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RUTHENBERG DEAD!

**FAREWELL, COMRADE RUTHENBERG;
FAREWELL OUR LEADER**

BY JAY LOVESTONE.

(Comrade Lovestone was perhaps closer to Ruthenberg than any comrade now living. For the last ten years they have worked closely together, beginning with the first efforts to organize a left wing, and thruout the entire period of the existence of the Communist movement.)

The severest shock I have ever had in my life came with the death of my closest guide, leader and friend, Comrade Ruthenberg.

To me, Comrade Ruthenberg was more than an individual—even more than a Party Comrade.

"C. E.", as I called Comrade Ruthenberg, was to me the symbol of our Party, fighting unceasingly an uphill battle against tremendous odds, against the most brutal, the most powerful imperialism the world has known.

In the passing of Comrade Ruthenberg, our Party has suffered the greatest loss in its history. All American labor, the entire American working class has suffered the greatest loss in its history.

Our pain is as great as our loss. Comrade Ruthenberg has been and will remain an immortal example for our whole Party, for the entire working class to follow. Comrade Ruthenberg's whole life was one of immortal service to the American working class.

Comrade Ruthenberg was the first man in the history of the various left wing movements in the Socialist Party to realize the value of organization. It was Comrade Ruthenberg who first understood that if the Socialist Party was to be a Party of revolutionary Socialism, the left wing forces had to stay within the Party and to organize themselves.

Comrade Ruthenberg was the first one in the United States to be convicted and sent to jail for inspiring and organizing masses of workers to resist the drive of our imperialists to throw the American working class into the death orgy of the great war. The ten months Comrade Ruthenberg spent in the Canton jail for his courageous anti-war activities are ten months which will forever live as an inspiring sacrifice to the American workers. These ten months will be a powerful force for arousing the American proletariat to turn our next imperialist war into a civil war against the exploiters and oppressors of the workers.

Comrade Ruthenberg was the driving force in giving a nation-wide organized basis to the sweeping left wing movement of the Socialist Party after the Proletarian Revolution in Russia in November, 1917.

Will do I remember how I was sitting with John Reed and others in the left wing headquarters in West 4th Street, New York City, anxiously awaiting to hear as to how decisive a victory Comrade Ruthenberg was leading the left wing in Cleveland. When we learned of the magnificent success in the Cleveland Socialist Party under the able leadership of Comrade Ruthenberg, we felt

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HIS LAST THOUGHTS OF WORKING CLASS.

The Communist movement and the working class of this country have suffered a severe loss in the death of Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg, general secretary of the Workers (Communist) Party of America. Comrade Ruthenberg died in the American Hospital, Chicago, Ill., March 2, at 11 a. m., after an operation for appendicitis. Comrade Ruthenberg did not become ill until late Sunday afternoon, when he began suffering from severe pains, he was rushed to the hospital and operated on the same night. Severe complications set in after the operation which finally developed into peritonitis which caused his death.

Comrade Ruthenberg was still in the prime of his life, and appeared to be healthy and strong. He was only 45 years of age. He was very seldom ill. On Friday evening at supper time he complained of a pain in the right side, which he attributed to neuritis. He had been working very hard the last few weeks. The united attack of the enemies of the revolutionary working class movement of this country against the Party placed additional burdens upon Comrade Ruthenberg's shoulders. He was working out plans to meet the offensive of the enemies of the Party in addition to the other work he was doing; thus, depriving himself of much needed rest. He was, consequently, under a very severe strain, and he attributed these pains to this strain and to lack of rest. He worked all day Saturday and attended a committee meeting that evening, not leaving off until all business had been completed, altho he continued to feel worse.

Comrade Ruthenberg continued to be conscious to the end.

He spoke continually of the Party work and of the needs of the American working class. His last words when he already felt that he was dying were:

"Tell the comrades to close their ranks; to build their Party. The American working class, under the leadership of our Party and the Comintern will win. Let's fight on."

The funeral will take place on Sunday, March 6, 1 p. m., from the Ashland Auditorium, at which a mass Memorial Service will be held. The speakers will be Comrades Foster, Lovestone, Bedacht, Kaplan and Swaback. The body will be on view at this service. It will then be cremated and sent to Moscow where the ashes will be buried under the Kremlin Wall, with the other men who gave their lives in the service of the international working class. This was Comrade Ruthenberg's wish.

Memorial meetings are being arranged all over the country. The Workers (Communist) Party and the Young Workers (Communist) League will conduct a special Ruthenberg recruiting campaign. The workers from the factories, mines, and mills will be asked to join the Party of Ruthenberg and to carry on his work.

**Remember
Ruthenberg's
Last Message:
Fight On!**



C. E. RUTHENBERG—OUR LEADER.

"LET'S FIGHT ON!"

(Statement on the Death of Our Leader,
Comrade Ruthenberg.)

In the death of Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg, leader of our Party and the revolutionary working class in this country, the masses of the intensely exploited young workers suffered a great loss. Comrade Ruthenberg symbolized in his person the fusion of the militancy of the American workers with the revolutionary heritage of Marx and Lenin. He will always remain a source of inspiration to the young workers in this country and his life and work will always be our guide and teacher.

Particularly during the present period of American imperialism Comrade Ruthenberg saw in the most exploited section of the working class—the working youth—a reservoir of strength for the struggle of the proletariat against capitalism. Ever since the first convention of our League in which Comrade Ruthenberg played a leading part, he has been the dynamic force in giving political expression to the struggles of the young workers.

The death of our leader places greater burdens and responsibilities upon us, the living. The Young Workers (Communist) League must redouble its efforts to reach the masses of young workers for Communism

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Ruthenberg's Life of Struggle

C. E. Ruthenberg was born in Cleveland, Ohio, on July 9, 1892, of working class parents. He began earning his livelihood at a very early age, being a factory worker, clerk, and a newspaper correspondent until 1912, when he began working for the Socialist Party as an organizer.

Comrade Ruthenberg joined the Socialist Party in 1909 and became an active figure immediately; being elected recording secretary of the City Central Committee within two or three months after he joined the party. This position he held until 1912. From the very beginning Comrade Ruthenberg sympathized with the more militant section of the Socialist Party and under his leadership practically the entire Cleveland organization and the Ohio Federation of the Socialist Party adhered to the left wing elements and became one of the driving forces in the creation first of a National Left Wing and later of the Communist Party.

Editor of Cleveland Socialist.

In 1912, Comrade Ruthenberg became the editor of the Cleveland Socialist, the organ of the Local Cleveland of the Socialist Party. Under his able direction this paper attained a very wide circulation among the Ohio workers. In 1913, he was elected Secretary-Organizer of the Cleveland local and this position he held until 1919, when he became the Executive Secretary of the newly organized Communist Party.

Ruthenberg and the Workers.

Throughout this time, Ruthenberg became one of the most popular and well known figures in the Ohio Labor movement. He was in continuous demand as speaker at labor meetings and picnics. The Central Labor Union of Cleveland considered Ruthenberg its leader and always consulted him when an important problem confronted them. In election campaigns, Comrade Ruthenberg, who was a frequent candidate, made every effort to utilize the election platform as a means for mass propaganda among the workers, rather than as a means of catching votes by competing with the bourgeois parties in the issuance of vote catching slogans. That this was a much more effective method than the one generally employed by the Socialist candidates is evidenced by the large votes which Ruthenberg always polled. Comrade Ruthenberg was candidate for Mayor of Cleveland in 1911, 1915, 1917, 1919. For governor in 1912; state treasurer 1910; United States senator, 1914.

Ruthenberg, Party Builder.

In all this activity Comrade Ruthenberg never forgot that it was essential under all circumstances to build the Party. He considered that without a Party which had its roots firmly in the working class, election campaigns and votes would be of very little use. His policy found a ready response with the rank and file and the Cleveland organization of the Socialist Party soon became one of the most powerful and influential in the country.

Ruthenberg, Leader of the Left Wing

Comrade Ruthenberg's role as the leader of the militant proletarian elements within the Socialist Party reached national importance for the first time in the convention of 1912. It was at this convention that the fight between the right wing and the left wing first took the form of an open struggle. The right wing leadership under the pressure of many attacks by the bourgeoisie wished to make the Socialist Party respectable and consequently proposed the now famous "Article 2, Section 6," of the Constitution which declared that any member who believes in sabotage, force or violence etc., etc., shall be expelled from the Party. Comrade Ruthenberg led the right against the adoption of this article. After its adoption, Comrade Ruthenberg remained within the Socialist Party and carried on the struggle for Revolutionary Socialism, unlike many good proletarian elements who left the Socialist Party in disgust and either joined the I. W. W. or drifted out of the working class movement entirely. The fight, which Comrade Ruthenberg began at the convention in 1912, he carried on until 1919, found the entire membership of the Ohio Socialist Party lined up solidly behind the left wing and the Communist Party.

At the St. Louis Convention.

The next crisis in the Socialist Party again found Comrade Ruthenberg the leader of the left wing. This was the St. Louis convention in 1917, several weeks after the United States had entered the world war. Within the Socialist Party evidences of Social patriotism were already showing themselves. Leaders like Spargo, Russel, Walling, openly became the champions of American imperialism and demanded that the Socialist Party do what the Socialist Parties of other countries had already done—betray the working class and support the bourgeois government in the prosecution of the war. The right wing leaders like Hillquit and Berger refused to take a definite stand on the question until they could see which way the wind was blowing.

Ruthenberg and the War.

In this situation Comrade Ruthenberg took an uncompromising stand. He declared that the war was an imperialist war on all sides and demanded that the American workers not only not support the war but use all the means in their power to

fight against it. The left wing under this militant leadership swept the St. Louis convention and compelled the vacillating elements to limp along. The St. Louis manifesto of which Ruthenberg was the author was carried by an overwhelming majority. Spargo, Russel, Walling packed their grips and joined the entire official leadership of the labor movement and became salesmen of war bonds, while the Hillquits and Bergers, swam with the stream, at the convention only to betray the working class afterward, at first secretly and then openly. In this work, Comrade Ruthenberg was in touch with International Socialist Propaganda League of which Comrade Bukharin was the leading spirit. Comrade Ruthenberg afterward many times explained that the left wing committed serious errors in permitting the machinery of the Party to remain in the hands of the right wing after it had been defeated. This had been done before, but the mistake made in 1917 was of a very serious nature as the right wing was later enabled, thru its control of the Party machinery, to fight very effectively against the left wing and the majority of the membership.

Ruthenberg and the Russian Revolution.

The next crisis again found Comrade Ruthenberg in the forefront. The coming of the Russian Revolution aroused intense enthusiasm in the ranks of the Socialist Party and among the advanced sections of the workingclass. Everywhere, the rank and file recognized the Bolsheviks as the leaders of the international revolutionary movement and clamored that a new International be established which would include only the revolutionary elements and exclude the traitors and social patriots. The official leadership of the Socialist Party thru its control of the Party machinery resisted this movement at first secretly and later openly. They expelled or suspended the bulk of the membership and set about destroying every organization they could not control.

Ruthenberg and the Communist Party

When the left wing saw that it was no longer possible to capture the Socialist Party for Revolutionary Socialism they left it and organized the Communist Party and Communist Labor Party, which later fused and now are the Workers Communist Party of America. In this struggle Comrade Ruthenberg has always been a leader. He became the secretary of the Communist Party on the day it was organized and remained secretary until his death with the exception of the time that he spent in jail.

Ruthenberg's Struggle Against the War.

Of all the leaders of the Socialist

Party Comrade Ruthenberg was the only one that carried on a revolutionary struggle against the world war. Where others confined themselves to making speeches or remained entirely silent Comrade Ruthenberg organized mass demonstrations of the workers and in every other way mobilized the workers for the struggle against the imperialist war. For this he was indicted under the conscription law in June, 1917, and sentenced and convicted in July of the same year. The trial was a marked contrast to the trial of other Socialists for "obstructing" the war. While at his trial Berger whined that he was an old man and he had done nothing anyway, Ruthenberg utilized the court as a tribunal from which to continue to mobilize the workers for revolutionary struggle against the war. Upon his release from jail he continued his activities and so effective was he that in 1919 he received 27,000 votes as candidate for mayor out of a total of 100,000 cast.

Ruthenberg in Capitalist Courts.

The tradition thus established for the revolutionary utilization of anti-Communist trials Comrade Ruthenberg maintained thruout his life. In 1920 he was again tried and convicted under the New York "criminal anarchy" laws and served two years in jail. While the 1918 trial Comrade Ruthenberg used for the struggle against the war he used this trial to popularize Communism and the Communist Party among the masses of the workers. 1922 again found Comrade Ruthenberg facing a capitalist court in the now famous Michigan cases and again Comrade Ruthenberg set an example of how a Communist should behave before a capitalist court, by taking the offensive, making the accuser of the accused, and fighting for the legalization of the Communist Party. In this he was successful and shortly after the Workers Party became the official Communist Party of this country.

Comrade Ruthenberg—Leader.

In the entire existence of the Communist Party Comrade Ruthenberg has been the initiator of the most important steps the Communist Party took to become a mass party—the fight for the legalization of the Party, the three fights for the Labor Party, the reorganization of the Party, the campaign for the Protection of the Foreign-Born, the establishment of the Daily Worker—all these found Comrade Ruthenberg leading the struggle to the broadening of the Party to reaching the masses.

The life of Comrade Ruthenberg has been a life devoted entirely to the working class. The very least we can do to endeavor to follow in Comrade Ruthenberg's footsteps.

"LET'S FIGHT ON!"

(Continued from page 1)

In order to fill the gap left in our Party's ranks. The splendid example of revolutionary courage and devotion to the interests of the proletariat which Comrade Ruthenberg manifested in his unceasing struggle against the last imperialist slaughter fest of 1914-18 must be emulated now by the masses of young workers who must rally to the united front against imperialism with the cry: Hands off China and Nicaragua!

Comrade Ruthenberg said that one of the most important problems of the working class movement is to make militant fighters of the young workers in industry. In carrying on his great work our Young Workers (Communist) League must deliberately orientate itself to reach and influence the masses of young American workers particularly in the heavy industries.

The death of our leader will only serve to steel our revolutionary purpose, to close our ranks, to fight on until the victory of the American working class is assured, until the establishment of the workers' and farmers' Soviet Republic of the United States. Comrade Ruthenberg died with the cry on his lips: "Let's fight on!"

Close the ranks of the Party and League for the struggle against capitalism!

Long live Communism!

National Executive Committee.

Young Workers (Communist) League of America.

NAT KAPLAN, National Secretary.

"LET'S FIGHT ON!"

BY THE "GADFLY."

Ruthenberg is dead!
Torn we are
Between our sorrow for the loss of him
Gone afar
And the battle grim.

Always unflinching in the fight!
Even Death's buss
Showed him a clear unwavering light—
Guiding us.

Workingmen!
To him in requiem
Sharp your sword and steel your head
For he has said:
"Let's Fight On!"

THE YOUTH AND THE TRADE UNIONS

Comrade Ruthenberg's Last Article on the Youth Question

The trade union movement of this country today stands as the most backward in any capitalist country. The bureaucratic leaders of the trade unions, in place of instilling in the minds of the workers the ideology of struggle against their exploiters and oppressors are advocating policies of collaboration and submission. In place of appealing to the pride of the workers as a class, teaching them to fight as a class, their policy is that of compromise and co-operation with the masters.

The older generation in the trade unions is thoroly imbued with this spirit of Gompersism. On the new generation of workers, which is just learning from bitter experiences the character of the existing system of exploitation, rests the hope of creating a working class movement in which Gompersism will be succeeded by the spirit of class pride, and the consciousness that it is the destiny of the workers to create a new social order, that it is their task to take control of the productive forces of society and so order and organize them that they will serve the interests of those who produce wealth in place of for the enrichment of a small class of exploiters.

The work of imbuing this spirit in the young workers who will be the militant fighting center of the working class movement tomorrow, is the task of the Young Workers (Communist) League. In directing the work of the league into these channels in an effort to reach and influence the young workers in industry, teaching them the necessity of their organizing to fight against the capitalists to make of them militant trade union fighters, the Young Workers (Communist) League is taking up one of the most important problems of the working class movement. It is thru establishing contact with the young workers in industry, furnishing them with the spirit of class struggle against the master class, that the Young Workers (Communist) League will become a powerful force in the American labor movement.

These tasks are now being taken up by the Young Workers (Communist) League in earnest. The work of establishing its influence has been begun. The future promises achievements and success, inspiring the fighting spirit in the young workers, and bringing them under the influence and leadership of the Young Workers (Communist) League.

Our party must give earnest and enthusiastic support to this work of the Young Workers (Communist) League. The task of spreading our ideas and our campaigns among the young workers has not been supported to the full extent that the party is able to give support. We have not built the Young Workers' League wherever there are units of the Workers (Communist) Party. The energetic campaigns now being undertaken by the Young Workers (Communist) League must receive the full support of every party unit. The party members must study the proposals, organization plans, campaigns initiated by the Young Workers (Communist) League and devise ways and means of aiding them in carrying out the campaigns.

The way this aid can be given best is thru the organization of units of the Young Workers' League wherever units of the party exist and the full support of those units of the Young Workers' League which are now in existence.

IN MEMORIAM

The following telegram was sent out by the National Executive Committee to all district organizations of the Young Workers (Communist) League:

Chicago, Ill., March 2, 1927.

C. E. Ruthenberg, leader of our Party and of the revolutionary American working class died this morning. This is the severest loss the working class of this country has suffered since the death of Lenin. Comrade Ruthenberg symbolized in his person the fusion of the militancy of the American workers with the revolutionary heritage of Marx and Lenin. He was the link that united all that was best in the working class and Socialist movement in this country before the war with the revolutionary ideals of Communism to which large masses of the American workers have been won over since the glorious proletarian revolution in Russia.

The death of our leader places additional burdens upon us, the living. Just as the death of Lenin was the signal for the workers of Russia and of the entire world to consolidate their ranks and strengthen the Party of Lenin, so must we now work with redoubled energy for the cause for which Ruthenberg has given his life. The Red-Flag of the workers which Ruthenberg bore aloft all thru his life will be taken up by us and borne forward to the working class victory.

Close the ranks of the Party and League for the struggle against capitalism!

Long live Communism!

From the Executive of the Comintern.

Workers Party of America, Chicago.

Executive Committee Communist International expresses its profound sorrow in the death of Comrade Ruthenberg, member of its presidium. We express our deepest sympathy to the Workers (Communist) Party of America in the loss of its general secretary and leader. Our mutual bereavement is a great loss especially to the working class of America. At no time since Comrade Ruthenberg raised the Red Flag against the imperialist war and led the way to the formation of the Workers (Communist) Party has his leadership been more needed than today.

Executive Committee, Communist International.

RUTHENBERG AND THE YOUTH

BY NAT KAPLAN.

Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg was the leader of the whole Communist movement in this country including its youth section. When Comrade Ruthenberg died, the masses of the intensely exploited American young workers suffered a great loss. Particularly in this period of American imperialism's hegemony in the world, when capitalism in this country is still on the upgrade and the trade union movement is permeated with class collaboration, Comrade Ruthenberg saw in the most exploited section of the working class—the working youth—a reservoir of strength for the struggle of the proletariat against capitalism.

It was under the leadership of Comrade Ruthenberg that our party declared: "The young workers, who have been drawn more and more into public life since the last imperialist war, will form the best detachments of the proletarian revolution. A large section of the working class, past middle age, employed in the highly skilled trades will not be won for the revolution until after the conquest of power. The young workers mainly thrown into the ranks of unskilled labor and exploited to a greater extent than the adult workers must be drawn into the revolutionary movement and must form a reservoir of strength for the Communist Party."

Comrade Ruthenberg was the leader, the head and brains, of our Party and League. To talk of an independent political leader for the youth is out of the question. The days of the independent revolutionary youth movement are gone forever. Before the world war where there were weak or no Communist Parties at all in the various countries our revolutionary youth leagues had an independent significance. But with the birth of the present mighty Communist International the Communist Party in the various countries became the revolutionary general staff of the proletariat and the Young Communist League took its place as the youth section of the movement.

It was under the leadership of Comrade Ruthenberg and our party that our Young Communist League was able to bridge the chasm that leads from isolation towards the masses of young workers. From a small "underground" group we followed the party into a legal existence which gave us the first start in mass activity. With the restriction of immigration into this country which made the young workers one of the main sources of cheap labor for the industries, Comrade Ruthenberg called our attention time and time again to the increased importance of the young workers in the class struggle. He called upon the party to pay added attention to our League and to organize a League unit everywhere that we have a party unit.

When we participated in the movement of the East Ohio Working Youth conference, Comrade Ruthenberg wrote in a special article: "In

directing the work of the League into those channels in an effort to reach and influence the young workers in industry, teaching them the necessity of their organizing to fight against the capitalists, to make of them militant trade union fighters, the Young Workers (Communist) League is taking up one of the most important problems of the working class movement." With the Passaic textile strike as a living example, Comrade Ruthenberg saw an additional importance in the young workers as a connecting link between the unskilled foreign language speaking workers and the native workers. He saw the young workers often taking leading positions in the battles of the unskilled workers because of their militancy and their ability to speak the American language.

Comrade Ruthenberg was the dynamic force in giving political expression to the struggles of the young workers. He pointed to achievements of the Russian young workers under a workers' and farmers' government and pointed out that the final emancipation of the young workers from wage slavery can only be brought about thru a joint struggle with the adult workers to abolish capitalism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the United States he knew that much work had to be done to achieve this goal. He saw that the large masses of the potentially revolutionary young workers were still politically apathetic, still ideologically attached to the chariot of the bourgeoisie and knew that the broadest forms of activity would have to be adopted to reach them. He diligently supported the enrollment of the young workers in the campaign to develop a labor party and in the other political campaigns of the Party. Just a few days before he died Comrade Ruthenberg stressed that the League must play a leading part in the united front movement against the new war danger arising out of the Chinese, Nicaraguan and Mexican situations. He said that the young workers are the immediate sufferers in imperialist wars and it is up to us to develop the youth approaches that will rally them behind the united front.

Comrade Ruthenberg followed with keen interest the development of the Communist Children's Movement (The Young Pioneers) and was always first in rallying party support behind this movement. He was enthusiastic when he saw the Young Pioneers demonstrating at party mass meetings and when he heard reports of their school struggle activities. He saw the Young Pioneer movement as a reservoir of strength for the League and hence the Party.

Comrade Ruthenberg applied the teachings of Marx and Lenin to the specific American conditions and now that he has departed the young revolutionary workers must redouble their energies to continue his great work. He left us as our heritage the movement for which he gave his life.

In Memory of C. E. Ruthenberg.

BY JIMMY.

Dear Comrade: You who have been our leader—
We mourn you.

You have gone—yes—but your spirit lingers
Bidding us put our shoulders to the wheel
And push forward.

Ever forward to that day of Freedom
Which is our goal.

Your loss leaves a gap which we cannot fill
Your name is on every lip—your spirit in every heart—
Your message? "Courage! Go on!" Ah! yes.
But we shall never forget you, Dear Comrade
Who fought so bravely in our ranks.

YOUNG WORKER

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C. E. RUTHENBERG

THE loss which the American working class movement, and the Communist movement have sustained thru the death of Comrade Ruthenberg can only be measured in connection with the historic events of the last fifteen years, in which Ruthenberg was a central figure. The void which Comrade Ruthenberg's death has caused will be felt most acutely at a time when the working class of this country is engaged in great struggles, when he will be needed most.

Comrade Ruthenberg was a leader. He led not only in times of peace, but also in times of strife. He was not one who flashes across the horizon like a rocket, and is gone. He was not one of those who swims along with the stream. There were many occasions when he had to fight almost alone against the big majority—but it is exactly on such occasions that leadership is demonstrated. It is the duty of a Communist leader to lead, and not to follow. It is very easy to go along with the stream—but it does not require a leader to do that. And by this test, Ruthenberg was a leader.

Ruthenberg has played a dominant role in the working class movement in this country for the last fifteen years, and on every occasion where it was a question of leading in the right direction, Ruthenberg was in the forefront. In 1912, when the leadership of the Socialist Party made desperate efforts to become respectable, Ruthenberg took the lead in the fight against the Hillquits and Bergers and for the integrity of the principles of Revolutionary Socialism, and against the watering of the party with liberal doctrines and petty bourgeois membership. In 1917, when the United States entered the imperialist war, when the official leadership of the American labor movement went over part and parcel to the bourgeoisie, when large sections of the already liberalized Socialist Party turned social-patriots, Ruthenberg led the fight against the war, against betraying the working class and for the preservation of the Revolutionary principles of Socialism. In 1919 when the official Socialist Party had reached the final stage on its downward journey and turned its back on Revolutionary Socialism, Ruthenberg was the leader in the fight to break the masses away from the traitorous leaders and for the formation of a party which would really fight for the interests of the workers—the Communist Party. Ruthenberg was the tie which connected all that was best in the Socialist Party before the war with the Communist movement.

When the raids and the war hysteria came, when to declare oneself a Communist meant long jail sentences, lynchings, persecution; when many a comrade buried his principles and left the movement, Comrade Ruthenberg continued to be the leader of the revolutionary workers. Neither jail, nor threats, nor raids could daunt his courage or weaken his devotion to the cause of the workers.

We, the youth, have inherited a rich heritage from Comrade Ruthenberg. Ruthenberg was the only Socialist leader in America who carried on a real struggle against the war. Like Liebknecht, he was persecuted by the government and hated by the right wingers within the movement because of this activity. When the Socialist Party met in convention in St. Louis to consider its attitude toward the war, Ruthenberg took the lead in the demand for a clear-cut declaration against the war, and the manifesto which he drafted was adopted against the vacillation, hesitancy and even opposition of the leadership of the Socialist Party. While this resolution was filed by the Party bureaucracy and forgotten after the convention, Comrade Ruthenberg carried out its instructions in spirit and letter. He was the only one who actually led the masses of the working class in the fight against the war, and the demonstrations which he organized and led in the city of Cleveland will be remembered for ever by the revolutionary working class. For his activity against the war, he was arrested and imprisoned, but the faith that the working class possessed in him was not thereby destroyed, and upon his release, he polled 27,000 votes out of a total of 100,000 as candidate for Mayor, at the time of the worst war madness. The revolutionary youth of this country will take up the struggle where Ruthenberg left off. In the spirit of Ruthenberg we will fight till we too have earned our right to be counted amongst those who have been genuine fighters for the working class.

Ruthenberg is dead. But we do not weep. For the cause for which Ruthenberg fought still lives and grows. The Party which Ruthenberg founded will continue to carry on the struggle for the workers. The place left vacant by Ruthenberg will be taken by thousands of workers who will join the Party to carry on the work, and by thousands of young workers who will join the League to fight against militarism and war as Lenin, Liebknecht and Ruthenberg taught us to.

Long live the Communist Youth movement of America.

Long live the Communist International and its American section the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

Long live Communism.

—Herbert Zam.

Farewell, Comrade Ruthenberg

(Continued from page 1.)

and we knew that now we were assured of a national-organized left wing movement.

Then at the left wing national conference. Here I vividly recall how it was Comrade Ruthenberg who stood out as the towering revolutionist. He gave us a certain concreteness, positiveness and Bolshevik poise and confidence in our deliberations.

At the first Communist Party convention in the Smolny House on Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, in September, 1919. Here he led the struggle for the unity of all Communist forces and against the left sickness of infantile Communism. It was only when Comrade Ruthenberg declared that he would serve as secretary of the Communist Party that our first Communist Central Executive Committee in America felt sure that we were going to lay the foundations for the development of a Mass Communist Party in the United States.

The greatest forward step in the history of the American labor movement was the founding of the Communist Party. Comrade Ruthenberg was the leader of this forward step. When we speak of a Communist Party in America, the bulwark, the citadel of world imperialism, we speak of a Communist Party living and fighting under the most tremendous difficulties. The existence and growth of a Communist Party in America is of paramount international significance. Comrade Ruthenberg's decisive role in the American Communist movement, as its founder and leader, makes him an outstanding leader of the international working class movement.

No wonder that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union tells us: "We deeply grieve with you at the loss of Comrade Ruthenberg, leader of your Party and of the international labor movement, whose ashes will rest beneath the Kremlin together with the heroes of the November Revolution."

Yes, Comrade Ruthenberg died fighting and working for the victory of the American proletariat and the working class of the world.

Came the great steel strike. General Wood is leading his cohorts of highly armed, unformed, strike-breakers—American soldiers, to smash the ranks of the workers. Comrade Ruthenberg's mighty revolutionary appeal in the slogan "Fight against the government strikebreaker" aroused and inspired the thousands of steel workers of Gary to the most valiant resistance displayed in the whole strike.

Comrade Ruthenberg's courage in the class war was unbounded. Some of the best years of his life he spent in jail. There was an imperialist war; Comrade Ruthenberg was the first to go to jail in resisting it. The left wing of the Socialist Party was to be organized; Comrade Ruthenberg went to jail for playing the leading role in organizing the revolutionary forces.

I recall a scene at Bridgeman. Comrade Ruthenberg was directing the organization of the comrades leaving the grounds. I said "Come along." I begged Comrade Ruthenberg to go in our troupe. He said "No, I'll stay until all are gone. I must do that." The splendid services Comrade Ruthenberg rendered to the American working class in his exemplary conduct in the Bridgeman trial are inestimable. It was these services of Comrade Ruthenberg that made possible the legalization, at least for the present, of Communism in America.

Then the Labor Party. Here Comrade Ruthenberg was the pace-setter. The Labor Party movement in America is of immeasurable importance not only for the American working class but for the workers of the world. We need only look at America's role today to see why this is so. Above all others Comrade Ruthenberg was free from error and was the undisputed leader of our Party in arriving at a correct policy on this most important question which our Party has faced and still is facing.

Comrade Ruthenberg was a realist, in the Marxist-Leninist sense of the word. The greatest progress in the history of our Party has been made since the 1925 convention. This progress of breaking the isolation in which our Party found itself after the 1924 election, of beating back the drive to expel our members from the unions, of reorganizing the Party on the Bolshevik basis, of penetrating the basic unions of the American Federation of Labor, of leading strikes, of organizing the unorganized, in all these activities, in all this progress, Comrade Ruthenberg was the undisputed leader.

Let us listen again to some of his realistic slogans: The bourgeoisie had ordered the war; Comrade Ruthenberg replied "Down with conscription!"

There was an election campaign; Comrade Ruthenberg said to the workers "Make this election count in your fight!"

The American army was mobilized against Mexico; Comrade Ruthenberg inspired and organized thousands of workers with the slogan: "Stop the invasion of Mexico!"

Our imperialists yelled "Make the world safe for democracy!"; Comrade Ruthenberg mobilized thousands of workers under the slogan: "Make the world safe for the workers!"

Workers were being sent to jail by our war profiteers; Comrade Ruthenberg heroically replied: "We will win even in jail."

Yes, Comrade Ruthenberg was a Leninist. He understood the essence of and possessed the key to Leninism, the science of World Revolution. Comrade Ruthenberg knew how to link up the smallest, immediate, most elementary, everyday need of the workers with the biggest, most fundamental, revolutionary objectives of the whole proletariat.

Last but not least, the American working class owes primarily to the untiring energies of Comrade Ruthenberg that we today have a militant fighting Communist daily—The Daily Worker.

We will consolidate our ranks, for carrying on the revolutionary work in the indomitable spirit of Comrade Ruthenberg. His unbounded revolutionary courage will forever encourage us.

The American working class has never before witnessed so great a devotion to its class interests. This we will remember because Comrade Ruthenberg was and remains the undisputed leader of our Party—the undisputed and outstanding fighter for the interests of the working class. Comrade Ruthenberg died in overworking himself for the most living cause of the international working class—Communism.

When we feel the pains so unbearable, Comrades, we must remember that our responsibilities are increased many, many times.

For myself, as an active Party member, I hope to be worthy in my future Party work of my guide and leader, Comrade Ruthenberg. Thus this, I have no other wish. I give thanks that I have had the priceless opportunity of working so closely with the heroic leader of our Party for so many years.

Let us close our ranks in this moment of our unfathomable grief. Comrade Ruthenberg is no more. Comrade Ruthenberg has gone from our midst. My consciousness somehow or other refuses to accept his being gone. To me, the death of Comrade Ruthenberg is the most horrible crime of nature.

But let us go forward to battle with unbounded determination to win.

Yes, farewell Comrade Ruthenberg, farewell our leader!

In the next issue: Articles on the life and work of Comrade Ruthenberg by Foster, Bedacht, Darcy, Shachtman, etc.