

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

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## YOUTH REBEL AGAINST POVERTY

**Help Sustain  
"Spartacus"**

We were compelled to skip three months before issuing YOUNG SPARTACUS. On a number of occasions we have put the matter frankly before our readers. Despite our ridiculously small expenses we have not been able to cover them.

The New York comrades were, as usual, the first to come across. We were able to get out a special Columbus Day anti-Fascist issue for New York. Chicago sent in a few dollars which helped get out the present number.

But do we have to continue in this fashion? You undoubtedly know that the value of our paper is decreased with such infrequency, irregular issuance. Our branches are seriously hindered in their work. Subscriptions cannot be obtained unless we can get out the paper each month.

Many problems arise which can be best handled only by a youth press. Reports from various cities and groups of youth confirm our view that YOUNG SPARTACUS is beginning to hit the mark.

Now we are before a big turn in our movement. The fusion of the Communist League and the American Workers Party into a new revolutionary party means that we must assume greater tasks, assemble the forces for a new revolutionary youth league.

The press is an indispensable instrument. Branches have been assigned monthly quotas. These should be fulfilled regularly. Our readers can help us by sending in donations, subs or order bundles.

Publishing a youth paper in the midst of the present poverty is a great job. We can do it only if all chip in. Let us put it across!

### Cops Help Fascists

**New York City.**—Police cooperated with Italian Fascists last week in brutally dispersing peaceful anti-Fascist pickets in front of the Academy of Music on 14th St., where Mussolini's Blackshirt Band was giving a performance. This was done by order of Commissioner Valentine, Mayor La Guardia's newest appointee. Many young workers were hurt by the cops.

Pickets were arrested for disorderly conduct. Although none of the Fascists ran away, and they even gave their names and addresses openly to reporters, not a single Fascist was arrested. All these facts are confirmed by the reporter of the conservative New York Times.

### BRAVELY FACE BULLETS IN TEXTILE STRIKE BATTLES

Young boys and girls were the most militant fighters in the last textile strike. They were not textile workers, many of them have never seen the inside of a mill. Yet they courageously fought the armed thugs of the textile operators in one town after another.

Tear gas bombs, bayonets, rifles did not frighten them. They knew they were in the right, unstintingly fought side by side with their parents, instinctively felt that only militant struggle could better their conditions.

Desperately poverty stricken, they saw no other road open to them. For years, able and ready to go into the mills, they could find no employment. Too much cotton, too much wool, too much silk was being weaved, they were told. Yet their clothes were rags.

No help wanted, they heard week after week, month after month, year after year. Yet they wanted help, they wanted work, they needed food, clothing and shelter. But it was not forthcoming.

Equality for all, they were taught in the schools, was the rule in democratic United States. But they saw their fathers and mothers toiling and living in poverty, while the mill barons and their children were living in luxury, not working but enjoying life.

Democracy meant that when their parents went on strike against the intense speed-up, for union recognition, for higher wages and better working conditions, not only the bosses were their enemies, but the local government with its police, the state government and its national guards, the courts and prisons, were all on the side of the bosses.

"The average girl of this region expects in normal times to go into the mills and pass on to matrimony. There is no

work for her, and who among the boys she knows can afford to marry her, or even take her to the movies?", writes Will Irwin, a feature writer for the Hearst papers.

These were the feelings of the boys and girls who fought at Saylesville and Woonsocket, Rhode Island. Growing sections of youth throughout the country are beginning to share in these moods; things are rotten, something has to be done, we must fight.

The majority of them, following their parents, have looked to Franklin D. Roosevelt as their saviour. He was to give them a new deal. But Roosevelt has been president for two and a half years, given plenty of promises, promises.

Has not Roosevelt abolished child labor in the textile mills without providing for the maintenance of the kids thrown out of work? And when their parents struck for better living conditions, for more wages so as to provide the needs of their children were not the National Guards of the various states called out to break up the strike? Did Roosevelt "the friend of labor" interfere? Yes, but not with the bloody work of the National Guard, but rather by helping them break the strike!

Will Roosevelt continue his hold over the youth, over the working class? Already signs show the declining popularity of this "saviour". The recent poll of the *Literary Digest*, primarily among middle class people, indicates that the tide is turning against him. Other signs will appear in the coming elections throughout the country.

The boys and girls who are less tied by old traditions and habits will demand, are already beginning to demand as the

textile strike shows, improved conditions. What can the bosses and their government offer?

"Thin them out—or find some work for the idle hands of these boys and girls. If not—following the old saw—Satan will. This Satan may come brandishing a red flag or a swastika," concludes the scribbler of the wealthy and chauvinist Hearst, Will Irwin.

Thin them out—tear them away from their families, send them into Civilian Conservation Camps far away from their homes, or send them to a new war where they can be "thinned out" with the aid of machine guns and cannon.

Find work for them—in a country where millions of adult workers are permanently displaced from industry. Where every year millions of youth leave the schools and cannot enter the factories. Where an abundance of wealth exists but those who produce it do not own it, but because they have been so productive, they are thrown out of work.

The swastika of Fascism may grow among the desperate youth. Italy, Germany, Austria show what Fascism means for all workers—youth and adult. Nothing but bloody suppression in the interests of wage slavery!

The red flag of revolution alone can help the youth. The unorganized, spontaneous action of the children in the textile region should spur the advanced militant youth to greater action. These young people are the material for the new revolutionary youth movement so badly needed.

The Spartacus Youth League must reach out to these youth, participate in their struggles, utilize their elementary instinct for militant struggle, educate and win them for revolutionary struggle against wage slavery and for real freedom and equality, for communism.

### Franz Bobzien Murdered by Nazis

The young militant anti-Fascist fighter Franz Bobzien is reported to have died in a Hamburg Nazi prison. Tortured, starved or shot? There is no official report of the cause of his death. But whatever the exact means used it is murder at the hands of the Fascists.

Torture, suppression, extermination, these are the instruments of Fascist supremacy. All to save the rotten system of wage slavery!

Comrade Bobzien was one of the four German youth arrested last February in Holland. Attending the world youth conference to build a new revolutionary youth international, Bobzien and his comrades were turned over to the Nazis by the so-called democratic Holland government.

Recently Bobzien was sentenced to four years imprisonment. But every Nazi sentence means death. This young militant, who was a member of the Socialist Youth League, connected with the

Socialist Workers Party of Germany, is the latest of the long list of victims of barbarous Fascism.

Nameless tens of thousands linger in the concentration camps. Others await sentence; that is, death! Several members of the Socialist Workers Party were recently arrested. Thaelmann is to face "trial". The whereabouts of Torgler are unknown. The lives of Bobzien's comrades are in danger.

Are these anti-Fascist fighters to remain defenceless? Are we going to permit the Fascists to increase their toll?

Until now our actions in their defense have been meagre. The memory of young Franz Bobzien should spur us on. He gave his life for the freedom of the world working class. The struggle of the German anti-Fascists is our struggle.

Let us exert all energy to build a powerful united front movement for the defense of the anti-Fascist prisoners! Let us multiply our efforts a hundred-fold to crush Fascism and wage slavery!

### On Anti-Militarism

"We are conscious of the role which militarism plays under capitalism; and, of course, we have not the remotest idea of setting militarism above capitalism or on a level with it because it constitutes only a part of capitalism. It is, more correctly speaking, a specially pernicious and dangerous life manifestation of capitalism. Our whole agitation against capitalism is directed against the life manifestations of capitalism in which it assumes concrete shape. We can indicate the domain of the anti-militarist fight to a certain extent as something alongside the trade union struggle or even alongside the co-operative and educational struggle, if you will. In other words, we are anti-militarists as anti-capitalists."—Karl Liebknecht, 1907.

## Student Notes

Anti-Fascism In  
the Schools

The arrival of 350 students from Fascist Italy is a serious warning. In both Italy and Germany students were among the first to rally under the Fascist banner. The students in these countries, in the absence of a revolutionary party that could attract the middle class elements by its strength and program to the side of the working class, succumbed to the demagogic allure of a party that offered a "release" from the hopeless plight of capitalism. Here too the same process is not excluded. That is to say, it is not excluded unless we make our propaganda clear enough for them to realize that Fascism is not a solution, but rather a dissolution—of life, culture, and freedom. Already, various schools and cities as in Los Angeles, have seen the organization of Fascist nuclei. In Newark, the Fascists have marched in full dress through the streets. In Los Angeles the Fascists are aided by the illegalization of the militant student groups.

Fortunately the weight of student sentiment is at present balanced against Fascism. Wherever the emissaries of Mussolini went they received two welcomes: one from the school administrations, receiving them with open arms; the other from protesting students, receiving them with cries of "Abasso il Fascismo". In City College, New York, five students were suspended for their opposition to the unwelcome visitors by President Robinson (he who acquired great popularity as the Man with the Umbrella in another student demonstration, who may be known as the Man With the Bible and Spinoza), Robinson followed this act with the suspension of the Student Council and two school papers that had criticized his action, all, we take it, in the interest of academic freedom.

## United Front...

Robinson's actions are a particularly bold challenge that must be met. This great liberal has in the past expelled many a student for daring to espouse the cause of academic freedom. His latest reactionary measure affords an opportunity to bring the anti-Fascist struggle to the foreground at the same time that student rights are defended. No leeway dare be given to the Fascists. They must be fought every inch of the way; today, when they are yet small, they are easily beaten. If ever a student strike was in order this is it. And this time the strike must be for more than a day; **a strike until every student is reinstated, the Student Council restored, the papers re-issued officially.** In this move the students will undoubtedly receive the support of all working class organizations worthy of the name. The Columbus Day United Anti-Fascist Committee has already decided to launch such a struggle.

Such a campaign cannot be conducted by any one organization, or by student groups alone. Now is the time for the student organizations to unite with the working class youth organizations and the Columbus Day Committee, and to plan joint action around this specific issue. Daily, as the Fascist menace grows, so does the need of a united front. A united front begun in defense of the City College students might well develop into broader actions. The Columbus Day demonstrations showed the inadequacy of a united front meeting. The Fascists

## YOUNG SPARTACUS

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## United Front Youth Pact

1. The undersigned organizations agree to unite their forces to combat the manifestation of Italian Fascist propaganda in America at the Yankee Stadium on October 12 when 300 Italian students of the official Italian university will engage in a field day and pageant.

2. Agreed on this aim, the organizations sign a pact of common action on the following basis:

a) For the release of all Socialists, Communists and other anti-Fascist prisoners in Italy, as symbols of the struggle against Fascist oppression.

b) Against Italian Fascist propaganda in America.

c) An appeal to the students in this delegation from Italy to combat Fascism in their own country.

3. This aim will be carried out by a monster common demonstration at the place and time of the Fascist demonstration.

If in the course of the joint action, the members of any participating organization clash with opponents, the members of the other organizations will be under obligation to lend them every assistance, providing their actions have not been against the instructions of the Arrangements Committee.

4. a) The participating organizations realize that the act of entering into a united front assumes loyalty and sincerity in carrying it out. They pledge to accommodate their actions and propaganda to accord with the general atmosphere of harmonious united action that alone can assure successful united fronts.

b) At the common demonstration their representatives will confine themselves exclusively to the agreed-upon aim of this action (as outlined in section 2).

c) Each organization retains its complete independence for carrying on of its doctrinal propaganda as limited by (a) and (b) above.

5. All publicity pertaining to the

joint action sent to the capitalist press shall first be passed upon by the Arrangements Committee.

The committee shall issue joint leaflets, stickers and other means of publicity. Each organization may issue its own publicity of this type only with the approval of the Arrangements Committee. Each organization has sole control over publicity in their own propaganda organs, within the terms of this pact.

6. The participating organizations promise to condemn any breaking of the conditions of this pact which may appear within their own organization.

7. a) An arrangements committee shall be established consisting of two delegates from each of the following organizations: Spartacus Youth League, Student League for Industrial Democracy, Communist Youth Opposition and Young Peoples Socialist League. The Steering Committee consists of one representative of each of the initiating organizations.

b) Places are left open on the Arrangements Committee and Steering Committee for the Young Communist League and the National Students League in case they decide to enter the united front.

c) The Arrangements Committee may accept all other youth organizations of a working class, political or student character.

8. No action shall be decided upon or taken by the Arrangements Committee or Steering Committee except with the mutual consent of the participating organizations.

(Signed)

AARON LEVENSTEIN, Young Peoples Socialist League.

HAROLD DRAPER, Student League for Industrial Democracy.

JOSEPH CARTER, Spartacus Youth League.

MOE STONE, Communist Youth Opposition.

were eager for fight, and our forces were prepared for something more than boos. It is high time that we prepared ourselves for future demonstrations with workers guards and defense corps. Everything that advances that possibility one step must be exhausted.

The Columbus Day demonstration also revealed the danger of a divided force. The organizations which injure the anti-Fascist struggle by remaining out of the united front must be pressed into it.

## N.S.L. Blocks Action...

Unfortunately, the National Student League, which displays a considerable verbal, and actual, militancy, injures the anti-Fascist cause by acting as a pawn of the Young Stalinist League. Flaunting a veneer of non-partisanship, the N.S.L. nevertheless refused to enter the united front because the "Trotskyites" were in it. True enough, the N.S.L. was in no position to state its objections to the S.Y.L. as being principle in nature. Instead its seven page document of explanation (is that a sign of dissent in the ranks? It is when a Stalinist organization finds it necessary to "explain" something to its membership) resorts to a slew of dishonest arguments. The Trotskyists are against the N.S.L. (Where? And suppose we are, is not the Y.C.L. against the Y.P.S.L., and are not the Yipsels against the N.S.L.? And is not a united front constituted of organizations that disagree on all but the immediate issues?) Verbally they add that the "Trotskyites" call the N.S.L. a Fascist organization. (When? In a falsified interpretation of a discussion article in the *Militant* which does not in any case represent the opinion of the organization.)

Whatever the flimsy reasons of the N.S.L., it stands condemned as a pawn of the Y.C.L. Our comrades, active members, were scarcely given the opportunity to present our arguments in full. Arbitrary procedure limited the time for discussion. By a vote of 90 to 21 the position of the N.S.L. leader was sustained. Most of those present were Y.C.L.ers bound by fraction discipline. These same

Y.C.L.ers had asked the most questions at a membership meeting of the Y.C.L. two nights before. Non-Y.C.L. members in the N.S.L. are sure to ask many questions. We ask, as did the leaflet we issued jointly with the American Workers Party student fraction: **Is it not clear that the action of the N.S.L. leadership is based on the sectarian interest of the Y.C.L.?**

## Role of S.Y.L...

Since the very first days of our existence we have been insistent on the united front. While we work for the general united front of working class and radical student organizations our student comrades must be in the forefront of the school actions, as they have been, frequently. (A detailed account of our comrades' work in connection with the New Haven visit of the Fascist student appears in the *Militant* of Oct. 13. The small force of demonstrators battled a force of Fascists that outnumbered them 9 to 1.) Where the N.S.L. refuses to work with us we must, by working with the Student League for Industrial Democracy, which has shown greater sincerity in the united front, compel it to alter its stand. Many of our comrades were the early builders of the N.S.L. On many occasions we have praised the N.S.L. for its actions. But if now the N.S.L. continues its support of disunity we cannot cease castigating publicly, whatever else our attitude toward it may be. A first essential is to organize our student fractions on a solid basis, so that these can step out as the representatives of the communist youth. These are likewise to send in regular reports

\* \* \*

We see in the Hunter College paper that Oakley Johnson spoke at the History Club on "Trotsky and Lenin". Come, come, Oakley, a little modesty! Don't you think you ought to know something about Trotsky and Lenin before you speak of their differences? You haven't even got comrade Trotsky's age right. New York Branches of the Spartacus Youth League meet every Thursday evening:

## Organization Notes

Spartacus Youth  
League Activites

Minneapolis, Chicago and Harlem, New York have come through in the past period with one new branch of the S.Y.L. each.

In Minneapolis the branch was organized during the last truck drivers strike in the city. Al Russel was sent from the national center as field organizer and did the pioneering work, later helped by several comrades from Chicago. The branch is conducting a class in elementary Marxism, active in the unemployed organization—from which it recruited many of its members—and working among the students.

Chicago, under the able leadership of Nathan Gould, has the most lively and best organized branches of our League. Increased activities all along the line have resulted in a substantial increase in members. With the opening of the school semester the student comrades are once again playing a leading role in the student struggle.

Sports teams have been organized and good socials held. The proceeds of a recent social were sent in for YOUNG SPARTACUS.

Newark has launched another study class under the guidance of Manny Garrett. Because of the large attendance and popularity of the class another one is being planned under the same instructor.

In New Haven our branch has been active in the unemployed field, among the students and in the anti-Fascist struggle.

New York City has started the post-summer vacation season by electing a new city committee and officers. Plans for increased membership and more activities are being worked out. Members in the shipping clerks are functioning as a fraction. Other members are active in a brush strike.

The newly formed Harlem branch has had several local united front actions with the Yipsels against Fascism. Several successful open air meetings were held. (On the city united front see other article in this issue).

Y.C.L. Members  
Question Leaders

Critical discussion on the problem of the united front is taking place in the Young Communist League in New York. Many have openly expressed themselves in their units for an all-inclusive united front. The view is so general that the leaders of the Y.C.L. were forced to reply in the *Young Worker* (See Sept. 25, 1934 issue). Above all they have to explain why a united front cannot be made with the "Trotskyites".

At the New York district membership meeting held on October 5, the report of the refusal of the Y.C.L. to the other radical youth organizations in a united front on Columbus Day met hardly-veiled hostility. Dozens of members asked critical questions and spoke. They were not satisfied with the report. Nor were they satisfied with the answers to the questions.

"How about the Belgian pact with the young Socialists and Trotskyites?" "You say that the Trotskyites have no honest rank and file workers, then why did the *Daily Worker* ask the honest Trotskyite workers not to follow their leaders (into fusion with the American Workers Party)?" "Why have we no literature on Trotskyism?" "If we cannot make a united front with the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites, how is it that we were united with them in the American Youth Congress?"

These and similar questions showed the dissatisfaction of the ranks. The critical questions and speeches often were greeted with applause. Some of the replies were met with laughter. No vote

(Continued on Page 7)

# STRIKE WAVE SHOWS THE NEED FOR A LEFT WING

Month after month, the United States continues to be wracked by a strike wave that does not let up for a moment. From coast to coast, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, the number of class battles mounts. Although the NRA has had its lease on life extended now for over a year, it not only has not stopped the causes which make workers struggle; but, on the contrary, it has served to increase them.

The boss class of the U.S.A. is better organized than it was a year ago. The banks, big capital, have been consolidated. Under the cloak of the so-called liberal NRA, prices have gone up outrageously. American labor is desperate. It had thought that the Roosevelt administration was actually for the working man. But each passing month has brought him only additional worries and burdens to carry. After five years of watchful waiting, gaining new hope with the ushering in of the NRA, the country's workmen can stand it no longer. Even the very organizations that they formed because the voice of the NRA seemed shouting to them to become unionized—even these organizations have not been helped; but have been harmed by the NRA.

Driven deep into the brains of numberless workers, perhaps unconsciously in many cases, has been the alarm signal

## Jugoslav King's Death Shakes Europe

With the sudden assassinations of King Alexander of Yugoslavia and the French Foreign Minister Barthou, another charge of dynamite was jammed into the powder keg upon which Europe sits today. War talk flames throughout the Old World; threatening moves follow one upon the other. Whether or not these events will actually be the starting of another Sarajevo is the thought running through millions of minds.

Who are these two ruling figures who have confirmed the old adage, "uneasy lies the head that wears a crown"? King Alexander was hoisted into power by the murder of the Queen of a rival dynasty back in 1903. Now, in 1934, murder ended his reign. For thirty-one years the King ruled Yugoslavia with a bloody fist, cruel and unrelenting in oppressing his subjects and squeezing millions out of them for his own personal benefit. His deadly reign was cut short by the bullets from the gun of one of the subjected Croats, a people under control of Yugoslavian government.

Barthou, smooth tongued agent of the French ruling class, was one of the squad of diplomats active in roping in allies for the French war monster under the hypocritical guise of "peace" talk.

Now the oppressed masses within Yugoslavia, the subjected Croats and Serbs, threaten to revolt against the tyrannical government. On the south and west Fascist Italy looks with longing eyes at Croatia. If disturbances break the cloak of "restoring peace and order", out in this tiny land, Mussolini's gangs await the opportunity to intervene under while on the north Fascist Austria mobilizes its troops at the border, the Italian allies of Albania and Bulgaria stand at attention. Barthou's masters, the French boss class, mutter their anger and feverishly look for excuses to extend their greedy tentacles toward the oppressed land.

Within Yugoslavia itself, the workers and peasants must look with alarm at these terrible omens of war. Their solution lies not with any of the ruling classes, kings or capitalists, inside or outside oppressors. Only workers' rule can lead to freedom.

### U. S. FLEET PRACTICES

The United States Fleet has been ordered to rush through the Panama Canal to the California coast so as to keep it in trim for any emergencies.

to stop waiting for the Administration to do something for them. Depend only on yourself! Get out and fight for your rights! These slogans have shocked American labor out of a death-like quiet that seemed as though it would never end. Angered at the discriminations practiced by employers against the fighters who took Section 7a seriously, the workers of many industries have been roused into action. It is surprising to note that many of the strikes, even major ones such as Minneapolis, have brought thousands of workers out on the issue of discrimination or recognition of the union. Even though their conditions have been so horribly lowered in the past year, wages alone have not been the main demand in the big majority of the strikes. Rather the preservation of the union was demanded and succeeded in causing many strikes.

The fact that this understanding of the need for the elementary organization—the trade union—is something that so many workers have learned to fight for,

is the really bright feature of the whole strike wave of the past months. For exactly this reason, the defeat of nearly every major strike and many secondary ones appears puzzling at first glance. How could the general strike on the west coast and the great textile strike be so badly shot to pieces? How could the Detroit automobile strike and the threatened steel strike be so cruelly wiped out?

Glance through the day to day story of these strikes a little critically and the answer thrusts itself forward. In every one of these strikes a despicable, cowardly leadership has broken the strike from within! Not the rank and file, no. But the leadership of the American Federation of Labor; the William Greens, the Gormans, and their little satellites. In the auto strike they let the NRA and Roosevelt walk in and send the workers back on promises. Mass discriminations were the result, with the NRA doing nothing about it. In steel they never even dared to call the workers out, made absolutely no preparations against the

gangster-machine gun preparations of the bosses. In Frisco the Ryans and Co. manoeuvred against a battling rank and file at every stage of the game; refusing to call sympathetic strikes of other labor unions, joining in the red-baiting campaign, playing around with the NRA until they finally broke the back of the strike. In textiles, where the workers fought as game a battle as could be wanted, Gorman and his crew let them carry on the struggle for a few weeks, then herded a bewildered rank and file back to work on a "settlement" that stinks to the high heavens.

In every strike these scoundrels have led, they have harmed the unions. Their "confidence" game is to get the workers into the organization, the A. F. of L., in order to get their hard earned pennies in dues. Once the struggles of the membership really gets going, they chip in their lot with the bosses. They are truly lieutenants of the capitalist class within the ranks of the workers.

These two angles stand out as the most important facts as far as the union movement proper is concerned: The militancy and fighting will of the rank and file and the treacherous policy of the A. F. of L. leadership. That spirit must be organized in the form of a left wing which can intelligently combat the tricks of the leadership.

## Jobless and Strikers Co-operate

The strike of the Minneapolis truck drivers is now a thing of the past. Yet the glow of that brilliant struggle still fills the air. It is one of those immortal events that ranks with the most glorious traditions of American labor's great battle to free itself from the clutches of wage slavery. In the record of the Minneapolis strike is written a story that will be repeated over and over again in coming strikes of the workers of this country: the story of employed and unemployed standing shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy, the boss class.

Two workers laid down their lives in the courses of that valiant fight. One was Henry Ness, employed, member of Local 574; the other was John Belor, unemployed, member of the Minneapolis Central Council of Workers, the unemployed organization of Minneapolis. Henry Ness was still fortunate enough to have a job; a job that brought him a miserable wage so low that his family could barely exist on it. John Belor was one of the millions of victims of the capitalist crisis; one of the millions of American workers thrown out on the scrap heap when the boss no longer had use for them.

Both had been taught the bitter lesson that every worker learns sooner or later: the only way to fight the powerful bosses' organizations is to ORGANIZE. Fighters through and through, symbols of the best types of workmen, they took heed of that lesson and became organized. When the strike broke out, the two organizations cast their lot together; there was not to be any scabbing by unemployed on their class brothers in this strike. Labor stood solid in Minneapolis despite every trick used to split the unity.

Even the federal government of the United States tried it. Instructions were sent out in the first week of the strike to every Emergency Relief Administration project in the city THAT THE ERA PROJECTS WERE PART OF THE FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION — AND ANYBODY ATTEMPTING TO AGITATE THE MEN IN FAVOR OF THE STRIKE, WHO WERE SENT BY THE UNION OR OTHER ORGANIZATIONS SHOULD

## Textile Strike Renewed

Despite Roosevelt's pleas for industrial peace textile workers are preparing for a new strike against the despicable Roosevelt-Gorman settlement. 30,000 have already left the mills in and around Paterson, New Jersey. Workers in other mills charging discrimination and violation of the recent "agreement".

The demands include union recognition, a thirty-hour week and a minimum wage of \$1 an hour.

BE REPORTED TO THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES. This dastardly attempt to keep the relief workers cut off from supporting the strikers showed to the thinking workers that the government was on the side of the bosses—and it failed.

But this method was mild compared to what was to come.

Murder was committed on the streets of Minneapolis. Forty-five workers fell wounded beneath bursts of gunfire from police guns. Eleven of those forty-five were members of the M.C.C.W. Two of the wounded were destined to breathe their last before the strike was ended. Henry Ness died on his hospital cot as National Guardsmen launched a new attack against the union. With fury in their hearts, 574 and the M.C.C.W. retaliated with fighting pickets who cleaned the highways of scab trucks. Unity and workingclass solidarity had been burned into their brains by the fire of class war. The death of John Belor two weeks later cemented the relations more firmly.

They held a funeral, those workers of Minneapolis, as the body of Henry Ness lay cold in death. Taking over the streets of Minneapolis, thousands upon thousands of workers of this mid-Western city marched in silence to the grave of their fallen comrade. With hats off and heads bowed, those working people took possession of the streets which workers' hands had built; which now were legally denied them. Not a cop dared to show his face along the entire line of march. Yet perfect discipline reigned throughout. Only when someone on the sidewalk refused to take off his hat; and once when an automobile tried to break through the procession, was the silence broken. A hundred men leaped out of the ranks and went for that car. And every hat came off; or was taken off.

The Communist League played an important role in the truck drivers' strike and in the Minneapolis Central Council of Workers. Its members occupied leading positions. The trade union program and the general class struggle position of the Internationalist-Communists were tried and stood the test. A great step towards a new revolutionary party.

Minneapolis labor was rehearsing, even though few may have known it. It was rehearsing a scene that will one day be performed by labor everywhere. In honoring their dead, working men and women had taken over the city that rightfully belongs to them. Against the united rule of the bosses, the employed and unemployed pitted their common, united struggle. This was to be one of the real factors to bring the strike to a victorious conclusion. It will one day play the same role on a far bigger stage, in a far bigger drama: when American labor rises up as one and takes over the whole country!

—CAP.

## N.Y. Regional Youth Conference Planned

The continuations committee of the American Youth Congress has called for a New York regional conference for Nov. 4. The committee was elected at the "First American Youth Congress" which met August 15, 16 and 17 and includes the Young Peoples Socialist League, Student League for Industrial Democracy, Young Communist League, National Student League and several liberal organizations.

The purpose of the Congress has already been reported on in the *Militant*. We will return to this question in future issues of our paper.

The real value of the American Youth Congress is shown by its refusal to join the Columbus Day United Youth Committee for the October 12th anti-Fascist demonstration. When Joe Carter in the name of the committee presented the invitation the liberals feared that it would give the Congress a "red" taint and "bad publicity" while the representative of the Young Communist League supported the motion to reject on the grounds that the American Youth Congress should have initiated the united front!

## Hearst the "Liberator"

Mr. Hearst has always stood for Liberty with a capital L. Hasn't he? Communism to his mind is Satan himself coming to rob all of their liberties and even Mr. Roosevelt, our friend thinks, is far from the ideal because he tends to be a dictator, whereas he, Hearst, is a "pure" democrat. Sure, Mr. Hearst is for liberty. He wants all the liberty possible—to exploit us as much as possible. So, being quite up to date on such questions, he has turned a friendly eye to fascism.

Mr. Hearst, always anxious of our welfare, told us from Germany that:

"If Hitler succeeds in pointing the way of peace and order and an ethical development which has been destroyed throughout the world by war, he will have accomplished a measure of good not only for his own people but for all humanity. . . ."

"This battle, in fact, can only be viewed as a struggle which all liberty-loving peoples are bound to follow with understanding and sympathy."

You are not telling us anything new, Mr. Hearst, we always knew the kind of liberty that you believed in!

# With the World Militant Youth Movement

## International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth

Since the Luxemburg world youth conference held last February, the International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations has regularly communicated with all the sections. These include, among others, the Socialist Youth League of Germany (connected with the Socialist Workers Party), the Socialist Youth League of Holland, the Mot Dag group of Norway, the United Socialist Youth League of Rumania and the national youth sections of the International Communist League (Holland, France, Belgium, Spain, Canada and the United States).

Because of technical and financial difficulties only a limited amount of the material has been sent to the branches of the S.Y.L. The infrequent appearance of YOUNG SPARTACUS has further handicapped us in keeping the comrades informed as to the happenings in the European young workers' movement.

## Book Review

### Fontamara by Ignazio Silone

FONTAMARA, by Ignazio Silone. pp. XIX+299. Smith and Haas. \$2.50.

"Fontamara" has been praised by all the bourgeois critics—despite its propaganda. We praise "Fontamara" precisely because it is good propaganda at the same time it is an excellent literary work. One might read a thousand articles about fascism and not gain as clear an insight into what fascism means for farmer and worker. And one may read all the books written by the fascists since Mussolini's march on Rome and not find a work of art that can approach by the smallest degree this great revolutionary document.

Silone does not speak as an intellectual looking down at the farmer. He resorts to no tricks of dialect to create a realistic situation. But Silone needs no dialect to make the speech of the Fontamarans sound authentic. It sounds so simple, one can not help hear the peasant talking. That is because Silone himself was a Fontamaran for twenty years, until he was compelled to leave Italy. He doesn't tell the story himself. He lets a peasant, his wife and son, who had fled from the fascists into Switzerland, alternate in telling the story. Every feature of their life shows itself. While it is an account of farmer life it nevertheless makes it clear that city workers scarcely fare better. On one occasion this appears very deliberate. But why be petty?

Fontamara is a village in the southern Apennines of Italy. Tax after tax grinds the peasants down. Far removed from the center of affairs, the city, the Fontamarans fail to understand what has happened with the government. Nor are they concerned—except for the fact that their position is made even more miserable than it had been. An alderman is appointed. He is of great wealth, and what wealth he lacks he obtains by cheating the farmers of their land, their water. They had trusted some city slickers, "friends of the people", who are themselves well to do. An attempt is made to divert the stream from the village to those of the Promoter, as the alderman is known. The villagers protest, and the "friend of the people" draws up a compromise which they accept though they do not understand it—with the result that three-quarters goes to the Promoter and three quarters of the remainder to Fontamara. When the duplicity is learned the same "friend" extracts a promise from the Promoter that the water will only be diverted for a limited period of time—"ten quinquennials". And the villagers ponder about the meaning of "ten quinquennials" while they starve and their fields burn.

But "Fontamara" is more than a record of life under the fascist heel. Unlike the many Italian villages, Fontamara re-

belled against fascist Rome and became a rumored-by-word in Italy. The Fontamarans could not understand what was the cause of the political upheaval; but they could understand that their taxes were growing, that their wages when they hired themselves out, were being cut. They refused the impositions and demanded their rights; and these "dumb" peasants who knew nothing of politics were labelled dangerous agitators.

More and more these farmers who seek only an opportunity to work and earn their bread become the open enemies of the fascist despots. They already were the enemies of the rich whom fascism made richer. To them the fascisti who came to preserve order in Fontamara—by raping the women, who labelled each man anarchist, communist, etc., according to the answer he gave to the unintelligible question. Whom are you for?, were weak scum who, rather than work, preferred serving the masters for the right to oppress the poor, cowards who were bold in gangs at night.

## Spain

A few weeks before the recent Spanish revolt, the Spanish Young Socialist League was considering a break with the Labor and Socialist (Second) International and the Young Socialist International. This big step was to be taken at an international conference of the Spanish, French, Belgium, Swiss and Italian Young Socialist Leagues.

This move shows the real direction in

which the militant youth are moving: a break with reformism and centrism and for a new revolutionary international.

The Spanish young Socialists have learned rapidly from the German and Austrian events. They seriously combined the struggle against Fascism with discussions on the fundamental problems of the movement. All supported the slogans for the armed overthrow of capitalist rule and the establishment of a workers' dictatorship. Many endorsed the slogan for a Fourth International raised by the International Communist League.

Symptomatic is the name of their theoretical magazine, *Spartacus*. As they explain it in their first issue, the name was adopted because they openly aim to follow in the path of the German Spartacus leaders, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

They made much headway in this direction but not enough to clearly understand Marxism. (See editorial in this issue—"Lessons of Spanish Revolt.") We are confident that large sections of the young Socialists will struggle with the comrades of the Communist Left for a new revolutionary party and youth league in Spain.

## France

Our French Leninist Youth League has joined the Young Socialist League. This important decision was made at the same time that the Communist League of France decided to join the Socialist party.

The conditions and reasons for these steps have been explained in detail in recent issues of the *Militant*. It should be clear that the Young Socialist League must be considered as part of the general Socialist movement in France, in fact, its most militant section.

Before joining the Young Socialist League, the Leninist Youth issued a special number of *Le Combat Des Jeunes* (Fight of the Youth) explaining their

action. They clearly state that in entering the Young Socialist League they are not giving up a single one of their ideas. That they will openly defend their Leninist program in the ranks of the young Socialists. They add that they will respect the discipline of the organization and accept all the rights and duties of all members.

Our comrades are already working as a group inside the Young Socialist League. Even before their entrance, the Seine district of the Y.S.L. supported the slogan for the Fourth International. Since their adherence they have made further gains in winning young Socialists to our program.

## Belgium.

Under the pressure of the Communist party (Stalinists), the Young Communist League broke its united front agreement with the Young Socialist League and the Leninist Youth League of Belgium. A united front pact has been signed by the three organizations on August 18. (See the *Militant* of Sept. 8.)

The united front called for common action in support of all victims of Fascism and reaction, including Thaelmann and Trotsky, and against all steps leading to dictatorial measures or the illegalization of any of the three organizations, etc.

The order to break the agreement was made because the Leninist Youth League was included in the united front and it called for the defense of Leon Trotsky.

An international campaign against the "Trotskyists" is being resumed by the Stalinists in all countries, including the United States, which by slander aims to isolate us from the young Socialists and the unorganized young workers.

Resistance to this policy is noticeable among the members of the Young Communist League not only in New York but also in Belgium as the voting on the decision to break the united front there showed.

## Italian Intellectuals Under Fascism

ITALIAN INTELLECTUALS UNDER FASCISM. Facts and Documents. Collected by the Student League for Industrial Democracy. New York, 5c.

The Student League for Industrial Democracy has just published this valuable and timely anti-Fascist pamphlet as an antidote to the Fascist student propagandists now in the United States, bringing "good will" from Mussolini. It constitutes a plain, unadorned statement of what has happened to Italian intellectuals under Fascism.

The pamphlet could be called a miniature "Black Book of Italian Fascism". It is a well-documented expose of Fascist repression and regimentation. It describes events leading up to the Royal Decree of August 28, 1931, which "compelled all university professors to sign an oath, by which they swore 'to exercise the function of teaching and to fulfill all academic duties with the purpose of forming active and valiant citizens devoted to the country and to the Fascist regime.'" Since March, 1933, it has been impossible to achieve a professorship without belonging to the Fascist party. Fascist university students have been ordered "to present themselves at the final examinations for their degrees wearing the black shirt".

Repressive measures which have been taken toward certain well known intellectuals are described in detail. There is the case of Piero Gobetti, a young liberal publisher who was hounded and beaten until he died of illness caused by his Fascist attackers. Singnor Ferrero, Italian historian, was regularly tormented by police terror from 1925 to 1931. The case of the 65-year-old musicians, Arturo Toscanini's "box on ear" for having refused to open his concert with the Fascist hymn, at Bologna on May 14, 1931, is well known. It will be noticed that the individuals mentioned are not mili-

tant anti-Fascists but liberal intellectuals who oppose Fascist theories.

A severe censorship is placed on publication of books according to the doctrines of the Fascist party and the Catholic Church.

Most significant in connection with the visit of the Fascist students, is the following description of the duties of Italians abroad: "Paragraph 5 of the Act of December 6, 1926, which has been Paragraph 269 of the Fascist Penal Code of July 1, 1931, punishes with imprisonment of from 5 to 24 years 'any citizen who, outside the territory of the State divulges or communicates in any way whatsoever rumor or news which are false, exaggerated, or misleading, concerning the internal conditions of the State, in such a way as to diminish the credit or prestige of the State abroad, or who displays in any way whatsoever activity detrimental to national interests.'" That makes these visiting students propagandists by law as well as by bribery.

This L.I.D. pamphlet supplies a great deal of evidence of intellectual repression in Fascist Italy. However compared to the scale on which repression is conducted in Italy, it can but give examples. And most unfortunately it makes no organic criticism of Fascist culture. Fascism is anti-intellectual to the core. Its intellectual repressions are part of a cult of ignorance. A Fascist must close his eyes to history and sack every evidence of intelligence and objectivity. Fascists crush not only conscious anti-Fascists, but humanness itself.

This failure to analyze basically the Fascist substitution of brutality for intelligence all along the line, is unfortunate. For such an analysis, we refer readers to comrade Leon Trotsky's article "Portrait of National Socialism", published in *Yale Review* and in the *Militant*. —JOHN SHAYS.

# The Lessons of the Spanish Revolt *The Y.P.S.L. at the Crossroads*

The Spanish workers who heroically fought against reaction for the time being have been defeated. We have a two-fold duty to these brave fighters: to understand their struggle and to defend their comrades who have been imprisoned, to help them reorganize their fighting ranks.

After the Spanish events what is left of the view of a "peaceful revolution"? Did we not read of the Spanish "democratic republic" which would show a new road, different from the Russian Bolshevik path? By peaceful and legal means, we were told, the Spanish workers would attain their freedom.

In the early days of the republic the Socialist party participated in the national government, in the cabinet with capitalist parties. Soon the illusions of "the democratic road" were clear to all. But the Bolshevik alternative was not yet accepted. The Socialist workers were definitely moving to this program when the open struggle began.

What caused the struggle? What were the organizations of the workers, their strength and weaknesses?

The recent conflict broke loose when three Fascists were accepted into the national government. The Fascist movement in Spain, particularly in its reactionary Catholic form, has grown into a strong movement as a result of the wave of reaction which followed the victory of Fascism in Germany and later in Austria.

## THE UNITED FRONT

The lessons of the German and Austrian events did not fail to affect the Spanish workers. Local united fronts (Workers' Alliances) were formed in various parts of Spain. Daily they were in active conflict with the Fascist bands. They included the Socialist party, the trade unions, the Anarchists and the Communist Left ("Trotskyites"). The Communist party (Stalinists) refused to join until the last days. Up to the last minute the demand of the Communist Left for a national workers' alliance was rejected by the leaders of the Socialist party.

During the armed struggle it was precisely such sections where workers' alliances had worked for some time, as in Catalonia and Asturias, that the workers were best organized and put up the greatest amount of resistance.

From this we can learn the lesson which was taught by the German events in a different form: a united front of all workers' organizations is needed to crush Fascism.

Further, the general strike called by the Socialist party was not prepared by previous struggles. The Spanish Socialists had rejected any struggles for partial economic or political demands. While they openly proclaimed for the dictatorship of the working class, a workers' republic which would crush all capitalist resistance to achieving socialism, they did not lead up to this decisive struggle through fighting for the most elementary needs of the workers (wages, hours, living conditions, democratic demands—freedom of press, speech, organization).

The Russian Bolsheviks, the only workers' party which successfully led a revolution, systematically defended the smallest needs of the workers and peasants, thereby arousing the most backward sections for revolutionary struggle.

A revolutionary general strike cannot be successful unless it occurs as a culmination of a series of mass struggles and strikes on the basis of partial demands. This is the lesson taught long ago by Lenin and Luxemburg and once again confirmed by the Spanish events.

The struggle between the revolutionary workers and reaction also revealed weaknesses in work among the peasants and soldiers. Here are two fields in which the Socialists of all countries have been particularly feeble. We have learned from the Bolsheviks the importance of winning these sections of the people for the revolution. Without them a successful Socialist revolution is not possible. Spain has again confirmed this view.

## THE NEED FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Above all, what was lacking in Spain was the clear cut Marxist revolutionary leadership which had absorbed the experiences of the Bolsheviks and the struggles of the workers of the past decade. It is only such a party which could have forged an effective fighting national united front, conducted partial struggles, won the peasantry and the soldiers for the revolution.

To build such a party is the main task of the militant Spanish workers. The Communist Left ("Trotskyites") are in the forefront of the movement for the new revolutionary party. Their ranks have been seriously affected by arrests and imprisonments. All workers' organizations, particularly the Socialist party, have suffered from the reaction. Largo Cabellero, leader of the S. P. and Zancaj, president of the Socialist Youth League are in the hands of the Fascist murderers.

## ALL POWER TO THE SPANISH WORKERS!

For their defense a mighty united front movement must be built. The more seriously and fundamentally we understand the Spanish events the better we will be able to help our comrades reconstitute their fighting front; the more capable will we be to fight our struggle in this country.

The Spanish workers have been temporarily defeated. They will arise again, inspired by their recent struggle, learning its lessons, more mighty than ever. All power to the heroic Spanish workers!

The Young Peoples Socialist League is at its crossroads. It has broken from Socialist reformism but has not yet adopted a clear-cut revolutionary program. It is today groping in the dark.

The increased militancy of the Yipsels, their greater participation in strike struggles, anti-Fascist actions, and student activities, makes even more necessary a fundamental program and a clear-cut program of action.

"The pendulum of radicalism in the United States is definitely swinging toward revolutionary Socialism", reads an editorial in the official organ of the Y.P.S.L. (*Challenge*—October, 1934). But what is this revolutionary Socialism? Is it a definite agreement with the revolutionary road to power? Is it a realistic understanding of the need for a revolutionary party? Unfortunately, not.

The National Committee of the Yipsels as well as the majority of its members accept the meaningless but radical sounding declaration of principles adopted at the Detroit Convention of the Socialist Party. In other words, they believe that there is more than one road to Socialism. Not only can capitalism be overthrown by forceful and violent means but it is possible to achieve a classless society peacefully.

Does this "revolutionary Socialism" mean the reform of the Second International of Vandervelde, the Belgian king's loyal servant, and Henderson, the British Labor Party's chairman of the imperialist "disarmament" conference? Apparently it does.

With what pride do the American Yipsels point to the militant Spanish Young Socialists. Today these brave comrades are engaged in a life-and-death struggle against their Spanish exploiters and for the dictatorship of the proletariat. For months they have been seriously considering the basic problems of the revolution. At their last national convention a minority openly supported the Fourth International. Only a few weeks before the outbreak of the revolution the Spanish young Socialists were planning to call an international conference of the Belgian, Swiss, Italian, and French Young Socialist Leagues to consider a break with the Young Socialist International and the Second International. They unhesitatingly fought for the expulsion of the right wing from the Socialist party and for the revolutionary path to power. They combined active struggle against the Fascist bands with serious discussions of the needs of the revolutionary movement. In a word, they made conscious efforts—explicitly expressed—to follow the examples set by the Russian Bolsheviks, Lenin and Trotsky, and the German Spartacans, Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

The American Yipsels today have the choice of traveling along this road with increased speed or dissipating their militancy into non-revolutionary channels. Activity in the class struggle is indispensable but it must be guided by a Marxist program if it is to have progressive and revolutionary effects. The Yipsels have in recent times been very active in the class struggle, but with what results? Alongside of their good work they played the game of the conservative American Federation leaders. For example: the recent great textile strike.

Here they helped organize the workers, formed militant picket lines and gave spirit to the newly organized. However, when Gorman and McMahon, supported by the Socialist Rieve, shamefully called off the strike on the basis of the treacherous promise of Roosevelt's Winant Board "to investigate conditions", the Yipsels—though they may have been against the capitulation—passively or actively supported it. If they were going to follow the Socialist party trade union policy they had no other choice: to help the A. F. of L. leaders refrain from criticizing their actions, or be condemned as Communists. (In New York, the strike was continued on the grounds that the textile industry in this city is entirely different from the rest of the country.)

To the textile workers and to the working class as a whole, who tomorrow, if not today, will recognize the miserable character of the "settlement", the militant Yipsels will appear as tools of the Gormans and McMahons. This despite their best intentions.

The coming class conflicts in the United States will pose the problems of a revolutionary organization and a program even more sharply. Trade union problems, the struggle against Fascism, the struggle against militarism and imperialist wars, all require definite, unambiguous policies. The Y.P.S.L., not only has not such policies today but, if it follows the centrist leadership of the Socialist party, it will never have them.

How long will this floundering continue? One thing is certain, it cannot last for long. Class struggle events are moving too fast in the United States and abroad. Only the greatest clarity on the fundamental problems of the revolution can push the Yipsels forward in a genuinely revolutionary direction. Clarity is obtained by careful study of the teachings of the revolutionary masters, of the experiences of the workers' movements in all countries, and active participation in the daily battles of the working class.

The growing demand for the expulsion of the traitors to socialism and the American patriots like Waldman, Kahn, Ameringer, and Jasper McLevy, gives witness to the increasing recognition by young Socialists of the need of a revolutionary party. The genuinely revolutionary elements in the Yipsels are moving toward the Fourth International. The leading young Socialists in Frisco have recently joined the Spartacus Youth League. We have, in spite of our small numbers, already heavily contributed to clarifying some of the problems of the revolution in the minds of sections of the Y.P.S.L. The Spartacus Youth League has played a leading role in forging the united front of the radical youth organizations. We have aimed, in spite of all difficulties, to play an active role in the struggles of the youth, wherever possible, jointly with the Yipsels.

The great need of the moment is a new revolutionary party and youth league which will be an integral part of the Fourth International. The militant young Socialists can contribute a great deal towards the achievement of this aim. We openly state that the foremost need within the Young Peoples Socialist League is a definitely organized Left wing group which strives in this direction. The Spartacus Youth have and will continue to do all that is possible to hasten this movement.

—JOSEPH CARTER.

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# Draft Resolution on the Student Problem

1-a. There are today in the United States some 900,000 students attending the various colleges and universities. The total number of high-school students runs into millions. Both these numbers add up to a considerable force that the Spartacus Youth League must take recognition of. Reactionary movements, Fascism at present, have always made a bid for this force, in order to direct it against the working class. The propaganda of the capitalist state concentrates heavily upon the schools.

b. In their efforts, the reactionaries have the advantage of the social composition of the students, particularly in the colleges where the principal source of recruitment is the lower middle class (petty bourgeoisie). The upper classes, as well as a certain section of the working class, generally the more highly paid brackets in the larger cities, contribute their share to the number of students in the higher schools. Even where the student is recruited from the proletariat, he aims to leave his class by entering another—as a professional or business man. However, the ravages of the capitalist crisis work in the favor of revolutionary propaganda, both for the students of proletarian and middle class origin. Overproduction in the intellectual field, as well as in the industrial, tends to keep him in the class from which he stems. Moreover, along with the small business men and other representatives of their class as a whole, many students of non-proletarian origin are being forced to enter the ranks of labor, as white collar slaves, factory workers or jobless.

c. Particular emphasis must be placed upon work in the secondary (high) schools, which has thus far been neglected. Here the percentage of students from working class families is vastly greater than in the colleges. More and more, young people who previously left school at an early age, are compelled to stay in school through the high school age (eighteen) by an absence of jobs, and compulsory education laws, despite the curtailment of educational facilities during the crisis. (The same holds true, in smaller measure, for the colleges.) If the S.Y.L. is to win over these youth between the ages of fifteen and twenty-one who are poisoned with the patriotic education of the schools, serious efforts must be made to spread its influence in the high-schools, which should constitute a major source for the S.Y.L.

2. Revolutionary education becomes the primary task of the S.Y.L. among the students. Differences in social composition make this especially necessary. Bound, in the main, with classes other than the working class, there is no lasting unity of interests among the students as such. Their existence as students is but for a few years, after which they take their place in a class society. He can only be won over to the side of the revolutionary working class by ideological conviction. Education assumes the character of discussion, literature, lectures, and participation with the workers in certain activities, such as demonstrations, anti-war movements and the like, in which he realizes that the decisive class is the working class.

3-a. Several organizations are attempting to organize the students. Outside of the regular capitalist channels, these consist in the first instance of the

## WAR

The people, your whole ruling class  
Have lull'd asleep, shall wake at ast;  
Too long you've cramp'd and caged apart  
These remnants of the Mountain heart;  
Out of your niggard hunger-cure  
They pass dejected, dull, demure:  
Their best, their bravest blood you tap,  
Scoop out their marrow and their sap,  
Pound into splinters every soul,  
That should have stood a welded whole—  
But you may live to hear the roar  
Of revolution thunder: War!

—HENDRIK IBSEN.

National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy. Whereas the former is controlled by the Young Communist (Stalinist) League and denies its "communist" sympathies, the latter is controlled by the Young Peoples Socialist League and admits its Socialist affiliations. Our attitude to each, and to the student movement in general, is determined by the same factors. Both are growing. The N.S.L. claiming some 3,000 members, the S.L.I.D., an older organization, claiming some 2,700.

b. An organization which aims to educate the students in the character of the class struggle, and the duties which result from it can only do so on the basis of a clear program, a communist program. Clarity, which is always essential, is doubly so where different class elements are involved. That clarity can only be provided by the S.Y.L. which conducts systematic activity and education among the students. Other organizations which attempt to teach "communism" or "socialism" on the campus conflict with the function of the S.Y.L., and serve only to breed confusion. Where these groups adopt a half-way "revolutionary" position by trying to slyly inject revolutionary propaganda so that it will not be recognized, their evil influences increase.

Our propaganda must be conducted by students, organized in the S.Y.L. who for the purpose of direct agitation in the schools unite to form a communist student group, i.e., a school fraction of League members. Every communist student must join the S.Y.L. or the C.L.A. and do his work there like any other member. Separate organizations of communist students can under no circumstances be recognized. Organizations of that description must be dissolved.

c. But those organizations which, like the N.S.L., move in the direction of organizing the students solely on the problems of the student issues are similarly intolerable. A left wing group must take sides for and against each of the classes that comprise society. A union, and the N.S.L. contemplates a union, is predicated upon a unity of interests. That unity does not exist among the students; for, they contain representatives of all classes. Unlike workers, they are not faced, as a group, with the same essential problems throughout their lives. They have not as a group identical social problems. In addition, precisely because of his middle class nature, he cannot play an independent role in society, revolutionary or otherwise—and less so in an advanced capitalist system than elsewhere. His duty is to accept leadership from the worker. Our duty towards him is to make him a member of the S.Y.L., to break him away from his class moorings if he is not already associated with the working class. The character of the S.Y.L. is sufficiently broad to make any recourse to a "wider" organization unnecessary.

4-a. Our opposition to independent organizations of the students does not mean that we are to do no work in them. Rather it is the duty of each S.Y.L. student member to join either one of the two groups already mentioned (depending upon which one offers better opportunities). At the proper time we state our opinions, and can propose that the organizations decentralize their activities, assume a more educational form, and transfer their functions to the school discussion clubs (which we do not oppose). We should devote much attention to the formation of discussion clubs, particularly in the high-schools where freedom of speech is more limited than in the colleges and where these clubs can become the center of the radical minded youth.

b. While we stress the educational nature of our work, we cannot fail to recognize the problems that do confront the students. Our comrades must in all cases play active, nay leading roles in the struggles of the students around their own demands. Academic freedom is being curtailed: students cannot attend

schools for lack of finances; governmental appropriations for schools are being cut; Fascism is beginning to worm its way into the schools; war propaganda continues. We must lead the students in demands for student aid, and FERA jobs under student control; for free education; for racial equality, etc. The struggle against Fascism and militarism (R.O.T.C. for example) is part and parcel of the general work of the S.Y.L. In countries now Fascist students now constitute an important base of the Fascists. We must unite the students in opposition, on each campus, and as part of a regular united front of the working class, against Fascism and war. These struggles on the issues of the students will serve as a wedge for the introduction of our revolutionary agitation by winning the confidence of the students.

5. In every city the S.Y.L. has the task of organizing its fractions on the campuses of the schools. Stalinism and Socialism, error after error, treachery after treachery, have proved incapable of properly organizing the students against Fascism, against capitalism. That duty falls upon us. We must measure up to the task.

## Proposed Amendments to Student Draft Resolution

(Substitute for "2, 3, 4")

2. A separate organization for worker-students and students coming from working class families is unnecessary. These students can be won over directly to the S.Y.L. through the activities of its groups on the campus and within the existing clubs or organizations. The general methods of work include education (study groups, discussions, debates (symposia) and active leadership in the struggle for the immediate needs of the students (lower tuition fees, academic rights, against the growth of capitalist reaction, e.g. militarization of the youth, Fascism).

3-a. However, the mass of students, middle class in social composition, cannot be readily won to the struggle against capitalist reaction or for the Spartacus Youth League. Whereas in the period of the comparatively slow development of class conflict in the United States local school work and the individual recruitment of middle class students sufficed, today an entirely new situation prevails. While the students are a transitory grouping, they today face the common problem of a black future. Preparing themselves as engineers, scientists, professionals they see before them large masses of graduates unable to find employment. The overdevelopment of American economy, on the basis of capitalist property relations, destroys the possibility of the students (as a group) satisfying their professional and economic desires. Their technical training becomes useless to themselves and society.

b. Under these conditions, the vague collectivity established by their unity in the classroom, even if for a few years, becomes latent with even greater solidarity. In the absence of a revolutionary workers' party and youth league, in the absence of that force which can show the students the way out of their plight they form a great reservoir for Fascism. Already the beginning of such a movement is to be observed (Harvard University).

c. In its general propaganda among the students the S.Y.L. should stress the view that the technical training of the students can be fully utilized and developed only after the destruction of capitalism through the workers' revolution. The meaning of Fascism and the workers' struggle against it should be connected with the fate of the middle class in Nazi Germany.

d. But general propaganda will not suffice. Organization is necessary. The absence of militant student organization opens the doors for the development on a mass scale of Fascist groups on the campuses.

From this viewpoint we conclude that

a national student organization is not only possible, but desirous. While its major task will be the struggle against capitalist reaction, militarism and Fascism, it will take up the struggles of the students around student issues and carry on education work inseparable from its activist function. The movement should embrace not only the middle class students but also the worker-students and those coming from workers' families. These latter should have the leadership of the movement, within which the S.Y.L. would play an active role.

e. However, a strong revolutionary youth league which could effectively initiate and conduct this work does not yet exist. The S.Y.L. is the basic nucleus for such an organization. The development of a militant mass student movement is directly dependent, and cannot precede the development of the political youth organization. Once launched, the student organization can give added impetus to the revolutionary youth league.

f. The practical realization of this program will depend on a number of factors which cannot be foreseen or determined beforehand. It is only on the basis of further experience in student work and constant reexamination of our conditions of work, forces and activities will we be able to win or neutralize the mass of students.

4-a. The two existing radical student organizations, the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy are incapable of winning the youth against capitalist reaction. Their connections with the Stalinist and Socialist parties respectively, their confused conceptions of student problems, their false programs on combatting imperialist war, militarization and Fascism make them inadequate as militant student youth organizations.

b. However, both groups have within them excellent raw material for the new student movement. The National Student League claiming 3,000 members has by its sporadic activities attracted some of the most lively elements in various schools. The Student League for Industrial Democracy, claiming a membership of 2,700, has recently revived its activities. The Spartacus Youth League student groups will, depending upon local conditions, work within these organizations. The general aim of this work will be the fusing of these organizations and others into a militant student organization based on a platform against capitalist reaction, of anti-militarist, anti-Fascist struggle. Despite inherent difficulties, attempts will be made to establish a joint leadership of Socialists, Stalinists, Spartacans, etc. for such an organization.

5. In schools where neither the N.S.L. nor S.L.I.D. exist the S.Y.L. will initiate the organization, jointly with other political youth groups if possible, of local student groups which would support a platform, both activist and educational, leading to the formation of a national organization such as outlined above.

## ARISE!

(Albert R. Parsons, one of the Haymarket martyrs, 1886, recited the following poem and commented: "That poem epitomizes the aspirations, the hope, the need of the workingclass, not alone of America, but of the civilized world."—Ed.)

\* \* \*

Man of labor, up, arise!  
Know the might that in thee lies,  
Wheel and shaft are set at rest  
At thy powerful arm's behest.

Thine oppressor's hand recoils  
When thou, weary of thy toil,  
Shun'st thy plow; thy task begun  
When thou speak'st: Enough is done!

Break this two-fold yoke in twain;  
Break thy want's enslaving chain;  
Break the slavery's want and dread;  
Bread is freedom, freedom bread.

## TWO LETTERS ON THE YOUTH COMMITTEE AGAINST FASCISM

We reprint below a letter of the National Committee of the Spartacus Youth League to the National Committee of the Young Peoples Socialist League and the latter's reply on the question of the anti-Fascist united front. Though the letters were written some time ago they bear directly on the present needs.

The Youth Committee Against Fascism has already had several months of sterile existence. Its failure is graphically displayed by the fact that it is not active in the anti-Fascist front in any section of the country. More than that, it is not even participating in such anti-Fascist actions as the Columbus Day demonstration on Oct. 12 in New York. Where is the need of an anti-Fascist organization which refrains from anti-Fascist activity?

The impotence of the Y.C.A.F. is due in most part and fundamentally to its false basis. The letter of the Spartacus Youth League clearly explains the position of our organization towards mass (individual membership) anti-Fascist organizations.

We believe that the struggle against Fascism requires a united front of working class organizations. The May 30th anti-war, anti-Fascist demonstration sponsored by the Y.P.S.L. and the Spartacus Youth League was a beginning towards the development of a national united front of youth. The Columbus Day united front of youth organizations is a continuation of this movement. We strive to convert these local united fronts into a national action of all working class youth organizations.

—Editor.

June 30, 1934

Winston Dancis, Sec.  
Young Peoples Socialist League  
549 Randolph St.  
Chicago, Ill.  
Copy to New York City  
Executive Committee Y.P.S.L.  
Dear comrade Dancis,

Our agreement to promote united front anti-war, anti-Fascist demonstrations on May 30th met with some success in several cities, particularly New York. Our Committee is prepared to participate in further efforts to construct a united front of youth organizations against war and Fascism which would include all sections of the radical, labor and student movement.

Along these lines we were ready to proceed in New York. Comrade Ben Fisher informed us that the Y.P.S.L. was not interested at the present time in continuing the "United Youth Committee Against War and Fascism" and considered the "Youth Committee Against Fascism" as sufficient to carry on the immediate anti-Fascist work.

We are therefore prompted to write to you on the "Y.C.A.F.". The questions and views presented are based on information and material supplied by comrade Fisher.

1. It is not clear as to precisely what organizations participated in the formation of the Y.C.A.F. On what basis were they selected and is the "National Council" open to further affiliations? If you intend getting further organization affiliation, what are the requirements, obligations and rights of these organizations?

2. We note that you aim to recruit individual adherents for the Y.C.A.F. who would spread its message "in school, shop, mill, mine, office, and breadline". Are these supporters to be formed into groups which are federated on a regional and national scale? Are they to have the right, at a future date, to elect their own regional officers and committees as well as through a national conference elect the "National Council"? Comrade Fisher informed us that no conferences are being planned and the regional committees are being appointed by the National Council. Is this a temporary measure or is it intended as a permanent feature of the Y.C.A.F.?

For our part we do not see the value of a mass individual membership organization against Fascism. An individual membership organization can be based on a revolutionary program, or a liberal pacifist program. We see no need to build

a new membership organization against Fascism on a revolutionary program—we believe that that is the task of our Spartacus Youth League. As to a liberal pacifist anti-Fascist organization, it is obvious that such a formation would serve as an obstacle rather than an aid to genuine anti-Fascist work.

3. In our opinion this view is supported by the present program of the Y.C.A.F. It aims "to educate youth to understand the real nature of Fascism, and to work to end the conditions which have brought this reaction in Europe and also threaten us in America." Who can accomplish this task but a political revolutionary labor organization? Surely not a group on whose advisory committee are such liberals and pacifists as Franz Boas, Jerome Davis, John Dewey and Oswald Garrison Villard!

While a united front for definite anti-Fascist action is possible with these elements, if they represent organizations, a fundamental program which includes a basic analysis of Fascism and a clear cut position of how to avoid and combat it, is impossible unless we are to give up the essence of our own program.

The dangers of an organization such as the Y.C.A.F. is clearly shown in its program of "pledge". The individual adherent is asked to pledge—among other things—"To oppose attacks on civil, religious or radical liberties and to support equality and justice for all."

This pledge cannot be taken by any genuine anti-Fascist fighter. Is he going to defend the "civil liberties" of the Fascists? Is he to support "equality and justice" for the Fascists and the anti-Fascists? Arthur Garfield Hays, a liberal anti-Fascist, recently defended the civil rights of the Fascists to assemble in New Jersey. According to the program of the Y.C.A.F. this action should be supported. Then what becomes of counter-demonstrations to Fascist rallies?

In our opinion, it is important that, today when Fascism in the United States is still in its infancy as a movement, a mass movement of all anti-Fascist organizations and elements be organized to prevent, by all possible means, the growth of the murderous Fascist bands. This has meant and will mean physical clashes with the Fascists to prevent them from assembling and spreading their insidious program of the destruction of labor organizations and the denial of civil liberties for all anti-Fascists.

All attempts of Fascist bands to break up working class meetings must be met with united front workers' defense corps. But this is hardly sufficient. Immediate action to obstruct their "civil rights" to assemble forces which can effectively conduct such destructive activity is also needed. No true anti-Fascist can reject or overlook such a task.

The same liberal and constitutional sentence of the pledge is further objectionable to those like ourselves, and sections of your organization, who hold that a classless society is possible only through the medium of a transition period where the civil liberties, equality and justice of the present exploiting class, will be limited or entirely abrogated, that is, a dictatorship of the working class. In our opinion it is false to pose the demand for democratic rights today in such a liberal fashion.

We await an early reply to our questions and objections.

Fraternally,  
(Signed) JOSEPH CARTER,  
Secretary

### LETTER OF YPSL TO SYL

August 3, 1934

Joe Carter  
Spartacus Youth League  
144 Second Avenue  
New York City  
Dear Comrade Carter,

The National Executive Committee of the Y.P.S.L. considered the letter which you sent on June 30 in regard to our anti-Fascist work and Youth Committee Against Fascism.

The Y.P.S.L. took a leading part in establishing the Y.C.A.F. in order to have

## Y.C.L. OFFERS FAKE REASONS FOR REJECTING UNITED FRONT

Why has the Young Communist League refused to join the common demonstration with the Columbus Day United Committee Against Italian Fascism? Why have those who have shouted "united front", "unity of action" spurned genuine united action?

When the Young Peoples Socialist League invited the Y.C.L., the National Student League, the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the Communist Youth Opposition (Lovestoneites) and the Spartacus Youth League for this united front, the Y.C.L. (and its factional pawn, the N.S.L.) stated that the arrangements were unsatisfactory.

"... we could not enter into united front agreement with the renegades from Communism—the Lovestoneites and Trotskyite grouplets—without sacrificing our revolutionary principles and deceiving the masses." (Letter of Y.C.L. to Yipsels—Daily Worker, Oct. 6, 1934.)

Does this mean that the Y.C.L. was never in a united front with the Spartacus Youth League? Let us cite a few facts. (These refer to New York actions.)

1. November 25-27, 1932. At the United Youth Conference Against War, controlled by the pacifists and Socialists, the Y.C.L., N.S.L., Spartacus Youth and other groups worked together against the non-democratic control of the Congress.

2. In March, 1933. The Y.C.L., N.S.L. and Spartacus Youth were included in the United Youth Conference Against Fascism which issued a call—signed by all sponsoring groups (12)—for a united front conference for March 24. A representative of the S.Y.L. was among the speakers at the ensuing demonstration.

3. On National Youth Day, May 30, 1933. The Spartacus Youth participated in the united front led by the Y.C.L. and had a member on the arrangements and steering committee. A Spartacus Youth speaker was scheduled for the demonstration. The Y.C.L. violated the arrangements and forbid the speaker.

4. May, 1934. When the Youth Committee for the May 30th (including the Yipsels, S.Y.L., etc.) approached the Y.C.L. and N.S.L. for a common demonstration, the question of the participation of the Spartacus Youth did not enter into conflict.

5. August, 1934. In preparation for the First American Youth Congress, the Spartacus Youth participated with the Y.C.L., N.S.L., Yipsels, etc. in the "democratic control" bloc. Despite its desire to bar the S.Y.L. from the bloc and the Congress, the Y.C.L. was compelled to fight for the inclusion of the Spartacus Youth in the Congress, as one of the organizations discriminated against by the arrangements committee.

Thus we see that the Y.C.L. (and the N.S.L.) has made united fronts with the "Trotskyites". It is true that in all cases it was against the will of the Y.C.L. leaders! The facts also show that the Spartacus Youth League has established itself as a leading radical youth group in the city, having actively participated in the important youth actions in New York.

More than that. When the Yipsels sent out invitations to the radical youth organizations for the Columbus Day demonstration they had before them—as they state in their letter to the Y.C.L.—the Belgian united front agreement of the Young Socialist Guards, the Young Communist League and the Young Leninists (sister organization of the S.Y.L.). The

a special organization that would carry on Anti-Fascist work.

We do not seek the affiliation of the Spartacus Youth League in this endeavor and will be active with the other affiliated organizations in the Y.C.A.F. in order to carry on this line in regard with our objectives.

I believe that Bob Parker of New York will be able to give you any further information which you may wish.

Fraternally yours,  
(Signed) WINSTON DANCIS,  
National Secretary

fact that the leaders of the Belgian Y.C.L. were since sharply criticized for this united front does not affect the question. The sponsoring organization, the Y.P.S.L., assumed that the Y.C.L. on an international scale was making a genuine turn in its united front policy.

Why all the fury on the part of the Y.C.L. leaders?

Because while they have been ordered to form a united front with those who they yesterday called "social-Fascists", they fear the growth of the "Trotskyites", the movement for the 4th International.

Because in their ranks there is a growing discontent with the acrobatic tactics of the Y.C.L. on the united front.

Because more and more Stalinist youth are beginning to see that the Spartacus Youth were correct in their consistent fight for the united front.

Because the Y.C.L., having itself failed to make any serious impression on the Yipsels, fears the growing fraternal relations of the ranks of the Yipsels and the Spartacus Youth and the loyal common action of the Y.P.S.L. and the S.Y.L.

The Stalinist leaders are panicky over the growing influence of the "Trotskyites". Slander, calumny and physical violence have not stopped us. Our progress cannot be hindered by the Y.C.L. Their tactics are bringing them more and more in conflict not only with the non-Stalinist radical youth but with their own members and followers. Despite their sabotage we will continue our struggle for the united front. We will yet compel them, against their will, into a genuine all-inclusive united front of struggle.

## Y.C.L. Members Question Leaders

(Continued from Page 2)

was taken on the action of the Y.C.L. leaders.

After the district membership meeting the agit-prop (educational) department of the Y.C.L. issued a five page bulletin to the members, dated October 10, explaining why no united front could be made with the renegades.

The old hokum and some new, really original stories are told. For example, that Doriot, expelled from the French Communist Party, was a "henchman" of the Communist League who tried "to throw a monkey wrench in the united front proceedings (apparently between the C.P. and S.P.) at the last minute."

What an imagination! For Doriot was not a "Trotskyite" nor is he one now; he could not throw a monkey wrench into proceedings which were not taking place; he was expelled for proposing a genuine united front with the Socialist party at a time when the Stalinists shouted that such a tactic was "counter-revolutionary"!

The Y.C.L. bulletin calls for a voting in all units on the question of the united front with the S.Y.L. where Yipsels will be invited "so as to show the members of the Y.P.S.L. that the Y.C.L., unlike their organization, there exists no differences or contradictions between the leadership and the membership"!

They think they will continue to terrorize the members. Why did they not take a vote at the district membership meeting when great discontent was shown? Their voting in the units will be under threat of expulsion. This is supposed to be a "democratic procedure"!

All this points to an increased questioning in the ranks of the Stalinist youth. Slander and calumny against the "Trotskyites" may becloud the real issues—but the healthy movement in the membership if it continues will find its way to the real Communists, to the Spartacus Youth League.

## Roosevelt Calls For "Industrial Peace"

"Industrial peace" is the latest slogan sent out from the White House. Once again President Roosevelt speaks for his master, Wall Street.

A day after this call was broadcast, the National Association of Manufacturers went on record as backing the President in his efforts to make an armistice between the workers and the bosses.

Ten days later, Oct. 11, the President emphasized his belief that prices should go still higher.

The bosses are renewing their drive for higher and still higher, profits under the banner of the Blue Eagle. This they can get by raising prices and keeping down wages. The cost of living has risen steadily ever since the beginning of the New Deal in March 1933. But not high enough for Charlie (we're all broke now) Schwab and J. P. Morgan. Wall Street is out to squeeze the last cent of profit it possibly can from the American toiling masses. And F. D. R. clears the way with one of his fireside chats.

But the bosses are afraid of one thing: resistance from the American workers to this program of hunger and misery. For the American working class has shown that it will not take the blows of the bosses lying down. It has answered the first attacks of Wall Street with two giant strike waves for higher wages, shorter hours and union recognition, which swept the country in 1933 and '34. These strikes hit not only the bosses themselves but also the NRA administration which clearly showed itself as a strike breaking machine.

And now the bosses dread the answer of the militant American working class to their program of a still higher cost of living. Roosevelt fears that the coming struggles will completely tear away the mask of the blue eagle and show it even to the blind as the outright tool of Wall Street. Above all, these brothers under the skin—Roosevelt and the bosses—fear a third strike wave, taking in more workers than before, more militant than before, and clashing more violently and openly with the strike-breaking machinery of the NRA, rocking it to its very foundations.

So Roosevelt, speaking for the bosses, calls for Peace. But by peace he means submission. Submission to higher prices, lower wages, and company unions.

—H. ROBERTS.

## Delegation Protests Students' Expulsions

Denying that he had made an appointment with them, Mayor La Guardia refused to receive a representative delegation of 50 which called at City Hall on October 20 to protest against the suspension of anti-Fascist students at C.C. N.Y., and to demand the removal of President F. B. Robinson of that college.

On the insistence of the delegation, however, La Guardia finally agreed to receive a representative and to make an appointment for a committee of six to call on him on the afternoon of October 25 at 4 o'clock. At this time the demands of the delegation will be laid before him.

The delegation was organized by the Columbus Day United Anti-Fascist Committee, a united front body which conducted demonstrations against Mussolini's regime in Columbus Circle and at Yankee Stadium on October 12. The S.Y.L. has played an important role in the activities of this committee.

At first the police tried to chase the delegation out of City Hall, but the delegation refused to leave. It entered the Board of Estimate Chamber in a body while the Board was meeting and eventually the Mayor agreed to make an appointment with it.

A mass delegation will accompany the committee scheduled to call on the Mayor on October 25. Force the reinstatement of the anti-Fascist students! Eliminate the petty-Mussolini, Robinson, from C.C. N.Y. Down with Fascism and its friends!

# NEW WORKERS PARTY TO BE FORMED

A step of great importance to all militant workers is the agreement reached between the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party to organize a new revolutionary party by fusing their forces. A Marxian declaration of principles and program of action is being prepared which will form the basis for the united party. The unity convention will be held in the near future.

A revolutionary Marxist party means a militant leadership to the working class in all its struggles. The workers, divided along various lines, racial and national, industrial and trade, organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed, adult and youth, each having its own sectional interests, needs a unifying force, a coordinator of the progressive group interests, a leadership which can guide the workers from their needs as they understand them to the needs of the entire class.

This is a revolutionary party. It was such an organization, the Bolshevik party, which led the workers and peasants of Russia to victory. It was the absence of such a party which is responsible for the tragic defeats of the workers in Germany and Austria and elsewhere.

Do we need a new workers' party in the United States? Are the interests of the working class ably defended by the Socialist party or the Stalinist Communist party? Look at the trade union field! Look at the lack of organization of the unemployed! See the menacing disorganization of the working class in the face of the bosses' offensive. Fascism and the danger of imperialist war!

Only a party which in theory and prac-

tice is revolutionary Marxist, Bolshevik, which embraces the most intelligent, experienced, devoted and courageous workers can lead the workers against their exploiters. The party inherits all that is progressive and revolutionary and learns from the experience of its forerunners. The construction of such a force is not a task for one day or a year. It is a process of constant struggle, the gaining of new experiences and new forces.

The new party is to be founded by a fusion of the Communist League and the American Workers Party. The Communist League, as part of the world "Trotskyites" for many years, has fought for a revolutionary Marxist program and party. It struggled against the domination of Stalinism in the Communist International until the victory of Fascism in Germany and the capitulation without a struggle of the Communist party showed that the Communist International is dead as a revolutionary instrument.

The International-Communists then boldly proclaimed the need of a Fourth International, a new world party of Bolshevism. The Communist League of America struck out on new paths. The great Minneapolis truck drivers' strike are proofs of the valuable preparatory work of the Communist League of America. These years of struggle educated and trained revolutionists who will form the solid core for the new party.

The American Workers Party has progressively developed from a trade union grouping (the Conference for Progressive Labor Action) to a revolutionary political group. The A.W.P. has been particularly active in the unemployed field

where it has done some excellent work in organizing the jobless. It has developed capable and courageous field organizers and attracted excellent militant workers. In the Toledo strike several months ago the A.W.P. drove home to the entire labor movement the importance and method of connecting the jobless with the striking workers.

The Communist League of America and the American Workers Party, leaders of two of the most militant strike struggles in recent labor history, Minneapolis and Toledo, by their joint decision to launch the new party give new hope to the militant workers. After years of splits, chaos and confusion a strong and clear voice of revolutionary Marxist unity will be heard.

The new party will undoubtedly have tremendous effects on the Left wing workers in the Socialist movement. It will be a point of attraction for the young Socialists who are seeking a revolutionary program and organization. It will act as a magnet for the militant workers who are becoming disillusioned with Stalinism.

Above all it will be the party of those who for the first time are awakening to working class consciousness. It will lead them in struggle. It will have no interests separate and apart from their's.

The Spartacus Youth warmly greet this step on the road to a Bolshevik party. The new party will give added impetus to the development of a mass militant youth movement. Our comrades have been prepared by their past to form the basic cadre for the new revolutionary youth league. With clarity and action as our motto we have participated in the struggles of the youth, and educated groups of youth in revolutionary Marxism. Now under new forms we will continue our work, with multiplied efforts: for the reconstruction of the movement of Marx and Engels, Liebknecht and Luxemburg, Lenin and Trotsky, the Fourth International.

## Spanish Workers Fight Reaction

The Spanish workers of field and factory have during the past few weeks fought one of the most heroic revolutionary struggles of modern times. It was a desperate effort to stop the wave of reaction that, after sweeping over Central Europe, had at last reached Spain.

### Government Supports Reaction

For many months, the three year old Spanish republic has been in a state of political fermentation. The conservative elements have made constant advance, taking away from the workers and poor farmers, one after another of the paltry advantages they had won in the revolution of 1931. Workers' organizations have been persecuted, their newspapers suspended, and their leaders thrown into prison. The government of the republic commenced openly to support the old reactionary elements of the monarchy; the Fascists advanced towards the seats of power. It was clear that a showdown would have to come sooner or later.

Meanwhile the Spanish workers, who are divided ideologically into many different groups—Socialists, Syndicalists, Anarchists, Stalinists, Trotskyists, etc. had been discussing and learning the important lessons of the German events of 1933. They realized that in Germany, Hitler had been able to smash the workers' organizations because the workers were divided. They drew the only possible conclusions from these events and set about organizing the Workers Alliances through which they might be able to present a united victorious struggle against the common enemy—Fascism.

### Only Local United Fronts

The leaders of the Socialist party hesitated considerably in the matter of organizing the National Workers' Alliance while allowing their local groups to join the Alliance in the different localities. The Stalinists fought against the united front organization up until a few days before the outbreak of the civil war, when they finally joined it. The Anarchists have held aloof, together with the unions that they control. Being largely individualists they did not want to tie up with any other groups although many of them have fought valiantly on the barricades with their class brothers. Be-

fore the united front organization could get well established, however, the storm broke.

A conservative coalition ministry headed by Samper, was unable to maintain itself between the pressure of the contending forces. The extreme reactionaries of the Catholic Fascist "Popular Action" party under the leadership of Gil Robles were bringing pressure to bear to have themselves included in the new cabinet, and when the new government was finally formed under Lerroux, three members of the Fascist organization were included. The working class organizations took the announcement of the new government's composition as the signal to declare a revolutionary general strike. The strike was very solid throughout the country from the first day. Shortly after its declaration armed clashes developed in many provinces and the country was plunged into a bloody civil war as the national army and the Civil Guards attempted to subdue the workers who had dared rebel against capitalism and Fascism.

Strangely enough, to those unfamiliar with recent developments in Spain, it is the Socialist party that is playing the leading part in the insurrection under the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The insurrection was finally put down with great loss of life on both sides. We can say however, in spite of this and the threatened terror against the militant workers and their organizations, that this has not been a decisive defeat for the working class in the same sense that the Austrian events were. The Spanish workers, while fighting off the terror, struggling for the democratic rights of organization, press and assembly, must now set about reorganizing their forces for the final definite struggle that cannot be very far ahead.

The errors of the various groups helped to make victory impossible this time, and it is on the basis of a real analysis and criticism of these very mistakes that tomorrow's triumph will be prepared. The new workers' vanguard party, that is so necessary for victory, must be created now while there is yet time. In this lies the only guarantee for the future.

## United Front Forged Against Black Shirts

As a counter-demonstration to the pageant given to Mussolini's picked students visiting this country, 1,500 New York workers met at Columbus Circle on Oct. 12 and twice that number joined the rally near the Yankee Stadium.

The united front, initiated by the Yip-sels, Student League for Industrial Democracy, Communist Youth Opposition and the Spartacus Youth League developed into a common action of all workers' political organizations with the exception of the Stalinists. (See page five for the reasons).

At Columbus Circle the Fascists, who were holding their own meeting there, far outnumbered the anti-Fascists. The militant workers clearly expressed their hatred for Fascism by shouting slogans.

At Columbus Circle a number of speakers voiced their hatred of Fascism and emphasized the need for unity in the common struggle. After a number of speeches hurled at the Fascists who were assembled in another section of the Circle for their own meeting, the demonstrators went to Yankee Stadium where a pageant for Mussolini's students was taking place.

Marching behind the banner "We Will Fight Fascism to Death" they shouted militant slogans. As they passed the Stalinist demonstration both sides shouted: long live the united front! let's unite!

The Stalinists were ready to unite . . . if the "Trotskyites" were excluded. Finally there was an interchange of speakers. Following the representative of the Y.C.L. Manny Garret of the Spartacus Youth League replied. The assembled workers applauded enthusiastically.

The demonstrators could not get near the Stadium because imposing protectors, the "democratic" cops blocked the way. On the subway station overlooking the Stadium the workers shouted anti-Fascist slogans until the cops swung their clubs, injuring a number.