

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

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## Unite Youth Against War and Fascism

### WHY TWO DEMONSTRATIONS? Protest the Naval Maneuvers; Demand the Freedom of the Four German Youth

On May 30th, there will be two anti-war, anti-Fascist youth demonstrations in New York City. One under the auspices of the United Youth Committee Against War and Fascism, which includes the Yipsels, S.Y.C.s, Communist Youth Opposition, Communist League of Struggle, Youth Group, Student League for Industrial Democracy, Young Circle League, etc., the other, the National Youth Day demonstration organized by the Young Communist League controlled Youth Section of the American League Against War and Fascism and other Stalinist youth groups.

Why two demonstrations on the same day for similar purposes? Who is responsible?

To state the facts at some length particularly in view of their distortion in the official Stalinist press, the "Daily Worker" and "Young Worker".

1. A representative of the New York City Committee of the S.Y.C.s appeared before the City Executive Committee of the Young Peoples Socialist League and proposed that the two organizations jointly call a conference which would organize a demonstration for the freedom of the four deported German youth, Bobzien, Hose, Liebermann and Goldstein.

The reply of the Yipsel committee was that they were already preparing for several demonstrations (May 1st, May 19th, "No More War" parade, May 30th, Mitchell Square protest against the beating of the six Yipsels last Memorial Day.) It was therefore agreed that the May 30th Mitchell Square demonstration be converted into a united front action around two major slogans: the four German youth and the six Yipsels.

Our joint sub-committee drew up a list of youth organizations to be invited. This included the National Student League. The Yipsels objected to our proposal to invite the Young Communist League and we agreed not to press the point in the committee, obviously reserving it to make our proposal at the full conference.

2. At the Conference the observers of the National Student League proposed that our conference dissolve and its constituent organizations join the conference for National Youth Day to be held May 13th. They stated that the N.S.L. had been invited at the last minute. That the Y.C.L. and similar groups were excluded from our conference.

The S.Y.C.s delegates replied by citing the letter sent to various national youth organizations, including the N.S.L. and the Y.C.L., for a national conference for the defense of the four deported German youth held in New York April 9th. Neither organization had replied to this communication.

We proposed that the conference elect a committee to meet with a similar committee of the May 13 conference to arrange one demonstration against war and Fascism under joint auspices for May 30th. This proposal was rejected by the N.S.L.ers. "Join our conference or...!"

The Yipsels introduced an amendment that we would have a united front with the Y.C.L. if they would repudiate the statements made by William Patterson, the head of the International Labor Defense, in which he attacked the signers of the protest on behalf of the four deported German youth sponsored by the Committee For Non-Partisan Labor Defense and stated that the German young workers "still remain free from jail and torture".

The amendment was criticized by the Spartacus delegates as an ultimatum which could only stand in the way of unity. After heated discussion and a recess, the Yipsels withdrew their amendment and the original motion for common action accepted unanimously.

The conference further decided that since the name "National Youth Day" was intimately connected with only one section of the movement, the Stalinist Y.C.L. and its auxiliaries we propose a mutually acceptable name for the demonstration other than National Youth Day.

(continued on page 4)

## Troops Fire on Striking Workers

Minneapolis and Toledo! Two mighty posts in the growing militant strike wave of the American workers! The workers demand union recognition and increased wages. The bosses and their government reply with special thugs, National Guardsmen, terror. In Toledo two were killed and nearly 200 injured in the five day struggle. On the west coast a young longshoreman was murdered.

Several workers were shot in the Lauringburg, North Carolina, textile strike. An eighteen-year-old worker, Aubrey Waters, is not expected to recover. In New Orleans, in Frisco, in Cleveland, everywhere the workers are meeting bosses' terrorism with militant resistance.

All this in peaceful, in democratic America! The master class fears union organization. The steel magnates openly proclaim that they will not permit the unionization of "their property". And President Roosevelt told us that the NRA gave the workers the right to organize unions!

The workers are awakening. They are

As millions parade in the jingoist Memorial Day on May 30th, tens of thousands of young workers and students will demonstrate throughout the country against bosses' war and Fascism. In 1934 the American ruling class has prepared its largest peace-time war budget. Roosevelt talks disarmament while he builds a navy "second to none", an air force which other imperialist powers will fear, armaments which can be used to defend the interests of the Morgans, Rockfellers and Mellons.

### PROTEST THE NAVAL MANEUVERS!

On May 31st Roosevelt will review the entire navy fleet in New York harbor. This naval maneuver is intended to arouse a spirit of chauvanistic pride in the youth and show all the naval strength of the government.

These forces are used to keep in subjection the peoples of Latin America. Roosevelt has with them imposed on the Cuban people reactionary puppet governments which murder the rebellious workers, peasants and students.

At the same time Fascist and semi-Fascist groups are appearing in greater number and wider influence in the United States. Since the victory of Hitlerism in Germany last year Fascism has crushed the working class in one country after

another in Europe. In Austria, Latvia, Bulgaria these reactionary forces have murdered and tortured workers and destroyed their organizations.

### DEFEND THE FOUR GERMAN YOUTH!

No country is safe from this menace. "Democratic" Holland has shown this influence by the deportation of four German young workers, who were attending a world youth conference, to Fascist Germany. Hitler now threatens to execute the leaders of the German Communist Party, Thaelmann and Torgler.

Reaction is not new in the United States. Symbolic is the beatings of six young Socialists last Memorial Day, in Mitchell Square, New York, by American Legionnaires. As the fleet enters New York for its review by Roosevelt, as the final preparations are being made for Memorial Day, National Guardsmen, local police and armed thugs are shooting and murdering striking workers in numerous cities. The military under capitalism is used against the workers at home, the colonial peoples and the rival imperialists.

### BUILD THE UNITED FRONT!

In 1934 the militant youth demonstrating against war and Fascism are still divided. They will demonstrate under different conference banners. It is our duty to fight relentlessly so that henceforth there will be united front in action of all militant youth organizations.

This is the crying need of the moment. The welding force, the organizer of such a movement can only be a working class party (and a youth league) which stands on a revolutionary Marxist, a Communist, program. Towards this end we must rededicate ourselves.

### FORWARD TO A UNITED FRONT AGAINST BOSSES' WARS AND FASCISM!

### PROTEST THE NAVAL MANEUVERS OF MAY 31st!

### DEFEND THAELMANN AND TORGLER!

### DEFEND THE FOUR DEPORTED GERMAN YOUTH!

### PROTEST THE USE OF MILITARY FORCES AGAINST STRIKERS!

### DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION, THE FARTHERLAND OF THE WORKING CLASS!

### BUILD THE SPARTACUS YOUTH MOVEMENT AS THE DEFENDER OF THE INTERESTS OF THE YOUNG WORKERS!

# Principles of Internationalist-Communist Youth

## DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF THE I.C.L. YOUTH TO THE INTERNATIONAL YOUTH CONFERENCE AT AMSTERDAM—February 24-25-26, 1934

1. By the composition of the different participating organizations, the present conference has for its origin the same facts, the same conditions, which were at the bottom of the International Conference of Independent Revolutionary Socialist Parties which took place in Paris on the 27th and 28th of August, 1933. The present conference is its complement, or reflection.

As Bolshevik-Leninist Youth, we take completely as our own, the Declaration made to that conference by our international organizations: On the basis of the failures of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals we must put on the order of the day the necessity for building a new revolutionary international.

2. World capitalism has been now for some years in a stage of decomposition. It can find no progressive outlet from the terrible impasse which the system of profit and exploitation has brought it. There remains only one solution; the transformation of the social order of capitalism into the social order of socialism or communism. This task belongs to the revolutionary proletariat. On the basis of capitalism, there is no solution. There is only war and the violent reaction of Fascism. This is precisely what is happening. The decay of the capitalist order has pushed the class struggle to a pyramidal point. There are two roads to take: (1) the revolutionary internationalist road which will bring about the end of capitalism and the establishment of the new social order, and (2) the national, chauvinistic road which prepares and makes possible the advent of Fascism, whose task it is to maintain the order of capitalism.

There is no middle ground in this historic conflict. The position of revolutionary internationalism is the hope for humanity. The position of nationalism, no matter what the form may be, can result only in the prolonged life of capitalism, defeat of the proletariat, and usher in the reign of brutal fascism. This is not the first time the proletariat has been confronted with the choice of two weapons. Since the birth of the modern proletariat, there has always existed a conflict between nationalism (the influence of capitalism in the workers' movement) and genuine proletarian internationalism, for which there remained but one solution, one aim: the world overthrow of capitalism by revolutionary means. Before the proletarian youth of the world there lies the choice which road to take. It shall and it must take the road of internationalism. There is no hope in any other method. Herein lies the future.

3. Since the proletariat has been organized politically on the basis of scientific socialism, that is, since the foundation of the Communist League of 1847, the international working class movement has passed through great victories and great defeats. There was first the Paris Commune. Its defeat brought with it the dissolution of the 1st International. There followed a long period of the world expansion of capitalism. This growth was characterized also by a tremendous growth of the workers' movement. The 2nd International was born; it carried on an enormous propaganda work and won millions of proletarians to its side. It was a period in which the principles of scientific socialism laid down by Marx and Engels were widely popularized. But capitalism raised its own support in the very ranks of the 2nd International. The labor aristocracy formed the basis of the growth of chauvinism in the workers' movement and gave expression to its pro-capitalist ideology in the support of the

imperialist conflict of 1914-18. In this crucial period, the workers of the world were betrayed. The 2nd International succumbed and was overcome by opportunism and social patriotism (national socialism). But the war also gave birth to the Russian Revolution of October 1917 and the overthrow of many powerful monarchies of Central Europe. The international proletariat rose up anew. Upon the ruins of the 2nd International, overcome by opportunism, social patriotism, ministerialism, arose the third, the Communist International, whose task it declared to be the international revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

4. But the Communist International whose task it was to extend the October Revolution on a world scale, to enlarge the dictatorship of the proletariat, has failed in this task. It has failed in this task because of the degeneration of its leadership, concentrated in the hands of the Soviet bureaucracy, both in principle and practice. One of the decisive reasons for this decadence of the Communist International resulted from the failure of the revolution to arrive in western Europe, during the years of 1918-23. Since that time, what was lacking in Europe as well as in the Far East, was not proper objective conditions for a victory of the proletariat, but a leadership capable of assuring such a victory. The degeneration of the Communist International has taken the form summed up in the application of the theory of "Socialism in One Country". Once again, the abandonment of the international outlook, the reliance upon national forces and frontiers, that is: We have seen once more, the betrayal of the internationalist conception founded by Marxism as the necessary instrument to guarantee the victory of the proletariat and to establish the classless society. Again, the International has died, overcome by national conceptions which brought about the surrender of the international struggle in favor of the interests of the struggle in one country. It manifested itself further in the: (a) bureaucratic regime of the Party, (b) splitting of the trade unions (red trade union oppositions), (c) the betrayal of the colonial revolutions (China, India), (d) false understanding and mis-application of the united front tactic, most strikingly illustrated in Germany, (e) complete bankruptcy in the struggle against war and fascism (masquerade congresses), etc. The fundamental conclusions to be drawn from the experiences of the last ten years of struggle are summed up in the form of the eleven points of the pre-conference of the International Left Opposition.

5. Up to recently, the International Left Opposition (today the I. C. L.), under whose banner we stand, considered the Communist Party as its own, in spite of its errors in policy and action, and fought, as a faction, for the regeneration of the C. I., for the return to the fundamental concepts of the first four congresses of the C. I.

Now that the complete bankruptcy of the German C. P. and the C. I. has been clearly established (they still maintain that no errors were committed by them in Germany) through the tragic experiences of the German proletariat, our task consists of re-establishing once again the international leadership of the proletariat, to forge the new Party, the Party of world revolution, the Party of International communism. The first steps accomplished in this direction (the agreement of the four organizations at the Paris conference) are a beginning full of hope for all the revolutionary workers. We must work on this task in order to guarantee the working class its world party, the International.

6. Following the German catastrophe we observe an enormous rise of centrist tendencies. Many of the old Social Demo-

cratic parties dare not openly to proclaim reformism. Wells, Blum and Vandervelde declare that reformism is dead. They replace reformism by centrism, which means that they continue real reformist politics but hide it under revolutionary phraseology.

The centrists call for action and demand a "struggle to the end", yet, when faced with the question of how to lead the struggle their real character is revealed. They hesitate, they fear principles, they fear to take decisive, clear and bold steps, they fear above all to burn the bridges behind them. They hide their lack of perspectives and lack of assurance behind sentimental demands for "organic unity" between the organizations which stabbed the proletariat in the back, as if the summing up of the errors and crimes of the two bankrupt internationals could lead the proletariat to anything but catastrophe.

The revolutionary youth must consider this phraseology with the greatest distrust, and continually show the contradiction between this phraseology and political action.

7. If in the 1st International there was no separate youth movement, the epoch of imperialism marked the birth of the first organizations of the proletarian youth. In the midst of the 2nd International there were the rising generations, the youth federations, which were uninfluenced by parliamentarism and conservatism, and made up the largest sector of the left wing of the workers' movement. The filthy betrayal of the social-democratic parties during the imperialist war of 1914-18 led to a split within the social democratic parties which were working in active collaboration with their respective bourgeoisies, and the Socialist youth federations which took a position against the imperialist war at the Berne Conference (1915). Whereas almost all the social democratic parties passed over openly to the side of the bourgeoisie, the majority of the proletarian youth organizations, the International of Socialist Youth, remained loyal to the principles of revolutionary class struggle. It was these organizations which formed the Young Communist International in 1919. And the latter, which was supposed to carry through its revolutionary continuity by reassembling the broad masses of proletarian youth, through education, theoretical and practical, prepare the reserves of the workers' army, has failed in its duty, because it was trampled underfoot by Stalinist revisionism.

The reformist and Stalinist youth organizations are incapable of leading or organizing the proletarian youth in the spirit of international revolutionary struggle, based on the unshakable foundations of Marxist theory. When the German tragedy demonstrated clearly the consequences of the reformist policy, nearly all the sections of the Y.S.I. remained "solemnly and immovably devoted to the principles of democracy" and waited, as in Austria, until it was too late, before resorting to revolutionary violence in opposition to entrenched reaction; or preached, the "defense of the democratic country" against the invasion of the Hitler bands, as if this were the only threat to the Austrian proletariat. Although in some sections (France, Poland, Belgium and Spain) there is an expression of willingness to struggle against capitalism, the Y.S.I. under the influence of reformism can lead the youth only to ignominious capitulation.

By its unconditional surrender to the Soviet bureaucracy and its reactionary anti-internationalist theory and practice of socialism in one country, the Y.C.I. has in reality renounced its program. It has failed in its tasks, be it the winning of broad masses of young workers, the revolutionary education of the youth, the struggle against war, work in the trade

unions, among the students and peasant youth. But it attempts to hide these failures with high sounding slogans and wearisome phraseology. It is clearly to be observed that in all capitalist countries its organizations are merely vast sieves, incapable of holding the youth who join under the impetus of objective conditions.

The bankruptcy of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals means at the same time the bankruptcy of their youth organizations. The revolutionary party ought to constitute the true leader of the revolutionary struggle and consequently the leader of the youth organizations; the failure of the party as an historic revolutionary factor means automatically the failure of the youth organization.

8. During the imperialist war the youth played a foremost part in the regeneration of the entire workers' movement. Today, the regeneration of the international working class movement and the creation of a new international are inconceivable without the awakening, the reassembling, the reorganization of proletarian youth. In reality there does not exist a revolutionary youth international, and the sharpening class conflict demands, without equivocation, such an organization.

9. This whole situation throws upon us the task of attempting at all costs to instill the proletarian youth with a clear class consciousness and to give it a separate organization, an organization which will undertake to re-assemble the youth under the banner of the new international and to raise cadres in order to assure the historic continuity of the proletarian struggle until the abolition of classes.

10. It is our firm belief that the joint declaration of four organizations, Independent Socialist Party (Holland), Revolutionary Socialist Party (Holland), Socialist Workers Party (Germany), International Communist League (Paris conference clearly) to the Fourth International which is stated by the whole course of events: on the basis of a break with and an implacable struggle against reformism, centrism and bureaucratic centrism, we must unite the healthy forces of the proletarian movement for the creation of the new International upon whom will depend the future of the revolution and of the proletariat.

11. To the subordination of the Young Socialist International to reformism, and to social patriotism; and to the subordination of the Young Communist International to the Soviet bureaucracy, to socialism in one country (National reformism), we must counterpose the regeneration of the international youth movement on the basis of proletarian internationalism, built on the granite foundations of Marxist theory and enriched by a century of experiences of proletarian struggle, above all the Russian Revolution, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. And more, the regeneration of the international youth movement, that is, the building of a new revolutionary youth international, cannot be accomplished on the basis of the political and organizational teachings of the two bankrupt youth internationals. The Declaration of the Four concretized clearly the political and organizational concepts fitting to the experiences of the international working class movement which alone could serve as the basis of work in the creation of the new international and consequently its youth section. In addition we have the splendid instructions of the 2nd and 3rd Congresses of the Y. C. I., which by and large serve as a guide for specific youth work.

12. The present conference will have been historically justified if it can lay the basis of a working collaboration towards the direction of this new interna-

(continued on page 4)

BOOK REVIEW

The Arms Racket

"When in 1914 the Kaiser's armies marched westward into Belgium and eastward toward Russia, German soldiers were killed by German guns manned by the armies of King Albert and Czar Nicholas II. . . . On a village green in rural England stands a War Memorial: a cannon captured by the local regiment from the Germans. On one side of the cannon are engraved the names of the English soldiers who were killed in that advance. On the other side is the manufacturer's name: The English Vickers, Ltd."

These striking facts are among the many to be found in the abundance of pamphlets and books recently issued on armaments. "Arms and the Men" (Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc.)—from which the above is quoted—"Patriotism Ltd" and "The Secret International" (published by the Union of Democratic Control—London, England) are outstanding in this field.

The munition producers are internationalists to the core! They sell arms to the enemy country, before or even during war; they help build up war industries in all countries—regardless of whom the victims of the deadly products may be. One motive runs through all their actions—as the actions of their capitalist brothers in other industries—profits, more profits, greater profits.

The pamphlets under review cover the main munition firms in the world: Vickers Ltd (England), Krupp (Germany), Schneider-Creusot (France), Skoda (Czecho-Slovakia), Mitsui (Japan) and Bethlehem Steel (United States). In all cases these firms are directly connected with the bankers, steel magnates and politicians. In Europe there is a definite connection among the companies through individuals being on boards of directors at the same time.

Contracts and agreements are made on paper to these modern knights. The striking incident that England and Germany were at war in 1914-1917 could not stand in the way of Vickers Ltd. War time or peace time, profits must go on!

Munitions were shipped through the neutral country, Sweden. Or the Versailles Treaty limitation on German rearmament was overcome by secret shipment of munitions—with the knowledge of the British government! When no big wars are on, small wars are either manufactured or encouraged—by large-scale expensive propaganda, and the sale of munitions to both sides of the fight—witness the Chaco War.

CAPITALISM BRINGS WARS

What most of these writings fail to see or emphasize is that while munition interests may foster, intensify and prolong wars, the real cause for military conflict among nations lies deeper: in the very parasitic, exploiting system of wage slavery, capitalism. The national capitalists seek markets for their surplus goods and capital that they cannot sell or invest at home. Since the markets of the world are limited and have been divided among the robber nations, an increase of one group is at the expense of the other. When one group cannot achieve its aims peacefully, around the conference tables, it resorts to violent means, to war.

Nor do we find in these pamphlets any detailed information on the connection of the munition producers with the powerful business, industrial and banking interests of the country. This important phase of the problem is skimmed over. For example, the connections between Bethlehem Steel and E. L. du Pont Nemours Co. in the United States with the basic interests of the country, steel railroads, automobile and banking. This job is yet to be done.

What is the solution to the growth of armaments and the entire munition racket? Disarmament conferences? These are nothing but sham pantomimes which

I COVER THE WAR FRONT

BY SPARTACUS

WHAT? NO MORE ARMS FOR THE CHACO WAR?

So Roosevelt after all is for peace. He is going to stop the war in South America, between Bolivia and Paraguay over Chaco, by prohibiting the shipment of munitions from this country to either side. Well, it seems that we were all wrong about the President.

Wrong we may be—show us if you can!—but not in this case—not by a long shot! Even in this peace step Roosevelt is serving his true masters, the Rockefellers and the Morgans. Proof? Easy enough; we need but quote:

"It was considered probable (merely probable!) that the haste displayed by the administration (in getting an embargo on arms shipments—S.) has been due to the expectation of a Paraguayan victory in the extensive fighting around Fort Canada. This, in the opinion of experts here, would open the road to Paraguayan troops to the oil fields and refinery of the Standard Oil Company of Bolivia." (New York Times, May 23, 1934).

So Rockefeller does not dictate to Roosevelt! Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company of Bolivia has been supplying 400,000 gallons of oil a month to the Bolivian army during the war. If Paraguay captures the fields, Rockefeller's oil, investments, profits are threatened (or as we are accustomed to hear it: American oil, American investments, American profits are in danger!) Roosevelt serves his master!

JAPAN ISSUES WARNING

With sweeping arrogance Japan, last month, told the other imperialist powers to keep hands off China. This crack was

not a real war program. Look at Roosevelt's plans for limitation of arms and his tremendous war budget. This farce of disarmament has gone so far that the reactionary, semi-Fascist veterans have recently called for disarmament! Of course their resolution contained not a word about France's feverish war preparations!

Some propose state monopoly of armaments production. This is the position of "The Union of Democratic Control" and is already being hinted at in the United States by Senator Nye who is in charge of the munition-investigation committee. Most governments already have control of munition production and export.

"So far the steps taken towards public control of armaments are only laughable. Armament manufacturers have not been in any way inconvenienced as a result of the acceptance by the British and several other governments of a rule that the manufacture and export of arms must be licensed by the State. So far this rule has been carried out to the complete satisfaction of manufacturers and governments. It is, in fact, nothing but a war provision." (The Secret International—page 46.—Our emphasis).

REVOLUTION AGAINST WAR

If the governments would take over the complete business, would the problem be solved? Hardly. The basic causes of war would still exist; the governments are nothing but executive committees of the ruling classes. But one need not worry about this possibility; it is either a dream of middle class elements or outright fakery of militarists and politicians.

Events will move in a different direction. It is up to us to answer with a decisive "Yes" the question posed at the conclusion of "The Secret International": ". . . may not the next appeal to the warlike passions of the nations prove and justifiably prove to be the signal not for war, but for revolution?"

particularly aimed at the United States. The American government and capitalists have been building munition apparatuses, granting loans and helping rearm the Chinese government—in order to reap big profits and to counter-act Japan's gobbling up of China.

Roosevelt's government came back with a snappy reply. Japan hastened to "explain": Her interest in China was no different from that of the U. S. in Latin America! In other words, if American imperialism can have free play to oppress the peoples of the American continent, why should not the Japanese have the same rights in the Far East? No spokesman of Washington has yet replied, in verbal or written form, to this argument!

ROOSEVELT'S REAL REPLY

Roosevelt's comeback takes far more definite form: Plans to fortify Alaska by naval planes and vessels. ("Japan means to take control of all the fishing in Bristol Bay" says Congressman Sivovich). Five naval planes, six vessels and about 500 are "surveying the territory". The big naval building program, the fleet maneuver to be held in N. Y. on May 31 and the preparedness of the country for war: These are Roosevelt's replies.

MUNITION PRODUCERS KNOW NO FATHERLAND!

Faced with a coming armed conflict between the U. S. and Japan E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Co., a powerful American munition producer, connected with General Motors, is helping in building war industries in Japan. The liberals and

pacifists are amazed; the daily press feigns indignation; Congressional investigations are threatened. Even the du Pont company issues some meaningless denial.

Now why all this fuss! If du Pont does not make investments or sell munitions to Japan, China, Bolivia and Paraguay—very impartially—how can they pay big dividends?

Income and dividends tell the story of success and failure. Du Pont's figures, including General Motors, show:

Income from Operations	
(After provision for depreciation and obsolescence of plants and equipments)	
First Quarter 1934 . . . . .	\$8,813,143
First Quarter 1933 . . . . .	2,369,570
Dividends	
First Quarter 1934 . . . . .	\$9,982,944
or 90c per share of stock.	
First Quarter 1933 . . . . .	\$3,825,428
or 35c per share of stock.	

And we are still in an economic depression! Wait until "we" get started!

WHO FIGHTS THE WARS?

Memorial Day began as a commemoration of the fallen soldiers of the Civil War. It is appropriate to recall the "patriotic services" of the founders of the present respectable "Houses" of Morgan, Mellon and their kind. Patriotic gentlemen bought from the government \$17,486 in defective arms, which would shoot off the fingers of the soldiers using them, and sold the same arms back to the same government for \$109,912. What are a few dead soldiers as compared to profits for the parasites!

The sons of the rich did not have to enter the Civil War. They could buy a substitute—buy a life of a poor young worker in the war to abolish slavery! The "American Guardian", (April 20, 1934) a mid-western Socialist paper, quotes a letter written during this period by the father of the present multi-millionaire, Andrew Mellon, to one of his sons: "I had hoped," wrote the old gent to his son, James Mellon, then in Wisconsin, "my boy was going to make a smart, intelligent business man and was not such a goose as to be seduced from duty by the declamation of buncombe speeches. It is only greenhorns who enlist. You can learn nothing in the army. . . . Here there is no credit attached to going. All now stay if they can and go if they must. Those who are able to pay for substitutes, do so, and no discredit attaches. In time you will come to understand and believe that a man may be a patriot without risking his own life or sacrificing his health. There are plenty of other lives less valuable or others ready to serve for the love of country."

For the love of country! The Mellons and Morgans will celebrate Memorial Day by placing weaths on the graves of the Civil War soldiers many of whom served as their substitutes or were killed by the use of defective guns which their fathers sold.

For the love of country they sent thousands of American boys across to fight their war for profits. For love of country they are now preparing to plunge the new generation of youth into a world slaughter. What patriotic, self-sacrificing gentlemen!

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August 4th, 1914

Go fight, you fools! Tear up the earth with strife

And spill each others guts upon the field;

Serve unto death the men you served in life

So that their wide dominions may not yield.

Stand by the flag—the lie that still allures;

Lay down your lives for land you do not own,

And give unto a war that is not yours

Your gory tithe of mangled flesh and bone.

But whether it be yours to fall or kill

You must not question why nor where.

You see the tiny crosses on that hill?

It took all those to make one millionaire.

The bugle screams, the cannons cease to roar.

"Enough! enough! God give us peace again."

The rats, the maggots and the Lords of War

Are fat to bursting from their meal of men.

So stagger back, you stupid dupes who've "won",

Back to your stricken towns to toil anew,

For there your dismal tasks are still undone

And grim Starvation gropes again for you.

Then you will find that "nation" is a name

And boundaries are things that don't exist;

That Labor's bondage, worldwide, is the same,

And ONE the enemy it must resist.

RALPH CHAPLIN, Montreal, 1914

# Why Two Anti-War Demonstrations on May 30th

(continued from page 1)

Further, that a common leaflet be issued clearly stating that the demonstration is being arranged by a joint committee of the two conferences.

The United Youth Conference accepted a number of definite slogans under the general head of "Against War and Fascism", which dealt with the naval maneuvers in N. Y., the four German youth, the six Yipsels, the murder of the Cuban students. These were to be proposed to the joint arrangements committee.

3. Our Conference committee informed the committee for the May 13th Conference of our decisions for united front and our action in sending a delegation to their Conference. Despite this, the May 13th Conference went ahead with its regular agenda and only after it had practically exhausted its routine business it permitted our delegation to present its position.

The Conference accepted our proposal for a joint demonstration and empowered its incoming committee to work with ours.

4. On May 15th the two committees were to meet. When our committee attempted to make joint arrangements for the agenda, it was told that we were to make our proposals for the demonstration when that point is reached by the arrangements committee of the May 13th conference.

It was clear that the Stalinists were opposed to a joint arrangements committee. After a while they agreed that it would be a joint meeting.

5. It was agreed that the slogans of the demonstration would be: Against War and Fascism, on the naval maneuvers, Cuban students and masses, etc. The

## Two Spartacans Arrested

SAN FRANCISCO, May 28.—Eleanor Booth and Florence Wyle, each 21, members of the Communist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs were arrested today for distributing leaflets to the striking longshoremen. The handbills urged the strikers to "stand firm and united" and to pay no attention to mediators. They were signed by the Communist League of America.

These arrests took place in the midst of intense fighting between the longshoremen and the police. Tear gas bombs greeted the 2,000 pickets. Drawn pistols, sawed-off shot guns and machine guns were held in readiness by the police.

The NRA and the employers are doing everything possible to break the strike of the 25,000 longshoremen of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles.

## Communist Youth Principles

(continued from page 2)

tional organization, which is dictated to us by the entire march of events. Only a healthy and clear discussion and a confrontation of the political positions of the various organizations on this problem and their verification in the light of the experience of the struggle, will be able to lay the grounds for such an agreement.

Comrades! The present generation is living through historic days. These are decisive moments. We have tremendous tasks to perform. Our generation must respond to the demands of the situation. We must lend all our strength to the creation of this new international of the world proletariat. We must create the new youth international. Our generation must be educated and trained for these gigantic struggles. It must be in a position to solve them and solve them victoriously. Let our creative work live up to the level of our responsibilities!

Forward in the spirit of revolutionary internationalism, in the spirit of those great champions of the proletarian youth,

**Stalinists rejected the two main slogans of our committee: on the four German youth and the six Yipsels.**

Their arguments are interesting: The names of the four deported German youth were unknown. When their names were given, the argument was changed. There are thousands of anti-Fascist victims, why select four? Our reply was that there were thousands of labor prisoners in the U. S. yet we have special slogans and conferences for Mooney.

We had previously included "Free Thaelman and Torgler" among our slogans. This was also rejected on the grounds that the Youth Section of the American League Against War and Fascism was non-partisan (!) and therefore could not mention the names of specific political leaders! It was pointed out that the May 13th Conference of the American League had accepted a resolution for the freedom of Thaelman (Torgler was not mentioned!). When this was denied by Jim Lerner of the American League, the "Daily Worker" was quoted and the Stalinists shamefacedly kept quiet but refused to change their actions!

Their proposal was the vague slogan, "Defend the Anti-Fascist Fighters". After explaining that we did not believe that they had stated their real reasons for rejecting our slogans, which were factional ones, our Committee agreed to withdraw these slogans—with the understanding that our section of the demonstration would carry them.

**Is better proof needed of our desire for united action than the withdrawal of the two main slogans of our conference?**

6. The real issue of conflict again arose: a joint demonstration or the fusion of the United Youth Committee into the National Youth Day Committee? We presented our proposal for a joint name other than National Youth Day, joint publicity, and a common leaflet issued by a joint committee which would be clear that the two conferences were working together.

The Stalinists insisted on National Youth Day. It was a tradition of the young workers, supported by thousands, etc. The so-called tradition was discussed including last year's violation of agreements in New York National Youth Day demonstration, the tearing up of YOUNG SPARTACUS, etc.

Another reason was added: The May 13th Conference had instructed them to organize "National Youth Day". They could not change the decision of the

Conference. What non-Stalinist organization could possibly have objected to having a mutually acceptable name for the sake of a common demonstration? None!

The Stalinists finally "conceded". We could call the demonstration anything we want; they would call it "National Youth Day"! And this stupid proposal in the name of common action, united front! It could lead to nothing but friction, difficulty and possibly actual conflict at the demonstration.

On the matter of a common leaflet the Stalinists were divided among themselves. (Their final decision as stated in the "Daily Worker" in a negative manner and by their representatives on other occasions was against a common leaflet.)

The joint meeting was at a standstill. A recess failed to help. The United Youth Committee stated that it was ready to meet again with the N. Y. D. committee the next evening. That meanwhile they should consult the organizations of the May 13th conference and bring before them our proposals. The Stalinists replied, like big hearted fellows, that if we changed our minds we could join "their demonstration." The meeting was then adjourned by the chairman. (According to the Stalinists we "walked out" of the committee meeting!)

Our proposal for a meeting the next evening was repeated to John Marks of the Y.C.L. and it was agreed that he or Lerner would telephone us the next evening at 7.

7. Our committee met on Wednesday evening, May 16th. When no phone call came from the Stalinists we reached them by phone and were informed that their position of the previous evening was unchanged. Our committee decided to reiterate its position in a letter to the National Youth Day Committee which included the right of the Stalinists to call their section of the demonstration "National Youth Day Section".

This letter was sent by messenger but the office of the American League was closed. After our meeting we read the next day's issue of the "Daily Worker" (May 17th) which contained an article headed "Y.P.S.L. Leaders Split National Youth Day Unity in Committee" and attacked "the Socialist-renegade clique".

**The article had been written before 7 o'clock—before we were notified of the final action of the Stalinists and while our committee was still considering ways and means of achieving unity!**

## Young Workers Protest Nazi Rallies

NEW YORK CITY.—Militantly shouting "Down with Fascism", over a thousand militant workers paraded on May 17th in the counter demonstration to the Nazis' Madison Square Garden meeting. Led by the Communist League of America, the Young People's Socialist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs, the anti-Fascists defied the 1,000 police and their regulations by marching around the Garden, up and down Eighth Avenue and Broadway.

All attempts to break the line of march were unsuccessful. A mass meeting was held near Times Square addressed by representatives of the Yipsels, the American Workers Party, the Young Communist League as well as Carl Cowl of the Communist League and Joe Carter of the Spartacus Youth Clubs. A defense corps for the speakers succeeded in warding off police attempts to break up the meeting. Later several young workers were arrested. Others were beaten up in the court room. The cops took revenge.

This demonstration should be the starting point of the real united front against Fascism.

PHILADELPHIA.—A group of young Socialists and Spartacans massed together in front of Turngemeinde Hall to demonstrate against the Fascist tendencies as expressed by the Friends of New Germany. A picket line was immediately formed and marched back and forth before the entrance to the hall, shouting slogans, distributing leaflets, and singing revolutionary songs.

Along towards the end of the meeting four or five cops swept down upon the picket line and with an energetic stream of invective threats, told the comrades in no uncertain terms to "scram". When the comrades stood their ground, the cops became hysterical, started to draw their night-sticks, and out-did themselves in the use of profanity.

Though forced to walk around the block, this did not deter the comrades from booing the cops and shouting: "Down with Hitler".

The immediate result of the mobilization was to initiate a closer bond between the S.Y.C. and the Y.P.S.L., and to demonstrate that united youth action against Fascism is possible in spite of the sabotage of the Y.C.L.

8. Nevertheless, the next day our delegation brought our letter to Jim Lerner. They asked for a written reply. He claimed that he did not have any. He replied verbally in answer to questions that they were opposed to dropping "National Youth Day" as the name of the common demonstration and opposed to a common leaflet and publicity.

The next day their "reply" appeared in the form of a letter to the members of the Y.P.S.L., the Young Circle League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy. **To the members of three of the organizations of our conference, not to organizations or to our conference!**

It was more than obvious that these people were afraid of a real united front!

9. But they have to explain all this to their followers. The slander machine of the Stalinists is put in full motion. John Marks, national organizational secretary of the Y.C.L., is entrusted with the real job: To slander the Spartacus Youth Clubs (the "Trotskyites") as anti-Soviet youth. (Daily Worker, May 19th).

Why did Lerner and Marks reject the slogan proposed by the Spartacus Youth Clubs at the joint meeting, of "Defense of the Soviet Union" instead of the vague and meaningless slogan of "Support the peace policies of the Soviet Union"? Lerner explained it at the meeting. The "Defense of the Soviet Union" was a **communist** slogan and therefore could not be supported by the American League Against War and Fascism! The Yipsels supported it. The American League objected! No attempt was then made to call us "anti-Soviet"!

10. In summary. It was the S.Y.C.s that proposed to the United Youth Committee a common demonstration with the Stalinists on May 30th. It was the United Youth Committee that approached the May 13th Conference of the Stalinists. We were ready to concede on every point except one:

**WE WANTED A GENUINE UNITED FRONT, A COMMON DEMONSTRATION RUN BY A JOINT COMMITTEE AND NOT AN INVITATION TO JOIN THE STALINIST NATIONAL YOUTH DAY CONFERENCE AND DEMONSTRATION.**

The Spartacus Youth Clubs will continue to fight for the united front. We have succeeded in getting the New York Yipsels to agree to common action which would include the Stalinist youth on the basis of genuine united front agreements—a step which is in violation of their National Committee decision and even runs counter to the sentiment among sections of the Yipsels who still remember the shameful Madison Square Garden affair.

Forward to the United Youth Demonstration Against War and Fascism! Forward to an all-inclusive genuine united front!

—N. Y. CITY COMMITTEE  
SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUBS

## Mooney Plea Rejected

Tom Mooney has been denied a writ of habeas corpus by the Federal District judge of California. Such a writ would have put the State of California on the defensive to show cause why Mooney should not be freed. This would expose the entire rotten frame-up against the working class militant.

The case will go to the Supreme Court on the basis of a mistrial, perjured witnesses, violation of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States that a State shall not "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law."

This amendment has not interfered with the railroading of Mooney and Billings and thousands of other labor prisoners. Only mass protest can free these victims of capitalism.