

CLARITY
AND
ACTION

Young Spartacus

WORKERS
OF THE WORLD,
UNITE!

Published by the National Youth Committee, Communist League of America (Opposition)

Vol. 1 NO. 8

NEW YORK, N. Y., JULY 1932

Price 5 Cents

Young Communist League Members Expelled For Fighting Bureaucracy

The article by comrade Gould discusses the latest developments in the Chicago Young Communist League. Several months ago the Young Communist International sent a resolution on the American situation to the League. The August issue of the *Young Spartacus* will examine this resolution in some detail.

Following receipt of the resolution a discussion took place in the Y. C. L. which is still going on. In early June a Plenum of the National Executive Committee of the Y. C. L. was held in Detroit at which "concrete steps" for the "new turn" were taken. The District Committees, the unit buros and the methods of work are to be reorganized. Nine negroes were added to the N. E. C.

But the involuntary discussion forced

on the leadership of the League has and will result in more than mere organizational changes and the throwing of phrases. The young comrades in the ranks are beginning to see the correctness of our criticism. The article below and the statement of comrade Bern (see *Militant*—7-2-32) testifies to this. We greet the young comrades. We will do all in our power to hasten the process of their development towards the Left Opposition and thereby lay a basis for a mass Young Communist League in the United States and the genuine unity of the Communist forces.—Eds.

* * * *

Not even Gebert himself guessed that his words, spoken at the convention of the Young Communist League District No. 8 last year, against comrades Satir, Andras, and Gould who led the fight on bureaucracy, were so prophetic. The closing words of the factional speech of the party D. O. were "And you may be sure, that our fight against these comrades (Satir, etc.) will not stop even if we must expell two dozen members from our ranks." And so it is. Only one year has passed and the prediction of Gebert is rapidly approaching its quota.

Considering further, that Stalin has coined a new phrase, "Rotten Liberalism" (i. e., taking a 'passive' attitude toward 'alien elements' within the party); and considering that the phrase has found its way into the latest Y. C. I. resolution in which it condemns the National Committee of expressing "Rotten Liberalism" in regard to the "Satir Group"; and considering that the Y. C. L. organizer of District No. 8, Jack Kling, has recently returned from a trip to Russia (a reward for his bureaucracy, his disloyalty and stupidity) and he wishes to exhibit his appreciation, not in words but in deeds; Gebert may become even greater than Jokanaan.

(Continued on page Two)

MILITANT WORKERS FACE DEPORTATION

Inspired by the reactionary, red-baiting Fish Committee, the Dies Bill which has already been passed by the House of Representatives and the Senate subcommittee, is reminiscent of the days of the Palmer raids. Then the drive against the revolutionary workers, more particularly the Communists, was caused by the growth of the working class movement, which reflected the turbulent European events and the critical economic period in this country.

Today the Dies Bill was written to curb the growth of the Communist Party and the activity of the revolutionaries during the worst economic crisis in the history of the United States. It is one of the strong arm means of fighting the radicalization of the American workers. The Bill provides for deportation of all "aliens" who are members in the Communist party or its affiliated organizations. It aims logically for the destruction of the working class movement because such a precedent will extend beyond the borders of the Communist party.

The workers everywhere must begin a mighty campaign against this Bill. The organization of a movement including all working class organizations must be mobilized in this fight against the threats to all foreign born workers. If the Bill is passed the signal will have been given for a wide crusade against the workers everywhere and in particular, the Communist party. There will be arrests, beatings, hasty administrative deportations without an end. The very implications of the bill demand an unrelenting struggle against it. Organize to fight it now.

PICNIC

to be held at
TIBBETS BROOK PARK
NEW YORK — PLOT 2

JULY 10th, 1932 from 10:00 A.M.
till Dusk

for the benefit of
Spanish Left Communist Youth

Auspices: Spartacus Youth Club
of New York

Directions: Take Lexington Avenue
I. R. T. Subway Woodlawn-Jerome to last stop, Woodlawn. Take trolley, bus or walk to park, Plot 2.

1932 Election Campaign

Support the Communist Party Candidates: Foster and Ford

The 1932 presidential elections occur at a most distressing time for inspiring faith in the sanctity of the capitalist system. With the productive apparatus of capitalism badly paralyzed, with twelve to fifteen millions unemployed, and more millions working part time, with slashing wage reductions, with an army of unemployed world war veterans encamped at the doors of the Capital, with hunger and starvation gnawing at the stomachs of countless masses, with the Soviet Union achieving successes, the capitalist politicians are compelled to exert themselves more vigorously and hypocritically than usual to deceive the masses as to the blessings of capitalism.

The reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labor, the labor lieutenants of capitalism, have been snooping around in the corridors of the Republican and Democratic conventions to get them to make some gesture, to throw some bone to the working class to keep it enslaved to the ideology of the bosses.

The sweet fairy tales and the rosy pictures of the abolition of poverty, of permanent prosperity, of a "chicken in every pot", and all the other fantastic dreams presented as part of the uninterrupted forward growth of United States capitalism to the workers in 1928 have evaporated into thin air. Instead there exists capitalism a system full of incurable contradictions which exists for the purpose of accumulating profits for an insignificant few bankers and capitalists and not for the benefit of society as a whole. Under this crazy system millions are deprived of the necessities of life because they have produced too much of them. While workers starve the warehouses are glutted with food.

How have the master-minds, the engineer-economists met this situation. They talked much in the past of undertaking great public construction works during periods of unemployment which if it would not eliminate, at least great-

ly relieve unemployment. There exists today the greatest army of unemployed ever known in this country. They created the Finance Reconstruction Corporation which lends millions to the hard-pressed capitalists but they will not give one cent for unemployment insurance to help the workers. From the outspoken parties of capitalism, the Republican and Democratic parties, only measures in the interests of the capitalists, and for keeping the workers subservient to them can be expected.

The Socialist party has this year adopted a platform with a more radical flavor than in 1928. It is hoping because of the disillusionment of large sections of workers to poll a big vote.

(Continued on page Four)

VETERANS MARCH ON WASHINGTON

About nineteen thousand vets are encamped in the national capital, Washington, demanding the payment of a cash bonus. These former soldiers are workers who have been thrown out of jobs by the present economic crisis. Like their fellow workers they feel the dire need of some measure of relief while they are unemployed and on the brink of starvation.

These workers fought in the last war for "God, country and democracy". The American master class spent a fortune in inducing some of them to enlist and then drafted the others. Big talk, high sounding phrases, patriotic words were hurled at these soldiers when they were needed by the capitalists to fight their critics. Promises were heaped upon promises to keep them contented and in good spirit. Following the world war the American government pledged itself to pay a bonus to these workers who labored so loyally for capitalism. The ex-soldiers who were taken in by the patriotic war talk fell hook line and sinker for the post-war promises. Today they have organized the Bonus Expeditionary Forces to collect in hard cash on the pledge of the government.

VETERANS SHOULD BE WON FOR CLASS MOVEMENT

The living conditions in the camps in Washington are breeding places for diseases of all kinds. Rations are low, government relief is either of the most meagre nature or non-existent. Medical aid is appallingly lacking.

The Communists should utilize this sign of discontent on the part of a section of the exploited to further its aim of organizing the workers into a class movement for their needs and interests. The struggles of the war vets should be interwoven with the fight of all unemployed workers for unemployment insurance and immediate relief. The Ex-Servicemen's League a Left wing organization is working along this line.

But more. The opportunity should be utilized for an exposure of wage-slavery and capitalist war. The workers who were duped before are now having their eyes opened. The preparation for a new world slaughter should be explained and analyzed so that the workers who fought for the bosses will organize with their class, struggle against war and militarism, participate in a daily militant class struggle for their needs, and in case of war be prepared to extend it to the battlefield against the master class.

Struggle Against German Fascism

As each day goes by, the hands of the German fascists become bolder and more aggressive. As for the working class organizations, particularly the Communist party, they become more and more confused, alarmed, and jump from one position to another as yet unable to present any sort of united resistance to the danger that threatens their very existence.

But a few short weeks after the leaders of the German social-democracy led their followers into support of Hindenburg at the German elections (for which the workers have yet to bring those responsible to account) and the "lesser evil" (Hindenburg) showed his true class affiliations by dismissing the Reichstag and calling together the select of the junker class together with agents of Hitler to form the Von Papen government. One of the major points in the Von Papen platform was that against emergency decrees. Now, only a few weeks later, a new emergency decree is forced upon the backs of the working class. The already miserable dole for the unemployed was cut by another 20 percent. In addition a tax of 6.5 percent was levied on the income of all gainfully employed. The few workers left with jobs are forced to take the wage-cut in the form of a tax, while the dole to the unemployed is squeezed down still further.

The decree most potent with danger

however was the one permitting the reorganization of the Nazi storm troops, Steel Helmet organizations and all other semi-military and military fascist organizations, while the ban against the Red Front Fighters, instituted several years ago, is maintained. The Von Papen government is legalizing the creation of the fascist army. We may well ask, are they being armed from the government commissaries too? The worker should have no illusions, Fascism is arming, collecting its forces, preparing to strike. The working class should unite their forces, arm themselves and be prepared to resist.

The Communist Party of Germany, the organization that should be at the forefront of the movement for the creation of effective resistance against Hitler, finds itself confused and unable to rally the great masses of workers. At the present moment, when it should be obvious to everyone that the fight has already come into the streets (every day brings in reports of Nazi and Communist deaths), when it should be clear that the fight is to be determined by rifles and machine guns, at this moment, the C. P. G. proposes to refrain from filing its own candidate for president of the Prussian Diet but to vote for the candidate of the Centrists and Socialists. (*Daily Worker*—June 22, 1932). The step is a false one. They cannot excuse

(Continued on page 2)

HOOVER'S «PACIFIST» PROPOSALS

All the pacifists, liberals and socialists have wholeheartedly greeted the recent proposal of Hoover to the Geneva disarmament conference to reduce by one-third the armies, navies and air forces of this world. What is the purpose of this proposal? Is it really intended as a means for decreasing the danger of war among the imperialist powers? To accept it as such is tantamount to believing that capitalism can exist without the exploitation of its workers or that the leopard can change its spots. It is a noteworthy commentary on Hoover's plan that Fascist Italy, whose pacific intentions no one can deny, and who has constantly proclaimed her desire for new colonies, has accepted the plan forthwith. Italy sees in it a blow at France.

The other imperialist powers have of course raised objections to it. Japanese newspapers have darkly insinuated that Hoover's proposal is nothing more or less than an election campaign move. Their suspicions are not entirely without foundation.

Nevertheless the United States can afford to press for disarmament and has nothing to lose and certain things to gain if she could impose such a program upon the other imperialist powers. The last world war demonstrated the enormous importance of the industrial capacities of a state at war. It proved that it was not so much the armaments a country could prepare in advance as the armaments it could create in the processes of the war that was of decisive consequence. In fact, many of the weapons prepared in advance became obsolete so soon after the outbreak of the war that they had to be replaced by more advanced means of destruction.

The United States possesses an industrial apparatus much superior to any other country in the world. It can produce armaments faster and more efficiently than any other power. Therefore it can very magnanimously propose radical disarmament schemes. Their adoption by England, France and Japan would mean a weakening of their military position because they do not possess the industrial advantages of the United States, and it would also mean a saving of \$2,000,000,000 in the next ten years for the United States.

Hoover's proposal to reduce the armies bears the same counterfeit character. The United States with its great population possesses a great reservoir of manpower. The last war showed how easily hundreds of thousands of men could be quickly trained, and put under fire.

What is required in advance is a large staff of lower officers who can form the skeleton of an army. It is for this purpose that the U. S. government has developed the Citizens Military Training Camps and the Reserve Officers Training Corps.

The young workers who will be the cannon fodder of the next imperialist war must not be fooled by the various disarmament schemes; and particularly Hoover's latest plan. Besides its practical purposes which we have mentioned it has the precise aim of deceiving the masses, of deluding them with the peaceful intentions of American capitalism, which has always attempted to clothe its imperialist plans in democratic and pacifist slogans. The world will be rid of armaments and the horrors of war only when it has rid itself of the system of capitalism.

N.Y. SPARTACUS CLUB

The Spartacus Youth Club of New York held a number of open-air meetings with the message of Communism and the Left Opposition. In the coming period it will intensify this activity. Its regular Friday evening meetings will discuss subjects of theoretical nature and current events which will be of interest to the young workers.

The Spartacus Youth Club will hold a camp-fire at Palisades, New Jersey, Saturday evening, July 28th. Comrades will meet on the New York Side of the 125th St. Ferry at 6:30 P. M. sharp.

Young Communists Fight Bureaucracy

(Continued from page One)

Comrades Irving Bern, Yetta Barshefsky, Harry Hankin, Sam Frifield and Phil Sold (who was making an appeal for readmission) are the latest victims of "party democracy". Their crime lies in the fact that they fought bureaucracy, counteracted successfully Kling's stupid attempt at an anti-Trotsky "enlightenment class", and succeeded in uncovering his infinite supply of falsehoods which he found more and more was necessary to use in the presence of Bern and Barshefsky who caught him at every lie; and for refusing to stop fraternizing with Left Oppositionists until proven that they were counter-revolutionaries.

The bureaucrats of the Y. C. L. District No. 8 have in the last week expelled three comrades, rejected an appeal for readmission of a fourth, rejected membership of a fifth, and as I write this article I am informed that a sixth has been placed upon the rejection and expulsion list.

So precarious has the situation become in Chicago that the bureaucrats are running hither and thither; calling 'classes' and 'discussions'; secretariat meetings and secret conferences, expelling those who protest and promoting those who capitulate; removing this functionary and that; passing the buck to any one who will take it and forcing it upon those who will not.

WHY THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THESE YOUNG COMMUNISTS?

What sins have these comrades committed that they should be expelled? What has taken place in the Y. C. L. that it should become necessary to expel three comrades and reject three others after a silence of six months? What has happened that a new reign of terror has been inaugurated into the League so that those who defend the expelled are threatened with expulsion and the names and addresses of all who abstain are taken?

Simply this: (1) That in line with the new Anti-Trotsky campaign they began to suspect all comrades who fought bureaucracy and terror as being Oppositionists, and demanded of these comrades statements of condemnation. These comrades being the most developed and most sincere in the League refused to do so until they were convinced, until they studied the question. In spite of the League's demand that only party literature was to be read the comrades studied both sides and, of the little they studied, saw the correctness of the Opposition's position.

(2) The failures of the League's last two shock plans, threatened the bureaucracy so that they found it necessary to purge themselves of all comrades who had reputations for fighting bureaucracy and answering "No" when "No" was the only correct answer.

The first two victims of the new campaign were comrades Barshefsky and

Bernick. Two comrades with excellent records of activity and sacrifice. Members of the movement for six years, both of these comrades have been arrested more than once for every year in the movement for their revolutionary activity, and never have either of them been lynched. Both were supporters of the fight against bureaucracy waged by Satir and Gould. In their statements the two pointed out the failure of the anti-Trotsky class to serve its purpose; accused Kling and the district Bureau of spreading slander and concealing facts; upheld the Left Opposition as a revolutionary organization; demanded their re-instatement into the League and Party; and called upon all revolutionaries to study the question of the Left Opposition.

The third victim was comrade Harry Hankin a League member for six months. The charges against him were: "White Chauvinism" and "Trotskyism". That the former charge was false was so obvious that the entire League membership applauded his speech in which he proved that the charge was only a smoke-screen and that the real cause for his expulsion was that he fought the expulsion of Barshefsky the week before and that he refused to call the Left Opposition a counter-revolutionary organization.

Sam Frifield was denied membership on the basis that he refused to stop fraternizing with Left Oppositionists. He was allotted two weeks in which to study the question after which he was convinced (i. e., as far as he read—on Socialism in one country and the German situation) of our correctness.

Phil Sold (expelled six months ago) has been denied re-admission on his appeal on a similar basis Sold like Barshefsky and Bern has a revolutionary record of activity, sacrifice and sincerity.

Meyer Pertula has been summoned to a meeting of the unit Bureau for having fought against the expulsions of Barshefsky and Hankin and for fraternizing with the "Trotskyites". Frifield and Pertula are new members and have been attempting to see both sides of the question. They appealed to Kling to accept our challenge to debate the League in their presence. This Kling flatly refused. They knew then that Kling had something to lose by such a debate.

We of the Left Opposition protest violently against the expulsions from the League of the best fighters and sincerest revolutionaries. We recognize their fight against bureaucracy, and terror, for the right to study and express themselves as a revolutionary right and a Communist duty. We call upon all League members to protest their expulsions. We call upon all true revolutionaries to continue their struggle. We call upon all Communists to study the program of the Left Opposition. Those comrades who have been expelled (Bernick, Barshefsky, Hankin, Frifield, and Sold) we salute as comrades of good caliber.

—NATHAN GOULD.

National Convention of Socialist Youth

On July 21st the Young Peoples' Socialist League will hold its national convention at Cleveland. On this occasion a number of radical sounding speeches by the leaders of the Socialist party and the Y. P. S. L. The "future belongs to the youth", "Socialism rests with the youth", "The youth is the mainstay of our movement" and similar phrases will reverberate through the meeting hall.

The Yipsels have made steady growth in the last two years. Its claimed membership is close to two thousand, which approximates a one hundred percent increase in that period. The economic crisis has had the effect of attracting young workers and students, who the Young Communist League either did not reach or repelled, to the young Socialists.

The coming convention while passing radical resolutions, will in all probability continue the policy of supporting the Socialist party and not intervening in the class struggle. Speeches and even resolutions may be introduced by those ele-

ments who want a decisive change in the work. But even carried resolutions will not avail. The Socialist party will, as it has in the past, put a stop to such "Communist" moves. The young Socialist should see that if he wants to actively aid his class it cannot be done through the Y. P. S. L. For even if it does intervene in the class struggle it will aid the A. F. of L. and Right wingers. His only course is to join the organized Communist youth movement, the Young Communist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs.

The Young Communist League should aid the process of disillusionment of these young workers by offering concrete forms of united front (on unemployment, struggle against militarism and war, specific strikes and relief, Scottsboro) to the national convention. At the same time it will help set larger sections of the youth in motion around the specific class issue. Through this tactic the movement of the working youth, and that which is inseparable from it, the Young Communist League, will be given a decisive push forward.

OPPOSITION YOUTH DEBATES YIPSELS

One hundred people, the majority young, packed the Socialist Center, on a hot sultry night, to hear the debate between the Young Peoples' Socialist League and the Left Opposition youth. Sunday, June 12th. The subject of the debate: **Can the Socialist Party Play a Revolutionary Role?**

The speakers for the affirmative, Geo. Smirkin, National Secretary of the Y. P. S. L. and Sol Larks, an active young Socialist, endeavored to show the leftward drift of the Socialist movement that will result in its ultimately being able to play this role. Their idea was that neither the Socialists nor Communists has the correct strategy for America, but the correct solution lies between the two and the unity of both. The Left Oppositionists endeavored to show that reformism and betrayal lie like an incubus upon the Socialist party which it will never be able to shake off. The weakness of the "Militants" was shown, particularly in the "touchstone" questions as one of the debaters of the Opposition put it, of the State and the idea of attaining Socialism by "democratic means", as the "militants" program states. The negative speakers, proved that to achieve Socialism it is only possible to violently overthrow capitalism and then clap a dictatorship of the proletariat over the defeated class. They showed that the capitalist state is a weapon in the hands of capitalism for the suppression of the workers and its "democracy" was a sham, illusion and pitfall for the workers.

The speakers for the Opposition were comrades Nathan Gould and Norman Satir.

The Stalinists present were treated to the spectacle of the "counter-revolutionary" renegades defending, and defending well, the Communist party. One Stalinist who dared speak, exhibited a shallowness of understanding, truly amazing in anybody in the movement for a greater period than two weeks. At the same time he utilized a choice vocabulary of slander. Such is "Marxism-Leninism" in the era of Stalin!

This is the first appearance of the Left Opposition before the youth of Chicago. It was a fine start.

German Fascism

(Continued from page One)

it with the contention that they demanded in return the guarantee by the Centrists and Socialists of freedom of speech and assemblage. Instead of a united front with the Socialist and Catholic workers, the party proposes one with the leaders. Another dangerous feature of the move, namely, its apparent transfer of the battle-ground from the streets to the parliamentary hall is in no way made smaller by the "conditions." As a matter of fact, the Centrists failed to file a candidate, enabling a Nazi to be elected. Now the Communists have to explain to the worker by what Marxist formula they were able to propose a united front with the Catholics from whose midst the head of the Von Papen government comes.

The Communist party has made a false step. It should hasten to correct it. No move should be taken to create, in the minds of the workers the illusion that Fascism can be defeated by parliamentary manoeuvres. The German Left Opposition has proposed the united front of all workers' organizations and groups, the Communists, Social-Democrats and the trades-unions around the following demands: (1) Military defense against fascism, (2) Against the emergency decrees, wage and unemployment relief reduction, (3) Struggle against war, (4) For workers' control of production and economic collaboration with the U. S. S. R. (5) For the defense of the Soviet Union. Around these slogans the workers can and should be rallied into one gigantic united front movement. Failing to do this, the position of not merely the C. P. G. becomes very shaky, but the very existence of the Soviet Union itself becomes endangered. H. S.

WITH THE INT'L OPPOSITION YOUTH

APPEAL OF SPANISH COMRADES

In this issue of *Young Spartacus* we publish a letter from our Spanish comrades which informs us of their plans to issue a monthly youth magazine called *Young Spartacus*. The remarkable progress of the Spanish section of the International Left Opposition among the young workers and the Young Communist League of Spain has resulted in new recruits won to it daily. Already in eleven of the principal centers of Spain there are youth groups of the Spanish Opposition which are an active force in the intense struggles taking place. A youth organ expressing the viewpoint of the Left Opposition, carrying on the fight for the preservation of the principles of Marxism against the ravages of revisionism being introduced by the Stalin apparatus, and upholding the revolutionary traditions of the youth, is indispensable. Such an organ can play a mighty role in educating and training the cadres of our movement while at the same time acting as an organizer for our Spanish section.

To issue such a magazine our comrades in Spain require the aid of all comrades to help put out the first number. Our comrades feel that such aid for the initial publication will insure the continued appearance of *Joven Esparataco*. Knowing the effects of the economic crisis upon our Spanish comrades the National Youth Committee pledges itself to raise twenty-five dollars for the publication. We know that with such financial aid our Spanish comrades will be able to carry out their work in spite of the terrific economic hardships and the terror of the police which finds our comrades arrested in scores and carried off to prison. The latest issue of *El Soviet*, the organ of the Left Opposition of Spain, was almost totally written from prison where the leading comrades are incarcerated. We appeal to our American comrades to display a little practical internationalism and rally to support of our Spanish comrades. Make your donations as soon as possible. Every bit will help. Send your donations to:

The National Youth Committee,
Albert Glotzer, Secretary,
84 East 10th Street,
New York City, N. Y.

LETTER FROM SPAIN

To the National Youth Committee,
Communist League of America (O.):
Dear Comrades:

We have started to organize the youth sections of the Left Opposition. At the present time we have numerous groups in Madrid, Barcelona, Cadiz, Sevilla, Salónica, Asillero, Sama de Langero, Lugo, Gijón, Oviedo, Maguilla (Bodajoz) etc. In the organ of the Left Opposition starting with the next issue, we will begin to publish our page, *The Young Soviet*. But the big progress achieved in the organization of youth sections of the Left Opposition obliges us to break with the small and narrow frame of a monthly page and to widen our sphere of activities with the publication of a 16-page magazine. The publication of the magazine which will be a monthly, will permit us to come in more close contact with the working youth in general and the young communists in particular. But this imposes big economic sacrifices upon us. The situation of the young workers, due to the deep crisis that Spain is going through, is desperate. For the publication of our magazine we need 300 pesetas. We are counting upon your help and for this we are sending a subscription list. In assuring the first issue, for which we need to collect 300 pesetas, the magazine will be able to live on its own account and its publication for the future will also be assured.

We await material that you will send for publication in the magazine which will be called *Joven Esparataco* (*Young Spartacus*), not only informative articles about the life of the working youth in America and of the young communists, but also articles of collaboration. We

will do likewise; for which purpose the National Committee of the youth delegated comrade Eugenio F. Granell. We await also the names of three or four comrades to be included in our list of collaborators.

We urge you to reply to our appeal for financial aid as soon as possible so that we shall be able to publish *Joven Esparataco* immediately.

With fraternal and Communist greetings,

For the National Committee of the Left Communist Opposition Youth of Spain.

—EUGENIO F. GRANELL.

EL SOVIET GREETUS US

The Communist Left Opposition of the United States is one of the most important bulwark within the ranks of the Bolshevik-Leninists in our effort to purge the international Communist movement, so adulterated by the centrist bureaucracy which, since Lenin's death, by its opportunist actions has not failed to create catastrophes for the international proletariat.

The Youth Group of the United States now appears with an excellent monthly organ of struggle, *Young Spartacus*.

El Soviet Juvenil hails the appearance of the new periodical of our American comrades with the assurance that *Young Spartacus* is a powerful weapon which puts itself in the midst of the class struggle against capitalist oppression, and a firm point in the revolutionary proletarian youth.

OPPOSITION YOUTH FRANCE.—

The Left Opposition youth of France has recently issued a statement to the Seventh National Convention of the Young Communist League of that country. It was printed in the *La Verite of Youth*, the youth page of *La Verite*, and issued in leaflet form for distribution to the Leaguers.

The statement discusses at some length the problems which confront the French working class, and particularly the youth, the policies of the Communist party and the Young Communist League the tasks and tactics that the League should pursue in the coming period.

It concludes by appealing to the delegates to return to the position of the first four congresses and reinstate the Left Opposition.

Labor

While the ages changed and sped.
I was toiling for my bread.
Underneath my sturdy blows
Forests fell and cities rose,
And the hard reluctant soil
Blossomed richly from my toil.
Palaces and temples grand
Wrought I with my cunning hand.
Rich indeed was my reward—
Stunted soul and body scarred
With the marks of scourge and rod.
I, the tiller of the sod,
From the cradle to the grave
Shambled through the world—a slave.
Crushed and trampled, beaten, cursed,
Serving best, but served the worst,
Starved and cheated, gouged and spoiled.

Still I builded, still I toiled,
Undernourished, underpaid
In the world myself had made.
Up from slavery I rise,
Dreams and wonder in my eyes.
After brutal ages past
Coming to my own at last.
I was slave—but I am free!
I was blind—but I can see!
I, the builder, I, the maker,
I, the calm tradition breaker,
Slave and serf and clod no longer,
Know my strength—and who is stronger?

B. B.

BOOK REVIEW

Trotsky on the Chinese Revolution

Problems of the Chinese Revolution, by Leon Trotsky. With an introduction by Max Shachtman. 448 pages. Pioneer Publishers, New York, paper cover \$1.00; cloth cover \$1.50.

* * * *

"No other party, no other class in capitalist society can dare to expose its own errors, its own weaknesses, before the whole world in the clear mirror of reason, for the mirror would reflect the historical fate that is hidden behind it. The working class can always look truth in the face even when this means bitterest self-accusation; for its weakness was but an error and the inexorable laws of history give it strength and assure its final victory. This unsparing self-criticism is not only a fundamental necessity, but the highest duty of the working class as well. We have on board the highest treasure of humanity, and the proletariat is their ordained protector." —Rosa Luxemburg.

In the above spirit our revolutionary teachers, Marx, Engels, Luxemburg, Lenin and Trotsky have explained the social crises of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, penetrated beneath their superficial forms, uncovered the laws of motion in society, manifested particularly during wars and revolutions, and criticized the hazy half-steps, blunders, mistakes and errors of the proletariat. At each stage these revolutionary masters raised the working class, and in the first instant, its conscious vanguard, to a higher plane: clearly understanding its problems and better prepared for its next tasks.

The invaluable and indispensable lighthouse erected for the revolutionary proletariat by our Marxian leaders is today further reinforced and enlarged by the brilliant and searching analyses by comrade Trotsky in the recent collection of speeches and writings on the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27. No less courageous, fearless and intelligent a lighthouse keeper and builder than he, could so brighten up and enliven such a far-distant and heretofore dark land as China. The powerful State forces of the Soviet Union and the apparatus of the Communist International, usurped and misused by Joseph Stalin and his aides, exerted the utmost pressure and coercion to keep these historical documents from the Russian and International proletariat and from the Communist parties. A reading of *Problems of the Chinese Revolution* will make clear the reasons for such condemnable conduct.

Comrade Trotsky, armed with the Marxian method of analysis, the theory of the permanent revolution, a keen knowledge of Chinese economic and social conditions, and informed only in a general way of the particular occurrences (due to the vagueness of the official press) not merely criticized the incorrect strategy and tactics pursued, or errors, mistakes and blunders committed, but did more: he suggested at each stage concrete steps to be taken, what strategy should be substituted for the false one, what tactics should be followed, and foretold with almost prophetic insight the disastrous consequences which would follow the wrong course. This accomplishment, repeated on a number of occasions, is a most brilliant example of the analytical powers of the foremost living Marxist and the leader of the international working class.

TEXT BOOK FOR REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

The *Problems of the Chinese Revolution* will rapidly become a text-book for the revolutionary youth particularly. The problems and need of the colonial and semicolonial oppressed play a big role in present-day world economics and politics and therefore in the life of the international Communist movement.

Especially for the revolutionists of the United States, who have to cope with American imperialism and its intervention in the lives of numerous backward coun-

tries, are the lessons of the Chinese Revolution important. It is our class duty to give direct aid to those oppressed and exploited in these lands. We can best do it if we understand their problems.

This means understanding the importance of an independent course of the Communist party in all countries, its relation to the big bourgeoisie, and the petty bourgeoisie; the question of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" and the agrarian revolution, how to win the peasantry and the city poor under the leadership of the working class, the meaning of Soviets, when under what conditions, the slogan should be issued. The clear and concise expositions by comrade Trotsky not only deal a death-blow to the views and policies of Stalin-Bucharin, but have a more lasting value. They teach positive lessons learned or rather relearned at the expense of uncounted thousands of lives of Chinese workers and peasants.

Besides the writings and speeches of Leon Trotsky, the book contains the theses on the Chinese Revolution of G. Zinoviev, at that time in a political bloc with the Trotsky group. Despite some confusion displayed in these theses (which is explained in the introduction to the book) they contain valuable facts, statistics and analyses. A speech of V. Vuyovi'ch, a former leader of the Young Communist International, and a letter from Shanghai by four supporters of Stalin, are included in the appendix to the book, as supplementary material. A very helpful glossary explaining the more obscure names and terms will be found at the end of the book.

Every revolutionary worker should get a copy of *Problems of the Chinese Revolution*. The Communist youth will find it an invaluable text in applied Marxism. Read and study it and become a better revolutionary fighter in the ranks of Communism.

—JOSEPH CARTER.

Towards an Eight Page Young Spartacus

In the last issue of our paper we announced the drive for an eight page *Young Spartacus* by September. The field for expansion of our youth work is very wide. The young workers are more willing today than ever before to listen to what we have to say and write. The young Socialists are showing signs of life and growth. In the Young Communist League the comrades are becoming more receptive to our position and, as in Chicago, some of them are supporting us. In a word, the youth, outside, in and around the Communist movement are striving to understand what is wrong with present order of things, what to do about it, why the Young Communist League does not become a mass organization, etc.

An eight page *Young Spartacus* will serve as an organizer for the Spartacus Youth clubs and the Left Opposition. It will be able to improve its character by being able to discuss more problems, have more rounded-out news, and having special youth features. In an eight page paper we will be able to print young workers' correspondents from the shops, mills, or mines. This last feature should help convert the paper into a genuine young workers' sheet and lay the basis for further expansion.

Such a paper is an imperative need. We appeal to all comrades and readers of the paper to help us establish an 8-page *Young Spartacus*. It depends upon response of our comrades as to whether we shall make good our plans as proposed. Donations sent in now will help our fund, pledge monthly donations and build up our subscription list. We are calling upon all comrades to act quickly and join us in our drive. Send all donations, pledges and subscriptions to the National Youth Committee at 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

Spartacan Comments

ON THE SPOT BY RIDEM

Hello, Ridem. Here's our welcome to you and your weekly column in the **Militant**. Combining the virtues of the cowboy and an Al Capone man, you use the rope and the gun. Lassoing the choicest bits of the week, you shoot them full of pungent iron-y.

A warning: If you put too many of 'on the spot' and then 'ridem' (or is it done in the reverse order?) you will have a heap full of rubbish! (Don't misunderstand me!) At least once a month get the garbage man to take away the remains of the corpses.

In any case the readers of the **Young Spartacus** readers are going to follow your column carefully and critically. Beware of the youthful critics!

FEDERAL BUDGET DEFICIT

Well, boys and girls, we're almost bankrupt. "Our" deficit for the year ending June 30th is about three billion berries. Quite a neat sum. We will have to begin economizing. No more lolly pops and ice-cream sodas. Of course if a couple of banks are hard up we will float a couple of million bucks worth of bonds for the Reconstruction Finance Committee. What, you object! You want unemployment insurance and immediate relief! For god's sake have some consideration for the starving bankers and bosses; show your humanitarian instincts don't be selfish. Help the other fellow first. You know we cannot afford to aid both at the present time. Feed yourself with the knowledge that you are above class interests and support your fellow-man. Fast, go hungry and starve, God and the Pope will help you.

AMERICAN AMATEUR SPORTS

American amateur sports are becoming more popular. In prize fighting, the former pros now compete in order to win a prize and then sell it for a five or ten spot. The colleges and universities this year more than ever are taking steps to get the best athletes to attend their institutions. Of course, purely in the interests of the spirit of Alma Mater! Commercialization, in these places, never. Solely good sports, and winning teams.

The recent decision of the Eastern Intercollegiate Ass'n. to prohibit broadcasting of football games played under its auspices is made completely in this spirit. Gate receipt reductions of course had nothing to do with it. We suppose they don't want to clog the radio air up and so as make room for other programs. These good hearted gentlemen should be commended for their involuntary sacrifice.

MUTTERINGS

What a god-damn hot day . . . So Hoover is going to run again . . . The ex-soldiers in Washington are making it warm for the one hundred percent patriots . . . The Sharkey fight sure was a fluke . . . America is dictating terms at both Lausanne and Geneva . . . Bill Foster arrested in California for 'suspicion of criminal syndicalism—a funny charge . . . Why the hell are the workers so passive today . . . Another frame-up went through in the Kentucky coal fields . . . Miners in East Ohio are once again on the strike . . . We don't seem to be far from a world war . . . The Spartacus Youth Club is discussing the war danger Friday nite. —PLEBIAN.

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Published Monthly by the National Youth Committee, Communist League of America (Opposition) at

84 East 10th St., N. Y. C.

Vol. 1, No. 8 July 1932

H. Stone, Business Manager
Editorial Committee

Martin Abern Joseph Carter
Albert Glotzer George Ray

Subscription rate: \$0.50 per year; Canada and Foreign—\$0.65. Five cents per copy. Bundle rates 3 cents per copy.

REVOLUTION—An American Tradition *Early Development of Capitalism*

July 4th. marks the celebration of the Declaration of Independence which signified the official rupture of the Colonies from England. The revolution which had already begun was strengthened by it and in turn made possible the establishment of the Declaration in fact. At this time it is the duty of the proletariat of this country, engaged in the task of the revolutionary transformation of capitalism to seek the lessons of the Revolutionary War of 1776, which has been concealed by the conscious efforts of bourgeois historians, and who use it in their own interests.

The Revolution of 1776, which gave birth to the United States, grew out of the conflicting economic interests of the colonies and the Mother country, England. The small handicraft and manufacturing system and the growth of agriculture, bearing the seeds of the future capitalist development, pushed to the foreground the struggle for a complete break with England. It must be clear that the revolution was a bourgeois revolution, but it was a progressive one. It laid the basis for the independent capitalist development of the colonies into the present United States. In broader historical aspects, the Revolution was one of a series of national wars and revolutions that convulsed the whole world for decades, and prepared the ground for the full development of capitalism.

The efforts of the ruling class today to conceal the revolutionary heritage flow from the interests of preservation against the oncoming revolutionary battles of the modern proletariat engaged in the work of destroying an outlived capitalism. These efforts find expression in this particular sphere through the suppression of the true history of the development of America. Revolution is today the object of scorn, derision and suppression and the history of the country is mutilated and falsified.

BOURGEOIS HISTORIANS "LIQUIDATE" REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS

An excellent illustration of this point is the following from the directives to teachers of history for elementary schools, taken from a state manual and quoted by the authors of **Middletown**:

"The right of revolution does not exist in America. We had a revolution 140 years ago which made it unnecessary to have any other revolution in this country . . . One of the many meanings of democracy is that it is a form of gov-

ernment in which the right of revolution has been lost . . . we have repudiated old European methods of settling questions and have evolved for ourselves machinery by which revolution as a method of changing our life is outgrown, abandoned, outlawed".

That is the view of the capitalist class whose celebration of Independence Day consists of an attempt to forget the revolutionary heritage of this country and substitute that tradition by smug conservation, with the aim of eternal preservation of the existing system of class exploitation. And so with the historians who have spent their lives writing tales of battles, heroism, beautiful ladies and staunch patriots, evil Britishers and the Stamp Act, without attempting to seek the more fundamental reasons for the revolution. In recognizing this dearth in the history of the country, Sidney G. Fisher, one of the wiser of the bourgeois historians, offers the following explanation:

"They may have thought that the Revolution was too much involved with the rights of man and levelling principles of plebian advancement . . . and a colorless triumph of the masses over princes and aristocracies." (The Struggle for American Independence, page VIII, Intr. Vol. I).

The answer is to be sought here. The fear that the masses may learn too well the lessons of the Revolution, of the organized and united struggle against an oppressor. The tradition of revolution maintained itself through the Civil War which marked a revolt of Slave System of the South against the Capitalism of the North—and of Northern Capitalism against Southern Slavery.

* * * *

Since the Reconstruction Period following the Civil War, American capitalism has developed steadily. In this tremendous growth, the fiery traditions that marked the history of the country were pushed far into the background. American capitalism seeks to forget that history and its lessons. The American revolutionaries must bring it to life, study and utilize it for the coming battle of the modern proletariat against imperialist capitalism of today.

"The right to revolution", says Engels, "is, in the last analysis the only real 'historic right' upon which all modern states rest without exception . . ." It is the 'historic right' of the American working class.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

1932 ELECTION CAMPAIGN

(Continued from page One)

It looks forward to the day when it too can serve the people (the capitalists) in the same way its brother-parties in Europe have served. Like MacDonald in England who had the workers and peasants of India shot down because they struggled for liberation from British imperialism or like the Social Democratic party of Germany, which supported Hindenburg, the former Kaiser's general, who is now opening the gates for Hitler. Up to now the Socialist party can boast of such modest achievements as helping the bosses in the needle trades or building good sewers in Milwaukee and Reading, Pa. but it aspires to greater things. It has much faith in capitalist democracy, and wants to convince the workers of the omnipotence of the ballot-box.

In contrast to all the other political parties, from those which openly defend the present order of things to those who pretend to fight it there stands the Communist party. This is the only party which any class-conscious young worker or student who understands his class interests can support in the elections. For only through the destruction of the capitalist system can humanity be freed from the horrors of capitalism.

The Communist party must utilize this election campaign to win as many workers as possible to the banner of Communism. We of the Left Opposition will assist in this task, despite the fact that we have been expelled from the Party and the Young Communist League for our Marxian criticism of many false pol-

icies. Our criticism is aimed at making the Communist party a better instrument for winning the workers to Communism.

The election platform of the Party constitutes an improvement over that of 1928 in so far as it is more concise, and instead of over one hundred demands, has concentrated on what it regards as the six most outstanding demands of the masses. It has however a number of serious shortcomings. While it correctly demands unemployment and social insurance for the workers and emergency relief for the impoverished farmers, it fails to also demand emergency relief for the workers pending the enactment of a law for unemployment insurance. It fails to include the demand for a shorter workday—the six hour day and five-day week without reduction in pay. While it correctly includes equal rights for Negroes, it also includes the erroneous slogan of self-determination for the Black Belt. It does not sufficiently link up the immediate demands with the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

The youth members of the Left Opposition and the Spartacus Youth clubs will participate in the campaign for the support of the candidates of the Communist party. In addition to the general communist program it will fight for the particular demands of the young workers, such as: the right to vote for all youth 18 years or over, abolition of child labor establishment of work schools for young workers modelled on the present system in the Soviet Union.

—GEORGE RAY.

Early Development of Capitalism

By capitalism is meant that system of economy wherein: the means of production and exchange are the monopoly of a small group (the capitalist class); production is carried on for the profit of this class; goods—that is, socially useful things—are produced for the market; the workers, the large mass of the people, being deprived of the means of production sell their labor power to the capitalists for wages.

Capitalist society had its beginning in agriculture and handicraft. Improved methods in agriculture made possible the exchange of surplus products. Products intended for exchange become commodities.

The craftsman working independently at some particular phase of the handicrafts is of course a producer of commodities, since he disposes of his goods on the market.

Thus with the development of the commodity system there came on the scene the merchant who engages only in the business of buying and selling. The money he invested in these transactions is known as merchant capital.

The income of the craftsman and the laborer depended to an extent on his skill and industry. This of course has its limits. The income of the merchant however is determined by the amount of capital he possesses. The more capital he has the larger is his income. Here we had the source for the making of great economic inequalities in society.

NEW PRODUCTIVE FORCES

Due to improved means of transportation by water, trade developed widely. There came into use the water route to India, and America was discovered. Through the plundering of foreign lands, piracy, smuggling, slave-trading and war, merchant-adventures accumulated vast wealth. At the same time these new commercial routes and discoveries opened new markets. The old handicraft system was unable to satisfy the rapidly increasing demands of the new market. A form of production had to be instituted which would adapt itself to the new demand.

The merchants naturally wanted to satisfy this demand for it meant more profits for them. They had the money to purchase the necessary means, raw materials, tools, factories, and labor. But where was the last to come from? Fortunately for the merchants, peasants were being driven from the soil. The landlords also wanted their share in the new prosperity. On the former lands of the peasants they raised sheep, and sold its wool for manufacture. The peasants driven from the soil were compelled to deliver themselves to the merchant-capitalists.

BEGINNING OF MANUFACTURING

At first the capitalist delivered raw materials to the hired workers and collected from them the finished product. Later he found it advantageous to gather them in a large building called a factory (Manufacturing).

As soon as workers produced together in a factory it was discovered that a division of labor increased the profits. Gradually systems of production became so developed that each operative had to make but a single motion or perform a single operation. That is, the laborer had been reduced to the level of a machine. Only one step remained—to replace him with a machine, and that step was taken. It was made possible by the development of science—and especially by the application of steam-power to industrial processes. The introduction of machinery meant an industrial revolution. With this change economic development became the triumphant march of capitalism.

(The above sketch is that of the development of capitalism in England. See Chapter I "The Class Struggle", Karl Kautsky).