

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

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## VOTE COMMUNIST!

### Support the Revolutionary Candidates, Foster and Ford, in the Coming Elections

The 1932 presidential election campaign is now in full blast. The politicians of the respective capitalist parties are exerting themselves to convince the voters that there exist deep and unbridgeable differences between them. The only essential distinction, from the workers' viewpoint, between the Republican party and the Democratic party is that the former had the misfortune to be in office in Washington during one of the periodic economic crises of capitalism, while the latter has the advantage of being in the position to blame the Republican administration for the terrible consequences of the capitalist crisis. Both sets of politicians are anxious to win the election because of the pleasant and remunerative jobs involved for them, their friends, and relatives.

The bosses of the country know very well that fundamentally both parties are their loyal servants. The two-party system is convenient for them. When the workers become discontented with the conditions under the rule of one clique of politicians, they can express their dissatisfaction by voting for the other clique. Thus the prospects of the Democratic party are very good in this campaign.

The Republicans have been somewhat disappointed because Roosevelt has not uttered any statements which they could denounce as radical. They had been planning their strategy along those lines. They would depict Hoover as a sound, con-

structive statesman, and contrast Roosevelt as a wild radical who threatens the stability of our institutions. But Roosevelt fooled them. He could prove that he was no more radical than the Pope. And so he did. In his Detroit speech Roosevelt quoted from the sermon of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, from the Encyclical Letter of Pope Pius XI, and from the statements of Rabbi L. Israel to prove that what he was saying was no more radical than the sentiments of the aforementioned respectable gentlemen. Roosevelt won that argument.

Hoover, alarmed at the swing to Roosevelt, particularly in the West, traveled out to Iowa to make a speech that would turn the tide in his direction. And what did he say? He described himself as the savior of the country, the man who had rescued us from complete collapse. Things might be bad, said the engineer economist, but think of it, they might have been worse. "Let no man tell you", he cried, "that it could not be worse. It could be so much worse that these days now, distressing as they are, would look like veritable prosperity." What consolation to the fifteen million unemployed workers and the impoverished farmers! It is like congratulating a man who has lost a leg in the war. He might have lost both.

Norman Thomas, the candidate of the Socialist party, is engaged in his campaign in convincing the country that it

has nothing to fear from his party. For he believes in introducing socialism painlessly, and blissfully, so that even Mr. Morgan and Mr. Mellon would enjoy the process.

The capitalist class is not at all adverse in tolerating the election activities of the Socialist party. They realize that there will come a time when large sections of the workers will turn from the two reactionary parties and begin to go in the direction of Communism. The Socialist party is very useful in diverting them from such a course. The experience in Europe has demonstrated to the capitalist class that the Socialist parties can be depended upon to save them in crucial periods.

Thomas assures the capitalist class that he is not for confiscation of property (like the Communists who want to establish socialism at one full swoop) but the acquirement of the means of production through compensation of the present owners. Within a generation, Thomas tells us, there can be a complete transfer of ownership. Thus, Thomas proposes, that the workers after having won the power (by the ballot of course—Thomas wouldn't have it any other way) should maintain the exploiters and parasites on their backs for a generation, during which time the capitalist gentleman would kindly desist from organizing counter-revolution with the money so acquired. Such is the beautiful scheme of the So-

cialist party. In Germany, 1919, where they had the opportunity, the colleagues of Thomas and Hillquit, Noske and Scheidemann, were too busy shooting down workers to occupy themselves even in compensating capitalists for property. They in fact defended it.

In the Soviet Union the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, showed the workers of the world how to rid themselves of their exploiters. They accomplished this against the will of the Mensheviks (Socialists) who opposed them and who passed over into the ranks of the counter-revolution. The Russian workers began the world revolution and the struggle for socialism. The workers of the other countries must continue and complete this gigantic task. This they can do by following in the path of Lenin and Trotsky.

The Left Opposition and the Spartacus Youth Clubs are in disagreement with many of the policies of the present Stalinist leadership. We are striving to correct these blunders. Nevertheless, we support the Communist party in the election campaign. It is the only party which is genuinely opposed to capitalism. To support the Communist party in the election campaign signifies your desire to fight for a new system of society and to follow the example of the Russian workers who were led to victory under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

VOTE FOR FOSTER AND FORD!

### Scottsboro Boys Appeal Case

The case of the Scottsboro boys, victims of the vicious American frame-up system, is coming up before the Supreme Court of the United States on Oct. 10th. The nine Negro boys were framed up on a charge of rape and convicted through the creation of a lynch spirit at which our Southern bourbons are so adept.

Had it not been for the agitation carried on by the I. L. D. and the Communist movement in general, they would long ago have been burned in the chair as victims of our vicious system. The agitation carried on in their behalf has not only had a tremendous response in this country, but internationally as well. In Chemnitz, Germany several workers were shot while protesting against the execution of the Scottsboro boys. The tour of Mrs. Ada Wright, mother of one of the boys, throughout Europe has brought wide response. But enough has not yet been done. Only mass protest on the part of the workers can prevent their execution. The class-conscious workers must redouble their efforts on behalf of their freedom. Attend the Scottsboro demonstrations throughout the entire country. Get your organizations behind the campaign.

### CLASS FORCES IN GERMANY

In the past month the Von Papen regime has intensified its aggression against the German working class and their organizations. Von Papen aims at getting capitalism out of its economic and political crisis without resorting to an open, violent, civil war against the workers. His attitude toward the Versailles Treaty, the disarmament conference, and the League of Nations has taken some wind out of the Fascist wind-bags. His limitation or practical prohibition of the right to strike for the workers is also a measure which Hitler could accomplish only through a bloody battle in the streets.

**ATTEMPTS TO WIN THE YOUTH**  
Now Von Papen and Hindenburg are endeavoring to win over the youth. A few weeks ago the government announced the opening of free camps for all young people "except Communists" as a step to win the youth from the Fascists and the Communists. In these camps the youth will undoubtedly be taught the need of patriotism and loyalty to the German fatherland and servility to the bosses.

Hitler replied to this move by announcing the opening of even larger youth camps by the Fascists. At the National Socialist youth field day on October 1st, Hitler spoke to thirty thousand children and young people of the traditions of German nation which they inherit and

must fight to uphold. The next day an even larger number of youth participated in a parade reviewed by their hero and leader, Adolph Hitler.

#### STRUGGLE BETWEEN VON PAPEN AND HITLER

In the present pre-Reichstag election campaign the Nationalists, supporters of Von Papen and the Hitlerites have had many physical combats. The struggle between the two as to which shall govern in the interests of German wage slavery has sharpened. It appears that due to the absence of strenuous and effective resistance on the part of the working class to Von Papen's and Hindenburg's emergency degrees, larger sections of the bourgeoisie are at the moment supporting the present government in preference to Hitler. For they still hope that it will not be necessary to give street battle in defense of their rule.

The Social Democracy is pursuing its usual policy of concentrating the attention of the workers to the coming Reichstag election, Nov. 6. It has fostered the most poisonous democratic illusions in the minds of the working class under its influence. In its party and trade unions it has the decisive sections of the entire German working class. If these proletarians combined with the Communist

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### Miners Hold Convention in Ill.

The Progressive Miners' Union of America opened its constitutional convention on October 3rd in Springfield, Illinois at which over 200 delegates representing around 22,000 miners of the state attended. The Union grew out of the revolt in the United Mine Workers of America against the Lewis machine and the struggle for the basic \$6.10 day wage scale as against the \$5.00 scale accepted by Lewis and company.

The Convention is to decide on the form of organization, program and policies to be used to combat Lewis, the coal operators and the state forces. The three are actively cooperating particularly in Southern Illinois in the counties of Franklin, Williamson and Saline where they have succeeded through the establishment of a reign of terror and practically martial law, in illegalizing the P. M. U. of A.

The Left Opposition is attempting to organize a Left wing group within the Union. Comrades Joe Angelo and Gerry Allard, both members of the Communist League of America, are taking active parts in the movement. The latter is the editor of the official paper, the Progressive Miner.

## Spartacus Youth Clubs Forge Ahead

### MONTREAL

As evidence of the fact that our influence is slowly taking root throughout the entire country we announce the fact that another young Communist has been expelled for supporting the Left Opposition. Joe Gilbert, secretary of his unit in Montreal, Canada, and secretary of the Young Defenders group there was expelled for demanding the right to present his point of view on the disputed questions (Germany, socialism in one country, etc.) For this he was expelled. The following, from a letter of his, is interesting: "The District Bureau approved my expulsion. At a general membership meeting which took place before the meeting of unit 14, (his unit) or any other unit, my letter was read. I was not allowed to be present. The leadership merely repeated the interpretation of democratic centralism given at the Organization Department. My expulsion was presented as an accomplished fact." This coupled with recent expulsions in Chicago and the number of Y. C. L. members in New York who have expressed their sympathies with our views are a few of the indications of the growth of our influence.

### NEW YORK.—

The past month witnessed a big increase in the activities of the New York Spartacus Youth Club. Besides the regular routine duties of distribution of Young Spartacus, regular club meetings, and open-air meetings, the club took part in two strikes. Several members of the club participated in a strike of workers in the doll and toy industry. The strikers, mostly young workers fighting a wage cut and rotten conditions, put up a militant struggle and succeeded in winning some of their demands.

Following this, a strike in the Rex Metal Products Corporation broke out, many young and foreign born workers among the strikers. The club, with a little experience gained in the previous strike, voted to aid the militant workers who had marched in a solid body against a wage cut. A good proportion of the members gathered in the morning and proceeded to the picket line. From the beginning our comrades actively served as an example, and volunteered to picket and aid in whatever way possible. It was noticeable that very few Y. C. L.ers were present, although there were many young people in the shop. Even though John Steuben, T. U. U. L. representative attempted to place technical difficulties in the way of our comrades who were willing and anxious to help, the entire period of the strike found them continuing their activity and making a good impression. Many remarks have been made to our comrades since then: "The Trotsky youth were there and the Y. C. L. had only a member or two". In a meeting of the Club after the strike was over, the tactics followed in the strike were discussed and lessons drawn for such activity in the future.

The membership is steadily increasing and indications are that in the near future the club should experience a substantial growth. With the new headquarters of the Communist League of America now being prepared, the club will have its own regular meeting place. Affairs such as the successful one held this month at a private house can now be of a more elaborate character.

The class in "Fundamentals of Communism" which will be started in two weeks will meet at the new headquarters, 126 E. 16th Street. Comrade George Ray, instructor of the class, will receive enrollment meanwhile. These should be sent to S. Y. C. at 84 East 10th Street.

### YOUNG SPARTACUS

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## Youth and World Anti-War Congress

The World Anti-War Congress held at Amsterdam, Agst 27 to 29th, revealed the bankruptcy of the official leadership of the Comintern and Young Communist International on the problem of the struggle against imperialist war. That which is of utmost importance in the revolutionary struggle against war, the exposure of liberal and militant pacifism was sacrificed in order to gain the spurious "defense of the Soviet Union" by pacifist intellectuals.

The Congress was officially a response to a call issued by Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, Upton Sinclair, and other well-known intellectuals to "all sincere men and women". "What we want is to raise an immense wave of opinion against war, whatever war it may be, wherever it may come from, whoever it may menace", the call stated as its aim. This completely false and pacifist position was signed by Sen Katayama, a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. It was the basis upon which the Congress assembled.

What could be expected from such a Congress, inspired by the heads of the Comintern and led by confused and pacifist intellectuals? Reports on the actual proceedings of the Congress, by two French Left Oppositionists who were delegates to it may be found in THE MILITANT of September 24th. In all there were six delegates, members of the Marxian wing of the Communist movement, the Left Opposition, who defended the views of Lenin on war.

The Communist understands that war is a result of capitalism. That the struggle against war is not a special, particular, isolated task for Communists but rather an integral part of the fight against capitalism. Anti-war activity is part and parcel of the work of winning the workers in the shops, mines and mills on the basis of the day to day economic needs of the masses. The problem of war is the highest and therefore, most difficult one facing the working class and its vanguard, the Communists. War puts

### Chicago Club Statement to National Student League

Six comrades of the Chicago Spartacus Youth Club have issued a mimeographed statement to the members of the National Student League relative to the attempt to expel them and bar Left Oppositionists from membership. The statement signed by comrades Gould, Barashefsky, Laudau, and Freifield explains that the leaders of the Chicago N. S. L. propose a clause in the constitution of the organization barring "Trotskyites" because of the effective work done by the Left Oppositionists among the students and the ensuing gain of prestige.

The comrades argue against the view that they have violated the program of the N. S. L. This has particular reference to the position of these comrades at the N. S. L. Conference of September 4th when after the discussion on the World Anti-War Congress, member of the Spartacus Youth Club made a motion which criticized the pacifist character of the Congress appeal. In contradistinction to the appeal which stated that "What we want is to raise an immense wave of opinion against war, whatever war it may be, wherever it may come from, whoever it may menace", they proposed that "We of the N. S. L. shall go on record as opposed only to imperialist war, for the proletarian revolution, for the defense of the Soviet Union and for the liberation of all colonial and semi-colonial peoples."

The leaders of the N. S. L. opposed this motion. Only the members of the Spartacus Youth Club voted for it. Thus the statement declares "Let them answer: Who deviated from the program of the N. S. L.? Who deviated from the revolutionary line of Lenin and Marx and followed the historical tradition of the 2nd International? Let them speak!"

The statement concludes by calling on members of the N. S. L. to struggle against the proposed expulsions and exclusions and for building a mass revolutionary students League.

questions clearly and precisely. Defeat of the home government, civil war, revolution or defense of the bourgeois fatherland. Revolutionary defense of the Soviet Union or a colonial people by the mobilization of the working class against the imperialists if necessary to the extent of civil war against our ruling class or fine talk, soothing speeches, and empty promises which disarm the proletariat and thereby help the capitalists. One must choose between these two courses: The revolutionary or the pacifist. The World Anti-War Congress attempted to straddle the issue and thereby landed in the camp of militant pacifism.

The Manifesto of the Congress is a clear example of the position of militant pacifism. Radical phraseology, talk of "facing the facts", condemnation of the League of Nations criticism of the Socialist support of the World War and a pledge in which "we swear to" be for this or against that. No attempt to link the war problem with the overthrow of capitalism, concretely, in definite terms and proposals. Instead one finds that "The Congress addresses itself to the innumerable masses of the proletariat which needs only conscious organization in order to come to power!"

### STALINISTS ISSUE NO

### INDEPENDENT STATEMENT

The Comintern people at the Congress such as Muenzenburg recited the revolutionary position on war. The recitation as all the other speeches (except the really Marxian ones) was well received by the delegates. They then proceeded to the order of the day: an acceptance of a pacifist manifesto; a blurring of the line of distinction between the revolutionary and pacifist solution of the war danger and problem. The official Communists issued no declaration of their own wherein one could read their own program. The Left Oppositionists presented a statement of the Marxian attitude towards war. (It can be found in THE MILITANT).

It calls upon the Communist International to organize an international anti-war congress by appealing to the Labor and Socialist International, the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Syndicalist International and all working class organizations for a united front on the basis of a concrete program against war. There the Communists would present their position on this extremely important question and expose the tactics of the reformists and pacifists.

### WHAT IS THE POSITION OF THE Y. C. L.?

What is the viewpoint of the Young Communist International towards this proposal? What is its attitude towards the World Anti-War Congress, its call, proceedings and manifesto? The reports of the Congress in the International Press Correspondence, controlled by the Comintern, makes no reference to representatives of the Y. C. I. or any of its national sections. Why were they not present?

We posed in the September issue of YOUNG SPARTACUS similar questions to the heads of the American Y. C. L. in reference to their absence from the New York anti-war conference. The questions remain unanswered.

One of the major activities of the Young Communist League is anti-militarist. Yet we have this cowardly silence. But more than that. We find in the August issue of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL an article entitled "The War Menace and the Tasks of the Sections of the Y. C. I." by P. Rakhomiaghi, in which the Leagues are criticized for lack of or false policies on anti-war and anti-militarist work. No mention whatsoever is made of the Barbusse AntiWar Congress which was being planned then or what the attitude of the Leagues should be towards it! A more cowardly evasion of a burning question cannot be imagined.

The author of the article states that "Not only the rank and file but even the overwhelming majority of the active members of the League are unacquainted

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## Lytton Committee Report on Manchuria

On October 2 the report of the Lytton Committee of the League of Nations was made public. The committee was appointed by the League of Nations some time ago to investigate the matter of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and Shanghai.

The report as is to be expected devotes a good deal of space to an attack against the Communist movement in China. "There is a new menace, which had its origin in China in 1921—Communism." "In that country", says the report, "Communism has become an actual rival of the national government."

### THE SPECTRE OF COMMUNISM

Created to investigate the matter of the slaughter of many tens of thousands of Chinese workers and peasants by the Japanese troops, the report finds the danger to the Chinese people not in the Japanese marines but in Communism. To expect otherwise would have been foolish. The report continues by suggesting as the solution to this main danger of Communism, "international cooperation"—the creation of an international police. Japan has recently taken the main burden of suppressing the Chinese masses, but we (the international imperialists) are willing to help them, and incidentally share in the booty—this is the essence of the report.

In discussing the question of who started the fighting, and of who is responsible they point to a thousand and one trivial incidents and stress the killing of a Japanese captain, Nakamura, as having brought on the fighting. The by now accepted fact, that Japan has for years had the complete plans for an attack on Manchuria prepared, was completely ignored. But then Japan is expected to take an important part in the suppression of the Chinese Communists to be too harshly dealt with.

But of course the influence of Great Britain and America had to assert itself in the report. The report actually recognizes (strange as it seems) that the government of Henry Pu Yi (Manchukuo) was forced on the Manchurian people, against their will, by the Japanese, and would collapse should Japan withdraw its troops. Does the report therefore demand the immediate withdrawal of the Japanese troops? Hardly. It points out that "law and order" is most necessary today in China and Manchuria and suggests an international police force to secure it. Again the hand of Great Britain crops up in the section devoted to the boycott. England remembers the boycott against itself, and therefore the report condemns the Chinese for instituting the economic boycott against Japan as a principle question.

### LAW AND ORDER

The report concludes with a repetition of the statement that the most important thing today is the creation of a stable government—law and order. This to both prevent the spread of Communism, and to provide an "atmosphere of confidence" necessary for the influx of foreign capital. The puppet government of Manchukuo is given a left handed slap, while the Chinese masses are being slaughtered throughout all of Manchuria by the Japanese bluejackets.

No major imperialist government (except Japan) has yet recognized Manchukuo. They are torn between the desire to sharply attack Japan, and the fear of the growth of the Communist movement and the "soviet territory" in China. The working class looks upon Manchukuo as being but the tool of the Japanese imperialists in their attempt to exploit the Chinese masses. For the Soviet Union to "recognize" Manchukuo at the present time, would be a grave error. We must therefore hail the official denials by Moscow that it intended to grant official recognition to the new state. The imperialist powers by refusing to recognize Manchukuo are attempting to drive a hard bargain with Japan. The Soviet Union should use its state power to expose the plans of both the opposing groups—Japan on the one side, and England and America on the other.

# The Revolutionary Heritage of John Reed

A revolutionary movement that does not claim its due heritage is not worthy of the appellation revolutionary. All movements of the past that exemplified a progressive revolutionary step are our movements. Those who fell in the struggle are our martyrs. So—from the days of the Revolutionary War down to the present—in each of these movements those men and women who fell in the struggle are commemorated by us as martyrs to the cause of social progress. We reinscribe on their banners more pertinent—more revolutionary—slogans and carry on. Especially to honor the memory of one who was our very own is but our simple revolutionary duty.

John Reed died October 17, 1920. He was thirty-two years of age at his death. Of these thirty-two years he gave seven to the revolutionary working class movement with all the zest and energy that was peculiarly his own. Of singular significance to the American revolutionary youth is that he was but a youth himself when he succumbed to typhoid in the disease-ridden war-ridden days of the Civil War in the Soviet Union. He gave to the movement all that was in him—up to his very life. The young proletarian republic of Lenin and Trotsky honored this revolutionary young giant of America by interring his last remains in the Red Square under the Kremlin Walls.

It is now twelve years since his death. In these twelve years a lot of water has run under the tomb of John Reed—and of Lenin. If John Reed is not to be evaluated at this day, at least, a slight reevaluation is essential. The Stalinists have, at least, handled him accordingly. Like the Social Democracy who find the heritage of deceased revolutionists as so much demagogic grist for their mill—so the Stalinists have flooded the country with John Reed Clubs and every year commemorate the anniversary of his death by telling themselves what a "great

fellow" he was. But it was Stalin himself, as we shall show later, who handed John Reed to the Left Opposition. And our only reply to that can be: "Much obliged."

John Reed was born way out west in Oregon. His parents were fairly well to do. They educated him or rather tried to educate him in the best traditions of a gentleman. He went to Harvard. There he led a typical collegiate life. Was a member of a couple of prominent clubs, though not of the real swanky, up and up type. He was on the debating team, dramatic club and swimming team. He wrote for the college periodicals, put on a college show and was ivy orator on his graduation in 1910. It is interesting for the sake of comparison to note here that he was a classmate of Heywood Broun.

Graduated from Harvard—he had the typical choices of a Harvard man. He could become a bond salesman—a swimming coach—a newspaperman a la Heywood Broun and write sport comments for the metropolitan press. But he became a revolutionist. Not all at once, of course. First he had to get the stodgy stultifying atmosphere of a "liberal" education out of him. He gravitated to Greenwich Village where his enthusiasm and energy was an inspiration to people like George Cram Cook, Max Eastman, etc. He met Lincoln Steffen, for whom it can be said that it was he who first placed Jack (for that's how he was known to everybody) on the path of working class activity.

In 1913 the great silk strike of Paterson was on. The three years of his activity in Greenwich Village merely aroused in Reed a desire for greater, more serious activity. Little theatre movements were all right—they kept one occupied borrowing money and writing one-act plays . . . but a great strike. That was the stuff to write about and off he went to Paterson. He not only

wrote about the experiences he described, he lived them. And so this "Harvard gentleman" as the press called him was arrested for the first time in his life—for picketing. Back in New York he put on the great Paterson Strike pageant in Madison Square Garden. Then he got wind of the revolution in Mexico. There he went as correspondent for the Metropolitan to get some stuff on "that bandit", Pancho Villa. His sentiments were immediately with the poor and exploited peasants of Mexico. As Dos Passos puts it: "Mexico taught him to write."

The World War found him in Europe as a war correspondent, going from front to front. Then came 1917. The Russian Revolution. And October—the great October—finds John Reed with the soldiers and sailors and workers and peasants in Petrograd—writing the greatest book of his life, the most authentic record of the Revolution, as Lenin called it, *Ten Days That Shook the World*.

Back in the States his life is one indictment and arrest after another. Expelled from the Socialist party when the split came, he became a foundation member of the Communist party. For a while he was editor of the official party organ, *The Communist*. While under indictment in Chicago for conspiring to "overthrow the government by force" Reed left for Russia. There, hearing that he was accused of running away, he decided to return but was arrested in Finland. He was released at the behest of the Soviet Government. On October 1, 1920, the *New York Times* carried a dispatch that John Reed was dying. A few days later he died, felled in the struggle against typhoid that was wreaking havoc throughout the length and breadth of the Soviet Union.

Now why do we of the Left Opposition claim the heritage of John Reed? First because Stalin placed him there five years after his death. Second because from the day of his entry into the class struggle as a revolutionary journalist until his death he was an intransigent fighter in the front ranks of the proletarian revolutionary movement and in the Communist party.

The second reason no real revolutionist will contest. The first deserves some

proof.

In his struggle against "Trotskyism", Stalin, in his share of the pamphlet *Leninism vs. Trotskyism* issued here by the Daily Worker Publishing Co., has the following to say of John Reed and his book, *Ten Days That Shook the World*: "The well-known John Reed who was not connected with our party and naturally could not know the history of our conspirative meeting on October 10—fell into Mr. Suchanov's trap—in his book, *Ten Days*. This tale (reference to majority of C. C. vote against insurrection—M. G.) is printed and repeated in a whole series of brochures which originate from the pens of Trotsky's adherents"—Correct! If the *Ten Days* was inspired by comrade Trotsky and "his adherents" then his adherents are mighty proud of the fact. For Lenin lauded the book, wrote an introduction for it and called it the most authentic account of those terribly important October days. He urged that the book be translated into as many languages as possible—that it be read by millions of workers the world over. Show us another book that Lenin has so endorsed! "We might therefore pass over these rumors," continues Stalin, "for indeed many unfounded and silly rumors are manufactured in the studies of persons in opposition or not connected with the party. We have as a matter of fact done so until recently, for instance, by paying no attention to the mistakes of John Reed and not troubling to correct them." (Emphasis mine—M. G.) So comrade Lenin could think of nothing better to do than to endorse so wholeheartedly, write an introduction for, and urge the world wide spread of a book—full of errors! No! It was just Stalin's characteristic "rudeness and disloyalty" (Lenin) that prompted him to denigrate the character of a revolutionist who lay buried for five years in the Bolshevik Westminster Abbey. But the character of comrade John Reed is unstained thereby. Quite the contrary. By Stalin's disloyal act John Reed was placed, posthumously it is true, in the ranks of the vanguard of the vanguard—in the ranks of the International Bolshevik Left.

—M. GLUM.

## BOOK REVIEW

### *History of the First International*

The History of the First International by G. Steklov, International Publishers.

Aside from this theoretical guidance Marx has left to the world working class the heritage of the First International. The history of the International Workingmen's Association is illuminated with many bright lights which guide the proletariat in steering its course to victory. Stekloff has done us a great service in recording the history of this organization, outlining in detail the differences that arose within it and drawing certain lessons.

After recovering from the defeats of 1848, the working class once again started on the upgrade about 1860. On this new wave the International was created. Its first conference was held in London in 1865 and laid the basis for the first Congress which was held a year later. The first adherents were the British trade unions, the workers' co-operatives of France and other countries. From the very start a conflict arose between the Proudhonists, who believed that through the organization of co-operatives and labor banks the working class would set an example of the practicability of socialism and the Marxists, who advocated the seizure of political power by the proletariat and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the first step toward socialism. The former visualized the International as a large co-operative and bank, whereas Marx looked upon it as an international workingclass party. The British trade unionists, for their part, had joined the International primarily to prevent the importation of scabs into England in time of strike.

The Congress of 1867 considered the question of war. Here Marx raised the

banner of relentless class-struggle and the overthrow of capitalism as the means to abolish wars. The Congress, however, under the influence of the Proudhonists, endorsed the League of Peace, a thoroughly bourgeois organization. In 1868 the question was again raised and this time the Congress adopted the general strike of the working class as a means of stopping war and withdrew its support from the League of Peace. The Proudhonists lost their last foothold when the Congress adopted a resolution calling for the collectivization of land as well as of industry.

At Basle the next year, the anarchists appeared on the scene, Bakunin, their leader, having dissolved the branches of his Alliance and joined the International. In 1870, the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war paralyzed the work of the International. Until then, it had been very active in its support of struggling workers in all lands and it had grown in numbers to such an extent that it earned the well-deserved hatred of the bourgeoisie.

The International on the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War (1870) took a revolutionary position on the war, denouncing both sides, branding the annexationist policy of Prussia and calling for the working class to unite to put an end to it. The Paris Commune which survived for three months vindicated what Marx had taught about the need for a revolutionary party, proletarian political power (dictatorship of the proletariat) which would combat the enemies after the seizure of power and prepare the ground for Communism. The Anarchists, denying this, continued to believe that immediately after the revolution the state could be abolished and that a classless

society would set in almost at once. The lesson of the Lyons Commune, where the anarchists had seized power and proceeded to "abolish" the state, making no preparations for the defense of the city and thus allowing the reactionary troops to march upon and recapture it, taught them nothing.

The defeat and crushing of the Paris Commune was the signal for a new period of reaction. The workers had been exhausted and it would take time for them to recover and embark on a revolutionary path again. The rift between the anarchists and Communists grew, so that the 1872 Hague Congress had as the main point on the agenda the settlement of the conflict between these two tendencies. There the question of organization was raised. The anarchists favored the idea of autonomous national sections, each having its own method and policies, undisciplined by the international organization, as well as the idea that the minority may accept the advice of the majority, but is not bound by its decisions. To them the General Council was not an executive committee of the International, but rather a statistic-gathering body. The Marxists who conceived of the International as a political party, fought for a closely-knit, disciplined organization. The question of parliamentary action was raised. The anarchists were opposed to it as to other reforms because they saw only the evil side of it, that it leads to opportunism. Marx, recognizing this danger, nevertheless pointed out that the working class can use reforms and participate in bourgeois parliaments, such activities becoming rallying centers of the proletariat to advance the struggle to a higher and revolutionary plane. It was at this Congress that they discovered that Bakunin had organized a secret alliance of his own. Upon his failure to disband it, he was expelled from the International. Unfortunately, he succeeded in taking a big slice of the latter to the anarchist camp. The great

### The Young Guards

We're marching towards the morning,  
We're struggling comrades all.  
Our aims are set on victory.  
Our enemies must fall.  
With ordered step, red flag unfurled,  
We'll make a new and better world.

\* \* \* \*

We are the youthful guardsmen of the proletariat,  
We are the youthful guardsmen of the proletariat.

Jura (Swiss) Federation went with him as did the majority of the Spanish and Italian workers. The Marxists were left with a small minority and the International was reduced to a skeleton of its former self.

#### THE TWILIGHT OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

Marx, realizing that the International had served its purpose in arousing the working masses, that for further work a new International would have to be formed composed of proletarian political parties instead of varied tendencies, favored the removal of the General Council to New York. After its removal, despite the sincere efforts of Sorge, it continued to wither until the last conference in 1876 which officially disbanded the First International. The split anarchist groups had formed their own International which existed until 1877.

There is much similarity that one recognizes in the internal struggles of the First International and those of the present Communist movement from which one can draw valuable lessons. Young Communists who want to understand more clearly how important it is to have a correct policy should study the history of the First International, study the various tendencies within it and check them in the light of later events.

—REVA CRAIN.

## Campaign Against Opposition Youth

CHICAGO.—

The officials of the Chicago Young Communist League have initiated a campaign against the members of the Chicago Spartacus Youth Club in an attempt to shake off the influence which this new group has attained among the rank and file of the radical youth movement in Chicago, outstanding of which is the Y. C. L.

On Tuesday, August 23rd, a group of members of the Spartacus Youth Club stood on a street corner when Morris Davidson, now an outstanding leader of the YCL, with fist clenched and raised, stepped into or midst and offered a last warning. "Don't speak to any more of our League members or you'll see what you will get!" We urged him to go home.

A week later two cars speeding down Division Street suddenly slammed on the brakes, stopped short and a flock of YCL members jumped out. They encircled comrade Sold, who incidentally was absent from the scene of the first warning, and threatened him and offered a similar fate to him if he did not refrain from talking with YCL members. This deed was executed with such remarkable perfection that it competed well with Al Caponism.

At the IYD demonstration in Chicago an attempt was made to remove by force comrades Barshefsky and Landau. Carl Green was assigned to comrade Landau. The fact that comrade Barshefsky is a girl did not interfere with the plan. They assigned four husky girls to the meek little Yetta. Yetta refused to be moved so when some workers, League and Party members, began to protest they decided to let her alone.

Jack Kling, district organizer YCL asked about a month ago a certain YCL member if he would join a corps of League members to beat up the Trotskyites, and we are happy to hear that this comrade flatly refused and threatened that if bodily violence was used against the Left Oppositionists, he would withdraw, with other comrades from the YCL.

On September 15th at a meeting of the NSL at which they were to expel the "Trotskyites" for standing in opposition to the pacifist anti-war Congress, members of the Spartacus Youth Club were violently attacked by YCL members. These YCL comrades situated themselves behind comrade Gould and poked and elbowed him, threw cigarettes at him, burnt his shirt, and very conspicuously flourished a knife as a warning against any attempt to speak. This however did not prevent our comrades from taking the floor. But the bureaucratic apparatus was working. They heckled; they ruled us out of order; they limited time to a minute and a half per speaker, etc.

### STATEMENTS DISTRIBUTED TO STUDENTS

Notwithstanding all this we attempted at the culmination of the meeting to distribute a statement which we issued. Comrade Gould took a position at the door and proceeded to discuss and distribute the statements. At this point he was attacked by some YCL'ers who attempted to wrest the leaflet from his hands. Thanks to the efforts of another corps of League members who interfered and restrained the attackers from proceeding along its chosen course, that our comrades were saved from a severe beating.

In the meantime comrade Gould proceeded with the distribution on the inside. A second attack was launched. This time comrade Dannalyk (a sympathizer of the SYC) grabbed the leaflets and scattered them throughout. There was a mad scramble for the statements.

We left the meeting victorious; not only were the sympathizers of the NSL members with us but also those of many YCL'ers.

We make an appeal to all YCL members to protest these attacks upon young revolutionaries who are defending the banner of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism.

—NATHAN GOULD.

## CLASS FORCES IN GERMANY

(Continued from page 1)

workers under revolutionary leadership they would be an invincible force which could put an end to the Fascist danger, overthrow the Von Papen government and brush German capitalism into the dustbin of history. The problem is the winning of the social democratic workers to the proletarian revolution and Communists.

What are the Communist party and Young Communist League doing in this direction?

With the slogan of "united front only from below" and "social fascism" they have failed to mobilize any substantial sections of the Social Democracy for the revolutionary struggle against Fascism. They have failed to expose the Socialist leaders.

Further. Their confusion of the Von Papen regime and the Hitlerites by calling them both Fascist makes it difficult, if not impossible, to explain to the workers the reasons for the present sharp struggle between the two.

### ANOTHER CHANGE IN POSITION

However, the pressure of events, the powerful and masterly writings of comrade Trotsky and the activities of our German comrades, constantly forces the leadership of the German Communist Party to make turns and half-turns; to contradict their own positions.

The latest of these is expressed in an article by Ernst Thaelmann, leader of the party, in the *Die Internationale* (No. 6, 1932)—(*The Labour Monthly* of Great Britain (Sept. 1932) contains extensive extracts from which we quote.)

In this article, (which we cannot treat here in its entirety) he polemizes against comrade Trotsky on the question of the united front with the Social Democratic Party. Thaelmann at first rejects on principle such a united front policy—which he refers to as a bloc—and quotes several passages from Lenin. But after having rejected this in principle he immediately adds that "This does not preclude the employment in a revolutionary manner and above all at a stage of highly developed mass movement of the united front tactic from above and from below in certain cases. In the interest of a strengthened development of the united front from below amongst the masses for common struggle the question as to whether or not we make simultaneous approaches to the leading circles of the Social Democratic party, A. D. G. B. (Social Democratic trade union center—Jos. C.) etc., depends on two decisive prerequisites!"

On the one hand a rejection of the

Left Opposition's proposal of the united front on principle—this is compatible with the previous line of Thaelmann. But then a round-about face posing of the question of the united front with the Social Democratic Party as based on certain prerequisites, that is, making it a tactical question!

And what are those prerequisites? The establishment of the common front of quote "Firstly, the mobilization for the struggle must have attained such a degree amongst the masses, that a request to the leaders from our side will release a real echo below amongst the membership of the A. D. G. B. organizations, or the supporters of the S. P. D. Secondly, in the given concrete conditions the surety must exist, that our approach to the higher bodies does not weaken the will of the Social Democratic and non-party workers for independent steps for the establishment of the proletarian united front against Fascism, or transform their activity into a certain waiting to see 'if those at the top will unite', but on the contrary strengthens the mass initiative." The important prerequisite of the right of criticism is not mentioned. A few observations will suffice for the moment.

The first condition mentioned is a denial that the German workers, particularly the social democratic workers, at present really want proletarian unity against Fascism. The Berlin experience, where the district of the C. P. appealed to the S. D. organization for joint action and following the rejection won over many of the latter's workers and gained votes in the elections disproves this contention.

As to the second condition. One cannot speak of "surety" or ask for an absolute guarantee that pursuing a particular tactic the desirable will follow. Things are not as simple as all that. But Thaelmann in reality either has no confidence in his own leadership or what amounts to the same thing, afraid that the Social Democratic leaders may accept and outwit him. For the will to struggle on the part of the workers in the ranks can only be strengthened when they see before them the possibility of a united working class against Fascism.

Thaelmann by his new turn on the question of the united front leaves the door open for an actual turn in the tactics of the German Communist Party. Whether the turn will actually be undertaken depends to a large extent on the continuance and increase of pressure of the International Left Opposition, and particularly its German section.

—JOS. C.

## Youth and the World Anti-War Congress

(Continued from page 2)

either with Lenin's doctrine of war and revolution, or the experience of the Bolsheviks". To which we are compelled to agree. Up to seventy percent of the membership of the foreign (non-Soviet) sections joined the Y. C. I. in 1931-32, he writes. At the same time the existence of social democratic and pacifist sentiment among the working class youth and in the Leagues combined with "the abstract system of leadership, of which not only the various sections are guilty but also in a large measure the leadership of the Y. C. I. itself", explains this ignorance. So even the Y. C. I. method of leadership is at fault. A rather unexpected but none the less true confession!

But does this critic propose anything? Does he even suggest the education of the youth and young communists in Lenin's teachings? No. He criticizes the various Leagues, for example, Spanish, Belgian and Austrian for advancing the slogan "convert the imperialist war into a civil war" as a slogan of immediate action, or the American League for "the anti-war unity committees (which essentially represented the leadership of the different reformist, pacifist and Trotskyist organizations rather than their members". (Comrades of the Spartacus Youth Clubs, take notice!).

Following this he talks of the winning of the young workers, and social dem-

ocratic youth to the Young Communist Leagues, to the revolutionary position on war. But how can this be done when "an overwhelming majority of the active members of the League" (and we can add so-called leaders) do not understand Lenin's teachings on war and revolution?

The young workers, the social democratic youth cannot be won to the Communist movement through the setting of arbitrary dates for anti-war demonstrations. They must be taught through literature and struggle the revolutionary program. The Young Communist Leagues whose leadership and membership are ignorant of Lenin's teachings are incapable of winning the youth.

### DEMAND A REPLY

The Left Opposition, functioning among the youth through the Spartacus Youth Clubs and the YOUNG SPARTACUS, defends the Marxian program against the revisionism of the leaders of the Comintern and the Y. C. I. On the war question particularly, the YOUNG SPARTACUS aims to educate the young workers, Socialist and Communist youth. The comrades in the ranks of the Young Communist League should demand discussions in the units on the World Anti-War Congress and the attitude of the Young Communist International towards it. Write the YOUNG WORKER on the matter. Demand that the leaders of the American League to reply to our questions.

—JOS. C.

## NEWS SNAPS OF MONTH

### ANOTHER FRAME-UP

Another Harlan Kentucky miner has been found guilty of conspiracy to murder a deputized company gunman and sentenced to serve life in prison. This is the sixth worker convicted in the case arising from the battle between striking miners and company gunmen in Evarts, Kentucky, May 5th 1931. Previously W. B. Jones, W. M. Hightower, Chester Poore, W. M. Hudson and Elsie Phillips were found guilty. More workers are to be tried in the near future.

The defense of these workers is being conducted by the General Defense Committee of the Industrial Workers of the World. Workers who can help should send money to this committee at 555 West Lake St., Chicago Ill.

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### ILLINOIS STUDENTS STRIKE

In the first days of this month, high school students of Kincaid, Ill., walked out on strike in sympathy with their fathers who are striking for an increase in coal-mining wages from a \$5.00 daily scale to \$6.10. The school had been using scab coal and the students protested. State troops were sent into the field against what has been termed "a father-and-son strike".

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### FOREIGN VISITING STUDENTS

The United States Labor Department late last month ruled that foreigners admitted to this country to study at American colleges and universities are barred from working their way through these institutions. Over 2,000 students in New York State alone are affected.

Student sentiment is strongly against this action. The attempt to discriminate against the foreign students and thus divide them from the American should lead to a closer consolidation of the two At Columbia, where there are 766 foreign visiting students there is a growing movement led by the National Student League in this direction.

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### N. Y. COMRADES IN ILLINOIS MINE FIELD

Comrades Jack Carmody and George Clarke of New York are in the field, participating in the activities, and propagating the position of the Left Opposition on the miners' problems. Comrade Clarke is a member of the National Youth Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

## School Organized by Left Opposition

### INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL

The American Left Opposition has established the International Workers School which will be located at 126 East 16th Street, New York City. These are the headquarters of the Communist League, which will house the New York Branch, the Spartacus Youth Club, the Unser Kampf Club.

The school will open with four classes: The History of the American Communist Movement by J. P. Cannon and State and Revolution by J. Weber, both to commence on Monday, Oct. 17 and to be given every Monday thereafter; and The History of the Communist International by Max Shachtman and The Theoretical System of Marxism by H. Oehler, beginning on Wednesday, October 19 and to be given every Wednesday thereafter. Registration fees are \$1.00 per course. Readers are urged to join one or more of the classes. For further information write to J. Weber, 84 East 10th Street, New York City.

### YOUNG SPARTACUS

Our plans called for an eight page October YOUNG SPARTACUS. Unfortunately, due to difficulties which we could not control we have been compelled to come out this month as a four pager. You undoubtedly realize what a decided improvement the eight pager is over the four. The November issue is being planned as an eight pager. Help us put it across. Send money in the form of subs and donations Help spread our paper. Write for the YOUNG SPARTACUS.