenses for the children). Now the adults are to replace some of the children who were withdrawn—and must take jobs at a terribly reduced wage from the previous standard of years ago. And on top of that, the children have again become burdens on the breadwinner! What buncombe is this Rooseveltian abolition of child labor.

We must raise the following demands in relation to child labor: 1) Abolition of child labor under 16. Establishment of work schools for youth between 14 and 18. 2) Support the Child Labor Amendment (which gives Congress the right to control and regulate the labor of young people under the age of eighteen) with the organized labor movement to force Congress to act. 3) State maintenance of children forced out of industry by the NRA. 4) Organization of the youth and children into trade unions (admission into the already existing trade unions).

6. Affecting many of the unemployed youth has been the Administration's scheme of the C.C.C. camps. 362,000 of these boys now occupy over 1,600 of these camps throughout the country. Many of the families have been cut off the relief lists with the taking of their sons into the camps as working hostages. In many cases the boys do work for which men should be paid living wages (road construction, reforestation, etc.). In many cases it amounts to a cleverly hidden scheme of forced labor. Also, the government cleverly uses this period of distress by seeming to appear as a benefactor in time of need. Through this method, the bosses government gathers the unwitting youth, fills them with "patriotism"; gradually introduces military forms as a prelude to rallying them in the future as the forces who will fight the next war.

An army of homeless youth has been created. The government is using this army through the transient camps and subsistence homesteads. While they are used in large scale contract labor jobs—they are being subtly acquainted with this idea in the form of regimentation and mild discipline at the magnificent sum of ninety cents a week. Like the C.C.C. camps, these projects bear the danger of developing into cheap labor crews; who may be let out on cheap contract-labor jobs in the future. This can result in a direct onslaught on the already lowered standard of living of the working class.

It is our duty to demand that these youth be given the right to govern themselves through elections of their own officers—to combat this deadly poisonous method of "direction" by military and government agents imposed upon them. This will free them from the discipline aimed to make docile puppets of them.

It is our duty to penetrate the camps—to stress to these youth that, upon their return home: JOIN THE UNEMPLOYED ORGANIZATIONS IN YOUR HOME TOWNS, in a fight for relief and unemployed insurance. Their energy is needed in the organizations of the unemployed. Capitalism is shattering the family and attempting to play son against father. These youth must be taught to stand shoulder to shoulder with the adult workers in the unemployed organizations. These youth must be won for the S.Y.L.

Our slogans for the C.C.C. and homeless youth must be: 1) Abolition of the C.C.C. and transient camps. 2) Where work camps are established, trade union wages on the job. 3) Settlement houses in the cities for the homeless youth. 4)

5. The Revolutionary Education Of Young Workers

1. The work of education and propaganda is the most important phase of Spartacus Youth League activity. The S.Y.L. is primarily a training school for communism. Here the young worker and student is given a political education that will enable him to become a leader of the working class, a member of the (adult) political vanguard. Against the education fostered by the agencies of the capitalist class (public school, radio, press, pulpit) the S.Y.L. teaches the youth the laws of economic and social evolution, and the transitory nature of capitalist society, so that, with this knowledge as a weapon, he will march forward toward the revolutionary destruction of capitalism.

2. In teaching the history of society we attempt to give him an understanding of the class nature of historical events, in order that he may understand that the road of human development passes through the elimination of capitalism in a revolutionary struggle of class against class, for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. We explain the progressive nature of those wars (revolutionary war of 1776, Civil War of 1861 for example) which made it possible for capitalism to develop to its present position, and the social struggles embodied in these wars. We at the same time stress the militant labor traditions of the American working class (the railroad strikes, the struggle for an eight hour day, the earlier struggle for free education, the Haymarket Martyrs, Molly Maguires, etc.) which provide the background for understanding the present position of the working class and the battles it is waging. To understand the struggle of the American working class we must study the great struggles of the European working class (Paris Commune, Russian Revolution) which are the inheritance of the international proletariat.

3. No one field of education is however sufficient. It is necessary that the young worker know every factor which constitutes society. The working class, student and farmer youth must know the role of his imperialist bosses in subjugating colonial countries. Just as we fight against white chauvinism, race prejudice against fellow Negro workers in the U.S., so we fight against prejudices directed against foreign workers whom the rulers exploit even as they do the native proletariat. We must widely propagandize the role of U. S. in Central and South America, and teach the American youth class solidarity with his master's coolies. Thus we teach the importance of live internationalism as a means for emancipation. In that sense we fight against the revisionism of Marxism whether it comes from the Socialists (reformists) or from the Stalinists (who have discredited communism by a nationalist degeneration of it).

4. Education assumes any number of forms. We have only disdain for those false "revolutionists" who sneer at "book" education. Books, classes, discussion groups, a thorough examination of the writings of the great Marxists—all of these go into the making of a Communist, a member of the working class vanguard. But participation in the class struggle itself is as much a part of education as a study circle. In fact

Unemployment insurance. 5) Into the unemployed organizations for struggle for relief and unemployment insurance.

7. The increased intervention of the state in the lives of the young workers (strikes, Roosevelt's youth program) should call forth a greater demand for the slogan: the right to vote for youth eighteen years of age and over.

8. These are the special youth demands that the Spartacus Youth League considers necessary to raise on the basis of the conditions of the youth at the present time. These demands form the basis for a united struggle of all youth organizations.

such "activist" learning is an inseparable aspect of Communist training. In that manner the youth early takes his place on the barricades of the class struggle alongside his adult comrade and fellow-worker. In that manner we help organize the unorganized youth.

5. Though political education, through theory and practice, is our chief aim, the S.Y.L. will supplement this with broader education in the sciences and the arts; not because these are above the class struggle but because we can use this knowledge for the class struggle. Thus we raise the cultural level of the youth. For example, against religion we use the materialism of science. The rise of Fascism proves that capitalism is incapable of guarding its own culture. Only the proletarian movement can keep alive the cultural accumulation of ages. Students in school receive an understanding of culture divorced from those factors that constitute the basis of culture—namely, all those conditions, economic and so forth, which comprise society. Young workers who are compelled to leave school at an early age never even have the opportunity to appreciate the cultural advances of mankind. Moreover, many youth who otherwise would go to school are today excluded by retrenchment in education, hampered by overcrowded classrooms, both of which are the result of capitalist economic crisis. There are likewise restrictions upon the education of Negro youth in the public schools. While we are enabled by such a program of education to develop our own comrades, we establish a base for attracting those youth who are interested in these subjects. When necessary a knowledge of radio and the like can be very useful to the working class.

6. In order to win, keep and build up the youth in our movement, there is also a necessity for physical education. The bourgeoisie uses its sports movement to inculcate ideas satisfactory to itself, as in the "Y's". (There is the recent example of the University of California football team used as strikebreakers in the longshoremen's strike.) The vast majority of young workers have little opportunity to engage in sports with anywhere near the proper facilities. Their interest in sports often has to restrict itself to following professional sports in the newspapers. Our sport movement will serve not only to attract youth and promote soundness of body, but also to form working class legions against the rise of Fascist bands. In this work the S.Y.L. stands ready to cooperate with all working class organizations to build a workers' sport movement.

7. The principal reservoir for the trained cadres of the new revolutionary party will come out of the S.Y.L. These cadres will arise out of the youth that the S.Y.L. will educate. Education is the basis for the creation of an intelligent vanguard, steeled in the class struggle, schooled in Marxism, which will lead the working class to its final victory.

8. Definite steps along these lines will be worked out by the incoming National Committee. These will include popular pamphlets, study outlines, elementary classes.

9. As long as capitalism exists; so long will child labor and youth labor exist. The profit-mad system of capitalist exploitation will cease to exploit only when it ceases to exist. This the Spartacus Youth League understands; that only the revolutionary overthrow of this rotten system will finally free the working class from the stranglehold of wage slavery. At the same time, the immediate needs of the workers demand action; to start them on the path toward the final goal. On the basis of the immediate demands, the youth will be taught the necessity of wresting, once and for all, the means of production from the control of the parasitic capitalist class.

6. The Youth in the Struggle against American Fascism

I. The incipient Fascist movement in the United States has a particularly fertile field among the wide masses of disillusioned youth. The growing dissatisfaction of the young workers and students with traditional American institutions, arising out of their hopeless plight, can be canalized by a demagogic movement which promises them a solution to their conditions. To prevent such a movement from assuming any significant magnitude, and particularly from inculcating its ideology in the minds of the youth, we have, firstly, to understand it, and, secondly to work out a program which can attract the youth to the banner of the proletarian revolution.

Ia. Fascism is a product of post-war capitalism and is distinguished from the normal capitalist way of governing in that it destroys all workers' organizations and their democratic rights previously won through struggle. Under capitalist democracy, the toiling masses are able to utilize these rights (freedom of speech, press, and assemblage, the right to organize and participate in parliamentary elections), in order to gain for themselves certain immediate improvements in their conditions and to build their own organizations and parties in preparation for the overthrow of capitalism. In coming to power, the Fascists destroy these necessary instruments of the working class, and thus retard the victory of the proletariat and the general progress of humanity.

Ib. Arising in the period of the general decline of capitalism, which carries in its wake proletarian uprisings, the Fascist movement is necessarily a movement fostered by the capitalist class, by big business, to crush the revolt of the masses where it threatens, and to divert the desperate middle classes from joining forces with the revolutionary working class. Decaying capitalism leaves its ravages everywhere, and the small middle classes, the professional classes, are compelled to find a raft upon which to hold in order to save themselves from extermination by monopoly capitalism. The middle class must choose between the two major camps which are formed at this time: the proletarian revolutionary camp which proposes to liberate it from capitalism altogether, or the camp of its exploiters, the big capitalists, who create a special trap for it in order to enslave it all the more. The middle class goes over to the side of reaction when the proletarian camp cannot attract it by its decisiveness, when the working class is hesitant, when it is divided and disorganized. In this sense, the Fascist movement is a movement of reactionary despair to which the middle class is attracted because the movement of revolutionary hope, the working class movement, does not possess the power to attract and lead other sections of the population.

III. In the United States today, a situation, similar to that which gave rise to European Fascism prevails. Here, the Fascist movement is starting out very much in the same manner as did its European prototype, with the use of clever demagogy to attract the discontented layers of American society. As yet, the major characteristic of this movement is its unclarity in program, its lack of consistency and its general amorphousness. This was largely true in the early history of German and Italian Fascism, which did not prevent this movement from taking on a clear-cut program as the struggle between the two classes sharpened and the time for the final show-down drew nearer.

In the United States, where the middle class finds itself gradually being crushed, where its plight seems hopeless, where thousands of homeless and wandering youth find no place for themselves, and more thousands of jobless young workers find that they are unwanted in industry and society as a whole, except as cannon-fodder in the next imperialist war, and where there is no real attractive revolutionary youth movement at present

to lead them into the proletarian camp, the Fascists can find a fertile field for growth. They have not as yet the open and full-hearted support of big business, but everywhere small groups of Fascists and semi-Fascists are beginning to raise their heads and spread their poisonous propaganda.

The outstanding of these are the Silver Shirts: in Harvard an outright Fascist group has recently been formed. The vicious attacks upon strikers, the raids upon unions and Communist organizations, the organization of "vigilantes" committees, the increase in the number of lynchings (nothing unusual in American capitalism) can easily become full-fledged Fascist activities. And as soon as the youth find that the promises and professed interest of the Roosevelt administration in their problems have led to nothing substantial and that a solution is not forthcoming; that the C.C.C. are an instrument to instill them with patriotism and the military spirit; jobs in the cities are still not to be had; all the talk about the President's deep concern about the youth has remained talk; more thousands are compelled to tramp around the country, looking for, but never finding sufficient food or shelter—then the Fascist youth organizations will experience a growth—unless, there is a Communist youth organization capable of organizing these young workers and students and molding their discontent into revolutionary action. By clearly and effectively presenting the revolutionary solutions to the problems of the youth, by convincing them that Fascism, despite its present promises and radical talk, has nothing to offer but further enslavement and degradation, the Spartacus Youth League can become a great force against reaction, and win the youth for communism.

IV. Fascism, which can solve none of the internal problems of capitalism, heads for a repetition of the great carnage of 1914-1918 on an even more grandiose and destructive scale. The capitalist class, in crushing the workers at home through Fascism, can more easily proceed to conquer foreign territories and peoples and place them under the yoke of its exploitation. By raising to its highest pitch all the nationalistic prejudices of the population, and by destroy-

ing the only force capable of stopping the imperialist war and destroying capitalism through the proletarian revolution, Fascism plunges the world headlong into new slaughters.

Va. The danger of Fascism in this country is all the greater in that the present movement to counteract it is weak and disorganized. In the adult workers' movement there exists no anti-fascist united front capable of rallying around it all the organizations of the working class. Among the youth, the anti-Fascist movement is similarly ineffective and insufficient. The attempts of the Stalinists to create an anti-Fascist organization, the Youth Section of the League Against War and Fascism, have resulted in a repudiation of the basic Communist principles in the anti-war fight and complete inactivity and lack of influence so far as the anti-Fascist struggle is concerned. The League Against War and Fascism is no united front, but rather an organization which, by individual recruitment, attempts to build a mass anti-Fascist movement. Up to the present it has played no part in the struggle against Fascism and has adopted a pacifist program against war, which, by itself, will prevent it from acting in case of war.

Vb. The Young Peoples Socialist League is attempting to ape the Stalinists by creating a Youth Committee Against Fascism, which tends to take the place of the united front, inasmuch as it is a mass organization against Fascism. Its program is liberal, its aim is to defend the civil liberties of all groups or individuals (including the Fascists?). It can serve in practice merely as a cover for the Y.P.S.L. to excuse it from forming a genuine united front just as the League Against War and Fascism is used by the Stalinists as a cover and an excuse.

Vc. We reject the formation of such organizations which serve as an excuse for not forming the united front of the already existing working class organizations. The struggle against Fascism cannot be divorced from the other struggles of the working class and no separate anti-fascist organization, outside of the united front of the regular working class

organizations, is needed.

VI. Communism is the alternative to Fascism and only that class which can overthrow capitalism can stave off Fascism. Its most effective weapon is the unity of this class through the united front. Our conception of the united front is not the merger of all groups entering into it—nor is it the united front organized by one party with its own followers. The united front of organizations, which retain their own independence, the right of criticism and action within the limits of the united front, must be organized around concrete and specific actions.

In the struggle against Fascism the youth can play an extremely valuable part. In the united front, organized to repel its attacks, and to take the offensive, the youth will be found among the most active fighters. In this our League should take the initiative to bring together the various youth organizations under a minimum program of action against Fascism, for the organization of united protest actions, mass meetings and counter-demonstrations, for the defense of the democratic rights of workers' organizations and workers' meetings. Every right of the working class must be defended—every right of the Fascists must be taken away by us.

VII. Since the Fascist groups in this country are freely beginning to arm themselves and conduct military training camps (for example, one in New Jersey, another in New York), the struggle against them will of necessity lead to the arming of the workers. We, on our side, must begin our preparations for defense which will lead to armed defense and to a workers' armed guard. Here again, as in the struggle against imperialist war, any such action is inconceivable without the active support and participation of the young workers and students, who, by their physical and intellectual make-up, play a great role. We can begin with the organization of sports groups which will have as their aim the training of members in the methods of self-defense. Our League must become a militant, lively, and aggressive organization capable of attracting the youth to our ideas and program. Under the guidance of the revolutionary party, we must forge the united front of all workers' organizations against Fascism. We can, then, be sure that we are on the road to the overthrow of capitalism and the victorious proletarian revolution.

War and How to Fight It

"73. It is necessary to follow closely the patriotic preparation of cannon fodder now proceeding; the diplomatic fencing which has as its aim the laying of responsibility on the other side; the treacherous formulas of open and hidden social-patriots preparing for themselves a bridge from pacifism to militarism; the hollow slogans of the "Communist" leaders who will be just as bewildered on the first day of war as the German "leaders" on the night of the Reichstag fire.

"74. It is necessary to gather carefully the most characteristic clippings from official government and opposition articles and speeches, comparing them with the experience of the previous war; to foretell what direction the further work of fooling the people will take; to strengthen these predictions later by the array of facts; to teach the proletarian vanguard to orient itself independently in events so as not to be taken unawares.

"75. Reinforced agitation against imperialism and militarism must proceed not from abstract formulas but from concrete facts which strike the masses. It is necessary painstakingly to expose not only the open military budget, but also all the masked forms of militarism, not leaving without a protest war maneuvers, military furnishings, orders, etc."

—War and the 4th International.

7. Work in Bourgeois Youth Organizations

1. The Spartacus Youth League is in a transition period from a small and isolated, grouping to a mass youth organization. Consequently, a pre-requisite for the accomplishment of our task is that of establishing contact with the working and student youth.

2. Hundreds of thousands of proletarian youth and students of proletarian parentage, are to be found in large, ostensibly social and sport organizations, in religious, military and semi-military organizations of every shade and color, all of which belong to the category of bourgeois opponent organizations. To reach and to win these youth to our program is an essential condition for successfully transforming the S.Y.L. into a mass organization.

3. The Spartacus Youth League takes advantage of the opportunities offered in this field of work by sending its members into the various (preferably large) bourgeois opponent youth organizations. There, our members constitute themselves as fractions and work from within with the purpose of counteracting the bourgeois propaganda, exposing the bourgeois nature and true purpose of the organization, advancing revolutionary propaganda resulting in individual and mass recruitment.

4. Because of the importance of this work and the relation it bears to our transition stage we raise as one of our slogans "Into the Mass Bourgeois Youth

Organizations", the realization of which will accomplish:

a. The S.Y.L. establishes mass contact with the best youth elements therein from the point of view of national composition, intelligence, ability. This work makes possible the winning of factory youth, large sections of which are found and most easily reached within these organizations, thus establishing the basis for greater and more intensified factory activity.)

b. Our comrades within these organizations will learn to understand and to react properly to the problems of the raw youth, while simultaneously preparing themselves through experience for leadership.

c. The knowledge gained by work within these organizations enables us to apply to our movement and to employ the positive features of inner life and correct organizational methods practiced by the bourgeois organizations in their efforts to attract and win the youth. In other words, in accordance with our knowledge gained, our organization forms and methods of approach undergo correction and revision to make possible mass recruitment.

In the materialization of this slogan lies an important part of the solution of our problem of building a mass organiza-