

CLARITY!

YOUNG SPARTACUS

ACTION!

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, unite!

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Unite to Smash Fascism!

Forward to Communist Unity and Common Action of All Workingclass Organizations

The Communist International's silence has been broken! For over three and a half years the Left Opposition led by comrade Trotsky has hammered, persistently and loudly, for a Marxian program against the growing danger of Fascism in Germany. We made this the center of all our agitation and propaganda. The tactic of the united front of the Communist party, Social Democratic party and the trades unions was urged as the unifying method which would wield the working masses against the enemy which threatens all.

The Left Opposition's proposals were called "counter-revolutionary". Our struggle against the false theory of "social Fascism" and the "united front from below" has won for us the epithet "Left social Fascist". But epithets solve nothing. Life itself has vindicated the analyses of the Bolshevik-Leninists.

Hitler has come to power. The working class organizations are being destroyed. Communist and Socialist workers are being murdered. It must be said openly that the treacherous policies of the Stalinist leaders of the official Communist movement combined with the criminal tactics of the Social Democracy are responsible for this situation.

As early as January of last year com-

rade Trotsky wrote: "The about-face of the Stalinists is inevitable."... "The correctness of our position will become apparent in action with each passing day. When the ceiling overhead bursts into flame, the most stubborn bureaucrats must need forget about prestige. Even genuine privy councilors, in such situations, jump out of windows in their underwear. The pedagogy of facts will come to the assistance of our criticism." (What Next?—Page 182-3-4.)

Valuable time has been lost. The theory of the Stalinists, originated by the big chief himself, that Fascism and Social Democracy are "twin brothers", the latter being social Fascists, that is Fascists who use Socialist phrases, made it impossible for the Communists to utilize the differences between the two. The elementary fact that Fascism means the destruction of all organizations based on the working class, including Social Democracy, was overlooked. Instead, at a time when Fascism was growing and as late as the Twelfth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (Sept. 1932) and later, the view was expounded that Social Democracy must be smashed first before the immediate Fascist danger could be crushed.

In 1929 Wilhelm Pieck, one of the leaders of the German Communist Party wrote: "Social Democracy has become an integral part of the State apparatus and is growing more and more ripe to play the chief part should a Fascist form of government be established." (Labour Monthly—June 1929—Our Emphasis.)

Has Rakovsky Been Murdered

Comrade Christian Rakovsky, according to an Associated Press dispatch reporting an interview with L. D. Trotsky, was recalled to Moscow from exile and assassinated. The official Communist party press has neither affirmed or denied this report.

The irresponsible party bureaucrats, and unfortunately the young comrades in the movement, shrug their shoulders: Well, what of it? Who was Rakovsky anyway?

That is the poisonous training that the present official party regime is responsible for. A loyal fighter for several decades, a courageous warrior before and during the World War, a leader of the Red Army and the Russian revolution, one of the founders of the Communist International, a revolutionary diplomat and a staunch, unrelenting Bolshevik-Lenin-

A few months later, Thaelmann proclaimed: "The latest development in Germany, particularly, shows the growing fusion of national with social Fascism", and that "it is very difficult to maintain the line of separation between the development of a social Fascist dictatorship, when it has reached the stage, as in Germany, of a social democratic government using the most reactionary weapons of violence and the methods of Fascist dictatorship." (Communist International—Vol. VII, No. 4).

How could a united front of the Communist and Social Democratic parties be proposed under such conditions? It was impossible.

The "united front from below under revolutionary leadership" was offered to the Social Democratic workers, who for a time were called "social Fascists"! It is obvious that if the Socialist workers were ready to follow Communist leadership they would not be members of the Social Democratic party!

Still more, Manuilsky proclaimed at the XI Plenum of the Communist International (1931) that: "Fascism in Germany, in the Hitler form, may be on the downgrade, and in fact, is already on the downgrade as a result of the activity of our party." (Communist International—July 1st, 1931). The danger, we were told, was that "the bourgeois dictatorship in Germany, (which) is taking Fascist forms under Bruening and Social Democracy". The Fascist danger was seen everywhere except where it really existed. Later the Von Papen and Von Schleicher governments

were called Fascist.

At the Twelfth Plenum of the ECCI (Sept. 1932) Thaelmann declared that the Communists would never sit side by side with the murders of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, that is, the leaders of the German Social Democracy. He had "forgotten" that in 1922 the representatives of the Communist International, Radek, Bucharin, Vujovitch and others had sat at the same table with the present Socialist leaders, "the murderers of Liebknecht and Luxemburg."

Several months later we are informed by Walter Duranty in a dispatch to the New York Times of March 7 that the Comintern had proposed to the Socialist and Labor International a united front of the two organizations, internationally and on a national scale, against German Fascism. The Daily Worker and the Jewish party organ, Freiheit both carried Moscow dispatches on the question, which were very evasive.

The Daily Worker of Thursday, March 16th editorially condemned Duranty's dispatch as misleading and false. It was impossible—at the twelfth plenum of the ECCI, the united front from below was urged, etc., etc. The Stalinists in America could not believe that a change could

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Left Oppositionist Assaulted by YCLers

To the District Executive Committee, Young Communist League No. 8
To the National Committee, Young Communist League of America

Comrades,

Walter Danyluk, member of the National Students League and member of Spartacus Youth Club of Chicago, has been attacked and severely beaten to unconsciousness by members of the Young Communist League in the streets of Chicago, (Western Ave. and Division St.) on Monday night March 6, 1933 at 7:30 P. M. and again at about 8:15 P. M., as the culmination of a series of warnings given to numerous members of the Spartacus Youth Club, by members of the Young Communist League. Nor is this the first attack. Members of the SYC have taken beating after beating from YCL members in silence.

These beatings are, without a doubt, futile and ridiculous as well as scandalous attempts to combat the teachings of the Spartacus Youth Club, affiliated to the Communist League of America, (Left Opposition). Marxism has given the revolutionary movement a theoretical weapon to combat political opponents. Only political impotents must resort to

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50th Anniversary of Karl Marx

On the fiftieth anniversary of Karl Marx's death, March 14th 1883, the revolutionary Marxists of today, the Bolshevik-Leninists are fighting for the application of his teachings. Stalinism has revised Marxism. The revolutionary movement particularly in Germany, has suffered dearly. The tenets of proletarian internationalism, the doctrine that the Communists have no interests separate and apart from the interests of the proletariat as a whole, these have been thrown overboard by those who control and stifle the official Communist movement.

Marx's anniversary can best be commemorated by supporting the Marxist faction of the Communist International. By turning our faces towards Germany and forcing the application of his teachings.

They form the fundamental basis of the program of the International Left Opposition. We struggle for the domination of Marxism in the Communist International which alone can insure its regeneration.

(The coming issue of the YOUNG SPARTACUS will contain an article on Karl Marx.)

ist, that is Rakovsky.

The serious minded revolutionary must protest loudly and boldly. If the report is accurate, and we know that the disloyal Stalin ordered the murder of long standing proletarian revolutionists, as Butov, Rabinovitch, Blumkin and others, we must place the responsibility where it belongs. The working class will settle its accounts with those who assassinate its best fighters and defenders.

The leaders of the American party by their silence are sharing responsibility for these crimes. We demand that they openly proclaim this responsibility or denounce the murderous campaign.

We demand to know:

HAS CHRISTIAN RAKOVSKY BEEN MURDERED?

With the American Communist Youth Movement

Spartacus Youth Clubs Activities

Chicago

Statement of John Gregory

To all Members of the Young Communist League.

To the Executive Committee Spartacus Youth Club, Chicago.

To the Executive Communist League of America, (Left Opposition).

Comrades,

Six months ago I was expelled from the Young Communist League charged with being a Trotskyite, a White Chauvinist, a Disrupter, and a Provocateur. All of these charges are untrue and have never been proven. In the time that I have been out of the League, and a member of no organization, I have closely observed and studied all I could about the League. I find, that everything said about the American League last year, by the YCI is still true. The League today is more sectarian and opportunistic than ever before. It is full of "Tuesday-night Communists", Petty Bourgeois radicals, careerists and adventurers. Bolshevik self-criticism is an unknown thing. Education of the membership is so neglected that most League members are unable to understand the simplest theoretical question. Because of this low theoretical level the membership blindly follows the leadership no matter how incorrect or bureaucratic is their decision. Everyone who disagrees with the Leadership is branded a Trotskyite and is expelled. All of the mass organizations controlled by the YCL (IWO-ILD etc.) are permeated with the same ideology and become miniature League Units. As a result, the League has become more isolated than ever, from the masses of youth.

All this at a time when the crisis grows worse daily. The youth of Chicago are tossing away all bourgeois ideas of democracy and eagerly seek a leader. But the YCL sits back and issues leaflets and expects the young workers to flock to it. The Senate has just passed a bill providing for year-round training camps for young workers who are roaming the country looking for work. \$20,000,000 has been set aside to make soldiers of the unemployed youth in this way. And where is the YCL, the historic leader of the young workers, at this time?

Comrades, let us open our eyes. The original program of the YCI, adopted at the Second Congress of the YCL (July 1921), remains the program for the young workers of the world. But the present leadership of the League has so distorted this program that they are unable to do anything. I am convinced, that the International Left Opposition is the only organization that is interpreting correctly and applying the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. For the above reasons, therefore, I am asking to join the Spartacus Youth Club and the Communist League of America, (L. O.) and call upon all class conscious workers and youth to band together, to bring the League back to the program laid out for it. Let us erase from the present program the empty phrases of the united front from below, Social Fascism, and Socialism in one country. Let us turn the League to the problems before it. The YCL must become the leaders of the working class youth.

Demand the readmission of the Left Opposition into the Party and League.

Down with Bureaucracy in the Revolutionary Movement.

Faces to the Masses of Workers.

Defend the Soviet Union and the German revolution.

Comradely,

JOHN GREGORY.

New York

In the past few months the New York Spartacus Youth Club has, through its activities, reached a wide circle of young workers and students. Its members have actively participated in all phases of the German campaign of the Left Opposition. The Young Spartacus and Militant have been distributed to new sections of youth. The comrades have visited and participated in the discussions on youth organizations sympathetic to the Young Communist League.

Particularly is this true of the American Youth Club in Brownsville, where comrades George Ray, Al Reiskin, and Joe Carter spoke on a number of occasions, especially on the situation in Germany and the tasks of the Communists. One member of the Club has already been expelled for "Trotskyism", others are going to fight this expulsion. In the Young Communist League in the same section, comrade Joe Roth was expelled for supporting the Left Opposition. Throughout the city members of the YCL are attending our mass meetings studying our program, and discussing with members of the Spartacus Youth Club. The program of the Left Opposition, particularly on Germany, is finding sympathy in the ranks of the YCL.

The Club participated in the unemployed conference preparatory to the Albany jobless conference and had two delegates, comrades Horace Schapiro and Al Reiskin at the latter. A meeting in preparation for the Albany Conference and the March 4th Unemployment demonstration was held by the Club, with George Clarke speaking on the homeless youth. Six to seven hundred leaflets, which on one side contained the call for the Albany Conference and the other the announcement of the Club meeting, were distributed, many few people attended the meeting. The Club participated as a group in the March 4th demonstration.

February 15th, comrade Capelis of the Spartacus Youth Club debated the representative of the Vanguard (anarchist) group on: Resolved: The Working Class Needs the Communist Left Opposition. To Lead it in Its Struggle for Emancipation. Over one hundred and twenty-five youth listened to the debate.

A highly successful social affair was held by the Club at its headquarters, Saturday evening, March 11th, with over sixty youth present, half dozen of whom were members of the Yipsels. Dancing and entertainment kept the evening full. A good time was had by all.

The Club has regular meetings Thursday evenings 8:15 P. M. at its headquarters, 126 East 16th Street, at which discussions are held. All are invited to attend and participate.

Toronto

The Spartacus Youth Club of Toronto has decided to get in behind the German drive of the Left Opposition. Although the Militant was just received in Toronto on Wednesday by Sunday night well over 100 copies of the paper had been sold. This week the whole organization has been mobilized for a still greater effort.

The SYC is also cooperating in the distribution of the Left Opposition leaflet on the German crisis. The Club was also able to record the sale of 150 "Vanguards". Contacts have been established with a number of YCL'ers. The Club has decided to issue in two weeks time a monthly mimeographed bulletin to supplement the work of its organ the YOUNG SPARTACUS. It is also worth noting that despite the cries of the Stalinists of "counter-revolutionists" the January issue of the YOUNG SPARTACUS was suppressed by the authorities.

—M.

Left Oppositionist Assaulted

(Continued from page One)

the fist as a means of combat. Such tactics can neither intimidate nor defeat; it can only subvert the YCL and besmirch its name. Just as the Socialist party and the American Federation of Labor used black jacks and guns in an attempt to destroy the growing influence of the Communist movement, so you have resorted to similar methods. And just as the tactics of the SP and the AFL acted as a boomerang; so will your methods react in the identical manner. It is unfortunate that the evolutionary process of the Socialist party and the AFL against which we fought remorselessly, has so completely dominated you.

There is indeed, a touching affinity between the trade unions slugging and murdering of comrade Weisenberg in Chicago in 1930 and the present disgraceful assault upon comrade Dannyluk who is now in critical condition.

Whether our YCL comrades have repudiated Marxism, for the "individual terror" of Bakunin, or whether they are being influenced by the teachings of Al Capone, we do not know. One thing is evident. THAT SUCH ACTION CANNOT BE TOLERATED IN A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT. THAT SUCH PROCEDURE IS THE CULMINATION OF THE DEGRADATION OF THE YCL TO A GROUP OF MURDEROUS HOOLIGANS WHO HAVE THEIR PLACE, NOT IN THE RANKS OF A REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH GROUP BUT IN SOME PETTY POOL-HALL GANG. THAT SUCH TACTICS CAN SERVE ONLY TO PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF OUR ENEMIES.

For you to tolerate such tactics in the least is to sanction them. You bear the preponderance of the responsibility for this act, for you have sat by, sanctioning the beatings we have received, by your silence. You bear the preponderance of the responsibility because you sat by, never allowing a word of criticism to emanate from your office against those who persist in disgracing the revolutionary movement because of their "revolutionary, and political integrity", by beating with the aid of pool-hall hoodlums, individual revolutionaries whose political concepts differ in the least. To continue your silence in the face of the recent occurrences, is to commit the greatest injustice to the revolutionary youth movement.

We demand the expulsion from the Young Communist League of Chicago, of Red Cruck and Ted Peck, as well as the others who participated in the attack upon comrade Dannyluk and whom we could not identify, on the following charges:

1. For the brutal and cowardly beatings given to young revolutionaries, whose sincerity has been substantiated by countless arrests and jail sentences, by such worthless elements as Red Cruck.

2. For the violation of the most elementary of Marxism axioms: axioms which distinguish us from anarchists and nihilists.

3. For destroying the prestige of the Communist movement.

We demand that the National and District Committees of the Young Communist League take immediate and austere action against the participants of the attack, and make an example of them by expelling these elements from the Young Communist League, as undesirable who are obstructing the progress of the revolutionary youth movement. The decision you make passes judgment upon your own revolutionary integrity and will decide the problem as to whether the YCL shall continue to grow or cease.

Comrade Dannyluk was questioned by the police after he had regained consciousness. He refused to reveal the names of his assailants; nor did he utter a word that might throw the slightest suspicion upon the organization that was

responsible for the deed. He pleaded ignorance to all questions that might in the least incriminate the YCL. You, AND NOT THE POLICE are the ones to pass decision upon such action. YOU MUST ACT.

We have tolerated these beatings long enough. WE REFUSE TO TOLERATE ANY SUCH FURTHER ATTACKS UPON OUR COMRADES. YOU MUST ACT AGAINST THEM. We do not believe in settling the problems before the capitalist courts. We know of more effective ways of settling such problems in the revolutionary movement. Your decision, and the outcome of the condition of comrade Dannyluk, will go far to decide our action.

We register our revolutionary protests,

NATHAN GOULD.

For the Spartacus Youth Club,

JOSEPH GIGANTI,

For the Communist League of America (Left Opposition) Chicago branch.

On N. Y. District Y. C. L. Meeting

A number of comrades of the Young Communist League have criticized our article in the January YOUNG SPARTACUS on the New York membership meeting of the YCL. They contend that whereas all the facts stated are accurate, the interpretation of the meeting was wrong and exaggerated.

The question at issue is the motion prohibiting district functionaries from participating in the discussion. We are now informed—something we were unaware of when the article was printed—that the motion was made towards the end of the meeting when little time was left and did not signify a "revolt" against the district leaders.

We welcome any criticisms of articles in the YOUNG SPARTACUS. Above all we believe that only by stating the true facts and avoiding exaggerations can the revolutionary movement make any headway.

As to the criticism. Our report was given to us by one of our comrades who is a member of the Young Communist League and has been active in it for a number of years. The interpretation contained in the article was the impression which he received at the meeting. It is possible and from later reports, it is most likely—that he over-estimated the consciousness of the meaning of the action prohibiting district heads from speaking at a membership meeting. Whatever the case may be we want to repeat these essential facts.

1. That the district leaders did not reply to the criticism from the membership.

2. That the motion, so far as we know, is unprecedented in the Young Communist League and despite the time element involved, is fundamentally opposed to sound democratic centralism.

3. That the fact that such a motion could be carried unanimously shows on the one hand, discontent—no matter how ambiguous and unformulated—with the leaders of the League, and the other hand, false training of the membership in the elementary principles of Communist procedure.

4. That the district buro showed its incompetence by permitting criticism and such a motion without protest.

5. That Jack Stachel, the Communist party representative at this meeting, pointed out the falsity of the motion and reprimanded the district buro members for not replying to the criticism from the floor.

YOUNG SPARTACUS

UnitetoSmashGermanFascism!

(Continued from Page One)

be made so soon!

But lo and behold, the next day's issue of the *Freiheit* and the March 18 number of the *Daily* reprint the entire manifesto of the Communist International which supports Duranty's statements and is in complete contradiction to the *Daily* editorial of two days previous!

Little matter! These people who have lost all revolutionary self-respect and independence know on what side their bread is buttered. Years of servility to Stalinist bureaucracy had corrupted them. Servility is their paramount "virtue".

"The secretariat of the Central Committee of the CPUSA fully agrees with the Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Communist International for achieving the unity of the workers in the struggle against the capitalist offensive and Fascism". (*Daily*, March 18, 1933.) What else could be expected? One can have nothing but contempt for such "revolutionary leaders".

As to the manifesto itself. When was it issued? Nobody knows? Negotiations were started with the leaders of the Second International, who were permitted to take the initiative in the united front, before the manifesto was made public to the Communist and Socialist workers! That is clear from the telegram of Adler the secretary of the Second International in the New Leader of March 11th.

The manifesto itself attempts to cover up the previous policies of the Communist International. It is made to appear as though this is only the latest of a series of such proposals. But what has become of the theories that "national and social Fascism are being fused", that the Social Democracy must be destroyed first that we cannot sit at the same table with the murders of Liebknecht and Luxemburg?

All these are not mentioned!

SO-CALLED UNITED FRONT PROPOSALS

Two proposals of the German Communist Party to the Social Democracy are cited as instances of offers of the genuine united front. Even if this were so, it would be in complete violation with all the theories and practices of Stalinism.

In both cases they were in the form of ultimatums. On July 20th, 1932 when Von Papen took power, the party issued a general strike call and urged the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions to join in. The central bodies were not approached. It was a continuation of the "united front from below under revolutionary leadership" The Socialist workers did not respond. The strike call was answered only by the more revolutionary masses. It failed.

When Hitler seized power another general strike call was issued—with no previous preparation through united front action with the Social Democratic party and the trade unions on the basis of a concrete minimum program as the Left Opposition had proposed. Even if the central committees of these organizations had been approached—as the manifesto claims despite contrary reports at the time in the party press—it was in an ultimatum manner, either you accept the general strike on January 31st or... The Socialist workers could not be won for such a policy. The proof, the strike was a miserable failure.

PROPOSALS OF MANIFESTO

In its practical proposals the manifesto merely repeats sections of the program of the Left Opposition: "Carry out definite action against the attacks of Fascism and reaction on the political, trade union, cooperative and other organizations, on the workers Press or workers' meetings, demonstrations, strikes", etc., etc. But how can social Fascist meetings and press be defended?

We read further: "(c) In the adoption and practical carrying out of these two conditions, the Executive Committee

of the Communist International considers it possible to recommend the Communist parties during the time of common fight against capital and Fascism to refrain from making attacks on Social-Democratic organizations. The most ruthless fight must be conducted against all those who violate the conditions of the agreement in carrying out the united front, as against strike breakers who disrupt the united front of the workers." (Our emphasis).

What is meant by "to refrain from making attacks on Social-Democratic organizations?" Surely it cannot mean physical attacks because at all times in the Communist struggle for state power we refrain from such attacks. In reality it means a "non-aggression pact"! No criticism while in action, no recollection of the crimes of the Social Democracy! Such was the proposal of leaders of the German and Austrian Social Democracy. Today it is accepted by the Communist International!

What it signifies is temporary fusion, organic unity rather than united front between the Communist and Socialist organizations. The present leaders of the Communist International are not alien to such practices. During the Chinese revolution, the British general strike, in the anti-war struggle such was and is its policy.

The Communists, while maintaining a discipline of action in the united front, retain their political identity not merely in words but in deeds. The struggle for the defeat of Fascism is a step to winning the workers for a Soviet Germany. In this struggle the programs of social democracy and Communism are counterposed. The worker will be able to choose between the two. To refrain from attacking the Socialist organizations in this sense is false and treacherous. The statement in the manifesto and all it implies, on this score, must be fought by all revolutionary workers.

The Left Opposition welcomes the turn of the Communist International in its proposal for united front with the Socialist organizations. But the turn is not sufficient.

An honest and complete condemnation of the false theories of the C I is essential. Party democracy must be restored. The Communist International must be regenerated. The Left Opposition and all honest expelled Communists must be reinstated into the Communist parties to insure this process. The press of the Communist International must be thrown open for thorough discussions of the problems confronting the movement, particularly in Germany.

THE SOVIET UNION IS IN DANGER!

Above all, the party of the Soviet Union must be regenerated. According to recent reports (See the *Militant*, March 18th) the situation in the Soviet Union is becoming more tense. The economic situation is becoming worse. Large sections of workers and peasants are discontent with the Stalinist regime. According to reports comrade Rakovsky and other Oppositionists have been recalled from exile and murdered in Moscow. At a time when the material resources of the Soviet Union, and particularly its Red Army, should be mobilized in case of Fascist onslaught and be ready to reply to a call of the German proletariat, the workers' dictatorship is being threatened by serious and immediate internal dangers. The fortress of the world revolution, the Soviet Union, is in danger!

The Left Opposition raises with a thousand fold emphasis the demand for the return of comrade Trotsky and the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists to their rightful place at the head of the Russian party and the Soviet Union. The Communist workers must take up this demand in their party and YCL units, at membership meetings, in the press.

FOR COMMUNIST UNITY

The revolutionary youth in and around the Young Communist League must reject the cynical, light-minded, wise guy,

Call for Anti-Fascist Conference

UNITED FRONT YOUTH CONFERENCE AGAINST FASCISM

57 W. 83rd Street

R. Duval, Secy.

CALL TO ACTION AGAINST GERMAN FASCISM!

To ALL

Young Workers and Students!

Youth Organizations and College Clubs!

Fascism is attempting to entrench itself by wrecking the organizations of the German working class. With the accession of Hitler to the Chancellorship all democratic rights of the workers are being murderously suppressed. The homes and lives of Christian and Jewish, Socialist and Communist workers are being destroyed. Their political, social and fraternal organizations are being smashed by Hitler terrorism. Their right to freedom of press, speech and assembly are denied by gun and fire.

This Fascist terror expressed itself most brutally in the last election in Germany by the imprisonment and murder of Communist and Socialist workers.

In addition to the war against the German proletariat, the Hitler Fascist government attempts to split the unity of the German workers by its savage attack against the Jewish masses. Hitler's deceit in attempting to blind the German working class by blaming the Jews for the crisis in Germany is an incentive to ruthless pogroms against the Jewish masses.

The open dictatorship of the capitalists is not limited to Germany. We young workers and students in the United States see similar developments in our own ruling class. The disruption of a Socialist meeting against German Fascism by a group of German-American Fascists; the police attacks upon unemployed workers' delegations to legislative bodies; the suspension of college clubs and papers,

teachers and students; the demand of Roosevelt for "War Time" power to slash the salaries of federal employees and the appropriations for veteran allowance is an example of fact. Therefore it is necessary that we unify our forces to combat attempts of our government and schools to deprive us of our rights to free speech press and assembly; to prevent the development of Fascism in America.

Fascism intensifies reactionary nationalism and increases the danger of imperialist war. The growth of Fascism and Fascist attacks upon the working class of all countries hastens capitalist intervention against the only workers' republic—the USSR.

The task of the American workers and students is to build a powerful United Front against German Fascism. The United Front Committee calls upon your organization to participate in its meeting Friday, March 24th, at 8:30 P. M. at New York University, Washington Square, Room 709. This conference is to endorse plans and prepare for a united front administration at the German Consulate.

Elect two delegates and have your secretary furnish them with credentials.

Fraternally Yours,

R. DUVAL, Secretary.

UNITED FRONT COMMITTEE

Brookwood Labor College

Communist League of America (Left

Opp.) Nat'l. Youth Committee.

Communist Youth—Opposition

Conference for Progressive Labor

Action—Youth Group

International Workers School

National Student League

New Workers School

New York Spartacus Youth Club

Rand School Student Association

Vanguard Youth

Workers School

Young Communist League, Dist. 2

Non-Aggression Pact or United Front

The New York City Committee of the Young Peoples Socialist League sent a letter on March 14th to the District of the Young Communist League calling for a united front on youth issues on the basis of a "non-aggression pact". As yet the YCL has not replied.

The letter of the Yipsels was prompted by a resolution carried at a conference on unemployment relief for young workers held in Brownsville which called on both the YCL and the YPSL to join in united action for relief. There appears to be widespread sentiment in both organizations for common action on the basis of the concrete needs of the youth.

As to a "non-aggression" pact, it must attitude towards the German events. In the United States we must put pressure on the leaders of the official Communist movement for a genuine turn, for the regeneration of the Communist International.

The leaders of the Communist party Thaelmann, Torgler, Pieck have been arrested by Hitler and are being put through the most brutal torture. Their very lives are in danger.

The working class and student youth must be mobilized into a powerful united front movement of Communist, Socialist and non-party workers against German Fascism and the capitalist offensive. Above all it is necessary to sound the alarm in the ranks of the organized Communist and Left wing movement. There is little time left. Events are moving with giant speed. Tomorrow may be too late. Act now!

March 18, 1933

JOSEPH CARTER

be stated clearly that Communists cannot enter into such agreements with other political groupings. If the phrase has any meaning it implies giving up of the right to criticize during the common action, etc. This is entirely impermissible.

The aim of the Communists in a united front is to struggle for the common minimum program agreed upon and to further the interests of the entire working class, which means to win the Socialist and non-party workers for Communism, that is, the defeat of Social Democracy. The Socialists have the same right of criticism and political independence. In action the youth will be able to choose between the two programs.

To criticize does not mean to call names, hurl epithets or carry on a campaign of slander. It means careful and conscientious examination and expose of Socialist deeds but definitely and decisively bars vilification and calumny. It is especially important that this distinction be made in dealing with the young Socialists who have unfortunately confused Stalinist Centrism and its tactics with Communism. The Yipsels must be given to understand, not only through mere words, but in action, that the Communists have no interests separate and apart from those of the entire working class; that we have nothing to hide and will be guided by a discipline of action.

The Young Communist League should call for a joint meeting of its district committee and the central city committee of the Yipsels for a discussion on these points. More than that the National Committee of the YCL must appeal to the National Committee of the YPSL for a joint conference for a common struggle throughout the country against the capitalist offensive in the United States and the rallying of the American youth against German Fascism.

Resignation from Anti-War Committee *A YCLer Speaks*

(Comrade Geltman, a member of the Communist League of America (Opposition), the New York Spartacus Youth Club and the National Student League, presented jointly with our other comrades, at the Chicago Student Congress Against War, the Left Opposition viewpoint on the problems of the struggle against imperialist war, the confusionist and basically treacherous course of the Barbusse Amsterdam Congress and the place of the students in the struggle against war. He accepted on the Committee on the basis of our program and criticism. That was made clear at the Conference. At several meetings of the resident committee, comrade Geltman proposed, as we had at Chicago, the dissolution of this Committee into a general united front conference of working class and student youth organizations which would be initiated by the Young Communist League. This the Committee tabled and rejected. The Committee had to be attacked and destroyed. Comrade Geltman therefore resigned with a statement explaining our attitude towards the entire affair.—Eds.)

At the Chicago Student Congress Against War I accepted on the permanent continuations committee. This however I did not do on the basis of the program there adopted. My purpose was to present and defend the Communist position, more particularly the proposals made by the Communist League of America (Opposition) in statement and resolution at the conference. I find it necessary to resign from the Committee for the following reasons:

From its very inception the congress could promise nothing so far as the proper position on the struggle against war was concerned. That is, it could promise nothing but confusion. Repeating the fiasco at Amsterdam last summer, the call, instigated by the National Student League as the other had been by the Communist International, went out in the name of a series of individuals, teachers and student, who represented no one but themselves. Thus no organized bodies, which could pledge their support in the carrying out of the conference decisions, assured the conference of success in its achievements.

More indicative, however, of the utter disregard of the realities of war, its causes and the struggle against it, was the composition of the conference as provided for in the call. Whereas at Am-

sterdam the intellectuals were given leadership over the working classes, here the working class was completely excluded. Automatically, the students were accredited an independent force and presented with leadership in the anti-war fight, a condition made more obvious by the absence of any working class conference in the United States for this purpose. The relative position of student and worker in society was largely ignored. That only the proletariat under the revolutionary leadership of the Communist party can successfully wage a struggle against imperialism, that the students can only serve as an auxiliary force, were facts forgotten.

True enough, lip-service is paid to this "idea" in a resolution of the conference. But this by no means eradicates the fundamental fault of its organization. The National Committee is proceeding with its work independent of the working class and its organizations. Nor can it be subservient to any united front organization of the working class, for none such exist. The American Committee for the World Congress against War does not supply that need. Dominated by intellectuals of the calibre of Sherwood Anderson, who represent only themselves, it also owes its existence to a misconstruction of the Marxian answer to war. Moreover, it has demonstrated its futility in its "activities" of the past seven months.

Several other errors were manifested in the formation, deliberations and consequences of the congress. Most notably a misunderstanding of the united front tactic was shown. Though the conference in its resolutions does somewhere state that it is a united front of action, the distinction was not at any time clearly marked. In fact the entire affair was oriented to the contrary, to a united front of propaganda; that is, to agitate against imperialist war in general rather than to jointly conduct specific activities. Consequent upon this orientation the united front there effected has the appearance of a permanent organization. Instead of a body existing for the time that it is necessary to accomplish certain specific aims, the present National Committee is set for existence until imperialist wars are forever abolished.

The same might, and should, be said of the American Committee for the World Congress against War, and shows either, or both, of two things. One, that the Communists who were instrumental in

the conference forgot that to abolish imperialist wars it is first necessary to abolish capitalism; or two, that history has produced but one organization which can lead the proletariat to victory over capitalism, the Communist party. In any case no united front can undertake to overthrow capitalism. Similarly is this true on the problem of war which so much involves the fate of capitalism. Any united front must understand its limited function and duration. To do otherwise is to deceive, consciously or unconsciously, and to breed a mire of confusion.

That these facts are forgotten by the Stalinists, the official wing of Communism, who so readily hand over the struggle against war to intellectuals and students, is to be regretted. We of the Left Opposition can only make our position clear. We propose that in view of the incorrect basis of existence of the National Committee of the Student Congress Against War, for the reasons enumerated above, that the Committee dissolve itself. This can be refused only at the pain of muddling the issue and perpetuating a body that may have dire consequences, because of the deceit it engenders in the fight against imperialist war. The Young Communist League, the official banner bearer of Communism among the youth, should issue a call to the leading youth organizations, on the basis of several minimum proposals, for a preliminary anti-war conference. The latter conference is to discuss the question of calling a broader conference, the basis and time of such a one. If after this it is necessary to plan specific student tactics, then district conferences, etc., may be called. But at all times it should be remembered that because the roots of war lie in the capitalist system, that because only the working class is historically adapted to combat that system, it is false to speak of independent activity.

I feel, further, that my continued membership on the National Committee may lend a sanction to the Committee which I am opposed to giving it. It is therefore with the purpose of resigning from the Committee that I write this statement.

Signed: EMANUEL GELTMAN

Member of: National Student League, Young Spartacus Club of New York Communist League of America (Opposition)

ed) and Fascism are basically programs of petty bourgeois currents. This fact alone, more than anything else, shows of what tremendous—rather, of what decisive, importance the self-determination of the petty bourgeois masses of the people is for the fate of bourgeois society."

The chapter on 'Thaelmann's Twenty-One Mistakes' contains a refutation of the strategy and tactics of the Stalinists in Germany which should be read carefully by all who have the least doubt about the false and treacherous nature of the official course. The entire book is chock full of crushing arguments which not only point to the only road which can lead the German workers to victory over Fascism, but are invaluable for the education of the revolutionary cadres in the United States.

Since this book was written Hitler has become Chancellor. The situation has become more difficult for the working class. The warnings and proposals of the Left Opposition have been disregarded. The recent half-turn of the Communist International on the united front with the Socialists makes timely and pertinent the writings of comrade Trotsky.

DEMAND FOR PARTY DEMOCRACY

"Even if Thaelmann were to receive tomorrow a telegram from Manuilsky on the necessity of a turn to the path of the united front policy, the new zig-zag at the top would bring little good. The leadership is too compromised. A correct

Dear Comrade—,

In my opinion a Communist should always try to analyze himself as to the psychological factors that are at play in him, influencing his position on many political questions as well as organizational. I have tried to do that lately with myself and (if there are no objections) with you in connection with the Left Opposition. I think I have been able to do that only because of my development to a higher stage as a Communist since my acquaintance with the profound ideas of the International Left Opposition. My confusion of the past on the Opposition now seems to me absurd and petty bourgeois. The tendency to desire everything to be laid out straight on the table in neat and even piles without any complications was very strong in me. But it seems politics and history, especially from the viewpoint of the individual who sees it very detailed in all its pettiness and slow development, doesn't work that way. And once you can acquire the Communist, the dialectical approach to all questions, once you can understand the driving forces, their contradictions and inevitable results, the question can first become clear and simple in the true sense of the word.

In connection with that, I would like to say, that now more than ever before, with the burning problem of Germany facing the working class of the world, is it necessary for every Communist to acquire the correct and only approach to questions. In other words, as the YOUNG SPARTACUS puts it, to have "Clarity".

I am not very up to date on your position on the Left Opposition. To be exact, I last heard of it from—and yourself about one month ago. Anyway, on the basis of what you said in our last letter, and in view of the fact that history has been moving fast in the past few weeks (Germany) demonstrating the correctness of the views of the Left Opposition quite clearly, I can surmise that your opinions have become more defined and clear. Have you read "What Next?". If you haven't get hold of it and do. If you don't see things in an entirely different light then I'll eat my hat. As for myself, on the major questions, I am for the Opposition one hundred per cent. As for their position on a string of secondary questions such as the Negro and agrarian, I can't say for I am not fully acquainted with these problems as yet. I agree thoroughly with the Opposition, on the question of the Leninist theory of the Permanent Revolution, the Anglo-Russian Committee, the Chinese revolution, on their analysis of the Communist International leaders and the departure of those leaders from the Leninist position—and their subsequent degeneration on the German question, the trade union question, and particularly, on the united front. —D.

policy demands a healthy regime. Party democracy at present is a plaything of the bureaucracy, must rise again as a reality. The party must become a party, then the masses will believe it. Practically, this means to put upon the order of the day: an extraordinary party convention and an extraordinary congress of the Comintern".

"The party convention must naturally be preceded by an all-sided discussion. All apparatus barriers must be raised. Every party organization, every nucleus has the right to call to its meetings and listen to every Communist, member of the party or expelled from it, if it considers this necessary for the working out of its opinion. The press must be put at the service of the discussion; adequate space must be allotted daily for critical articles in every party paper. Special press commissions, elected at mass meetings of the party meetings, must see to it that the papers serve the party and not the bureaucracy." (Page 86.)

Comrades should obtain and study this timely brochure. —PLEBIAN.

BOOK REVIEW

The Only Road -- L. D. Trotsky

The Only Road by L. D. Trotsky. Pioneer Publishers, New York.

Once again Trotsky wields the powerful pen of revolutionary Marxism to illuminate current events which vitally affect the future of the world working class. In January of last year he analyzed the class forces in Germany, the danger of Fascism, its meaning to the working class, the tactics of Social Democracy and the Communist Party and presented the program of the Left Opposition: the slogans of united front, workers' control of production and collaboration with the Soviet Union as steps to winning the majority of the German working class for a Soviet Germany.

He concluded "What Next" with the inspiring words: "They lie who say that the situation seems hopeless. Pessimists and skeptics must be driven out of the proletarian ranks, as if they were stricken with the plague. The inner forces of the German proletariat are inexhaustible. They will clear the road for themselves."

Nine months later comrade Trotsky wrote "The Only Road" in order to, in his own words, "investigate the questions

of German revolutionary policy in a new stage". And the result? A masterly analysis of the causes of the rise of the Von Papen and Von Schleicher governments, their relation to Fascism, Social Democracy and the working class struggle. His chapter on "Bourgeoisie, Petty Bourgeoisie and Proletariat", is a lucid explanation of the forms of capitalist domination in their historical development.

THREE HISTORICAL STAGES

"To understand the dialectic of the relationship between the three classes, we must differentiate three historical stages: at the dawn of capitalist development, when the bourgeoisie required revolutionary methods to solve its tasks; in the period of bloom and maturity of the capitalist regime, when the bourgeoisie endowed its domination with orderly, pacific, conservative, democratic forms; finally, at the decline of capitalism, when the bourgeoisie is forced to resort to methods of civil war against the proletariat to protect its right of exploitation."

"The political programs characteristic of these three states: Jacobinism, reformist democracy (social democracy includ-

The Workers' Revolutionary Paris Commune -- March -- May 1871

"The German philistine has lately been thrown once again into wholesale paroxysms by the expression 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. Well, gentle sirs, would you like to know how this dictatorship looks? Then look at the Paris Commune. That was the dictatorship of the proletariat."

This statement made by Friedrich Engels on March 18, 1891, is the great historical justification for this glorious endeavor of the Parisian proletariat to turn the course of history away from the exploiters and on to the road of a classless society. The Commune failed. Crushed under the weight of an historically unripe situation, lacking a capable, experienced vanguard—a Communist party—it was exterminated by one of the most barbarous assaults of bourgeois reaction the world has ever known. But the Commune, which lasted but three months, lives on—indelibly and eternally imprinted in the minds of the proletariat. As the first partially successful attempt of the working class to seize and to hold the state power, as the most brilliant expression of proletarian self-sacrifice and heroism, its story and its lesson never become monotonous though they have been repeated year in and year out for many decades and will be for years to come. More than that the successful proletarian revolution in Russia, built upon the shoulders of the Commune, has once again invested the uprising of March 1871 with flesh and blood, has proved that the Communists of today are the logical inheritors of its great traditions.

COMMUNE BORN IN WAR

The Paris Commune, like other revolutions, was born amid the shoulder of cannon, the turmoil of war. The comic empire of Louis Bonaparte could not live without constant appeals to French patriotism which meant the extension of the boundaries of France to the Rhine. This brought French imperialism into conflict with the aspirations of the cunning Bismark, then chancellor of Prussia. The Franco-Prussian war ensued. The empty pretensions of Napoleon the Little were soon destroyed in fact. The armies of the empire were driven from pillar to post, to complete defeat and

KARLMARX'S CONFESSION

(The item printed below was discovered by Laura Lafarge, daughter of Karl Marx in 1910 among her papers. It consists of answers to questions posed by Marx's daughter for "confession". It is contained in Karl Marx: A symposium edited by Riazonov. The latter explained the "confessions" and comments that while it was made in some jest it reveals much of Marx's likes and dislikes—Eds.)

Your favorite virtue—Simplicity.
Your favorite virtue in man—Strength.
Your favorite virtue in women—Weakness.
Your chief characteristic—Singleness of Purpose.
Your idea of happiness—To fight.
Your idea of misery—Submission.
The vice you excuse most—Gullibility.
The vice you detest most—Servility.
Your pet aversion—Martin Tupper.
Favorite occupation—Bookworming.
Poets—Shakespeare, Aeschylus, Goethe.
Prose writer—Diderot.
Hero—Spartacus, Kepler.
Heroine—Gretchen.
Flower—Daphne.
Color—Red.
Name—Laura, Jenny.
Dish—Fish.
Favorite maxim—Nihil humanum a me alienum puto. (I regard nothing human as alien to me.)
Favorite Motto—De omnibus dubitandum. (Doubt everything).
—KARL MARX.

rout at the hands of the substantial and well trained armies of Bismark. Napoleon was captured and the Republic was proclaimed on Sept. 4th, 1870. But the revolution, besieged at the gates of Paris by the Prussian invader, beset on the interior by treachery from the bourgeois republicans, did not stop with the proclamation of the Republic. The Parisian proletariat was armed in the newly created National Guard. And although Paris, starved out, was forced to capitulate to the Prussian invader; it brought Bismark's armies to such "terms" as only the armed working class, breathing the fire of revolution, can do. Engels states that they capitulated "with honors hitherto unheard of in military history". But the French capitalist class broke its promise to maintain civil peace during the siege of the Prussians and attempted to disarm the National Guard. The civil war between the Parisian proletariat was on, the Paris Commune was proclaimed on the 18th of March.

During its short lived three months the Commune more than justified its existence. It remitted all rents owed on buildings during the war period. It abolished night work. It separated the church from the state. It destroyed that hateful monument of national patriotism, the Place de Vendome. It abolished all pawn shops and opened all factories closed by the employers. It demonstrated its internationalism by electing many foreigners to the Commune. But profounder than all else, the great lesson that went down into the revolutionary manual was the destruction of the old state machinery.

But the Commune committed a number of errors which contributed to its defeat. These errors, historically viewed,

cannot be used as condemnation but as a searchlight which the proletarian movement must throw upon the pitfalls in its road to power. They failed to nationalize the Bank of France and thus let slip a most powerful bulwark from its grasp. But more grievous errors caused the downfall of the Commune. They ceded the power too soon from the armed workers of Paris (the National Guard) to the amorphous Commune, Marx states, was characterized too much by "its good nature". They allowed the bourgeoisie and its army to retreat to Versailles without pursuing and destroying them. But the Paris Commune was not dominated by Marxists but by petty bourgeois Proudhonists and Blanquists. The bourgeoisie, having retreated to Versailles, reconstituted its army, made a treacherous dicker with Bismark, and then on the 21st of May, through the carelessness of some ill-chosen National Guardsmen entered the city of Paris. The resistance of the Parisian workers, their dauntless heroism can hardly be described in words. They were overwhelmed by superior forces. And then the bourgeoisie let loose its reign of terror upon the Communards—such barbarism and savagery for which history knows no precedent. The Communards were lined up against walls and summarily executed, hundreds at a time, by mitrailleuses (the equivalent at that time for machine guns). No discrimination was made of women and children or even non-participants. They were murdered with the same vicious fury. Live people were thrown into huge graves. Inhabitants at the time report that those living in the neighborhood of the cemeteries could hear groans from these living graves. Let us listen to Lissagaray, the historian of the Commune in his balance-sheet of

this bourgeois vengeance.

"Twenty-five thousand men, women, and children killed during the battle or after; three thousands dead in the prisons, the pontoons, the forts or in consequence of maladies contracted during their captivity; thirteen thousand seven hundred condemned, most of them for life; seventy thousand women, children, and old women deprived of their natural supporters or thrown out of France; one hundred and eleven thousand victims at least. That is the balance-sheet of the bourgeois vengeance for the solitary insurrection of the eighteenth of March.

"What a lesson of revolutionary vigor given to the workingmen! The governing classes shoot in a lump without taking the trouble to select hostages. The vengeance lasts not an hour; neither years nor victims appease it; they make of it an administrative function, methodical and continuous." What more need be said of the bourgeoisie that today pretends in its sanctionious hypocrisy to pacifism?

COMMUNE NOT RIPE FOR SOCIALISM

The Commune failed not only because of the leniency and "good nature" of its leaders but because it was historically unripe. Capitalism on an international scale had not outlived its usefulness. It still was in the progressive stage of expansion. The proletariat was developed. Its ranks had not been serried by large scale monopolized industry. And this very immaturity was also responsible for the lack of a revolutionary party.

This absence of a revolutionary party constituted the sorest spot of the Paris Commune. Lacking a conscious disciplined vanguard it was led astray by petty bourgeois politicians, whose only quality was confusion. The leniency, the negligence and the mistakes of the Communards can in large part be attributed to this lack of a party. The Bolsheviks learned this lesson and were able in 1917 to bring the Russian Revolution to a victorious conclusion. In its later history, under the domination of the Stalinist bureaucracy, this lesson was forgotten and the annihilated Chinese revolution was the consequence. More than ever today, if we are to carry on the traditions of the Communards we must bear this signal fact in mind. Otherwise every future attempt of the proletariat, deprived of a party, will result in similar debacles.

"Workingmen's Paris", said Marx in his memorable tribute to the Communards, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priest will not avail to redeem them". —GEO. CLARKE.

Proclamations of the Commune

The People of Paris To the Soldiers of Versailles

Brothers!

The hour of the great struggle of the people against their oppressors has come! Do not desert the cause of the toilers! Act as your brothers did on the 18th of March!

Unite with the people to which you belong!

Let the aristocrats, the privileged, the butchers of humanity defend themselves and the reign of justice will be easily established!

Break your ranks!

Come to our lines!

Come to us, enter our families!

We will joyously greet you as brothers!

The people of Paris have confidence in your patriotism.

Long Live the Republic!
Long Live the Commune!

—THE PARIS COMMUNE.

Committee of Public Safety Soldiers of the Versailles Army

The people of Paris will never believe that you will direct your arms against them when its breast touches yours; your hands will draw back before an act which would be veritable fratricide.

Like us, you are proletarians; like us it is to your interest not to give the conspirative monarchists the right to drink your blood like they have drunk our sweat.

What you did on the 18th of March, you can still do again and the people will not have the sadness to fight the men whom they regard as brothers and whom they want to see sitting with them at the civic banquet of liberty and equality.

Come to us, brothers, come to us; our arms are extended to you!

Committee of Public Safety
Ant. Arnaud, Eudes, Billioray
F. Gambon, G. Ravvier

Stalinist Confusion

UNITED FRONT WITH SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

"A bloc or even an alliance, or even a temporary joint operation in individual actions between the Communist party and the Social Democratic party in Germany against National Socialism would forever discredit the Communist party among the broad masses of workers, toiling peasants and middle strata, and draw it into decline".

—Willi Munzenberg, February 1, 1932.

Undoubtedly Munzenberg is also in favor of the new turn!

* * * *

THE SLOGAN OF THE YOUNG PIONEERS

"Beat the smallest Zoerigebels out of the schools and playgrounds!"

—Die Trommel, end of 1929.

THE SLOGAN OF THE COMMUNIST YOUTH

"Drive the social Fascists out of the

factories, out of the employment bureaus out of the trade schools!"

—Junge Garde, end of 1919.

* * * *

SO-CALLED UNITED FRONT PROPOSAL

The Manifesto of the Communist International for united front on Germany states that in the proposal of the German Communist Party of January 30 to the Social Democratic Party, the central Committee was appealed to. We quote from the International Press Correspondent report of the appeal:

"After calling for a mass strike and the holding of meeting in the factories, trade unions and all working class organizations, and in all Labour Exchanges, in favor of the general strike, the appeal states that in face of the whole working class, the Communist party approaches the German General Trade Union Federation (ADGB) the Federation of Employees Union (AFA), the social democratic party and the christian

GERMAN SOCIALISTS SUPPORT CAPITALIST FATHERLAND

"For our people and its free future, much if not everything is at stake in a victory of Russian despotism which is stained with the blood of the best among its own people. It is necessary to ward off this danger, to guarantee the culture and the independence of our country.... In the hour of danger we do not leave our own fatherland in the lurch. In this we feel ourselves to be in harmony with the International which has at all times recognized the right of every people to national independence and self defense, just as we condemn in agreement with it every war of conquest.... Guided by these principles, we approve the required war credits."

Declaration of the Social Democratic Reichstag Fraction on August 4, 1914.

trade unions with the call to organize a general strike together with the Communists against the Fascist dictatorship, against the destruction of working class organizations and for the freedom of the working class." (Vol. 13, No. 5)

Not a word about the Central Committees of these organizations,

: In The International Youth Movement :

International Meet of Left Opp.

Marking one of its greatest forward steps, on Feb. 4-8th, the International Left Opposition gathered in Paris for its first international pre-conference. Representatives from the Russian, Greek, Spanish, French, German, Belgian, Swiss, Italian, American and many other sections were present and took an active part in the deliberations of the conference.

The conference showed that "the fundamental programmatic and political documents of the L O are issued in no less than 15 languages. The L O disposes of 32 periodical publications in 16 countries. It has reorganized and strengthened its sections in 9 countries. But the most important and most valuable achievement is the undeniable raising of the theoretical level of the ILO, and the growth of its ideological solidity and of the revolutionary initiative."

One of the outstanding achievements of the International pre-Conference was the elaboration of a theses, which is presented to the sections of the ILO for discussion and will then be submitted to the International conference which will be held in July of this year. This document, the theses is a fundamental work of the revolutionary movement, which no young Communist can afford to miss. It has been printed in the *Militant* and can be found in the numbers March 6th to 18th. We urge all the Spartacus Youth Clubs to take them up for discussion meetings and study classes.

The pre-conference met when Hitler had just assumed power. It issued a ringing manifesto to the German and International proletariat to form the united front as the first step towards the destruction of the Hitler bands and in the direction of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

BOOK NOTES

WORKERS' POCKET SERIES

The Pioneer Publishers has recently issued L. D. Trotsky's speech to the Copenhagen Socialist student "In Defense of the Russian Revolution". It is a brilliant analysis of the causes and achievements of the October Revolution of 1917. It sells for the low price of five cents.

In the same "Workers' Pocket Series" are L. D. Trotsky's "Soviet Economy in Danger" (Ten cents) and "Unemployment and the American Working Class" by Arne Swabeck (Five Cents).

LITERATURE ON GERMANY

A pamphlet on the events in Germany previous to Hitler's taking of power, "The Only Road" by L. D. Trotsky will be off the press in a short while. It is supplementary to "What Next?—Vital Problems for the German Proletariat" (35 cents). Comrades should purchase and study these writings as an introduction to an understanding of what is going on in Germany today.

BOUND VOLUMES OF MILITANT

An invaluable record of the American Left Opposition is contained in its official organ, the *Militant*. Two bound volumes are available. The first contains the issues from Nov. 15, 1928 (the first issue) to June 15th, 1931, the second, July 1931 to the end of 1932. The regular prices are ten and five dollars respectively. Readers of the *YOUNG SPARTACUS* can obtain copies of the volumes through the paper at a twenty percent discount.

Take advantage of this opportunity. Once the available copies are sold they cannot be duplicated.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

84 Est 10th Street, N. Y. C.

French Communist Left Youth in Action Trotsky to Spanish Youth

The following statement is a part of a longer document issued by the National Youth Committee of the Communist League of France (Left Opposition). This statement, which was published in the last issue of *Le Jeune Bolshhevik* (the Young Bolshhevik, central organ of the French Left Opposition Youth) contains, in its total, a description of the deplorable situation of the French youth movement and the miserable failure of the Young Communist League to measure up to its tasks. They point out that despite the most favorable conditions the YCL of France has lost in membership and influence. The following are the proposals they make for the regeneration of the youth movement—Eds.)

We Propose to All Workers

1. The constitution of joint trade union youth committees in the trade union centers (CGT, CGTU, CGTSR, autonomous, christian) to effectively defend the demands of the young workers, to give them an elementary class consciousness and to work for the fusion of the trade union centers.

2. The constitution of a common movement of the unemployed youth.

3. The realization of the unity of the young workers sport movement by the fusion of the FST and the USSGT (the reformist and the revolutionary sport centers—Tr.)

4. The universal creation, particularly where the municipality is socialist, Pupist (the French equivalent of the Mustettes—Tr.) or Communist, of common centers for all young proletarians

regardless of tendency or their organization.

5. Despite the differences marking out the positions of the divers youth currents we should work for a national conference of the young workers in order to determine the possibilities of common action, particularly on the following points;

- For the defense of wages and the reduction of the working day;
- For unemployment insurance to all young workers;
- For the defense of the young worker soldiers and the reduction of military service;
- For complete political and trade union liberty to the colonies and the liberation of the colonial peoples; against Moroccan war;
- For concerted action against anti-Soviet attacks;
- For complete amnesty
- For the cleansing of the workers quarters from the vermin of the A. F. and J. P.

To All Young Communists

1. The conducting of a serious discussion in all the units on the orientation of the J. C.

2. The guaranteeing of the young Oppositionists, members of the J. C., the right to defend their point of view without incurring expulsion or organizational measures.

3. The re-admittance of the Left Opposition group, expelled from the J C on the basis of Bolshhevik discipline within the limits of democratic centralism.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE (LEFT OPPOSITION)

Ninth Plenum of the Young Communist Int'l

"The 9th Plenum of the EYCI took place, analyzed the situation amongst the toiling youth, analyzed certain problems confronting the sections of the YCI, and laid down certain basic tasks for the YCLs to carry out in order to win the majority of the working class youth and toiling youth for Communism under the leadership of the Communist parties. These tasks are to reconstruct the system and method of work, to win the organized youth in the bourgeois youth organizations, to struggle for the most immediate economic needs of the toiling youth, and to organize the youth for a struggle against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union."

The Ninth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International was held, at least so we are told, in September of last year. For six to seven months it was a secret—nobody was told about. Today we are informed by the above quotation, taken from the first in a series of four pamphlets on the Ninth Plenum, called "The Character of the Young Communist League"—what the Plenum decided.

We are not much wiser than we were before. The section quoted is a repetition of statements made in theses for the past number of years when with each new thesis a new "turn" was proclaimed.

The remainder of the pamphlet is devoted to explaining the character of a Young Communist League. One is astounded at the coolness with which the leadership (if you want to call it such) of the YCI and the American League throw overboard—for the time being at least—their old conception of a youth League.

One can find in the *Young Vanguard*, our former youth section of the *Militant* and the *YOUNG SPARTACUS* criticism after criticism of the "shock-pians", semi-military discipline, and development of the League into a "young Communist party", that is, an organization of youth which takes on all the duties, methods and work of a party.

We emphasized the political-educational character of the YCL. The reply was name-calling, renegades afraid of mass work, intellectuals, etc.

Now we are dished up with long forgotten quotations from the decisions of the YCI.

"From its very essence as an organization of Communist education it follows that the YCL can by no means be a kind of a 'young Communist party'. Its educational tasks, and its essence as an educational organization determine the difference between its methods and tasks as compared with those of the Party, and give to the activity of the League as a definite youthful character—(one adapted to and understandable by the youth)."

Many more sections can be quoted. Here's one which would have been called counter-revolutionary only yesterday. "Changing the character of YCL discipline.

1. Discipline in the YCL, because of its character as a broad political youth organization including non-Communists, must be much looser than that of the Communist party, which is composed of Communists, the vanguard of the working class. Discipline in the YCL must be based on conviction, the carrying out of a certain task by a comrade because the comrade has been convinced politically that to carry out such a task is necessary."

"The full membership of the YCL must be involved in the formation of policies."

It all sounds fine. We however have little confidence in the turn. We know from sad experience that the present leadership in the Communist party and the Young Communist League, because of their fundamentally false strategy and tactics on all essential questions of the day are incapable of producing a democratic regime in the League. They are afraid that in genuine discussion the program of the Left Opposition will triumph over Stalinist revisionism!

Dear Comrades,

I learned with joy that you are undertaking the publication of your own paper. A revolutionary current which does not educate the youth will die still-born. In the present world, Communism is the only task of great magnitude which demands a whole series of generations for its complete realization. The proletarian revolution requires continuity. The assurance of this continuity is the mission of the youth, that is to say, yours. How this is to be done, Marxism shows the way.

The strength of Marxism is in the union of scientific theory with revolutionary struggle. On these two rails the education of the Communist youth should travel. The study of Marxism, outside of revolutionary struggle, can create bookworms but not revolutionaries. Participation in the revolutionary struggle, without the study of Marxism, is unavoidably full of dangers, in certainty, half blindness. To study Marxism as a Marxist, can be done only by participating in the life and the struggle of the class: revolutionary theory is verified by practice, practice is clarified by theory. Only the truths of Marxism which are conquered in struggle enter the mind and the blood.

A letter from the Soviet Union, which I received some days ago, states that despite the monstrous persecutions, the arrests and the deportations, new organizations and new Left Opposition (Bolshhevik-Leninists) groups, especially among the youth, have been formed in every industrial center. No repression can break the revolutionary continuity as long as it supports itself on the revolutionary theory.

I hope, with all my heart, that your paper will successfully accomplish the task posed before it the union of theory with practice. This will not be easy. You will make mistakes: we too, the old ones, who possess some revolutionary experience deceive ourselves very often, more often than is necessary. You will learn by your mistakes. The second and the third step will be more certain than the first.

I warmly greet the young proletarian Communists of Spain in the name of the thousands and thousands of our adherents, the Russian Bolshhevik-Leninists, who are carrying on the struggle in the factories and the mines and who are dispersed in the prisons and the camps of exile of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Yours,

—L. D. TROTSKY.

The comrades in the Young Communist League should at this time put their leaders to the test. Reinstate the expelled Left Oppositionists into the Young Communist League, raise the question of Germany in their units and invite Opposition speakers to present our point of view. That poses the question clearly: real workers' democracy or a sham and a hypocrisy!

(We have been informed by our comrades in the New York Young Communist League that since the inauguration of the "new turn" a number of units have gone in the direction away from mass work in the factories. This is in the nature of the turns of the regime which controls the official Communist movement today, Stalinism. It goes from one extreme, Leftism, (ultra-radicalism), to the other, opportunism. We will return to this again.—Ed.)

Young Communists! Demand the reinstatement of the Left Opposition into the Communist party and Young Communist League!

TOM MOONEY N. Y. Youth Organize Anti-Fascist Front CONFERENCE

As could be expected the Socialist leadership did their best to sabotage the Free Tom Mooney Conference held in New York City on Sunday, March 12. The City Central Committee of the SP voted unanimously not to endorse the conference called by the Mooney Molders' Defense Committee in response to Mooney's call for a united front movement to fight for his release. They also instructed the locals of the ILGWU over which they have control not to send delegates.

The conference was a large one, composed mainly of Communist party auxiliaries. Of the 599 delegates reported from the conference platform some 500 were representatives of the ILD, IWO, Unemployed Councils, etc. Many speeches were made by Winter, Alexander and others about the united front with the Socialist and A. F. of L. workers but no plans were laid for bringing them into the Conference and making it a broad gathering.

LEFT OPPOSITION AT CONFERENCE

The Left Opposition was represented by delegates from the League, the Spartacus Youth Club, Unser Kampf Workers' Club, Protomagia, and supporting delegates from workers' organizations. In the discussion the Left Opposition called for a genuine united front. When other delegates said something in the discussion which displeased the Stalinists they were shouted down. But the speech of the L. O. delegate was listened to with the closest attention. The party members were anxious to hear what the LO had to say on the question. This is the first result of our campaign on the German question.

Despite clumsy attempts to unseat its delegate the L. O. is represented on the permanent committee of the conference where it will strive to broaden it.

Socialist Treachery

(We quote from Socialist sources the treacherous and criminal record of the German Social Democracy. Additional quotations may be found in the *Militant* of Feb. 17, 1933, and March 1st, 1933.—Eds.)

* * * *

NEVER AGAINST THE MONARCHY

"An anti-monarchist propaganda, a positive republican activity, was never conducted by the social democracy, because this question appeared to us up to a certain time to be secondary... The imputation that the social democracy wanted or prepared the November revolution, is a ridiculous, stupid lie of our opponents for agitational purposes."

—Philip Scheidemann, Berlin,

June 1922.

(On December 5, 1922, in the trial against his assailants, Scheidemann declared that he requested from Prince Max von Baden the retirement of Wilhelm II "in order to save the monarchy".)

* * * *

FASCISM DEFEATED

"Is there still anybody today who can have any doubts that thanks to our skillful tactics: (read conciliation with Von Papen and Von Schleicher), support of Hindenburg the Fascist dictatorship will not come... The time when Fascism was a deadly danger for the proletariat and for freedom, has passed away since the November battle."

—Heilmann, Kottbus S. P. G. Convention
January 15, 1933.

* * * *

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND HINDENBURG

"On March 13th, the Fascist general assault upon the Libertarian rights of the German people collapsed. April 10th must bring about by the election of Hindenburg the collapse of the National Socialist movement."

—Appeal of "Iron Front",
April 2, 1932.

N. Y. Youth Organize Anti-Fascist Front

A united front committee of working class and student youth organizations has been organized in New York to rally the youth of the city in a struggle against German Fascism. Called originally by the Rand School Students Association as a worker-students conference, the Communist party's Workers School, the International Workers School of the Left Opposition, the New Workers' School of the Lovestone Group, the Brookwood Fellowship, and the National Student League responded.

The first meeting decided to invite all working class and student youth organizations to a broad united front conference which would plan for a demonstration in front of the German embassy in New York. The provisional committee signing the call in addition to the schools are the Young Communist League, the Spartacus Youth Club of New York, the National Youth Committee of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition), the OPLA youth and the Vanguard Club.

The Conference will be held at New York University, on Friday evening, March 24th.

The International Left Opposition, in this country, through the *Militant* and YOUNG SPARTACUS has for over two and a half years hammered at the necessity of a united front of the Communist and Socialist party against German Fascism. In the United States as well as internationally, the official Communist party has permitted the Socialists to take the initiative in calling the united front. Several weeks ago, the New York Spartacus Youth Club addressed a letter to the District Committee of the Young Communist League calling for a joint mass meeting against German Fascism. This appeal was ignored.

At a recent meeting of the provisional committee for the New York anti-Fascist conference, the Rand School delegates issued a three pointed ultimatum. 1. The committee was to denounce an article in the *Daily Worker* which called the conference a "united front from below" against the will and decisions of the Socialist party leaders. 2. No organization was to distribute its own leaflet on the united front. 3. The YCL delegates

were to repudiate an article in the December *Communist* by Manuilsky, head of the Communist International, where he states that the united front is a maneuver to smash the Social Democracy.

If this ultimatum was not accepted the Rand School decided that they would withdraw. Discussion ensued on what a united front was. The representative of the National Youth Committee of the Left Opposition, comrade Joe Carter, explained that the Communists enter the united front for two reasons: first, in this case to help smash German Fascism; second, to win the youth including those in the Social Democracy for revolutionary Communism. In this sense we aim to smash Social Democracy. We will work conscientiously in the united front and maintain a discipline of action. Each group maintains its identity, right of criticism, issue leaflets, etc. The Socialist leaders were against the united front with the Communists and the call for the Conference was an action of the rank and file Socialists. It was ridiculous to ask the Committee to condemn the *Daily* article.

Others spoke along a similar line. The YCL delegates "bent over" a bit to maintain the united front.

The ultimatum was rejected. The Rand School delegates announced their withdrawal from the Committee. Comrade Carter explained the seriousness of their action and urged that the Committee be permitted to send a spokesman to the Rand School student membership meeting to state our position. This was rejected. Calmness however had been restored.

The Lovestoneites introduced a statement on the purpose of the Conference: To rally the working and student youth against German Fascism, the groups submerge their ultimate goals and maintain their own identity! The Left Opposition objected to the phrase "submerge" their ultimate goals, whereupon it was withdrawn on the ground that the meaning is clear without that section! A mere trifle!

After some time the Rand School delegates accepted the motion and the Committee proceeded to make arrangements for the Conference.

The Albany Unemployment Conference

The Albany Jobless Conference for Labor Legislation, held on March 5th to 7th, rallied the usual Left wing groups. Of 348 delegates only seven came from A. F. of L. locals and one branch of the Socialist party was represented. The Left Opposition delegation led by James P. Cannon, and including Horace Schapiro and Al Reiskin of the New York Spartacus Youth Club, presented our viewpoint both verbally and through the distribution of leaflets in the conference hall.

Perhaps our the SYC delegates having been jailed after riding the freights up to Kingston en route to the Conference (which was unwittingly reported in the *Daily Worker*) had a great effect on the delegates, for we were received with a most heart-warming fraternity that Left Oppositionists ever did get from our party comrades who are so viciously poisoned with anti-Trotskyism. We helter-skeltered throughout the hall hotly discussing Duranty's article—on the turn of the Communist International on Germany—when the *Times* arrived. We fraternized with the delegates all through the Conference and our return trip.

There was no one to tear the leaflets that we distributed inside the hall. There was no condemnation of us as "renegades". The delegates listened to our criticism and our proposals attentively

NOSKE DEFENDED BY HIS PARTY

"Noske belongs to the party with all his feelings and thoughts, he has not ceased to be a Socialist and a Democrat by a hair's breadth."

—Decisions of Berlin officials of S. P. G.
September 28, 1919.

and in earnest. While they heckled the Lovestoneites and Weisbord, comrade Cannon's speech was listened to, in quiet, by all.

After the usual revolutionary talk, the Conference settled down to formulating "bills". Precise, legal language was argued over for hours. The thing was disgustingly "practical". The Stalinists once again displayed that when they turn away from ultra-Leftism they turn with a vengeance, into the morass of opportunism.

Clearly it is not by presenting bills in all their fine points—but by arousing the masses to demonstration in accordance with our demands and slogans that you can pass bills. This is how the Left Opposition approaches the question.

The speech of comrade Cannon (*Militant*—Vol. VI, No. 19) should be read to get a clear picture of how we answered the questions posed and suggested how the Conference could be broadened. The Socialist party leaders, with the aid of the false "united front from below" policy of the Stalinists, boycotted and sabotaged the Conference. Only by genuine united front proposals could the Socialist workers be won for common action with the Left wing and Communists.

The Young Communist League did not participate in the preparation for the Albany Conference. They had no representatives on the provisional committee. At least one unit of the YCL (Bronx) passed a motion—under our influence—criticizing this negligence. Several units were represented from below!—at Albany.

TOY WORKERS UNION DRIVE

The Doll and Toy Workers Union is conducting an organization drive in its industry. Its first step was to organize a united youth conference to help it, composed of the Young Communist League, the N. Y. Spartacus Youth Club, the Poale-Zion Youth, Mustelte youth, Yipsels and the Lovestoneites. The last two groups have not as yet elected representatives on the organization committee of the Conference and it is not known, at the time of this writing, whether they have withdrawn or will continue to cooperate, in view of the opening up of a so-called union in the industry affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

The Union was formed last year and conducted a militant strike to organize the two thousand workers in the industry, forty percent of which are youth. Several youth groups including the SYC helped in this strike. After the strike a few shops were signed up, but after the season was over, and several factories had failed, the Union was unable to enforce the agreement. At the same time the Union administration headed by Joseph Canon of the Socialist party and a number of racketeers misused union funds and entered into all sorts of combinations with the bosses. In February of this year, the administration was defeated and a progressive leadership elected. The Union applied for a charter from the American Federation of Labor, and was told that they would have to wait until they had several hundred members who could pay a per capita tax of thirty-five cents a member per month.

Recently the racketeer group opened its own office and received a charter from the A. F. of L. At a recent membership meeting six people, including the official were present! The Doll and Toy Workers Union has protested the granting of a charter to the racketeers and demanded an official investigation.

At a recent meeting of the youth conference an organization committee of one member from each participating group was elected. It consists of Revitch of the Union, Kane of the YCL, Carter of the Spartacus Youth Club, Ogden of the CP LA (Musteltes) and Cohen of the Poale Zion Youth. The Yipsels and the Lovestoneite youth have been asked to elect a representative each on this committee.

At its first meeting the Organization Committee planned the steps which would draw in the members of the youth organizations in the drive. Each group pledged a number of its members for picket duty, distribution of leaflets, etc. Several factories are being concentrated on. The demands of the union are: 44 hour week; no work on Sundays or holidays; no discrimination against union members; union and shop committee recognition; and an adequate wage scale for all workers employed.

All youth of New York should help the Union in its drive. Apply to the Spartacus Youth Club, 126 East 16th Street, or the Doll and Toy Workers Union, 228 Lafayette St., New York City.

Young Spartacus Banned by Canadian Authorities

The January number of the YOUNG SPARTACUS was banned by the postal authorities of Canada. Our militant youth paper which has been condemned as the sheet of the "renegades" and "counter revolutionaries" by the official Communist party and the Y. C. L. has been found seditious and revolutionary by the powers-that-be in capitalist Canada.

We will find means of overcoming this official ban. We call upon the militant American and Canadian young workers to protest this action and come to the material aid of our paper. Send subs and donations, help us build a powerful youth voice.

Homeless Youth Suffer Blows of Capitalist Crisis

The American homeless youth have become an institution in the life of capitalism in this country. Hitherto the old and perennial hobo whose life was voluntarily chosen was the only type of permanent, destitute wanderer. But things have changed, the whole physiognomy of American life has undergone the profoundest changes in these four years of economic crisis. Now we have a new type of "hobo", the young worker and student varying from 200,000 to 1,200,000 who are thrown upon the face of the country to shift for themselves.

Overloading the freight trains, crowding the highways, these young people travel to an unknown destination, from coast to coast, with the sole aim of securing some meagre sustenance and any lodging that is obtainable. Their life is fraught with constant danger. Exposed to the elements, to cold, rain and snow, hundreds of these young "vagabonds" are reported to have been taken off freight trains in advanced stages of pneumonia. Thousands of others, who die untimely deaths from this cause, are never reported. Malnutrition is a common ailment among them. Their food is the slop of the Salvation Army or the crumbs and left-overs procured on the "stem". Death from starvation is rampant among them. Their home is the charitable flophouse, where their clothes and bodies become infested with animals of a lower specie. Their mode of travel is the box car, the flying freight where hundreds and thousands of them are mauled to a gruesome death under the iron wheels of the trains.

But what is more decisive and likewise more appalling is the degradation, and the psychology of despair that creeps into their bones. All the vigor, the vitality, the hope and the joy of youth is crushed and stifled by the terrible conditions of their existence. Truly, a black future stares them in the face. They must degrade themselves on the street corners and in charity institutions begging for a crumb of bread or a few pennies. Like hunted wolves they are driven by railroad detectives and police from city to city. The rules of the salvation army joints are made with the specific intent to keep them moving. If they remain in a city or a town for more than a day or two they are cast into jail and subjected to merciless treatment. The universal cry of the "social" workers is, "On your way, there are plenty of hungry home guards here without you! It is futile to mention that it is impossible for them to obtain work anywhere. But because of this very fact—this enforced idleness over a long period of time—their adaptability to work and industry is killed forever. The state of mind is well expressed in the statement, "We can't find a job, and even if we could we would be unable to work even in the case that we wanted to". Their mode of life leads the more courageous of them to resort to petty thievery which is also a distorted expression of protest against the whole system. And to cap this miserable existence they are a prey to sexual degeneracy. The abnormal life they lead forces them to the horrible expedient of perversion. What a damning indictment of the capitalist system!

A few weeks ago the whole capitalist press was crowded full of stories by sob sisters and yellow journalists of every description, tearfully relating the wretched life of the homeless youth. Need we recall that it was not many months before that these same prosti-

titutes wrote in a very different vein. Then they raged and stormed about the "besprizorni"—the homeless youth of Soviet Russia. Communism was breaking up the home and destroying the precious family relations. But here, in America every young person had a home and plenty of food to eat. They have quite conveniently forgotten about what they wrote and said at that time. But the problem retains its interest because it is so significant. The "besprizorni" of Russia were the result of years of ravaging civil war and a devastating famine. Homes were uprooted and destroyed. Mothers and fathers were killed or permanently disabled. Thousands of children were torn from their moorings and shot to the surface.

But in America there has been no civil war and no famine. There has been no dearth of food or shelter. On the contrary for years we have been lectured that America had been living through a prosperity period, wages were high for all and poverty was permanently eliminated. But aside from this prosperity myth, the granaries are stored to bursting hundreds of thousands of buildings stand empty and unoccupied. Then why the homeless youth in America? The capitalist sycophants are at a loss for an explanation. It is only the Marxists, the Communists who can offer any real analysis and an answer to this question. These homeless wanderers are the grist of the mill of capitalist civilization.

During the upward swing of capitalism, in its days of expansion, it continuously absorbed an ever greater army of workers into industry. The home, that bulwark of capitalist society, was maintain-

ed by the employment of practically every member of the family, women and children included. But those days passed into oblivion with the world war. Capitalism took the downward track. Unemployment became universal and permanent. The greater use of machinery, the cutting down of the market and the development of the colonies required less workers for industry. The reserve army of jobless grows every day. Roosevelt, himself, admitted that even with an upturn more than 5,000,000 workers will never work again. At least as long as the capitalist system survives! The home and the family are broken up when there are no wage earners to support it. The whole family is unemployed. The father stands in the bread line, the mother at the charity institutions and the children wander the country. There is no solution for this problem, on the contrary, it will increase in scope as the years go by as long as the capitalist system is not overthrown by the proletariat.

To repeat: there can be no solution of the problem under this system. Only a workers republic, leading to a classless society can eliminate this destruction of the homeless youth, which says in despair "Life has nothing to offer us". In Soviet Russia the problem has been taken in hand, the "besprizorni" have been put to work and given decent living quarters. They have become a normal, integral part of the worker's society. In capitalist America, however, the solution is of another sort. It is the solution of more intensified exploitation. The capitalist class looks with anxiety at this homeless army. They fear for their pocketbook—and nothing is more precious to them. They fear that a part of this army will become material for the

revolutionary movement. A justified fear indeed!

They have decided to utilize these young workers and students for their own aims. The Congress has appropriated some \$20,000,000 to corral these homeless youth into conscript training camps under the supervision of military officers for a period of more than one year. And according to information which has leaked out the young worker is not to be dismissed from the camp until he has found a job—and that means never. The import of this measure is quite clear. It is to develop cannon fodder for capitalist wars. It is to train an army of strike-breakers, to train these young workers so they can become part of the local militia to shoot picketers and demonstrators. And further, the purpose of these camps is to so pump these young workers full of dope and miseducation that when the time is ripe to turn them into a Fascist legion. To this program of the capitalist class we must counterpose the program of the revolutionary movement, bitterly fighting capitalist militarism at every stop.

While it is true that a considerable section of the homeless youth have been so demoralized and so degenerated by years of their wretched life there are thousands of them that can be won for the revolutionary youth movement. But first and foremost if we are to organize them we will have to build a powerful youth movement in the cities, in the factories, in the mines and the mills. The homeless youth will never be attracted to a stagnant, sectarian movement. Only a virile, thriving and active organization will win them to our side. More than that, it is a burning question for the whole future life of the Communist youth movement is involved in how we treat this problem. With each year the army of permanently unemployed will grow larger. If we do not organize the young workers in the factories they will augment the army of shiftless homeless youth. A great task is before us. Much depends on whether we know how to meet it.

The fight must be begun against these military camps—the breeding places for strike breakers and budding Fascists. We must penetrate them to spread our propaganda and to disintegrate them. Against the camps we must raise the cry for decent conditions, unemployment insurance, trade schools and the like to ameliorate the desperate conditions of the young unemployed. But we must never forget that we could ask for no better weapon against capitalism than this indictment of its system by the very existence of these young destitute wanderers. All our propaganda must resound with the unassailable fact that there will never be any eradication of this condition until we unite our forces for the destruction of capitalism.

—GEORGE CLARKE.

German Campaign Needs Opposition Press MILITANT

With the announcement of Adolph Hitler as Chancellor of Germany, the American Left Opposition decided to intensify its German campaign. The Communist and Left wing movement in the United States had to be awakened to the seriousness of the situation. In the midst of a difficult struggle to maintain the weekly **Militant**, the National Committee decided to launch it three times a week for a period of a month! An "impossibilist" task!

But the trick was turned. The energies, the finances, the time of every member and sympathizer was mustered. Squads of comrades throughout the country were enlisted to sell tri-weekly **Militant** at a penny a copy. Workers never before reached, bought the paper. Our message had such an effect on the Communist party and Left wing workers, that the **Daily Worker**, which had up to then, given its readers small bits of news reports, was forced to give a prominent place to the events in Germany, carry editorials on the party "line", and undertake a bitter and slanderous attack on comrade Trotsky and the Left Opposition.

Enthusiastic and successful mass meetings on Germany were held throughout the country. Hundreds, and perhaps, thousand of party members and Left wing workers attended them. These workers are studying the program of the Left Opposition.

The month's issuance of the tri-weekly **Militant** is over—but our campaign continues with unremitting force. The new half-turn of the Communist International towards the correct tactic of the united front against Fascism makes the class conscious workers especially eager to hear and read our position.

Support the German campaign; Help us arrange larger mass meetings and workers' gatherings! Send funds for the sustaining of the **Militant** and its conversion into a permanent tri-weekly!

The YOUNG SPARTACUS must be sustained and expanded. In our year of existence we have stressed the importance of situation in Germany and the danger of Fascism. In contrast to this the **Young Worker** has carried little or nothing on this burning question of the day. Even after Hitler was appointed Chancellor, its issues, up to the present time, have not carried a word on the meaning of the growth of Fascism in Germany to the American working class. It is a "far off question".

To reach the American working class youth, with our program on Germany, as well as the problems confronting the toilers, and particularly the youth in this country, we have to publish the YOUNG SPARTACUS regularly and in large numbers. At present it is especially urgent to arouse the Communist and Left wing youth. The Spartacus Youth Clubs are actively participating in the German campaign of the American Left Opposition. This must be reflected and aided by the YOUNG SPARTACUS.

The Clubs have an excellent basis for growth during this campaign. Their most powerful weapon is our official organ. It must be supported. Funds should be collected through subscription drives, donations, affairs, etc. Comrades should write for the paper on the activities of the Clubs and the struggles of the working youth.

It is urgent that every comrade get behind our drive. Make the YOUNG SPARTACUS the fighting organ of the revolutionary youth!

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Anti-Fascist Demonstration

Young workers! Young students!

Demonstrate against German Fascism!
Sat. April 1st. at the German Consulate.
Meet at 11:00 A. M. at Whitehall and
South Strs. New York.

Harry Simms Memorial

February 11th was one year since the murder of comrade Harry Simms, the militant young fighter, who was district organizer in Kentucky of the Young Communist League and member of its national committee. He was brutally shot and killed by the hired thugs of the Kentucky coal operators while organizing the miners in that state.

The class conscious youth should not forget this martyr in the struggle for the interests of the workers. Comrade Simms is symbolic of the fearless youth who fight against all odds to organize the movement for better working class conditions and for emancipation.

A drive is being conducted to raise money for a fitting memorial stone for Simms. All funds should be sent to the National Office of the Young Communist League, Box 29, Station D, N. Y. or to the Harry Simms Memorial Committee—care of M. Shour, 67 Bond St., Springfield, Mass.