

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

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"NEW DEAL" BRINGS MARINES TO CUBA

Roosevelt Sends Battleships to Protect Billions of Investments of American Bosses

The Roosevelt regime has met the revolt of the Cuban people against America's puppet governments with battleships and marines "in defense of life and property". The American bosses have over a billion and a half dollars invested in Cuba. Through control of the Cuban governments, forced loans, and ruthless exploitation of the Cuban workers and farmers, the capitalists of the United States own or control practically all the important industries of Cuba, the large sugar plantations and the whole economic life of the country.

The Cuban people want to establish their own government, independent of control by the Wall Street bankers. Even more than the American workers the Cuban toilers have been heavily hit by the present economic crisis which for them began as far back as 1925. Large wage cuts, mass unemployment and starvation is the plight of the Cuban workers. Thousands of the agricultural workers receive ten cents a day for eight to ten hours work—only half of which is received in cash! Large numbers of them get no wages at all—they are "lucky" if their masters give them the barest minimum of food, clothing and shelter.

Government after government has been controlled by the American bankers. These Christian gentlemen do not worry about those who toil. Out of the sweat and blood of the Cuban workers and farmers they have been stacking up large fortunes. To insure regular interest payments and profits on their investments and loans the J. P. Morgans through their

Aid "Spartacus"

How are we going to reach the young workers and students coming to Communism? Who is going to interpret for them the current events of the day? What is to be there the voice in their struggles in the shop, picket line, at unemployment agencies and in the schools? Our answer is: Young Spartacus!

To do all this we need the active cooperation of all our readers. You should write for the paper, feel that it is your organ, order bundles, get subs, sell and distribute them to the mass of youth. If there is anything about the paper that you don't like, send us a letter suggesting ways of improving our paper.

In order to make it easier to get a wider circulation for YOUNG SPARTACUS we have reduced the price to 8c a copy, 2c in bundles and the subscription rate to 25c a year. This is within the reach of everybody. Branches of the Communist League, Spartacus Youth Clubs, sympathetic youth groups can now more easily get large bundles and pay for them.

We appeal to all our readers: aid us in improving the paper and getting it to the American youth. Help us sustain and expand YOUNG SPARTACUS!

loyal agent, the American government, sees to it that the Cuban people shall not set up their own government. Such an action may endanger "our" billion and a half dollars (no small sum!).

This is not the first time that the U. S. government has sent military forces to Cuba. Thirty-two years ago, in 1901, at the beginning of its policy to gobble up foreign markets, the U. S. Congress passed what is known as the Platt Amendment, giving the United States government the full right to intervene in Cuba any time American or other capitalist investments are endangered! Of course the U. S. "convinced" the Cuban government to accept this law and incorporate it into

the Cuban constitution.

Since that time Hawaii, Porto Rico, Phillipine Islands, Nicaragua, and various other nations in Latin and South America, have either been taken over as colonies or otherwise controlled by big business of this country. Those who get profits from these wealthy sources do not stop at any means to keep hold of these "gold mines". Throughout these countries there is a great hatred for the United States. To the Nicaraguans, Philipinos, Porto Ricans and Cubans, the red, white and blue" stands for oppression, slavery, bloodshed and misery—all for the profits of a few.

The American workers acclaim the

N. R. A. Brings Troops Against Strikers

The fact of the matter is, after you sum up the whole NRA, that the workers get it in the neck, as usual. First: the NRA means the squeezing out of the small capitalist: 5,000 small banks shot to hell, hundreds of farmers shoved out, many small industrialists unable to keep up with the provisions of the codes and forced out of business. The industry of the land is being gathered into the hands of an ever smaller number of capitalists. Second: A drive against the standard of living of the American working class, under the mask of patriotism. Third: The false idea that the government is impartial and that to strike against the codes and the NRA means to strike against the American government. Therefore the government will act in strikes; which means again calling in the state militia and Federal troops to shoot down workers striking against the starvation wages of the codes (as in the mine fields, textile, etc. in the past). This will become clearer with every passing day. Fourth: The U. S. bosses are doing all this in order to be able to eliminate waste

by concentrating industry, by cutting wages and thereby lowering the cost of producing their merchandise. With their products cheaper, they can compete with the European capitalists for markets in order to try to get out of the crisis. This means in turn conflicts which can only be settled as in 1914-1918—by means of force: war! That's what the building of battleships under the guise of public construction works means. That's the real aim of gathering the youth into reforestation camps, instilling patriotism into them.

There is one way and one way only to defeat these moves of the boss class. And that is to organize. Get into the union in your trade. Fight to make it a real union, not under the leadership of people like the representatives of the A. F. of L. who "represents" labor on the NRA boards. Without Green, Matthew Woll, John L. Lewis and their kind have sold the workers out many times before. They will not fight for you. The American workers must build up militant organizations with a class struggle policy against the slave wages of the codes.

Y. P. S. L. Meet Expels Chicago Group

After two days meeting the National Convention of the Young Peoples Socialist League, held at Reading, August 26-28th, failed to deal with any of the burning questions affecting the American youth. A large bulk of the delegates came from New York City. This delegation, when united, controlled the proceedings of the convention.

The lively part of the convention revolved around the Chicago expulsions. A few months ago the charters of a number of Yipsels circles in Chicago were revoked because they followed the Left wing led by Larks. Following that, Geo. Smerkin, the national secretary of the Y. P. S. L. was removed from his post and expelled. Officially, for violating discipline in going to united front conferences with the Communist party: actually for his struggle in favor of united front action with the Communists.

Smerkin's speech was levied primarily at the national officials of the Y. P. S. L. Instead of arguing reformism as against Communism, he devoted most of his time to the question of discipline and the actions of this or that member of the national committee. More would have been gained if he would have presented a full Communist position. Already his group was intimately associated with the official Communist movement by the notice appearing in the *Daily Worker* urging all Left Wing Yipsels arriving for the national convention to go to a certain meeting place in Reading. The statement of the Left Wing Yipsels (which was signed by several dozen people who had been expelled from the Yipsels in the period prior to the convention) appeared in the *Daily Worker* a few days before the con-

(Continued on page 3)

great "democrat", President Roosevelt. A little while back they cheered his "exposure" of J. Pierpont Morgan, the symbol of the most advanced wage slavery in the world, American capitalism. The workers felt satisfied—here at last is a president of the people! The publicity did Morgan no real harm—but plenty of good! Now Roosevelt, the man of the hour, is better able to fool those who follow him—by speaking like a liberal and acting as a reactionary!

Morgan's investments in Cuba are in danger. Roosevelt, the general of the "New Deal", greets the rebellious Cubans with the old weapons and methods of mercenaries and pirates—the sword and the gun. The Cubans want a new deal—their right to an independent government; Roosevelt replies with battleships and marines. The right of revolution, according to the Declaration of Independence written by Thomas Jefferson, cannot be taken away from a people. A system of tyranny and despotism cannot be removed except by its violent overthrow. You hear and read about the much boasted of American democracy! The Cuban people are tasting the bitter fruits of this hypocrisy!

How about the American workers? What have we to gain from intervention? Nothing! Workers cannot profit by the oppression and exploitation of their fellow workers in their countries. The same master class which robs the Cuban people daily grinds us as slaves in this country. When we can no longer produce profits for it we are thrown on the streets—misery, hunger, starvation, death—these trifles don't bother the prosperous bosses even when it affects millions.

The government intervening in Cuba is the same regime which uses the military forces against strikers in the United States even to the extent of establishing martial law (Southern Illinois Utah, etc.) The bigger the victory of our masters in Cuba, the more powerful will they be against our protests and demands. Against the same group of oppressors, both the American and Cuban workers, are, by their very conditions of life, compelled to fight.

It is our duty to ourselves, as well as to the Cuban workers, to actively support them in their struggle: for the immediate withdrawal of American military forces from Cuba, for the abolition of the tyrannical Platt Amendment, for the right of the Cuban people to establish their own government free from Yankee imperialism.

BOLD LANGUAGE

Here's one from a leader (or rather ex-leader) of the Yipsels: "To you, young workers, who are yet aloof, the Young Peoples Socialist League says: Join, and join now! or forever be branded as a traitor to your own cause." (*Challenge*—April 1933—our emphasis).

The "handful" (!) of young workers outside the Yipsels must be trembling in their boots!

With the American Communist Youth Movement

INTERNAT'L YOUTH DAY

In July, 1915, a number of young revolutionists, imbued with the spirit of internationalism, assembled in Berne, Switzerland to lay the foundations of a working class youth movement that would struggle against capitalist war. Realizing that the nationalist frenzy created by the war and supported by the socialists who had betrayed the proletariat, was a sham, and recognizing the war as an imperialist slaughter for the interests of the capitalist classes, the Berne Conference declared itself in a unanimous resolution against the social patriotism of the Second (Socialist) International, decided to fight against it and united with the international revolutionary groups which had been formed in various countries and in Germany under the banner of Karl Liebknecht.

It called upon the workers in all countries to cast away the artificially created hatred of their class brothers and substitute in its place the struggle against the capitalist system. And to the youth: "In every country, the young socialists must become the vanguard of the proletarian struggle for peace. We aim to consecrate ourselves completely to the proletarian struggle for liberation. A hundred times rather languish in the dungeon as victims in the revolutionary struggle than once bleed to death on the battlefield for the profit-greed of our foe, fighting against class comrades of other lands... Let us gather together—all on the same day, October 3, 1915, all at the same hour! Let the comrades in Copenhagen, Christiania, Stockholm, Paris and Berlin know that at the very moment they are demonstrating for peace and socialism, the same is being done by their friends in Amsterdam, Vienna, Berne, Bucharest, Rome and other cities."

This was the first International Youth Day. In the year 1916, secret meetings were held in the woods of Switzerland and the young workers who had come from the factories and munitions plants, pledged themselves to carry on the work begun so heroically by the first conference, despite the numerous arrests and imprisonments and heavy sacrifices.

The Young Communist International formed in 1919, was the offspring of the Berne Conference and by that the inheritor of International Youth Day. In the first years following the war, hundreds of thousands of young workers rallied to the call of the Young Communist International in its struggle against war and militarism.

Today, when imperialist war threatens on several fronts, while Japan encroaches upon China more each day and draws nearer to the Soviet fatherland, while Fascist Germany hangs like a black cloud on the horizon, while American warships lay in the waters of Cuba, International Youth Day assumes an enormous significance. But the inheritors of International Youth Days are no longer capable of carrying out its import. By handing over the initiative in the anti-war struggle to those who fight war in words alone, the pacifists, the Young Communist League renounces its claim to International Youth Day, which is the heritage of the revolutionary youth. International youth Day belongs to the revolutionary young workers, to the Spartacus Youth Clubs, which hold high the banner of revolutionary struggle against war and for socialism, and which carries forth the revolutionary traditions of the Berne Conference and the early days of the Young Communist International. —R. C.

The Tasks of the Young Communists

By G. Chicherin

(We reprint the major part of an article written by George Chicherin, one time head of Foreign Affairs department of the Soviet Union at present in practical political retirement. It was written on the fifth anniversary of the Young Communist League of Russia, 1923)

* * * *

—When, some years ago, the first youth of the working class became conscious of their situation and, pressed on by the necessity for the struggle, commenced the establishment, in the beginning only in small and secret circles, of their international movement, one of the greatest and one of the most significant historical steps on the road towards the emancipation of humanity was taken.

Youth is the age of creation, the age in which the forces course fresh in the veins, the age in which man is able to assimilate the new impressions and new ideas, the age in which his endeavors and his will have no limits and in which for him everything is attainable and all things are possible. Youth is the age in which man, like the ancient Titan Ossa of Pelion, is ready to conquer the mountains. The youth holds the future, not only in that simple sense that the young generation of the present will be the men of to-morrow, but the youth is the future because it grasps with its whole being the new and the unaccustomed which history offers at a given point. The youth is the bearer of the creative forces in the course of historic development. If the youth bore only inclinations and impressions, these could well remain fruitless. Youth is also the time for learning and discipline, above all for self discipline, and the one as well as the other unite harmoniously in the Young Communist International, in this classic organization of serious untiring work and victorious impulsions. As such an organi-

zation appeared the Young Communist International in the history of the labor movement, in the history of human development.

No appreciation, no matter how enthusiastic, of the role of the Young Communist International in the history of the labour movement can be exaggerated. The farther behind us we leave the Second International, the more obvious becomes the great part which the Young Communist International has played in that period. In face of demoralization of the more and more comprising labor bureaucracy towards the ruling philistines and opportunists, towards the liberal-labour movement, the Young Communist International was the most determined enemy. When the World War began and the ruling groups of the Second International rushed into the camp of social patriotism and joined the yellow labor movement, the youth movement was among the first to raise again the proletarian flag and to oppose itself to the ruling traitors even before the Zimmerwald Conference.

Beginning with the Bolshevik Revolution, a radical change took place in the tasks and the aims, and even in the character of the youth movement (in Russia—Eds). However, it was still connected deeply with its past and its international organization. At present, all possibilities for a better future for our working class youth have been gained. Our Young Communist League lives a full and rich life, which includes practical work, this best educator, the struggle against the remnants of the hated past which are still everywhere around us, the systematic learning and the general cultural and aesthetic development of the human personality. How much still remains to be done? What great tasks are before us? Who is able to number the tasks that are yet to be done?

ORGANIZATION NOTES

BUILD SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUBS

In recent weeks reports have been received from various cities on the organization of Spartacus Youth Clubs, the increased activities of the Clubs and the prospects of forming Clubs in new localities. Brownsville, Pittsburgh and Minneapolis have organized S. Y. C.'s. In Boro Park (Brooklyn), Los Angeles, Portland, Oregon, New Castle and Philadelphia youth groups are being organized which will become part of our Spartacus Youth movement. How about the other cities in which branches of the Communist League function or there are groups of youth sympathetic to Communism? Those interested in organizing Spartacus Youth Clubs should immediately get in touch with: Joe Carter—Provisional National Committee of Spartacus Youth Clubs 126 East 16th Street, New York City.

Kansas City

The Kansas City Young Spartacus Club received a serious set-back with the death of its most active participant, Richard Rall. At present the Club is conducting a class with Lenin's "State and Revolution" as the text. Despite its smallness, the Club is the most active Communist youth group in the city.

Boston

The Marxian Youth Club has been active in the anti-war youth conference in Boston. At the conference the revolutionary position on war was presented in the form of a statement by the Club. The Y. C. Lers however refused to discuss

Life must be rebuilt entirely. Society as a whole renewed from the top to the bottom! A new life must blossom in place of the old. Wherever we look, everything must be changed. What immense tasks face you, you young members of our League! What a single, immeasurably high, aim—the new man with the new outlook on life, the new ideas of human society.

In this, its highest aim, our Young Communist League corresponds to the Young Communist International, whose highest task amidst the philistinism, the laxity and the limited existence, amidst the remnants of the past, and still is the education of the socialist personality for which the ideal of the future becomes the normal experience of the present. This new man is no tedious moralist, in him the saying of Nietzsche that the joy is deeper than the suffering is realized. The socialist humanity is a joyful humanity. The young Communist must prepare himself with great endeavors for the unlimited tasks that await him. He must learn, learn, and learn again. He must throw all his strength into that bitter struggle which the new order wages against the not yet dead past. The Communist League is no monkish order which rejects the joys of life and wages war against all that is light and merry. The Young Communist League is a merry and joyful community whose heart beats high in an unanimous common will. There is room in it for the merry song and the stormy joys of youth.

Our young communist comes from the working people. He is strong and certain he knows what he wants, simply and naturally he joins his whole joy with the severe daily work. He goes steadily onwards to his aim which is close ahead and of which he is thoroughly conscious. He works for society by the sweat of his brow, with rolled up sleeves, like a man must do. He does not spare himself in the hard struggle against his enemies. And there pulses through him the powerful, the inexhaustible, the eternal joy of the new life of a re-born humanity.

this statement emphasizing that only concrete proposals should be considered!

The conference elected a committee to organize International Youth Day. Reva Craine of the Marxian Youth Club was elected on the committee. Despite the fact that she was scheduled as a speaker at the I. Y. D. meet, the Young Communist League saw to it that a last minute cancellation was made—without consulting the full committee!

The Club has regular educational meetings and holds joint open air meetings with the Boston branch of the Communist League. Good contact has been made with young workers in Chelsea, near Boston.

Brownsville

The newly organized Spartacus Youth Club, in its brief existence, has already made its mark in Brownsville. Although as yet a handful it has succeeded in holding several mass meetings which attended by good sections of the Y. C. L. and a number of young socialists. The first mass meeting was on "Which Road for the American Youth, Yipsels, the Y. C. L. or the Spartacus Youth Clubs?" with Joe Carter as the speaker. This was followed by a mass meeting on the situation in Cuba with Rosalio Negrette of the Communist League and N. Blondell of the Anti-Imperialist League as speakers. A resolution against American imperialism in Cuba and pledging support to the struggle of the Cuban masses was adopted. A highly successful mass meeting on the fate of the Second and Third International after Hitler's victory, with Max Shachtman as the speaker, was held jointly with the New York branch of the Communist League.

The Club holds regular open air and discussion meetings each week. Three classes are being organized: on the fundamentals of Communism; the principles of Marxism and the history of the Russian Revolution.

New Haven

In this city the activities of the Marxian Youth Club are primarily confined, because of its small numbers in conducting a study group in Communism and holding regular discussions at its meetings.

Chicago

The activity of the Spartacus Youth Club in the anti-Fascist youth conference has been so affective that the "Y. C. L. Builder" is compelled to devote two full pages to an attack of the Club. A number of weeks ago a half dozen members of the Y. C. L. were expelled for supporting our position on the united front and on Germany.

The Club is conducting a class with a group of young Socialists, and youth coming to communism.

New York

The Spartacus Club of New York was instrumental in organizing the Brownsville S. Y. C. and a study class in Communism in Bath Beach (Brooklyn). Its recent discussion meetings included the National Recovery Act, Incentives to Labor under Capitalism, Socialism and Capitalism, the Youth press, and American Imperialism.

Several of the members of the Club are conducting shop and union activity. The Club participated in the New York anti-Fascist youth conference. Regular open air meetings are held each week in downtown Manhattan.

At present the Clubs looking for its own headquarters so as to be in a better position to expand its activities.

OPEN LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE Y. P. S. L.

Comrades,

You are assembled at a national convention of your organization to discuss the work of the Y. P. S. L. in the past year and the work of the coming period. We of the Provisional National Committee of the Spartacus Youth Clubs take this occasion to address you on the fundamental questions which affect the working class youth and particularly the radical youth, of the United States. We consider it unnecessary to discuss at full length the present plight of the young workers, the effects of four years of economic crisis, unemployment and misery, the low wages and miserable conditions of youth in industry. You undoubtedly understand that the National Industrial Recovery Act hits the youth especially heavily by its discriminatory clauses on apprentices, helpers and auxiliary workers. The increased military preparations of the Roosevelt administration, of which the reforestation camps are undoubtedly an important part, affect and will affect hundreds of thousands and millions of youth. All means are being utilized to the utmost for the winning of the American youth for wage slavery and its robber wars.

How are the class conscious young workers to react to these conditions and plans? First and above all, **Clarity** on the fundamental problems of the working class movement is necessary today. Clarity is the prerequisite for **effective action**.

Communism vs. Reformism

This requires an examination of the fundamental differences between revolutionary socialism, Communism and reformist socialism, Social Democracy. Most of you unfortunately have not examined these fundamentals. Many of you have been repelled from Communism because of certain negative features of the present official Communist movement. These require discussion—and we intend doing so—but first it is necessary to state the fundamentals.

1. Can the American working class achieve state power through the ballot by electing a majority to Congress and putting through a socialist society peacefully, legally. The Communist, the Marxist answer is No. We know of the violence employed by the coal operators only recently in Southern Illinois, in Pennsylvania and elsewhere when the question at stake was not their expropriation, but rather that of wages, hours of labor, union recognition. Martial law, injunctions, killings, state troops, national guard and so on are employed in such struggles. How can one dream of this master class peacefully, legally being expropriated of their means of exploitation, the mines, mills, factories and railroads! The degree of the force and violence necessary to overthrow capitalism will depend to a large extent on the degree of organization and preparedness of the working class and its revolutionary party. Those who lull the workers with Christian fairy tales about "peaceful revolution" are paving the way to bitter defeats and large scale violence.

2. Can the democratic state which today serves as the "executive committee of the capitalist class" be converted into the governmental form of the revolutionary workers? The Communist answer is that the machinery of the capitalist state, the military forces, the bureaucracy, the courts, etc., will have to be destroyed and in its place a working class state based upon the mass organizations of the producers Soviets or similar forms, will have to be established. This is the dictatorship of the proletariat which has as its aim the crushing of counter-revolution and the preparation for a classless society, socialism, wherein their will be no exploitation of man by man, and the state, the instrument of oppression of one class

(The above statement was not distributed to the delegates of the Yipsel convention due to the arrest of our comrades going there by the police of Summerset County, New Jersey and the confiscation of our material—Ed.)

Open Letter of the Provisional National Committee of Spartacus Youth Clubs to the Young Peoples Socialist League.

by another, will gradually wither away.

3. Can the revolutionary workers' party unite all those who are in favor of a "co-operative commonwealth" or should it contain only those who in theory and practice prove themselves revolutionary fighters for socialism? Many of you believe that the Communists and Socialists can unite in one party. This view is contrary to the experience of the modern world labor movement especially since the World War. Those who give lip service to the struggle for a classless society and in practice bolster up capitalism, particularly in its most critical periods, have no place in the revolutionary workers' party. International Social Democracy by its support of the World War, its struggle against the workers' revolutions in the various European countries, its entrance into coalition governments with capitalist parties, etc., has long left the path of revolutionary Marxism and has become the program of bourgeois labor parties. Bourgeois because of their anti-revolutionary views and practices, labor because they contain honest class conscious socialist fighters.

Social Democracy Paved Way for German Fascism

This is particularly clear in the recent events in Germany. The Social Democracy there by its entire course since August 4th, 1914, very definitely paved the way for Fascism. Its miserable cringings before Hitler did not save its skin. German capitalism which utilized the Social Democracy as its willing doctor, no longer needs its services and has employed Hitler as the grave digger of its former aides. The Social Democracy was in power in 1918 and early 1919. It had a majority in the powerful trade unions and equally powerful Soviets which spontaneously arose. But the role of Social Democracy is not to bury capitalism but to be its saviour. Power, therefore, was soon handed over to the outright capitalist parties. Bloody Fascism is the result of this criminal policy and practices which definitely flow from basically false, anti-working class, anti-socialist theories.

But perhaps the American Socialist Party is an exception? Did it not carry out a socialist anti-war policy during the World War? Hardly, socialist comrades, that is the miseducation that you are given in your classes and circle meetings. The fact is that in the absence of a fundamentally revolutionary policy and leadership in the Socialist party, it was compelled, despite its militant antiwar resolution of April 1917, to support Woodrow Wilson and the American capitalist government in the war. For proof, we quote a member of the Socialist party who is at present the director of the Rand School Research Department, Nathan Fine (Farmer and Labor Parties in the United States):

Yipsel Convention

(Continued from page 1)

vention. The result of these incorrect tactics was nine votes supporting Smerkin. Immediately following the convention Larks, Smerkin and their Chicago group, of about two dozen joined the Young Communist League.

A number of resolutions were before the convention. The only one acted on was that treating with the united front. It contained a repetition of the usual statements of the Socialist party, demanding a "non-aggression pact" as a precondition of the united front. All other resolutions, including one on war supporting the revolutionary slogan of "turn the imperialist war into a civil war", were referred to the incoming national committee.

U.S. Socialists & the War

"The seven socialist aldermen of New York City, the center of the anti-war feeling, when they were elected in the previous November, came out in April of 1918 in support of the third liberty loan. Algernon Lee, the leader of the aldermanic delegation, explained that the results of the international Socialist and Labor Conference, the attacks by Germany upon Russia which had had its second revolution and above all, the support that Wilson gave to the terms of peace which Socialists in America and abroad favored made it unnecessary to oppose the war as such that by supporting the liberty loan, encouragement would be given the president to continue his negotiations for a settlement that the radicals desired". (Pages 320-321). And further:

"In truth then, both as an independent socialist body, and through the liberal and pacifist People's Council which it sponsored and supported, the Socialist party did not stand in 1918 where it stood in April 1917. Whatever the reasons, the fact remained that by the middle of 1918 important sections of the party were no longer seriously, if at all, opposed to the war. By this time also the socialist needle trade unions came out quite openly in favor of the war."

Thus records a Socialist, not a communist historian! This is not a Communist slander but the facts of history which show the American Socialist Party's so-called anti-war record in its true light.

To hold the illusion of the reform of the Socialist party into a revolutionary party, which many of you openly do, is to shut one's eyes to the experiences of the world working class. Was not this the intention of the German Left Socialists who merged with the Social Democratic Party and were then later forced to once again form their own party? In the United States, when the majority of the Socialist party supported the Left wing (1919) did Hillquit-O'Neil give the party to these Left wing workers? Hardly! They were summarily expelled! The Socialist party, we repeat, is a bourgeois labor party. To think of its "reform" is hopelessly utopian and results in misdirected energy. Those of you who agree with our statement of Communist fundamentals belong in the Communist movement.

The needs of the American workers during the present crisis have not been answered by the Socialist party. Particularly the need for united action for unemployment insurance and relief, against wage cuts and the NIRA, against war preparations, against German Fascism, for the freedom of Tom Mooney and the Scottsboro Boys has been met by the Socialist party by a refusal to form a united front with the revolutionary workers, with the Communists. They are afraid to permit their members to fraternize in action with the Communists; they fear that the Socialist workers will see the incapability of their leaders to struggle militantly even for the most immediate needs of the workers. All talk of sincerity, honesty, etc., as the reason for its refusal of united front, is a veil over the eyes of the Socialist workers who are actually repelled by the negative features of the official Communist movement. The Socialist and Yipsel workers are used to bolster up the Right wing in the trade union movement—particularly where the Left wing workers are influential. Witness the scabbing by members of the Yipsels in the recent New York fur strike where the Left wing union has organized in its ranks, as even Norman Thomas admitted, the majority of the New York furriers. The Socialist party has officially endorsed this scabbing.

The sharp turn of events in Germany resulting in the collapse of both the Com-

munist and Social Democratic parties, as well as the growing militancy of sections of the American workers has already had its effects upon your organization. In a number of cities, Yipsels have been expelled for supporting united front action with the Communists on the struggle against war, for the freedom of Tom Mooney, etc. This process has only just begun. We are convinced that other sections of the Yipsels will not be whipped into line by the leaders of the Socialist party. Our avowed aim is to hasten this process of the disillusionment of the Yipsels with the Socialist party and its leadership.

Some of you, many of you agree with all the essentials we stated above. But you ask: Is it not a fact that a bureaucracy exists in the Communist party and the Young Communist League; that there is no workers' democracy in their ranks? That the official Communist party press resorts to lying and slandering? That the German Communist Party failed to prevent Fascism from coming to power and in reality put up no resistance once Hitler established his regime?

Yes, comrades, we are compelled to admit this. **But that is precisely why we exist!** These are the negative features of the present Communist movement we referred to above. We hold that these features are not inherent in Communism, on the contrary they are entirely alien to the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Lenin, and the foundation decisions of the early Communist International—1919-1923. This we have to prove. That is why we urge that you study the literature of our organization, the **Militant, Young Spartacus**, and particularly the works of our teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. This will equip you as fighters against American capitalism and for socialism. We feel convinced that you will soon find your place in our ranks. Our aim is the winning of the present members of the Young Communist League, and the Young Peoples Socialist League, as well as unorganized non-class-conscious youth for a revolutionary Communist youth organization which can educate and train the young workers for their rightful place in the great movement of their class emancipation.

Clarity and Action

Study however is insufficient. Our slogan of "Clarity and Action" means participation in the class struggle, while educating ourselves by studying. Education can only be effective if constantly tested, as much as possible by personal experience, in the practice of the working class movement. That is why we urge that those of you who as yet feel that your place is in the Y. P. S. L. should fight within your organization for united action with all working class youth organizations, the Y. C. L., Spartacus Youth Clubs, etc., on concrete demands which affect all young workers, such as unemployment insurance and relief, war preparations and defense of the Soviet Union, freedom of Tom Mooney. In such united fronts each organization is bound by a discipline of action while maintaining its right to propagate its own particular views and its right to criticize any of the participating groups.

We invite you to send in articles to our official organ, **Young Spartacus**, and will welcome all other means suggested (as interchange of speakers, debates, etc.) which can aid the process of clarification in the working class youth movement and thereby lay the basis for the strengthening of the genuine socialist cause of the emancipation of the working class. August 24th, 1933.

Fraternally,
NATIONAL YOUTH COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA
(Opposition)

(PROVISIONAL NATIONAL
COMMITTEE OF SPARTACUS
YOUTH CLUBS)

126 East 16th Street
New York City

BIG N.R.A. PARADES DECEIVE WORKERS

Who Gains From The C. C. C.?

WHAT IS THE C. C. C.?

The Civilian Conservation Corps otherwise known as the Reforestation Army composed of about 300,000 boys between the ages of 18 and 25, supposedly for the rebuilding of the forests of the country.

WHEN DID WE FIRST HEAR ABOUT THE C. C. C.?

During the last election campaign Roosevelt advanced the idea as one of the planks in his platform.

WHAT DID ROOSEVELT SAY WAS ITS PURPOSE?

At that time Roosevelt claimed that the organization of such a scheme would be a big factor in the relieving of the unemployment situation.

DID IT REALLY BELIEVE UNEMPLOYMENT?

No, since we see that the unemployment crisis is just as bad now as it was formerly. Furthermore, the government is actually using the boys to build roads and bridges instead of hiring regular laborers at 4 or 5 dollars a day as they were being paid formerly. The roads, dams, and bridges according to the reports probably come under the heading of "tree planting".

HOW MUCH ARE THE BOYS PAID?

They are supposed to be paid one dollar a day. Actually they receive 5 dollars per month. This scheme was pushed through by forcing the families getting relief to send their sons to the

camp, and then having the government send the family 25 dollars of the son's pay, and at the same time taking the family off the relief rolls.

HOW ARE THE BOYS TREATED AT THE CAMPS?

They receive very rotten treatment. They are forced to undergo army discipline. The food given them is often slop not fit for a dog. At all the camps the boys are being constantly treated to pep talks and patriotic speeches. At many of the camps they were even forced to undergo regular military drills.

WHAT PROOF HAVE WE OF DISCONTENT?

In many places there were actual strikes against the conditions. The most damning fact is the wholesale desertion. To prevent desertions the government threatened the boys with keeping their families off the relief rolls. In addition they would always send them to a camp far from their home town, hoping to discourage desertions. Despite all this, the conditions were so bad that between 25 and 35 per cent quit or left the camps in one way or another.

WHAT ARE THE REAL AIMS OF THE C. C. C.?

1. Roosevelt is establishing a new wage level. First he started by giving boys \$1 a day; then, he promised the World War veterans \$1 a day; and finally the government proposed \$12 and \$15 a week as standard rates of pay in the different government codes.

2. The scheme has the additional purpose of a camouflaged militarization campaign. In the preparations for the new war, in addition to the enormous fleet expenditure, the Roosevelt scheme is taking about 300,000 young men and training them in army discipline, routine and patriotism. The future cannon fodder is today going under the fancy name of "Civil Conservation Corps".

WHAT ROLE SHOULD THE COMMUNISTS WHO FINDS HIMSELF IN ONE OF THE CAMPS PLAY?

1. Fight for better living conditions.
2. Expose the Roosevelt militarization scheme and the military nature of the camps.
3. Explain to the youth the causes of war and the need of learning against whom to use arms when the war breaks out.

WHAT IS THE TASK OF THE SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUBS?

1. To support the agitation of the Communist youth inside the camps.
2. To arouse the widest sections of the American youth against the capitalist plans of militarization and for the revolutionary struggle against war preparations and imperialist war.

tion of the surplus agricultural population from the land to the cities. In the past, there was a steady stream of emigration from one European country to another, from Europe to the United States, and even from the Orient to the West, that is, from the backward countries to the advanced industrial ones.

Capitalism in its development has the tendency to ruin the small producers and merchants on the land and in the cities. The growth of trusts forces numerous members of the middle class into the ranks of the working class.

Workers are constantly replaced in the process of production by new machines. New inventions and labor saving devices are introduced because it means that the bosses can produce at a cheaper price and thereby make more profits. With new machines fewer workers are needed in production. Workers are also displaced from industry by the introduction of efficiency methods and speed-up. Some of these workers are drawn into new industries. Larger and larger sections of them join the industrial reserve army, the unemployed ranks,

Together with the Police Department, the National Guard, the United States Army, the United States Navy Air Reserve, 1,500,000 workers rallied to the call of the Blue Eagle in New York City. The spirit and enthusiasm displayed by both marchers and observers is very significant insofar as it reflects the sentiment of the masses to the National Recovery Act. Both employers and employees for probably the first time since the 1914-18 parades marched side by side. The employers particularly took advantage of the occasion and turned out full force. Although many of the workers were given the afternoon off so that they would march, the majority of workers willingly participated in the parade wearing NRA bands and American flags. That is precisely the tragedy of the entire affair. The same bosses who before gave wage cut after wage cut to the worker, suddenly under the wing of the blue eagle became the leaders "in the struggle for higher wages and shorter hours" and the workers followed blindly.

Similar parades have occurred in many other cities all over the country. In 1917 many of these same workers joined in the march to support the war to save democracy and to destroy Germany. With the same spirit and the same blindness the workers ran to the recruiting stations. When they came back they were a bit disappointed; not only did they fail to save democracy but they found that other workers in other countries had also entered the same war to save this same democracy and they also had failed. If the workers would have looked a bit further they might have found that wars are an integral part of the capitalist system. They would have found that the World War was not a conflict between millions of workers to save democracy, but that they were sent into the war to fight for new markets for their home

Fascism and the Jews

An American newspaper correspondent was given the following explanation by Nazis of the closing down of Jewish stores:

"We'd be very much obliged if you would explain that in closing the kosher meat shops we do not intend persecution or desire to make the Jews into vegetarians. But kosher killing is cruel. The animal dies slowly. That is why we stopped it. We believe that when America understands, on account of all your societies for prevention of cruelty, you will be very sympathetic!"

Humanitarians to the bone, the Fascists resent the slow death of animals! Slow death of militant workers through torture, quick death by murder; these are the cultural methods of the "superior Nordies!"

Capitalism constantly increases the productivity of labor which results in large masses of commodities and capital. At the same time the consuming power of society is becoming more and more restricted, because of the limited amount of commodities the workers can buy with their wages and the fact that the former backward countries are increasing their own production and have a limited purchasing power, leads to periodic crises. When the conflict between the tendency for constant increase of production and the limitation or decreases of consumption (markets) comes to a head, production is decreased, factories close down, the number of unemployed swells to enormous proportions. This is what we are experiencing today throughout the world.

But even during the periods of great economic activity, the industrial reserve army, although smaller, exists. In the so-called prosperity period in the United States there were over 3 million jobless workers. In the present economic crisis there are at least 15 million workers unemployed in this country. Should industry achieve substantial recovery in the future, it is estimated that there will

capitalists. And the spirit, and the flag, and the uniforms were all used to incite the workers to a point where they would not listen to the real causes for the war but they became so patriotic that all they would care to talk about was, when does the fighting begin? When will we get the chance to kill these dirty dutchmen? And so in 1918 they found that a gag had been put over them. Now after four years of miserable conditions and with about 14,000,000 workers still unemployed the ruling class faced with the inevitable revolt against these conditions and after considerable thinking and conferences with their economists come out with a new idea to get the workers to support whatever plans they may want to carry out. So, is it entirely amazing that the bosses were the first to come to the support of the NRA? Is it a surprise that this same Johnson, who was so active in the lowering of wages and conditions among the miners, and this same Whalen, the recovery cop, who has helped to throw workers who struck against conditions in their shops, off the picket line, and O'Brien, New York mayor, who refused to listen to the demands of thousands of unemployed and cut off the Home Relief, were the first to support the NRA and the first to help fool the workers again? Are the workers going to allow themselves to be fooled as they were in 1917?

From the reports of the NRA parade the workers are apparently closing their eyes again. But there are things that all workers must remember. The American capitalists, who so heartily endorse the NRA, and who so heartily endorsed the last war are preparing a new drive for foreign markets. They will again come in conflict with the other capitalists and the fight for larger profits will begin again. Already under the NRA (although they call it "defense money") over 250,000,000 dollars were appropriated for new warships. These warships will be used to hold workers who, if they are fooled again, will imagine that they are fighting a war for their country. The country, and its flag, the workers should not forget, is a symbol of the master class, the capitalists. These people control the factories and everything that's in it; they have the power to fire and hire workers at will. When there is a strike the government in the form of police, national guardsman, etc., rally to the support of the bosses and break the strike. The workers must realize that the ruling class and the state have united against the workers. Through the NRA the bosses hope to blindfold the workers into the next war. The NRA is another instrument in the hands of the bosses to fool the workers into believing that they will go back to work and they should not strike. Workers beware! —H. G.

Capitalism Breeds Unemployment

Capitalism is a system of society in which the means of life—the mines, mills, factories, and sources of raw material—are owned and operated by a small group of people (the capitalists); those who produce the needs of life (the workers) have to sell their power to labor to those who own these means of life. The driving force is profits for the few. Capitalism requires for its existence an army of unemployed workers. This army may vary from a small section of the working class to enormously large sections of it. But always there must be more workers than jobs.

Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism, has called this mass of unemployed the "industrial reserve army" This army acts as a guarantee for the exploitation of the employed workers. Imagine a situation, for some extended period, when there would be more jobs than workers. The workers would be in an extremely favorable position in their demands for wages and conditions upon the bosses.

How did the industrial reserve army develop under capitalism? In the early days of capitalism workers were gathered together into a single place for the manufacture of commodities—goods for the markets. The division of labor was introduced. Each worker performed by hand some single operation. This opened the way for the introduction of machines. The use of machinery meant the elimination of skill and strength in many processes of production. Women and children could now also enter the factories. Thus the supply of labor at the disposal of the capitalists was greatly increased.

The development of transportation, made possible by the development of inventions and machinery, enables the cheap and prompt transportation of untrained workers from distant regions to the industrial centers. Thus there is a migra-

be an unemployed army of about 8 million.

The industrial reserve army is used at all times by the bosses as a weakon against the employed workers, to exploit them as much as possible, to keep them submissive. If the worker protests against wretched conditions, the boss can replace him by one of the numerous starving unemployed. The workers can overcome this plight through the development of class consciousness and class solidarity of the unemployed and employed, through firm organization into fighting trade unions and their political party. Through these struggles the power will be welded together for the final emancipation of the working class.

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