

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

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

VOL. 1, No. 12

NEW YORK, N. Y., NOVEMBER 1932

Price 5 Cents

## SCOTTSBORO BIG VICTORY

# Hail Red Russia!

## Workers Celebrate Fifteenth Anniversary of Soviet Rule

On November 7th, the Scottsboro movement won a victory when the United States Supreme Court handed down a decision voted on by seven of the nine judges that the trial accorded to the seven Scottsboro boys in the state of Alabama was unfair. The decision had to take cognizance of several facts raised by the counsel who appealed the case; the fact that the boys were at first not allowed to procure a lawyer, the fact that the entire case was tried in a lynching atmosphere, the fact that the boys were considered guilty long before they were convicted.

The story of the Scottsboro case is a simple one. Some time in 1931 a freight train running through Alabama carried as "passengers" several jobless Negroes and white boys who began to quarrel, with the result that the white boys had to jump off the train. They immediately notified the police who had the train stopped and the Negro boys arrested. Among the others on the train were two girls in men's clothes, who at first testified that they were in no way harmed by the Negro boys, but later were "convinced" by the state solicitor that they had been raped. The trial took place on April 6th, on Fair Day, in the town of Scottsboro. The entire town had been whipped up to a lynching spirit, brass bands were ready to greet the jury when they declared the verdict, the jury itself consisted of white business men who had no sympathies with "niggers", the defendants were not allowed to choose a lawyer and though they were all minors they had not even been allowed to notify their parents. With such a trial, only one verdict was possible. The boys were found guilty and condemned to burn in the electric chair.

The Communists and the International Labor Defense came to their aid. A mass movement was organized in the United States and throughout the entire world. Again it was the Communists who showed how the capitalist frame-up should be fought.

With the aid of the pressure of the working class the International Labor Defense was able to appeal the case before the Supreme Court and secure the decision it did. It is interesting to note that one of the judges was even compelled to acknowledge some of the sharp criticism levelled at the Alabama Court. The criticism of the working class that made itself felt even in the colossal chambers of the Supreme Court. But the working class cannot give up the fight half way. We cannot stop until the boys have been freed from all danger. More demonstrations are required for that, more protest meetings, a still larger movement embracing more and more workers, greater support to the International Labor Defense which has so courageously taken up the cause of the Negroes in the South. Only in this way can we liberate the boys who today lie in the death-house and deal the first mortal blow to the race hatred which is so detrimental to the working class. All aid to the International Labor Defense! The Scottsboro boys shall not die!

Fifteen years of working class state power! What a wealth of lessons, what hope, what an inspiration this holds for the oppressed and the exploited, the down-trodden and the disinherited! The American workers who today carry the heavy burdens of the economic crisis, who are cursed with unemployment, wage-cuts, and speed-up feel very acutely the meaning of wage slavery and oppression in the most highly developed and richest capitalist country. They still do not understand the need for revolutionary change. The example of the Soviet Revolution should illuminate this need and the road to be tread towards this end.

Fifteen years ago the workers and peasants of Russia overthrew their capitalist and landlord masters and established the rule of the toilers. The working class, led by the Bolsheviks, gathered behind itself the land-hungry and exploited peasants, the peace-hungry soldiers, and the oppressed subject national peoples, into a powerful revolutionary movement. The Soviets, the popular organs of the masses, became the governmental form of the working class dictatorship. This iron role has as its functions the suppression of the counter-revolution and the preparation of the way for a socialist, a classless society.

### THE BEACON LIGHT OF THE WORKERS

The Russian working class inherited a backward country. It went through years of internal counter-revolution and foreign intervention. Several years of economic boycott by foreign capitalism hindered its development. The expected proletarian revolutions in Europe which the Bolsheviks had counted on coming to their aid, had failed. Despite all these difficulties, in spite of the crimes, blunders and mistakes of the Stalinist bureaucratic leadership of the Communist International and the Russian party for which the world revolutionary move-

ment, has and is paying dearly, the Soviet Union today stands out as a beacon light.

The Russian revolution triumphed as a result of the correct leadership given to the workers and peasants by the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky. Armed with revolutionary Marxism, a clear understanding of the needs of the masses, an objective analysis of the class forces, a courageous and fearless determination and will, these peerless leaders transformed their theories into practice and created the living incarnation of proletarian internationalism, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. It was the Bolsheviks who founded the Communist International as the general staff of world revolution. The Russian Soviets are the fortress of this revolutionary movement which must be defended and extended.

### PLANNED ECONOMY REQUIRES REVOLUTION

The Soviet Union has not only maintained power for fifteen years but has shown to the entire world the immense creative forces that lie hidden in the working class. The achievements of the Five Year Plan, the tremendous industrialization of the country, despite its many shortcomings, mistakes, and difficulties, proves conclusively the superiority of planned economy over that of capitalist chaos. To speak of capitalism and national planning is like referring to a round square. Planned economy requires production for use and not for profit; means the abolition of capitalism; its revolutionary overthrow and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship.

The American workers once in control of the immense productive apparatus that it produced could raise its standard of living tremendously, abolish unemployment, misery, poverty, and increase the cultural well-being of the masses. But for this it is necessary to absorb the

lessons of the Russian revolution. We must understand the need of the dictatorship of our class, the workers. We must build a revolutionary party, the Communist party.

The international Left Opposition under the leadership of L. Trotsky has criticized the theories, policies and practices of the present leadership of the Russian Bolshevik Party, and the Communist International. We have criticized the stifling of workers' democracy in the proletarian organizations in the Soviet Union. Our Russian comrades were the first to propose planned economy in concrete form. They were in the forefront of the struggle for the rapid industrialization of Russia, etc. Today they are fighting for the regeneration of the Russian Communist party, workers' democracy and correct tempos of development of industry. The aim of the International Left Opposition is to regenerate the entire Communist International on the basis of revolutionary Marxism.

### IMPORTANCE OF MARXIAN POLICIES TODAY

Today we are on the eve of a new wave of proletarian revolutions. In Germany the danger of Fascism threatens. The German Communist Party can, with correct tactics, accomplish the proletarian revolution. Out of either situation a war against the Soviet Union by the imperialist powers is almost inevitable. The perspective of the completion of Socialist society in the bounds of Russia isolated from the rest of the world—which is based on the view of the stabilization of Europe for decades—is being smashed by real life. This false theory of the leadership of the Communist International, headed by Stalin, has led to the underestimation of this new revolutionary wave.

The actual results depend upon the policies and leadership of the revolutionary party, the Communists. If these lead to defeat, the existence of the Soviet Union will be seriously threatened. If, on the basis of correct policies and leadership, successful proletarian revolutions take place, then the question of 'socialism in one country' is relegated to the museum of 'old Bolsheviks', since the revolutionary governments thus formed will immediately integrate their economies with that of the Soviet Union. **JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARY RANKS**

Communist workers, demand the return of L. D. Trotsky and Christian Rakovsky and their comrades to the Soviet Union which they have helped to found and defend. They are the best champions of the Russian and International Revolution.

We of the Left Opposition Youth call upon the working class, the young workers and students to join us in the struggle for the defense of the Soviet Union and the overthrow of American capitalism which is inseparably connected with it.

—JOS. C.

## YOUTH RALLIES TO MINERS' RELIEF

Several youth organizations have responded to the call for help from the striking miners of Illinois. On Oct. 22 the CPLA Youth group, the Spartacus Youth Club, the Lovestone youth group and several other young worker and student clubs met in a conference to find ways and means of raising relief for the Illinois miners striking under the leadership of the Progressive Miners of America.

### SEND AID TO THE MINERS

Although the strike has passed its high point and thousands of miners have returned to work under the aegis of the PMA the crying need for relief is still a burning necessity for the Illinois coal diggers. There are many thousands of miners who have refused to return to work under the heel of the Lewis union

and are staunchly holding out until the PMA—the union of their choice—will be recognized. The militia, the courts and brutality beyond description are being employed by coal operators and their henchmen to paralyze the resistance of the miners. Thus far these methods of terrorism have been unsuccessful. But the continued stand of the embattled coal miners now becomes a matter of physical endurance—how long they can remain without food and clothing.

At the conference there were only a few small organizations. It can hardly be called representative of the radical youth of N. Y. Both the YPSL and the YCL the largest youth organizations in the city were conspicuous by their absence. The Yipsels declined the in-

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**Organization Notes****NEW SPARTACUS CLUBS FORMED**

In the last few weeks some substantial progress has been made in the organization and consolidation of Spartacus Youth clubs. In **Minneapolis**, the comrades have succeeded in forming a SYC. They now have about half a dozen members. Conscientious and militant activity, the wide distribution of the YOUNG SPARTACUS, direct contact with the youth in the existing labor organizations, will insure the growth of our Club in that city.

**TORONTO—**

In **Chicago**, the SYC has organized several study classes. It attends all the public functions of the Young Communist League and the Yipsels. The comrades from time to time issue leaflets on specific subjects to the members of these groups explaining the Left Opposition's program.

**CHICAGO—**

In **Toronto**, our comrades have formed a Spartacus Youth Club with promises of rapid growth. Some of the members are the founders of the recently organized student league. Good contacts have been developed in the Young Communist League and the Yipsels.

Adult comrades and branches in other parts of the country should make efforts to organize Spartacus Youth clubs. Boston, St. Louis, Kansas City, Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Cleveland, Newark, put a few comrades in charge of the work and request aid and direction from the center.

Members of the Spartacus Youth Clubs should write for the YOUNG SPARTACUS. Secretaries of the clubs should send in regular reports for publication in our press.

**NEW YORK**

With the close of the open air season, the Spartacus Youth Club of N. Y. has embarked on its winter program. With the election of its new executive committee and the moving into new headquarters at 126 East 16th St., the club was able to elaborate a good series of activities.

Our first class, in the A B C of Communism, with George Ray as instructor, was started. Open club meetings were held in November on the presidential elections, the Russian revolution, the Life of Debs, and the results of the German elections. The newly elected entertainment committee has arranged an affair for Saturday, Nov. 26, at our headquarters.

Most important in the past period has been increased contact with members of the YCL and friendly collaboration with them.

**CARTER SPEAKS BEFORE YIPSELS**

Comrade Joe Carter spoke at a circle of the Yipsels in the Bronx, N. Y. on the subject: The program of the Communists. His presentation was greeted by a host of questions and some interesting discussion by the small group present.

Comrade Carter has been invited to speak before the same circle on Sunday, Nov. 27th. The subject is: The Communists and the Trade Unions. The place is the Farbund Housing Coop, 2925 Matthews Ave., Bronx. All comrades are invited to attend.

**Spartacus--Yipsel Debate**

On Saturday evening, December the 10th the Spartacus Youth Club of N. Y. will debate the Yipsels on the question: Socialism or Communism—Which Program for the Working Class? Gus Tyler will defend Socialism. Joe Carter will defend Communism.

The place is the Labor Temple, 14th St., and 2nd Ave. The admission will be fifteen cents. All N. Y. readers are urged to attend.

**THE MEANING OF THE DEMOCRATIC LANDSLIDE**

The millions who voted for Franklin D. Roosevelt for President of the United States did so with the hope that his election would bring them some relief from the sufferings inflicted by the economic crisis. In doing so, the American workers revealed the strong hold capitalist ideology and illusions still have on them. Roosevelt, they thought, could perhaps improve their conditions immediately. Socialism or Communism is at its best a matter of distant and unknown future. From this point of view these millions gave the Socialist and Communist parties no or very little consideration.

It is unfortunate that Hoover will remain in the White House until March 4, that is, during the winter months in which the workers will experience some very hard and bitter times. If Roosevelt assumed office immediately, it would be a practical demonstration that no capitalist politician, Republican or Democrat, can change the economic laws of capitalism which periodically precipitate economic crises.

Hoover is attempting to draw Roosevelt into sharing the responsibilities for the government policies for the remainder of his term. But Roosevelt, as a wary and experienced politician, is making it clear that while he is willing to meet with Hoover, the responsibility for what happens lies upon the latter's shoulders.

**DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS PERMIT CHANGES!**

The capitalist press is trying to represent the Nov. 8th elections as a great political overturn. This great change from the Republican to the Democratic party was accomplished through our wonderful democratic institutions. Says the *N. Y. Times*: "It (the elections) reassured the people that they are still in control of their own Government and can alter it when they please. It anew convinced millions of voters on the verge of despair that our democratic methods are still flexible enough to respond to popular will." And continues very seriously, but ironically for the jobless: "This should be a great aid to public morale in bravely enduring the hardships which the unemployed and needy will surely have to face for months to come." (11-13-32). Three cheers for our democratic methods! A revolutionary (?)

**More Expulsions in the Chicago Y.C.L.**

The rotten cavity in the Y. C. L., the Stalinist bureaucracy, has caused more pain in the revolutionary movement by the recent expulsions of comrades John Gregory and Al Lewis. Both of these comrades were in the League just about one year and could not understand why the leadership of the Young Communist League had to fight the "Trotskyites" by the fist, instead of by free discussion since the program and the tactics of the Communist International is supposed to be so correct. In the expulsion of these two comrades the Y. C. L. took another step on its ruinous road of bureaucracy. The district secretariat portrayed to these comrades how well a bureaucracy works by limiting the discussion to twenty minutes (nineteen of these minutes were used by the bureaucrats, Graham, Green and Morton, to spill their slanderous and lying charges leaving one minute for Gregory and Lewis to defend themselves).

The charges against these comrades which were published in the "Workers' Voice" are: (1) White Chauvinism; (2) Being active members of the Trotsky Group before and joining the Y. C. L. to disrupt it; (3) Organizing a whispering campaign among the pioneers against the food in camp. (All of the comrades who are acquainted with Lewis and

change of government by peaceful means! This nonsense is the new gospel of the daily press.

**SOCIALIST RECEIVE SMALL VOTE**

The Socialist party, whose activities all year around center about election campaigns, expected to poll close to two million votes. Although the complete returns are not yet available, it is clear that it not only did not attain this figure, but will hardly exceed the Debs Socialist vote of 1920 of nearly a million. Norman Thomas received a vote which, with the exception of 1928, was proportionate to the total vote smaller than any Socialist party presidential candidate since 1904—out of the 40,000,000 he received approximately 2.5 percent. In 1922 Debs had polled 5.9 percent of the total vote. It is apparent that the reported large drift of middle class votes had at the last moment, for fear of a Hoover victory, switched to Roosevelt.

**COMMUNIST INCREASE NOT SUFFICIENT**

What was the Communist vote? The figures are not yet available, but we can assume from all indications a two to three times increase over the 1928 vote, which was about 50,000. The full Communist strength is not fully reflected in the elections, due to the disenfranchisement of foreign born, Negro, sections of the jobless—who are without homes, youth under 21, etc., who are supporting the Communist party. But taking this in consideration, the Communist vote is exceeding small.

This is not accidental. The party has failed to carry on consistent and effective work among the organized in the American Federation of Labor. It has as yet, failed to organize an unemployed movement of large dimensions. In recent times particularly, it has done little work among the unorganized employed workers. One should note an exception the comparative large increase the party received in Cook County, Illinois (which includes Chicago) where it has succeeded in arousing a mass unemployment movement. The test of the ineffectiveness of its daily activity nationally in the working class front is shown by the election returns. This once again drives home the lesson of the need of correct tactics and policies in the daily activity among the masses.

**YOUTH RALLIES TO MINERS' RELIEF**

(Continued from page one)

itation on the ground that the S. P. has its own relief department for strikers' relief. This is an unadorned excuse by which they are sabotaging the united front. The work, or the lack of work through their own relief channels, is sufficient proof of the insincerity of the YPSL in the cause of miners relief. The YCL which had not been called upon as a sponsor of this cause (a reason which prompted the Spartacus Youth Club not to be one of the initiators) has been called upon to participate in the conference and its activities. Its answer has been non-committal, so-to-speak—"we shall see". At the next session of the conference we will find out whether or not this attitude is merely a stall to steer clear of the work for the miners' relief in N. Y.

**SEND RELIEF TO CONFERENCE**

The conference took several concrete steps to prosecute the campaign for relief. It elected an Executive Committee to handle all details. It issued collection boxes and set Nov. 13 as the general tag day. It decided to run a dance—the time and place will be decided in the very near future. It proposes to visit labor organizations to collect funds.

The Spartacus Youth Club, while realizing the deficiencies of this united front body sees in it the only youth relief organization for the striking Illinois Miners. It calls upon all working and student youth organization to participate in the conference and in its relief activities.

**CHILDREN MARCH ON WASHINGTON**

Preparations for the march on Washington for Nov. 25 by a number of children delegated from working class neighborhoods throughout the country appear to be showing swifter progress as the date for the march draws near. Reports from New York City show a good response thus far to the appeals and organization measures of the Young Pioneers and the YCL.

Despite the lack of sufficient time and preparations, which met with correct criticism from a few of the most active comrades in the leadership, the response indicates a good field of work which the Communists must now carefully follow-up and develop. The misery and poverty of the unemployed fathers and mothers hits most harshly their children. This fact is attested to by figures showing enormous undernourishment here in New York. A survey reported in the *Times* of recent date states over 20.5 percent of New York school children suffering from malnutrition!

**COMMUNISTS LEAD CHILDREN**

The plight of these working class children has thus far been taken up only by the Communists through their children's organization, the YOUNG PIONEERS. The struggle for the children's demands should be linked up organizationally with the struggle of the workers as a whole—through a correct united front policy on the part of the Communists. This can become a fine issue around which to rally the labor movement, the unemployed and the employed in a united fight against the boss class starvation program. But of even more vital importance, such a tactic can become a guarantee that the Children's Hunger March will not turn out to be just another demonstration, forgotten as soon as it is over. These facts our comrades in the movement must follow to insure the complete success of the march.

**TROTSKY EN ROUTE**

Comrade Leon Trotsky has left Prinkipo for Copenhagen, Denmark. At this place he will lecture to the Students Association on the significance of the Russian Revolution. His wife and three foreign comrades are accompanying him on this trip.

—I. B.

## STUDENTS' PROTEST MOVEMENT GROWS

The Evening Session of City College of New York has dismissed Oakley Johnson, an instructor, for championing student rights and supporting the Communist party. The reasons given by the administration are of course technical—but the circumstances surrounding them leave no one in doubt as to the true character of the case. As faculty-adviser of the Liberal Club he had supported student demands and had thus come into conflict with the school hierarchy. To quote from the statement issued by Oakley Johnson: "The issue here, is that of academic freedom for both teachers and students. Can college teachers openly choose their own political beliefs?.. Can college students organize in clubs to discuss and publicize their opinions on social and political questions?"

In Los Angeles Prof. Gallagher has been expelled from the Law School of Southwestern University. A group of workers had been arrested for crossing the Olympic fields, at the close of games there, with "Free Tom Mooney" banners. Prof. Gallagher, who had participated in the defense of the Imperial Valley workers and cases of a similar nature, rallied to the defense of these workers. His expulsion follows as a direct result of this action. Once before a mass student protest thwarted removal proceedings against the Professor. (That is why the president of the University tries to palm off the dismissal as a resignation.) Similar protest may well bring the same results.

Protesting the expulsion of Oakley Johnson, close to 1,000 students gathered at City College on the evening of October 26. Permission had been granted them for the use of a room in the school. But that did not deter the police, summoned by the director of the college, from entering the meeting room. They ordered the students to disperse. The students refused. And in the police attack that followed two girls were beaten unconscious. Four people were arrested for disorderly conduct, including the N. S. L. and an instructor in Columbia University, who had been invited to speak.

The students followed the police to the Night Court. There they staged a demonstration, demanding the release of their fellow-students. The police swooped down upon them, arresting sixteen of their number. The sixteen were the same night given suspended sentences. The other four were released on \$2,500 bond. On November 7, of the latter, Henderson and a student, Karl Amat, were found guilty and given suspended sentences.

The most active element in the defense fight has been, and is, the N. S. L., though it has shown confusion on united front policy. The socialist League for Industrial Democracy entered the fight long after it had started. It had, before that, sabotaged the work in many respects. Nor has it proved very much better since it endorsed the defense in a spuriously worked out united front.

It is to be expected that the coming period will witness a redoubled offensive against student and teacher. To withstand the charge and go a step forward, it is necessary that the students organize their resistance and make their voices of protest heard. But it is equally necessary that in this struggle they see the greater social and political issues of which their own is no more than a meagre part. Here lies the duty of Communists—to demonstrate the rottenness of capitalism, to lead on towards socialism.

## ILLINOIS MINERS IN STRUGGLE

The coal diggers of Illinois have thrown off the yoke of John L. Lewis, the arch betrayer of the American miners. Meeting in a convention at Gillespie, Ill. more than 22,000 miners decided to form a union of the rank and file and to have done with scab herders, thugs and tools of the coal barons. They organized the Progressive Miners Union of America. The salaries of the union officials have been reduced from the riotous \$12,000 per annum and "expenses" collected by the Lewis "organizers" to the wage of the workers in the mine—\$1,700 a year for the three paid officers. Instead of an unchangeable office-holding dictatorship such as was enjoyed by John L. Lewis, every officer must go back to the pits after two years tenure of office. The miners have almost unlimited power of referendum and recall.

What was once the powerful United Mine Workers of America and the hope and the guiding light for more than 400,000 coal miners, has been reduced in importance and a faint shadow of its former self by the corrupt practices and the sell-out tactics of John L. Lewis, John H. Walker and their gangster henchmen.

Lewis was never elected to office by the miners. He bludgeoned his way into czarism as International President by blackmail and he maintained himself in power by underworld tactics against all opposition. He clubbed his opponents, stole ballots, faked elections, packed conventions, and worked in active collusion with the coal operators—his hands are red with the blood of murdered rank and file miners who dared to raise their voices against him. But this is not all. He has destroyed the U. M. W. A. Playing the East against the West, the bituminous miners against the anthracite, the organized against the unorganized, Lewis and Co., to the joy of the coal barons, have dug a deep grave for what was formerly the mainstay of American Unionism.

Many times the miners of Illinois have made heroic attempts to take the affairs of the union out of the hands of the \$12,000 per annum flunkies of the bosses, but each time they were misled and betrayed back into the camp of the fakers. All this so emboldened Lewis and Walker that they tried recently to put over the wage cut from \$6.10 to \$5.00 per day in spite of the overwhelming opposition of the miners. They stole the ballots that recorded a twenty to one opposition to the pay reduction. This was the last straw that broke camel's back. And from that time—July-August to this very day the mining camps of Illinois have been simmering with the greatest rank and file revolt ever seen in that territory. Franklin County, Springfield, Gillespie, and Taylorville—around these four names of miners communities great episodes of the Illinois class war have raged.

Franklin County is in the extreme south of the triangular state of Illinois. It was once a stronghold of the Communist party. The C. P. locals spotted the territory and there were hundreds of votes for the hammer and sickle on election day. Today it is the fortress of the Lewis fakery, overrun with gangsters. This may appear a paradox but it is none the less true. What accounts for this tragic state of affairs?

When the first echoes hinting that Walker would settle for a wage cut reached "little Egypt" (Franklin Co.), a delegation of more than 200 miners made their way to Springfield where they voiced their protest in no uncertain terms. As was described above, Walker "did his bit for the good of the coal

industry"—he robbed the votes and signed the contract. The strike was on. It spread to every mining camp in the state. The Franklin County miners returned to their homes and—went to work! There are reasons to account for this.

Franklin, Williamson, and Saline counties are the three chief coal producing areas in the state. Here is produced the highest quality coal by the most mechanized mines with the most modern equipment controlled by the most powerful trust—the Peabody Coal Corp. If these mines could be operated, then the backbone of the rebel strike movement would be broken—so reasoned the operators. With the aid of the boss controlled U. M. W. A. they proceeded to "persuade" the miners to return to work. The dogs of class warfare were unleashed. Meetings of all but the bosses' agents were prohibited. Any group of more than two miners conversing on a street corner was disbanded by thugs, the participants subjected to a severe slugging. Hired gunmen imported from Kentucky and Chicago were sworn in as deputies. The local Klu Kluxers went into action. The miners were roused in the morning by gunmen and driven to work with automatics poking in their ribs. In the evening they were "escorted" from work in similar manner. Joe Colbert, a rebel leader, was murdered in broad daylight, in his own backyard. Dominick Laurenti, active in the fight for the new union was likewise murdered in cold blood. Gerry Allard, narrowly escaped death more than once in the town that he was born, raised and worked for many years.

Under such conditions the Franklin County Miners "went to work". But if the exploiting, absentee coal operators succeeded here, they were given a rude shock elsewhere. Aroused and indignant over the treatment accorded to their fellow miners in "little Egypt", more than 20,000 miners climbed into their autos and formed what was perhaps the greatest mass picket line ever seen in Illinois labor history. They were turned back at the county line, their tires punctured, bullet holes in their woundshields, driven thru cornfields, beaten and slugged. All this welcome reception was accorded to the coal miners by the combined forces of the state, the Rep. Gov. and the Dem. sheriff acting in perfect harmony with the National Guardsmen, the deputies and the Lewis thugs. The miners were defeated—temporarily.

That the miners were determined never to go back to work under the U. M. W. A. was clearly demonstrated in Springfield. Without the aid of the capitalist army the coercive efforts of the Lewis thugs would have come to nought. Some time ago in the city of Springfield the Lewis crew made a desperate effort to start some mines working. He flooded the town with his "organizers" and held a meeting of scabs. Out of more than 4,000 miners, hardly 20 attended this meeting. More than 2000 members of the P. M. A. picketed the hall. At the conclusion of the meeting the "organizers" provocatively parading the streets with guns in hand, opened fire upon the completely unarmed coal miners. A miner was badly wounded and a city detective killed by these murderous thugs. It is instructive that the culprit was never brought to trial, although he was known and seem to have committed the murder....

What a crystal clear picture this gives of the operations of capitalist justice! the shackles of Lewisdom, which means And you can rest assured that the "mistake" will soon be rectified by the

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## TWO ANTI-WAR CONFERENCES CALLED

### ANTI-WAR CONFERENCES

Calls for two anti-war conferences have been issued in recent weeks. One is for a "Student Congress Against War" to be held in Chicago, Dec. 28 and 29 as a continuation of the Barbusse anti-war congress held a few months ago at Amsterdam. The other is called by "The United Youth Conference Against War", for New York, Nov. 25 to 27.

The Chicago conference is sponsored by the National Students League and, it is therefore assumed, supported by the YCL. The New York conference has been called by a committee of pacifist and liberal youth organizations, the Yipsels, and the Lovestoneite youth. Both meets are planned as discussions on the dangers of war.

The Left Opposition youth, through the Spartacus Youth Clubs will participate in these conferences. It will draw the sharp line between the revolutionary and the pacifist manner of fighting wars. Following this, it will propose, a concrete united front program against militarism and war.

What is the position of the Young Communist League? In the previous issues of the YOUNG SPARTACUS we posed a series of questions to the Y C L leaders on their attitude to the Barbusse War Congress, etc. To this we received no reply. The Young Worker (Oct. 26, 1932) carries a statement of the "Presidium of the International Anti-War Youth Conference" (which was part of the Barbusse Congress). This is no mention of the Young Communist International as a participating organization. The Young Worker did not have so much as a word of editorial comment on the report. Are they afraid to take an open position on the question of the struggle against war?

### JOINT STRUGGLE WITH Y. C. L.

We are ready to carry on a joint struggle with the Young Communist League during these conferences on the basis of the program of Lenin. Our comrades who are delegates will be prepared to work with the YCLers—if the latter are there! If this is accepted we will work out a concrete plan of common action. Otherwise our comrades will stand alone as the defenders of the revolutionary banner of Communism.

## Chen Du-Hsiu

The life of comrade Chen Du Hsiu, founder of the Chinese Communist Party and leader of the Left Opposition, is in danger. Arrested and imprisoned by the Chiang Kai-Shek regime, with the aid of foreign imperialism, Chen is being taken to Nanking for "interrogation".

The Chinese capitalists and their militarists fear the activity of the Left Opposition. The arrest of Chen has been hailed by the imperialist press as a big achievement. Our comrades' activity among the masses of China has brought upon him the class hatred of the masters—that be.

### DEFEND CHEN DU-HSIU

The International Red Aid, the International Labor Defense, must come to the aid of comrade Chen Du-Hsiu. The struggle for his unconditional release should be interlinked with the fight for the freedom of the other revolutionary prisoners of Chiang Kai-Shek. The comrades in the ranks of the Communist party and the Young Communist League should force their leaders to carry out such a defense campaign.

Read the MILITANT weekly organ of the American Left Opposition. Get the latest news on American and international labor events. Keep up with the revolutionary movement.

**DEBATE! Communism or Socialism?** SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB vs. Young People's Socialist League

Labor Temple Auditorium Second Ave. Cor. 14th St.

Saturday, Dec. 10th at 8 P. M.

Admission 15 cents

# LENIN

## Marxism and Revolutionary Tactics

(The article printed below is the first section of a famous writing of Lenin's in which he polemizes against the "old Bolsheviks", which in reality meant the entire central committee of the Bolshevik party, and particularly Kamenev and Zinoviev. Written before the November 1917 revolution, Lenin's remarks on the 'revolutionary-dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry' are an annihilating refutation of the use of this slogan in colonial and semi-colonial countries by the Comintern leadership today.—Eds.)

Marxism imposes upon us the duty of taking the most exact and objectively verifiable view of the class relations and of the concrete circumstances of every historical moment. We, Bolsheviks, have always tried to be faithful to this obligation, which is an absolutely imperative one from the point of view of those who desire to gain a scientific basis for their policy.

"Our theories are not a dogma, but a guide for action," Marx and Engels always insisted. They justly ridiculed the learning by heart and mere repetition of "formula" which at best can only serve to indicate general problems, whose form is necessarily altered by the concrete economic and political conditions at each definite period of the historical process.

By what precisely established and objective facts, then, must the party of the revolutionary proletariat be guided in order to estimate problems confronting

it, and the line of action which it has to adopt?

Both in my first "Letter from Afar" (The first stage of the first Revolution) printed in Nos. 14 and 15 of *Pravda* (March 21st and 22nd—April 3 and 4th 1917 (New Calendar), and in my Thesis I define "the peculiar character of the present situation in Russia" as the transition from the first stage of the Revolution to the second. From this reason I stated what, in my opinion, at this moment was the main aim, "the question of the hour," in the following words: "Workers, you have displayed the wonderful heroism of the proletariat, of the people, in the civil war against Tsarism: you must produce miracles of proletarian and social organization, in order to prepare for victory in the second stage of the revolution." (*Pravda*, No. 15).

### REVOLUTION AND CLASSES

What is the first stage? It is the transfer of power to the capitalist class (bourgeoisie). Up to the March revolution of 1917, power in Russia was in the hands of one ancient class, namely, the feudal-aristocratic-landowning class headed by Nicholas Romanov.

After that revolution, power has been in the hands of a different, a new class, namely, the capitalist class (the bourgeoisie).

The shifting of power from one class to another is the first, main, fundamental symptom of a revolution, both in the strictly scientific and the practical poli-

tical sense of the word. To this extent, the capitalist or bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia is at an end.

At this point, I hear the voice of critics who like to call themselves "old Bolsheviks": "Did we not always say that the bourgeois-democratic revolution would be ended only by the 'revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry'? Has the agrarian revolution, then also bourgeois-democratic in its essence, come to an end? Is it not a fact, on the contrary, that it has not yet begun?"

My answer is that the Bolshevik aims and ideas in general have been fully confirmed by history, but that concrete matters have turned out otherwise than anyone (whosoever he might be) could have expected—more strikingly original, more peculiar, more mixed. To ignore, or forget this fact would mean to imitate those "old Bolsheviks" who have more than once played a melancholy part in the history of our Party, repeating mechanically a formula which they have learned by heart, instead of studying the special character of new and living reality.

"The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" has already been realized, (in certain forms and to a certain extent), in the Russian revolution, since this "formula" has in view merely the mutual relationship of classes, and not the concrete political institution embodying this mutual relationship, this co-operation. "The Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies"—here is life's concrete realization of the "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry."

lessons of Germany in 1923, and above all the lessons of the Russian revolution and the Kornilov incident, are brought forward to concretize the criticism of-the-at-present accepted united-front from below—social Fascist theory. Here we have the problem attacked from all its angles, from all its sides, and from every possible point of view.

Not merely a criticism however, this work—it is also a plan of action. It shows the path to victory. The problems of strike strategy, the general strike, the question of the role of Soviets, that of economic collaboration with the USSR, are problems gone into at great length. In addition to getting a completely round-out picture of the German scene today, we have portrayed to us the roles played by the Brandler group, by the Socialist Workers' Party, and by the various other intermediary groupings and grouplets.

However, comrade Trotsky does not look upon the question of Germany as one to be decided merely by the development of events in the territory between the Rhine and the Polish border. The conditions existing in the USSR will play a decisive part in the immediate developments in Germany. Dominated by the Moscow leadership, the CPG cannot be looked upon as a separate entity. "The problem of the Stalinist regime and the problem of the German revolution are tied up with an absolutely indissoluble knot. The coming events will unite or out this knot—in the interests of the Russian as well as in the German revolution."

In conclusion, Trotsky attempts to answer the one question that has become naturally the most burning one of the day, "Is the situation hopeless?" To this he answers a categorical, "NO". The workers' united front can yet be established. Despite the blunders of the leadership, the imminence of danger can so accelerate the development of an effective united front movement, to be able to wipe from the scene not only Hitler but the bourgeoisie as a whole. To a large extent this depends upon the ability of the Left Opposition to change the course of the German Communist Party. The defeat of Hitler would bring the question to a higher plane—thus concludes Trotsky—to the plane of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to a Soviet Germany.

—H. S.



This formula is already out of date. Life itself has brought it out of the domain of formula into the domain of reality, has invested it with flesh and blood, has rendered it concrete, and has thereby modified it.

### PROLETARIAN VERSUS PETTY BOURGEOIS ELEMENTS

There is a new and different problem on the agenda: the separation of the proletarian elements (anti-patriotic internationalist, "Communist", standing for the transition to Communism), inside this dictatorship, from the small bourgeois or lower-middle class elements (Cheidze, Tseretelli, Steklov, the Social-Revolutionaries, and other revolutionary patriots), hostile to the movement towards the establishment of the Commune system, believers in "supporting" the middle class and the middle class government.

Whoever now talks about "the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" has lost touch with life, has, in virtue of this circumstance, gone over, in practice, to the lower middle class against the proletarian class struggle; and he ought to be relegated to the museum of "Bolshevik" pre-revolutionary antiquities (or, as one might call it, the museum of "Old Bolsheviks").

The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry already exists, but in an extremely original form, bound up with a number of highly important variations. I will deal with the latter in one of my subsequent letters. For the present it is necessary to bear in mind this indisputable fact, that a Marxist must take account of real life, of the exact facts of reality, and not hang on to the tails of the theories of yesterday, which like every theory, at best only outline the fundamental, the general and do not come near enough to the complexities of life.

—LENIN.

## Canadian Students Organize League

### STUDENT NOTES

The revolutionary students of Canada have organized **The Student League of Canada** for "the two-fold object of exposing the inherent contradictions of the capitalist society and of rallying the student to the support of the working class". The League has issued a concise and militant program,

A four-page tabloid-size newspaper, **The Spark**, is to serve as the official organ. In the first issue, the paper carries among other items an article on "The Class-War in Germany—Capitalism in Decay", reprints of sections of comrade Trotsky's writings on the subject.

Our Canadian comrades have taken a leading part in the organization of this students' group. In the next issue of the **YOUNG SPARTACUS** we will have a detailed analysis of its program.

## BOOK REVIEW

### What Next? - By Leon D. Trotsky



Chapter one entitled "The Social Democracy" carries a frontal attack against the socialists and their theory of "The Iron Front". Their cringing before the bourgeoisie equalled only by their fear of a proletariat uprising, these social democratic leaders are treated in no soft spoken phrases, by one so capable of a cutting, biting style.

Written however, primarily for the guidance of the Communists, the major portion of the book devotes itself to a criticism of the mistakes and blunders of the Thaelmanns and Remmeles (leaders of the German C. P.)

Starting with a discussion of the theory of the "third period" Trotsky traces how the present leadership came to their conceptions of "social Fascism" and "united front from below". Devoting many pages to the question of democracy and Fascism, the author shows the ridiculousness and danger involved in the theory of social Fascism. Tracing the development of the Stalinist theory of the inevitability of Hitler's coming to power, Trotsky shows concretely how this can mean nothing but disaster for the working class. Here we have in a brief and concise manner,—What is Fascism?; what does it mean to the working class? Trotsky writes: "When a state turns Fascist... it means, first of all, for the most part, that the workers' organizations are annihilated; that the proletariat is reduced to an amorphous state; and that a system of administration is created which penetrates deeply into the masses and which serves to frustrate the independent crystallization of the proletariat. Therein precisely is the gist of Fascism." This is the danger that lies before the German working class. This is the danger that can be averted only through a proper application of the theory of the united front."

Directly connected with the theory of social-Fascism and flowing from it comes the "ultimatum" conception of the "united front from below". Against these false ideas Trotsky brings to bear all his forces and all his experience. The lessons of the Italian experience, the

A lasting and monumental contribution to the theory and history of Marxism. Only in the above words can one adequately describe the latest of Trotsky's writings published in this country. Created primarily for the moment, as a guide in the daily struggle, it, together with "The Only Road" (out soon) will go down as a basic primer to be used again and again in the teaching of the art of world revolution. The vivid parallel need but be mentioned—1870, "The Civil War in France";—1917, "The State and Revolution";—1932, "What Next". Thus down the steps of history come hand in hand, theory and practice. It is in the above manner that one should see the above book. Out of the theory is born the practice; out of the practice, the theory; and again, and again, until from the whole there will arise the world revolution.

"In the present phase, German Communism in its struggle against the social democracy must lean on two inseparable facts: (a) the political responsibility of the social democracy for the strength of Fascism; (b) absolute irreconcilability between Fascism and these workers' organizations on which the social democracy itself depends." The above clearly and concisely epitomizes the major portion of the 192 pages.

# Eugene Victor Debs - American Revolutionist

By Joseph Carter

Eugene Victor Debs was a native product of the American working class movement in the period following the Civil, and culminating in the World War. He grew with the development of capitalist expansion in the United States. He symbolizes the best traditions of the pre-war Socialist party. His mistakes and shortcomings were pre-conditioned by the environment from which he sprang and developed. The democratic and comparatively peaceful nature of this era molded his personality, views and beliefs, and limited his understanding of the new problems which arose during and after the World War.

Gene was born at Terre Haute, Ind., on November 5th 1855, and began work at the early age of fourteen, in a railway-repair shop. He became active in his trade union, later formed the American Railway Union, as an industrial organization of all railwaymen. The A R U was soon involved in a sympathetic strike with the workers of the company town of Pullman, Illinois, who had struck against a wage cut. Federal troops were sent into the field. An injunction was issued against the strike leaders. The court order was defied. Debs was thrown into jail on the charge of conspiracy and violation of the injunction.

During the involuntary confinement Debs reflected on his recent experiences. He read a number of socialist writings. A few years later he openly proclaimed himself a socialist. Passing through several social democratic groups, in 1901, Debs united with a grouplet who had broken with Daniel De Leon and the Socialist Labor Party, and form-

ed the Socialist Party of America.

Debs, constant contact with the broad sections of the workers made him the outstanding public figure of the Socialist party. His militant proletarian position oftentimes brought him into sharp collision with the official reformist leaders. But he seldom, if ever, carried on, a consistent and organized struggle against these gentlemen. He simply preferred speaking to the workers along his own line.

In 1905, Debs was active in organizing the Industrial Workers of the World. He participated in many of the struggles of the Wobblies, as they are popularly called. Unlike those who were in control of the Socialist party he favored the practice of Socialists in the unions fighting for a militant program. Later, when the semi-anarchist elements gained control of the I. W. W. Debs broke with it.

The World War found Debs a militant defender of the working class interests. He was not a pacifist who opposed all wars. On the contrary. During this period he wrote: "I am opposed to every war but one: I am for that war with heart and soul and that is the world-wide war of the social revolution. In that war I am prepared to fight in any way the ruling class may make it necessary, even to barricades." Thus spoke the revolutionary Debs! This is the man the American master class feared and threw into prison!

When the Bolshevik Revolution broke out, Debs immediately proclaimed his solidarity with his Russian comrades. In a bitter and inspiring attack on the

German social democratic leaders, Debs wrote: "I am a Bolshevik from the crown of my head to the tips of my toes." Here again the instinctive revolutionist spoke.

Unfortunately however, Debs was not a Bolshevik. Raised in an environment which fostered democratic illusions, brought up in Socialist theory under Victor Berger and Morris Hillquit, Debs, like many old revolutionaries of the European Social Democracy, was unable to readapt himself to the changes wrought by the war. The new epoch of imperialism, the question of the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the need for a sharp break with the opportunist elements in the socialist party and the formation of a new international, etc., these were questions on which Debs displayed confusion and misunderstanding. It took brilliant Marxian theoreticians like Lenin and Trotsky to illuminate the revolutionary attitude towards these problems.

When the split occurred in the Socialist party in 1919, between the revolutionaries and the reformist, Debs, in jail, urged the unity of the two. He lamented the divisions in the ranks of the working class. He failed to see the deep-going fundamental differences. Later he sharply criticized the Communists. In 1924, in reply to a letter by William Z. Foster asking Debs to condemn the Socialist endorsement of Robert M. LaFollette, the liberal-progressive, for president of the U. S. the latter utilized the occasion to attack with irony and sarcasm the Communists and their Moscow center, Debs' support of the petty bourgeois La Follette is at com-

plete variance with his previously clear class position towards events and people.

**COMMUNIST CONTINUE WORK OF DEBS**  
Debs died on October 20th, 1926. Large sections of American workers mourned the loss of their aged leader. The Socialist party of Norman Thomas claims the heritage of Debs. But the revolutionary writings and utterings of Debs can but embarrass this liberal outfit of respectable ladies and gentlemen. The coarse, hardy, gauky Gene belongs to the revolutionary workers. It is the Communists who inherit traditions of Debs, not by virtue of lip-service to him or socialism, but by the continuation of the work he began: the organization of the proletariat for a classless society

## TROTSKY ON DEBS

"Old Eugene Victor Debs stood out prominently among the older generation because of the quenchless flame of his socialist idealism. Although he was a romantic and a preacher, and not at all a politician or a leader, he was a sincere revolutionary; yet he succumbed to influence of people who were in every respect his inferior. Hillquit's art lay in keeping Debs on his left flank while he maintained a business friendship with Gompers. Debs had a captivating personality. Whenever we met, he embraced and kissed me; the old man did not belong to the "drys". When the Babbitts proclaimed a blockade against me, Debs took no part in it: he simply drew aside, sorrowfully."

## L. D. TROTSKY 53 YEARS

On November 7, the anniversary of the Russian revolution, the revolutionary workers celebrate the fifty-third birthday of Leon Trotsky. Born in 1879, active since an early age in the working class movement, Trotsky today is the living personification of revolutionary Marxism.

A brilliant Marxian theoretician, a co-worker of Lenin, the builder of the Red Army, Trotsky, exiled and deported by the disloyal leaders of the Russian Communist Party, leads the International Left Opposition towards the winning of the world revolution. Under the most difficult physical and material handicaps he continues to analyze the events which affect the proletarian movement, with that sharp, concise and scientific manner that is characteristic of the man.

Be it China, Austria, Spain, Germany, the United States or the Soviet Union, Trotsky analyzes the class forces and their relations, critically examines the official party policy and suggests definitely and concretely the methods and roads to be pursued. His voluminous writings are text-books composed in the actual struggle for the fighters in the ranks.

### TROTSKY AND THE YOUTH

Trotsky's attitude toward the youth is an integral part of his methodology. In discussing this question in 1923 he wrote:

"It is wholly inadequate that the youth should repeat our formulas. It is necessary that the youth should take the revolutionary formulas fighting, transform them into flesh and blood, work out for themselves their own opinion, their own personality, and be able to fight for their own opinion with that courage which comes from sincere conviction and independence of character. Passive obedience, mechanical drill, characterlessness, obsequiousness (blind submission), careerism—away with these things from the party!"

Such is the spirit which should animate the American Left Opposition youth!

Under the leadership and guidance of L. D. we shall regenerate the revolutionary movement and achieve the world revolution.

## The Master Class Celebrates Armistice Day

On November 11 of this year, we will once again celebrate the end of the world slaughter of 1914. For the fourteenth time, young America will take two minutes from its regular school time to stand in deep prayer and thankfulness for the end. For two minutes it will fidget, relieved at the momentary respite from the teacher's voice and then slouch back into shiny-backed seats to take up the weighty task of education. Perhaps a speaker will lend relief for another half hour later in the day with a speech. "Heroism, gallantry, sacrifice for one's century, glory of the battle"—these will be the keynote of the orator. A bloody world mad murder will be passed off in the glowing terms of Homer, Shakespeare, and Elinor Glyn combined. Words will not be spared that young cannon fodder of the future may thrill to the call of deeds of heroism and wondrous glory. How they will smear it on! "They died, those brave millions, that the world might live forever safe from the malignant beast of war. They fought the war to end all wars!" (Awe-stricken applause by parents present.)

The hideous, terrifying death in the slimy, vermin-infested trenches; the merciless, incessant horror of ear-splitting barrage; torn bodies; gaping insane eyes of men who live only to kill or be killed—this cannot be mentioned to young and impressionable minds. No, they cannot hear this, for we must raise our young to be ready for the "next time". It is their healthy, beautiful bodies that will be needed to go "over there", to be shot and ripped apart by machines of destruction.

### CAPITALIST HYPOCRISY

The war to end all wars! The ink on the Armistice Pact had not yet dried when the murderous rulers of every country in the world hurled their armies at the throat of the first Workers' Republic. Armed puppets of the mighty boss class of America met in deadly combat with the hired mercenaries of Great Britain on the soil of half a dozen countries of South America. For fourteen years the capitalist criminals have spew-

ed their filthy hypocrisy on Armistice Day—for fourteen years they have mowed down like rats their rebellious slaves in the colonial countries. Around the world their nauseating frothings on peace have slothed the young of all countries alike—the while with deadly force they cut the life from human bodies in their every move.

Ten million men and boys lost their lives under fire—twelve more fell under the grim sweep of disease. Twenty-two millions of the human wealth of the world were ruthlessly sacrificed in the interest of boss war! How many of those who managed to "come back" were crippled for life—how many human wrecks exist today, a curse to hang over mankind ever reminding us of that terrible event. And those who came back? All too vivid flashes before a picture again of the World War, this time in miniature. The scene in Washington. Thousands of destitute, starving veterans hunted out of their miserable roles on the banks of Anacostia Flats. Tear gas, bullets and bayonets; homeless men and women treated like scum. Shoot them! Kill them! Drive those rats from the face of the earth! We used them before but we do not need them and longer! Here is your answer—you patriots of America!

Damned shall be the system of murder-mad capitalism, with all its imperialist war mongers and hypocrites. War is not its bastard but rather its legitimate child. The parasites, the boss classes of the world are powerless to stop it. War is their final way of settling the question of who shall have the "right" to drain the blood of the toiling masses.

Young workers! Your lot will be slavery in the factory, death in the trench as long as you listen to the lies of Armistice Day! The only fight worth putting up is the fight of the organized working class. To smash the whole rotten outlived system of capitalism. The Spartacus Youth Clubs aim their guns in that direction. "Clarity and Action" our watchword and guide. Join those clubs and learn HOW to fight.

—H. CAPELIS.

## The Permanent Revolution

"Regardless of the greatest economic successes on the one hand, and the extreme weakening of the Comintern on the other, the revolutionary specific gravity of Bolshevism on the world political map is infinitely more significant than the specific gravity of Soviet economy on the world market. While the nationalized and collectivized economy of the U. S. S. R. is raised and developed with all means, the correct perspective must at the same time be retained and it must not be forgotten for a minute that the overthrow of the world bourgeoisie in the revolutionary struggle is far more real and immediate than to "catch up with and outstrip" world economy, with overstepping the boundaries of the USSR in doing it.

The present profound crisis of capitalist economy opens up revolutionary possibilities to the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries. The inevitable rise in the militant activity of the working masses will sharply delineate all the problems of the revolution again, and will tear the ground from under the autocracy of the Centrist bureaucracy. The Left Opposition will enter into the revolutionary period armed with a clear understanding of the road already traversed, of the mistakes already committed, of the new tasks and the perspectives.

The complete and final way out of the internal and external contradictions will be found by the USSR in the arena of the victorious revolution of the world proletariat, and only there." (Trotsky.)

"The democratic tasks of backward Russia could be solved in no other way except on the road of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Having captured power at the head of the peasant masses, the proletariat could not, however, remain standing at the democratic tasks. The democratic revolution was directly interwoven with the first stage of the socialist revolution. The program of the Bolshevik party worked out by Lenin regards the October upheaval as the first stage of the proletarian world revolution, from which it is inseparable. This is also the kernel of the doctrine of the permanent revolution." (Trotsky).

# With the Left Communist Youth of Other Lands

## LETTER FROM FRANCE

September, 1932.

To the Left Opposition Youth of the United States:-  
Dear Comrades:

In the letter we want to give you some information on the situation in the French YCL and the tasks of the Left Opposition Youth. In the VERITE DES JEUNES, our theses for the VIIIth Congress of the YCL have given you some glimpses of the situation as it has existed for several months.

You know what the VIIIth Congress of the YCL, last June, was like. Opening during an especially serious period, both because of the world economic crisis and its consequences, and also because of the condition of the YCL and the YCI as a whole, the Congress solved none of the important problems laid before it. It was held under the brand of thorough-going Stalinism. Maneuvering, violence and slander drove from the rostrum the expelled Left Opposition youth whom the statutes give the right (and for them it was a duty) to appear and explain their position at the Congress.

At the Congress the leadership made much ado about its recent successes: the rise in membership (officially the membership for all France increased from 4,000 to 6,000), increase in L'Avant-Garde's circulation—this is the central organ of the YCL. Actually these successes were to a very large extent due to the last election campaign and the extensive agitation developed around it. A short time after the elections, immediately after the Congress, a falling off became noticeable. It still is not recognized by the leadership, but it certainly appears that, as far as membership is concerned, they have just about dropped down to their previous level. The leaders have already recognized that

during the month of July there was an appreciable decrease in the sale of L'AVANT-GARDE.

The Young Socialists have succeeded in capturing several places for themselves in the working class, but the Young Christian Workers have many far stronger footholds. They have at their disposal the support of the bosses and financial resources, and have been able to acquire shrewd methods. The policy of the YCL leadership the adventurist lines of the last years, have seriously compromised the influence of the Communists among the young workers, and have in this way permitted the development of the organizations of the betrayers. The results of such a line are also made clear in the anti-militarist work, which has, in France suffered a severe setback. The young Communists do not usually find active sympathy in the barracks. Thus we find on the one hand deeds which are courageous enough, to be sure, but isolated, and on the other hand, protest movements in which the young Communists play no significant role. The "Young Trade-Unionists" movement, for all practical purposes exists only on paper and no longer has any real strength. Among the unemployed youth the YCL carried on an especially harmful campaign. They mechanically transferred their activity to this field; some unemployed youth came to them, but they cut themselves adrift from the others and wound up more or less rapidly with the vanishing of the committees.

The ideological level of the youth is shamefully low. The leadership is obliged to admit this in the press, but offers ridiculous remedies: They offer for sale such pamphlets as might be given to a shop-keeper. The bureaucracy actually realizes that the history of the Third International and Lenin's teachings stigmatize it. It also knows that the youth who read what Lenin has

worker who insisted upon reading "Infantile Sickness of Communism", was told that the book has lost all interest; was suspected of "Trotskyism" and accused of being a police-agent.

During these last few months we have made much progress among the youth. The YCL leadership has to devote quite a few articles to the struggle against us, to attack us at length in its latest popular pamphlet. In Paris, by means of mass meeting, lectures, courses, a library, we have organized around us a nucleus of thirty young comrades, the great majority, workers, of whom fifteen are members of the Opposition. We have comrades in several units in Paris—as well as our educational work, which we expect to develop systematically; we are trying to create activity parallel to that of the YCL. This will help us to bring the youth into militant struggles and to ally ourselves with the YCL, break down by activity, the walls the bureaucrats try to set up between us and them. In the provinces we have some new bases, in Lille, a small group of militant workers who put out a mimeographed paper, in Marseilles another group of young workers and students.

Keep us informed on the Communist youth movement, on your difficulties and advances.

Long live the strengthening of the Left Opposition among the young workers!

For the regeneration of the Young Communist International!

—The Youth of the French Left Opposition.

We follow with a good deal of interest YOUNG SPARTACUS which has now become a lively youth paper; in your hands it must constitute an effective weapon or the winning over of young worker-comrades and for the formation of militants for the Communist Opposition.

## Germany

Only a year ago the first group of young Left Oppositionists was formed in Leipzig and today we have comrades in several cities in Germany, in Berlin, Hamburg, Bruchsal, Magdebourg, etc.

In Leipzig, where we have two groups, our comrades are very busy in the activities of the Young Communists together with whom they distribute leaflets, sell papers and battle against the Nazis and the police.

Each month our comrades print a page about the life of the Opposition youth in THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION, the weekly organ of the German Left Opposition.

## Spain

In Spain the first number of JOVEN ESPARTACO has been suppressed because of an appeal it carried to the soldiers. As our comrades inform us, the edition was entirely sold when the police wanted to seize it. This attack by the government has only made our Spanish comrades desire to fight more vigorously and demonstrate to the comrades of the Party that the "Trotskyites" are not "counter-revolutionists". We warmly greet JOVEN ESPARTACO which has shown the way to combat militarism.

## Greece

The work among the youth has always occupied a prominent place in the activities of the Archio-Marxists. By a serious Marxist education, but at the same time never separating it from the daily revolutionary action the organization develops conscious and active Communists, who in turn will become militant trade unionists, propagandists, agitators and organizers.

Together with the progress in their work realized in every field in this last period, the question to going over to a higher stage in youth work was pressing posed in the Left Opposition of Greece. This question was studied at length at the Congress of the Archio-Marxists which was held a few months ago, and at the Plenum of the Central Committee.

The plenum confirmed that the conditions existed to carry out the decisions of the Congress to create a Bolshevik-Leninist Youth Communist League; that it was not a question of passing over to this at once, but that the decisive steps to this end must be taken. Since it is not possible to realize this aim at once, certain transition steps would have to be taken, trying to avoid all the mistakes made by the Communist party when it began to organize youth sections. The definite forms of the transitory organizations will have to be decided by the local conditions and special committees were appointed to study these conditions, as well as to study the various youth questions, trade union and political, the anti-militarist work, the student question, linking them up with the general problems of the revolutionary movement which confront the organization. This is the first step to be taken. The Central Committee was also instructed to outline the political and trade union tasks and decided upon the publication of a youth organ.

## France

The French Left Opposition youth have been making certain definite advances recently. Their influence in the French Y. C. L. is growing and at several of the discussions they held, many Y. C. L. members attended and discussed in a friendly manner with our comrades. Our comrades, in addition to the monthly publication of La Verite es Jeunes, publishes a mimeographed organ, Le Jeune Bolchevik which serves primarily as a paper for the Y. C. L. and in which the life of the Y. C. L. is portrayed.

## Child Health Under Bosses' Rule

"No child shall go hungry", said Herbert Hoover, the chief office boy of the Republican party, which is the executive committee of the American financial interests. This he said on May 1st, 1931, International Labor Day which Hoover and his class tried to hide from the American working class by camouflaging it as Child Welfare Day. At the time malnutrition was widespread among children of grammar school age, and the following gives an idea of the utter cynicism of the capitalist class of which Hoover is the official spokesman at the present.

Statistics of the Health Department of New York City give an insight into the present state of health of grammar school children. The statistics do not include the growing number of children who cannot be sent to school because of insufficient clothing and nutrition. The figures are from an article in the N. Y. Times, dated Oct. 29, 1932. Out of 111,160 examined school children, 22,748 or 20.5 percent were undernourished. If the same holds true for New York City's 2,000,000 school children, (and there is no reason why this should not be so with the capitalist press admitting 1,250,000 unemployed in the city), then at least 400,000 or more children in this city are underfed while a majority of them are under-clothed, or twice as many as in Moscow in the worst days of the intervention and the famine.

The different capitalist agencies admit the causes and results of mal-nutrition but are helpless to eradicate it because they will not give up the system which produces this misery. One of the doctors of the Bureau of Health Education proves the above further down in the same article, and these are his words:

"The increase in malnutrition seems to be caused by improper and probably also insufficient food for a part of the school population and can be attributed directly to unemployment. Malnutrition's effects may not become apparent for some time, but sooner or later they show themselves in the form of rickets, scurvy,

anemia, reduced resistance to infectious diseases, and in other ways (actual death W. W.). The increase shown in the examination of school children indicates the need for a considerable intensification of efforts to prevent serious injury to the health of the younger generation. A great deal of valuable assistance can be given in the form of health education, especially education regarding food and nutrition, (advice costs nothing W. W.) but there is no question that a large proportion of the population requires direct financial aid."

The article does not end there, but after lulling the working class into gentle submission with the great hope inspired by the increase of wages in the state by three percent (less than the seasonal increase according to the same N. Y. Times on the financial page) and the amount of relief (25c a child per week), they show that the working class is forced to bear the brunt of the burden of unemployment by asking (read demanding on threat of losing position W. W.) the teachers to contribute to the fund to feed the children.

The Soviet Union has shown and proven that the youth of the working class and the poor peasants are the first in food, clothing, shelter, and general health and education under the care of the workers' government. Compare the decrease of the homeless children by making useful workers of them in the U. S. S. R. to the increase of homelessness, malnutrition and sickness in America, the richest nation in the world.

Workers, and workers' dependants, employed and unemployed, the capitalists will not give you relief and prefer to give you jail and even bullets instead. You must fight for immediate relief. The ultimate solution of this evil lies along the same road as abolition of unemployment, war, and other such manifestations of an outlived social system...in the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

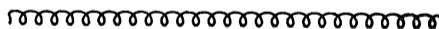
—W. WYNNE.

## Belgium

Our Belgium youth comrades have increased their activities in the ranks of the working youth, among the young socialists and Communist youth Monthly, they publish a page or more of **Le Jeune Communiste** (The Young Communist) as part of **The Communist Voice**, organ of the Belgium Opposition.

They were active in the recent miners' strike and at present are attempting to form a broad united front of working class youth organization for the release of the young miners arrested and imprisoned during the strike. With this in mind they issued a leaflet to the Socialist youth organization, central body and membership, calling for common action. The young Socialists refused.

The youth comrades are at present raising the question of the defense of a young conscientious objector—pacifist—who was imprisoned for refusing to serve in the army.



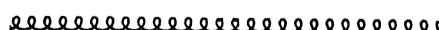
## LEON TROTSKY

### Problems of the Development of the U.S.S.R.

Just as timely now as when first written. This is the thesis of the International Left Opposition on the Russian question drafted by our comrades and adopted by the League as its position at its second national conference a little more than a year ago.

The pamphlet deals with the Economic Contradictions of the Transition Period. The Party in the System of the Dictatorship, Dangers and Possibilities of a Counter-Revolutionary Upheaval. The Left Opposition and the U. S. S. R.

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New York, N. Y.



## Justice Triumphs! == A Story By HARRY ROSS

Room of bestiality! No one is punched here, nor is a gun shot off; neither does the billy, the prominent article of trade in the pocket of the policemen go on promenade here. You are now guest of the state; board paid, clothes fitted after sentence, but not before. You are fed: water flows-gushing out of a tap into a tin cup, also a dashout of soup is set on the tray, stale bread going along with it. This is the room, where you hear all and see all! Before you is the central figure: not the man on horse, but the man who observes and raps attention; he is cloaked in a black cape. A pompous creation of the State: Judge—what is his name! You don't care? He hears you—but he is not really listening, since he knows your story. He made that decision a long time ago; even before you stood off the cop who was beating you up for picketing. He does not have to listen to you much with a large practise to re-fresh his judgments: a learned man!

On the left of this enormous suave, are his peers: **twelve honest men**. So honest has the selection of the jury been, that the gnarled hands of the worker are not in evidence; instead there is the careful polish of the little bourgeois and the small dealer; today they serve the State, and are recognized as a worthy citizens.

A fellow worker is being tried. The District Attorney, this is his first case, is shooting for a mark! He can reverse his dubious talents, defend and prosecute: an unacclaimed bourgeois ideal! Push in the clutch, reverse! Today he shoots toward the mark which is the election, a few months off. It must find him with a neat portfolio, an untarnished record, the necessary advance for his dubious talents: "send him up". He's shooting now!

"You want a revolution—in this country?"

The worker nods. "Why not!...It's just as necessary in this country as it was in Russia"...there are no cheers. This is a court room and only the members of the legal profession are present, and they do not cheer such remarks... "and just as necessary all over the world! Am I being tried for what I think, or for what you are accusing me of..." For a half hour the District Attorney bellowed from his throat. The worker answered: "You are dragging in revolution to affect the jury. I was arrested for picketing!"...then the gavel banged. The jury is leaning forward, clicking knuckles. The word revolution has disturbed their phlegmatism. They lean over: time to be at attention; any moment now the newspaper photographer may snap; that's why he is around. Big ideas were being talked of. So the young fellow wanted a revolution—well—the hell with him. Imagine! A revolution! What for? Surely they didn't want it; a very disturbing reality.

He had stood off with a cop who had been using his club on him and he had retaliated, grabbing the club and smashing the cop unconscious. He was a husky and wasn't afraid. Then the detective came up and beat the hell all out of him.

The judge rapped. This was one of his other functions beside the unintricate one of charging the jury, or interrupting the defense with the cries of "sustained" and "not sustained..."

We have a limited number of pictures of Luxemburg, Liebknecht and Trotsky, eleven inches by eight, which are being sold at ten cents each, three for twenty-five cents. Special rates will be given for larger quantities. Comrades and youth clubs should send their orders to the YOUNG SPARTACUS.

The District Attorney was heading for a point... "You resisted arrest! Did you not?" A meticulous pretense. The young worker warmed within. He said... "I certainly did! Though not what you call 'arrest'; but from keeping this guardian of peace from beating me to pieces for picketing..."

The District Attorney persisted... "Were you not breaking a specific injunction, in the first instance, when you decided to picket this place of business that you had called on strike! Picketing against the orders of this court! Is that not a contempt of court, also constituting a felony?"

The legal bombast of the State did not fluster the worker. The fluent speech of His Honor who attempted to hide its viciousness behind a well turned phrase that came out like sputtering machine gun fire,—finishing a few more workers in an overtime stretch—only got his gall. The worker hesitated. Inside he was bursting with rage. It was the first time he had ever been in court.

He remarked... "Yes! You can call it felony? I call it something else! I have a right to picket. Why don't you get an injunction on the 'owner of this place of business' for cutting wages? That's not your line, instead you get one against the worker. That's in proper keeping with everything else you do! And you call this a court of justice? I went on strike for a living wage and you", he pointed to the judge, "and all your political and grafting servants of the State, condemn me—for wanting to live in a decent fashion. It is not I who should be condemned..." the judge banged!

"Answer the question; don't make speeches!"

The jurors still tweaked their knuckles:

### The Downfall of the Family

One of the many accusations hurled against the Communists is the charge that they wish to destroy the family, to do away with all the tender relations between parents and children, etc. Yet today the capitalist class is compelled to admit our contention that it is capitalism, not Communism, that have these very effects. Part of a report to the Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee, made to it by its investigators, states: "Martial relationships that might withstand ordinary hazards may break under the continuous strain of the economic situation and, in many cases, children who were unwanted are, because of heightened strains in the home, openly rejected, with all that this means to them in danger and unhappiness."

That the disintegration of the family is going on under our very eyes, with the most disastrous results to all the members involved, especially the children, no one can deny. The commandment "Honor thy father and mother" is being regarded with a questioning mind by the youngsters of the family who come home to find their parents at their wits' end trying to make ends meet, nervous and irritable, unable to cultivate themselves or help their children appreciate the higher achievements of the human race because of the conditions under which they live and work.

The father of the family cannot support his wife and children; and all the members of the family, including the youngest, are forced to work. A child without a job is a burden to the family. He is forced to break the laws of the country in order to help in the support of the family by whatever means offer themselves. Too many children who must be cared for until they are old enough to work, are a calamity. A tired father, a mother burdened with the double job of shop and home duties, chil-

Daumier had painted them beautifully; here was a pose! Camera please! The cameraman was waiting for a divorce case—later he'd click on a blonde—now he sat and did not tweak nor twirl his mustache. He had more culture; so he broke pimples on his face.

"But you—and your system. There can never be an injunction against the working class; never! I sweat for the things I get, and you, Mr. District Attorney are interested in contempt; well then, I have it. I have it for all of you! every single one of you 'honest men'..." He swung his right arm in a semi-circle over the heads of the jurymen.

The banging for order resumed; what kind of order? The judge wanted silence, no speeches, except by the District Attorney. The defense lawyer was a meek fellow, obviously without even the talents of this law business. Money could hire talent, but there was none around. The enormous apartment looked severe. In the rear a few law students had crept in and were making observations in quiet tones. In a few years they would be Shysterling or Tammanyng; now they were smiling and observing the aesthetic delicacies of their chosen profession.

The case was ending. Both sides have spoken, the defense lawyer sending his speech with a quest for leniency because of the defendant's youth. "One should observe", he said, "that it is the spirit of youth and not really 'the class struggle' as the defendant wishes to term his defense: that is the real reason he is in his present predicament..." A most shysterlike person this lawyer. No! It was not the class struggle to him; what did he think it was? Poof! Two cents more and he would have increased his fervor; another nickel and he would

have argued like a Darow. Even his meekness would have flown, and what eloquence would then gush out of him. Such nonsensical posturing!

The judge did his usual refereeing by banging with his silver gavel. He charged the jury to deliberate and deliver a verdict. Yeah! including leniency! Because it was a youth that was on trial, and that they, the jury, should not be severe, "but nevertheless", he said, "the State must exact penalties of all citizens that break its laws, despite the content of these laws. Havoc and revolution will reign otherwise..." The judge leaned heavily on the last phrase—to affect this already biased jury. Biased from the start by its very class position.?

The judge had been continuing... "asaulting this guardian of peace. Contempt of the State institutions of law and order, does justify that my demands, however my leniency, should be: **sentence from two to five years**, subject to the good behavior of the defendant..." Then followed the technicalities that the jury should observe in bringing in the verdict.

Why the deuce did the jury even bother to go into session. The verdict had been arranged; not even the justice of a blind magpie in a fortune-telling box. This pretentious Democracy, needed, not another play, but a new scenic designer; the actors of the State were old hands at this business. This trade wasn't a new thing; it was old as the country. After Washington had crossed the Delaware & gone into the White House, things like that had begun, where the British, the past masters, had left off. Bourgeois against proletarian; despite the pretences of the defense lawyer. Here they were going behind a door to pretend that they were going to argue the merits of the defendant's reasons, or his youth, or the judge's pretentious remarks about 'leniency'. It was hardly that. They would sit in a room and smoke for a half hour, more or less, then they would file back into the court room. The manager of the jury would be sentimental and talk about the defendant's youth mumbling some of the well remembered words that the judge had used; and finally come to the judge's conclusion. That is what would be done. And the worker would be led out, fed again on water, transportation on one of the Black Marias would be arranged to an Island prison, where he would be measured in the stripes he would have to wear; put to work hewing stones, or shovelling coal back and forth, or to make chairs. The newspapers writing at the same time that the trade of the Soviet Union should be banned, because convict labor was employed; another assertion that carried no weight. What of the road building in the South, with the chain-gang. Roads were not exported, but chairs were sold, and so were any numerous amount of things that were made. But what of it? And he would wear stripes, slam stones against each other; outside the Police had slammed him, inside he would be slamming stones.

The judge presided; the jury decided: and the State was safe. But for how long! The verdict of the class struggle would crumple this pretentious democracy—the sentence of the Proletariat!

### On the Defense of the Soviet Union

"The defense of the U. S. S. R. from foreign intervention and from attack by internal enemies—from the monarchists and former landowners to the "democrats", Mensheviks and S. R.s—is the elementary and indisputable duty of every revolutionary worker, all the more so of the Bolsheviki-Leninists. Ambiguity and reservations on this question, which in essence reflects the waverings of petty bourgeois ultra-radicalism between the world of imperialism and the world of proletarian revolution, are incompatible with adherence to the International Left Opposition." (Trotsky)

—LILLIAN BORD.

## Illinois Miners in Struggle

(Continued from page 3)

agencies of "justice" and those responsible will go scot free, exonerated of all blame. Thus the Springfield incident came to a close with no results but a sour taste in the mouths of the bosses and renewed vigor in the heart of the Progressive Miners.

The consummation of the rebel movement was reached in Gillespie. Here capitalist domination of union affairs, were burst asunder and a coal diggers' union formed. Amid a great demonstration of thousands of men and women, glowing in enthusiasm, the convention set to work in the business of putting a solid foundation under the union. Much was accomplished in this—but the convention also had its dark sides. These will be rectified only insofar as the Left wing becomes a powerful factor within the Progressive Miners of America. The convention altho composed of rank and file miners, was dominated and influenced by the Right wing. These latter were successful in convincing the delegates to accept the \$5 wage scale (the same as the Lewis-Walker agreement). With this contract they were able to sign up the independent coal operators competing with the Peabody Coal Corp. The struggle against this backsliding proposal and for all class struggle proposal was led by L. O. delegates with Gerry Allard in the forefront. In spite of the excellent militancy of the rank and file, their grit and determination to remain on strike another six months if necessary, and to invade Franklin County once more, the leaders with the consent of the worker delegates accepted the wage-cut, signed a class collaboration contract and more than 10,000 miners will go to work under the agreement. All this was made possible because of the absence of a strong Left wing, which has been decimated and dispersed by the criminal tactics and blunders of the Stalinites. The N. M. U., practically not existent in Illinois still remains the symbol of the Left wing. The development of the P. M. A. in a progressive direction can be judged by their relations with the N. M. U. But it is the rank and file that controls and the future is bright for the reconstitution of a strong Left wing led by the Left Opposition.

### THE STRUGGLE IN TAYLORVILLE

The latest phase of the battle is in Taylorville. The Peabody Coal Corp., which would rather have the field unorganized, refuses to deal with any union, but the decrepit U. M. W. of A. which they can control. They fear the P. M. A. even though it offers to settle for the same wage scale as the Lewis union, because it is a rebel movement. In the attempt to destroy the P. M. A., it has endeavored to start work in its mines under the aegis of the Lewis union. The striking miners in this midland tract refusing to be dictated to as to what union they should belong, stood solid.

The National Guard, mostly boys of 17-21 were brought on the scene to prevent the miners from picketing. Tear gas, prodding with bayonets and mass arrests were used to keep the strikers from the mines. The action of the miners and their women, particularly the young women was heroic and indomitable. So effective were the women on the scrimmage line with the N. G.s in weakening their morale, that the commanders were forced to change companies with systematic regularity, if the effectiveness of the "tin horns" (the name given to the N. G.s by the miners), was not to be completely shattered.

The picketers have been withdrawn from the Taylorville area but the rebel movement will break out anew with renewed vigor and sweep all obstacles away. And this will be when the miners learn that the end of their miseries will come only with the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system.

—GEORGE CLARKE.

# The Situation in Germany

The situation in Germany continues to simmer at the boiling point. Von Papen is more and more gaining the favor of a section of the German bourgeoisie, and winning them to his support. This of course, can be directly attributed to his program of a peaceful issuance from the crises on the backs of the workers, in contradistinction to Hitler's avowed intentions of bringing about a violent upheaval. The development of this situation has resulted in a violent feud between the Hitler Nazis, and the supporters of Von Papen, the Nationalists. They continue to break up each other's meetings with a regularity matched only by the Nazis breaking up of working class meetings.

This turn of events has given to the German working class a further breathing spell, and a so called chance to achieve the solid workers' front. But, and this must be stressed, the danger of an attempted Hitler coup is as great as ever. If anything, it may be slightly greater; for today even Hitler knows that his movement has fallen short of the desired 51 percent of the electorate. To achieve absolute power in the immediate future, Hitler has but one road open—the road of a violent seizure of power, destruction of all working class organizations, and the institution of an outright fascist regime. This still remains the main danger in Germany today; the danger that can be fought against in only one way—the preparation for an armed conflict, by all the workers organizations and groups.

From a speech of his to a group of Bavarian industrialists, delivered on Oct. 12 one gets an inkling of the changes to the constitution, that Von Papen proposes. The Weimar constitution is to be completely dumped overboard; it is too "democratic" for these Herrs! In its place they propose a substitution that can be characterized in only one way—reactionism to the extreme.

### PROPOSES CHANGE IN CONSTITUTION

Of all the "democratic" features of the Weimar constitution, the proposed changes would but leave one—the right to vote (and this even curtailed). The right to elect however, will have been done away with (in substance if not in form). The cabinet is no longer to be responsible to the Reichstag as heretofore; under the proposed changes the Premier and his cabinet would be responsible to the Reichs President only. This reactionary clique propose to do away with even the elementary rights of a bourgeois democratic regime, the right to select its own ministry. Furthermore, in addition to the present Reichstag there is proposed an upper house, a sort of Senate. This upper house, which will have a veto power over the popularly elected body, is to be chosen in some as yet undefined way, "on the basis of service to the Reich". As for the government of Prussia, that is to be practically done away with as an independent state. Control over Prussia will lie directly in the hands of the President of Germany, through the power to appoint the Prussian premier and cabinet. Finally, to sort of round off all the rough edges of this reactionary program is the proposal to raise the voting age from twenty to twenty-five. These are the changes with which Von Papen hopes to avoid even the slightest ignominy of the social democratic government of the years since the war.

These proposed changes must be branded with their class label, reactionary bourgeois. Especially must the organizations of the young workers go to the front in the campaign against these measures. The attempt to disenfranchise the youth is obviously directed against the young workers because of their political views. The desire of youth for a change has been leading more and more of them to the support of the Communist

party; this measure attempts to do away with the effects of this support in the parliamentary elections.

A campaign so full of possibilities for the Communist party of Germany, finds it hopelessly unable to bring about the united front of the working class, so much needed now. The half step taken by the party, mentioned in last month's YOUNG SPARTACUS, has led to nothing concrete. The campaign for the creation of a real workers united front movement has yet to be started. Against the emergency decrees, against the proposed changes in the constitution, and above all to prepare against any coup that Hitler might attempt; these should be the rallying cries about which to build the workers united front.

### COMMUNISTS GAIN IN ELECTION

As we go to press the results of the elections, held there on Nov. 6th are beginning to arrive. The results are exactly as expected. There was a drop in the total vote of about 1,500,000. Precisely what party was the chief loser in this failure to vote we cannot as yet definitely state, but all indications seem to point to this loss coming primarily from the former Hitler voters. The total loss to the Nazis was over two million votes. The Centrists too, lost a good deal of their following, their total almost 350,000 since the last election. The Nationalists, the supporters of Von Papen were the ones to profit by the losses of the above two; their vote increased almost 800,000. One can see in the above, but a reshuffling of the bourgeois support, a section of the bourgeoisie swinging away from Hitler to the "more stable" von Papen.

Of decisive significance, however, is the shift in the working class votes. The shift of the workers from the Social Democracy to the Communists, that was recorded in the last election, continued, in a pronounced manner. The socialists lost a total of 700,000 votes; the Communists gained exactly this amount, 700,000. This indicates a victory for the Communist party. The socialist support of Hindenburg is slowly bearing fruit, in the form of increased support for the Communist party. But the Communists must avoid getting dizzy with success. The real task is still ahead of them; the creation of the workers united front still remains on the order of the day.

—H. S.

## Greet 4th Anniversary of The Militant

The YOUNG SPARTACUS greets THE MILITANT, organ of the Communist League of America (Opposition) on its fourth anniversary. In this short period of time it has taken its place in the front ranks of American revolutionary journalism and literature. The printing of the writings of L. D. Trotsky opened a new spirit and understanding of Marxian theory and practise for the Communist and militant workers of this country. Particularly the revolutionary youth have learned through this source the true teachings of the proletarian leaders.

Forward to a stronger weekly MILITANT! Forward to a daily MILITANT!

The current writings of comrade Leon Trotsky are gotten at by the Pioneer Publishers, 84 East 10th Street, New York City. In these pamphlets all the basic views of the Left Opposition are contained.

If you want any out-of-print books by L. D. Trotsky get in touch with the Pioneer Publishers.

Subscribe to the YOUNG SPARTACUS Fifty cents for one year. Get bundle orders, three cents per copy.

## Hunger March London--Wash.

No country is exempt from the effects of the crisis. Everywhere there are outbursts of the working class, protest movements against the conditions imposed upon it by the ruling classes. The most recent of these took place in England at the end of last month. The Hunger March, which started out as a demonstration against the "means test" (which proposes that the unemployed workers seeking relief must first prove that they have no other means of support before they can partake in the dole), culminated in a fierce battle when the demonstrators were confronted with the police who guarded their approach to the parliamentary buildings where the "people's representatives" were busy discussing the "means test". There assembled on Trafalgar Square men and women who had marched from all parts of England to let their voices be heard, to ask for relief, and once in London they did not find themselves isolated. The working class in London came out to support and help the movement against the "means test."

With the very first report of the Hunger March, came the comments in capitalist press that the whole affair was instigated by Communists who had been organizing the unemployed in the country. Such news is very gratifying and raises our hopes that the now small Communist Party of Great Britain will know how to become an important factor in the labor movement of that country and be the vanguard of the working class in deeds as well as in words.

However, we must not look upon the Hunger March as an isolated event. It is linked up with the many struggles of the working class, the weavers' strike of last summer in Lancashire, the spinners' strike, the Miners' strike in Belgium, the miners' struggle in our own country, in Illinois, and many, many other deeds of the working class which indicate that it is not going to take every blow lying down.

### FORWARD TO WASHINGTON

On December 4th, there will be a demonstration in Washington in the form of a march for Winter Relief. We must bend all our efforts in the direction of making this a huge protest of the working class of this country against all the misery it has suffered at the hands of the masters. Here too, it is the Communists who will be the most active and the most determined. Our voices must be made audible in the chambers of Congress as were the voices and gunfire in the parliamentary halls in London.

—R. C.

## December -- One Year of The Young Spartacus

With the December issue the YOUNG SPARTACUS is one year old. Few, even of the optimists, expected us to celebrate its first anniversary. Our yearling is a product of much hard work and sacrifice. Up to now, the burden has been carried by a handful of comrades in New York. This should be changed. Other comrades should contribute money, send in articles, criticisms and suggestions for the paper.

Most of the subscriptions expire with this issue. Resubscribe. Get other youth to subscribe to our organ. Order bundles for distribution among the broad masses of youth and particularly the YCLers and Yipsels.

### YOUNG SPARTACUS

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

126 E. 16th St., N. Y. C.

VOL. 1, NO. 12 NOVEMBER 1932

Subscription rate: \$0.50 per year; Canada and foreign—\$0.65.