

For a Marxist Youth International

THE

# CALL TO ACTION

Vol. 1

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No. 1

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Organ of  
LEFT WING  
Spartacus Youth League

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Send all mail to: P. HANDY ————— 67 West 11th Street, New York City

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STATEMENT OF LEFT WING OF THE SPARTACUS  
YOUTH LEAGUE.

The sixth year of the severest crisis it has ever known finds world capitalism fighting a desperate battle to maintain its domination. Unemployment is on the increase. Fascism stalks triumphant over the bleeding body of the working class. War is raging in Africa and the thunderstorm of the coming world conflagration threatens to burst at any moment. In the face of all this the working class, both adult and youth, stands disorientated and disorganized.

The responsibility for this situation lies squarely on the shoulders of the Second and Third Internationals. But the betrayals of the workers in China, Germany, Austria, Spain, etc., were only the dress rehearsals for a betrayal which in its scope and results will far surpass all the previous crimes these traitor internationals have perpetrated against the proletariat. The two old internationals are today the open proponents of social patriotism and social chauvinism. The salvation of the international proletariat depends on the speed with which the revolutionary internationalists can rally the masses for the Leninist struggle against the new world war, under the banner of the Fourth International. The youth, the most exploited section of the working class, will play a decisive role in the coming war. Going hand-in-hand with the creation of the Fourth International, must be the building of a new youth International.

In 1933, the Internationalist Communist League dedicated itself to this task and took the lead in organizing the "Committee of Four" for the Fourth International. With the failure of this attempt the ICL deserted its task, victim of the wave of disintegration that swept the labor movement after the German and Austrian defeats. The danger of Fascism and war, and the disorienting and betrayals of the working class throughout the world - just those factors which created the burning need for a new international rallying center for the working class - were converted into an excuse for pursuing an opportunist road to the masses. It adopted a "new orientation", the theoretical basis of which is the re-evaluation of social democracy as the organization which can be made the instrument of the proletarian revolution. It liquidated its independent organizations, the nuclei of the Fourth International, into the socialist parties of France, Belgium, and a half dozen other countries.

The result of this line was to wreak havoc throughout the international organization which stood for years as the only force counteracting the poison spread by Stalinism and social democracy. Wherever this orientation was applied the banner of the Fourth was compromised, false illusions of organic unity of the Second and Third Internationals were strengthened, leftward moving workers in the two old internationals, as well as the workers outside of them, were repelled, confused and demoralized. Splits occurred throughout

the ICL organization as the revolutionists revolted against the betrayal of Leninism. Many comrades left the movement altogether, disgusted with the appearance of this tendency.

The false course of the ICL is largely responsible for the fatal results to the International Bureau for a new youth International. The conflict between the revolutionary elements and the centrist and opportunist elements finally culminated in a split. The failure of the revolutionary elements to gain the upper hand over the non-Marxists and anti-Marxists (SAP youth, Mot Dag group, etc.), and to win new adherences and to assimilate the centrist elements in the Bureau, was due to the new orientation.

In the United States, the possibility of building an independent party, section of the Fourth International, was greater than in any other country: a weak and discredited SP and CP, and a militant working class almost untouched by the two "radical" parties. But the virus of the international turn had already entered the body of the WP, brought in by the Cannon-Shachtman group. The American translation of this turn is the orientation of the WP to the SP. West's resolution proposing fusion with the "left wing" of the SP, even if we have to become the "official SP", the absence of any political campaign against the SP, the spreading of the idea that another "Congress of Tours" was "not theoretically excluded", the abandonment of work in the CP and the theory that the CP is impenetrable, tail-endism to the SP in the May 1st and May 30th demonstrations, as well as in the fields of unemployed, trade union and labor defense work, the liquidation of important departments of the party - all this is the balance sheet of the socialist party orientation applied in practice.

To carry out this line in the party, the liquidators did not hesitate to introduce a regime of bureaucracy and back-stage manoeuvring in the best Stalinist style. The opportunist slogan of "no discussion for six months" was accompanied by systematic usurpation of the press by the "French turn" group, and the exclusion of the Left Wing viewpoint from the press, altho the party had no official position on the new orientation. Defeated in the attempt to expel the Left wing at the June plenum, the Cannon group proceeded to make out of the Left Wing comrades fourth-class citizens in the party. Denial of the press, systematic exclusion of Left Wingers from important posts, steamroller plenums and conventions, expulsions of Left Wingers on flimsy excuses at a time when open right wingers and social patriots were allowed to remain in the party untouched, the exclusion of entire branches from participation in party activity only for the crime of being Left Wing, the closing of the press even during pre-convention discussion - these and many others can be cited as the methods used against the Left Wing. It could not be otherwise because only by such methods can opportunism

fight against Marxism.

The party was further paralyzed by a failure to react to world events, as well as a cowardly refusal to take a position on the fundamental problems of the American revolution. The Kirov affair passed before the party awoke to it; the Cuban revolution and the Chilean insurrectionary situation went without the party reacting to it, thus making a farce of its claim to internationalism. The Negro, colonial, agrarian, trade union questions, as well as a dozen others, remain unsolved by the party as events pass over its head.

Being forced to combine in order to carry out the "surgical operation" against the Left Wing", the Weber and Muste groups forgot their previous positions and so-called opposition to the Cannon line, and came in to the third plenum of the party in a single opportunist bloc with Cannon. It was only the outbreak of war in Ethiopia, two days prior to the plenum, that forced these bankrupt "leaders" to reverse their previous decision and put the war question on the agenda. And then they adopted an out and out centrist resolution, saying nothing on the role of American imperialism, on the relation between British and Italian imperialism and their roles, and omitting even any analysis or exposure of the Selassie monarchy or proposals for a struggle against it.

This situation in the party naturally affected and was brought into the Spartacus Youth League. Tail-endism to the SP in our united front policy, unemployed work and in other fields, carried out by the Spartacus under instruction from the party, paralyzed the youth organization and made it impossible to take advantage of the tremendous possibilities open to us for the organization of the American youth. The bureaucratic tactics that go with this opportunist course, were also brought into the SYL and took the form of the exclusion of Left Wing comrades from important posts. A violent campaign against the Left Wing was conducted under cover of accusations that we were breaking discipline. The SYL was being taught the Cannonite line from the official press, while the Left Wing was condemned for attempting to counteract this poison by bringing to the SYLers our own position.

The need of a Fourth International is now more pressing than ever. The work to create it must go on. In this fight, we of the Spartacus Youth League stand in firm solidarity with the Left Wing of the party. We refuse to recognize any of the accomplished or proposed bureaucratic expulsions. We endorse the publication of INTERNATIONAL NEWS and its distribution to the outside world. We solidarize ourselves with the holding of the mass meeting, and whatever other measures it may be necessary to take to smash the bureaucratic attempts to keep the message of revolutionary

Marxism from reaching the working class. Their fight is our fight - it is the fight of all revolutionary internationalists today - it is the fight for the Fourth International, which alone can guarantee the victory of the working class. Against Stalinism and social democracy, against the liquidation of the revolutionary organizations, against the capitulatory line of the ICL, against the opportunism and centrism of the WP leadership, against all those who are a fetter on this fight - we comrades will march on to our goal!

LEFT WING,  
SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE.

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(cont. from next page).      COLLAPSE OF STOCKHOLM-OSLO BURO  
stinging criticism of the Marxists.

The collapse of the Buro is a serious setback to the movement for the new Youth International. It is necessary to begin again from the ground up. Those groups and elements that stand for the Leninist road to the Fourth International must come together and hammer out a basis of collaboration and common activity. Joint activity in connection with the war question must form the pivotal point in the work that lies before us on the road to the new, Marxist Youth International.

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M A S S M E E T I N G

M A S S M E E T I N G

"THE SPLIT IN THE W. P. & S. Y. L."

L E F T W I N G E X P E L L E D !!!

SUNDAY NOV 10, 1935 - AT 2 P. M. SHARP !!

speakers: T. STAMM, S. STEVENS, L. BASKY.

I R V I N G P L A Z A

Collapse Of The Stockholm-Oslo Youth Bureau.

The Stockholm-Oslo Buro of Revolutionary Youth Organizations, launched with such high hopes as the first step to the new Youth International, no longer exists. The period of a year and a half of the existence of the Buro was marked by a succession of internal conflicts and struggles, by a total failure to attract new groups and organizations, and by the failure of the revolutionary elements in it to establish their political supremacy.

The Buro was set up in February, 1934, in Lille, Belgium. At the conference some seven or eight organizations and groups participated, including the then separate youth sections of the R.S.P. and O.S.P. of Holland, the S.A.P. youth, the S.Y.L., the Weisbord group, the I.C.L., the Norwegian Mot Dag group, etc. Stockholm was made the international headquarters. A mimeographed bulletin, left-centrist in content, was put out irregularly. The Buro maintained contact with its various adherents and groups. Beyond that it did little. The Buro, and the movement it represented, stagnated.

The stagnation, and now the split, are the result of the conflict between the revolutionary elements on the one hand (the ICL), and the centrist and opportunist elements on the other (the SAP, the Swedes and the Mot Dag group). Related to this, and underlying it, was the failure to draw in new revolutionary elements, and to accelerate the development of the centrist elements in the Buro to a full Marxist policy.

The failure of the revolutionary elements to gain the upper hand over the non-Marxist and anti-Marxist elements is due to the false course of the ICL - the new orientation - which confuses and disorientates Left-centrists and leftward moving workers and made impossible new adherences and the assimilation of the centrist elements in the Buro. The attempt to cover up this failure and "solve" the crisis in the Buro by the mechanical and arbitrary organizational course of Crux, the ICL and the SYL only aggravated the difficulties.

The attacks of Brandt and the SAP against the Fourth International were supported from the right by the Swedes and the Mot Dag group. The Mot Dag group has declared for the policy of social patriotism. No unity or conciliation is possible with them. By consistently presenting the bold, clear line of revolutionary Marxism, we must aid the leftward moving rank and file of the SAP, especially in the youth, against the centrist and opportunist leadership. These elements can be won over to Marxism with the help of events, accompanied by faction work, collaboration and the

(cont. on previous page).

October 28, 1935.

N. Y. DISTRICT CONVENTION - S.Y.L. - EXPELS LEFT WING

The New York District Convention of the Spartacus Youth League, held Saturday-Sunday, October 26th & 27th, has expelled the Left Wing. That is the political significance and content of its actions.

The issues of the Convention revolved around the central issue facing the Workers Party and the SYL- the struggle of the current of revolutionary Marxism against the centrist and opportunist current in the organization.

The Convention aped the October Plenum of the WP. It rejected our proposal to endorse the line of the Left Wing, WP, and carried the Cannon "catch-all" resolution, designed in typical opportunist fashion to combine the votes of all opposing the Left Wing, for whatever reasons. It also carried a resolution parallel to the Cannon-Muste-Weber internal resolution in the October Plenum, attacking and condemning the Left Wing, and threatening extreme disciplinary action for further "breaches of discipline". The same resolution offered us the right to "collaborate loyally" in the organization, provided we accept their straight-jacket discipline.

The Convention itself was turned into a stamping ground for the Cannonites. The Cannon group, which controlled the Convention, arbitrarily raised the Newark delegation from two to five; and cut down the Left Wing delegation from Philadelphia from four to two. Even so, the Left Wing numbered one-third the delegates. The request of the Left Wing for a party speaker for its point of view was ruled out of order; but Carter was permitted to speak for his tendency. Our demand that the suspension of comrade Steinbach (in the Brownsville Branch), who was indefinitely suspended without a trial on grounds that he was suspended in the WP for distributing the INTERNATIONAL NEWS, be wiped out by the Convention- ruled out of order! Appeals from the chair - steamrollered down. Between Saturday and Sunday we obtained the signatures of fifty comrades in the district, and in their names again demanded the right for the Left Wing of the WP to speak to the Convention and present the program of Marxism to it. But the desires of one-third the membership of the district meant nothing to these petty bureaucrats - - thrown out!

The motion of the Left Wing that the Convention recess in order that comrades might attend the Left Wing mass meeting on WAR Sunday night was refused. The request that the Left Wing comrades be excused from the Convention proceedings for the mass meeting - likewise bureaucratically denied! Upon this, the Left Wing called on the delegates present to leave the hall and attend the mass meeting; and the entire Left Wing delegation left in a body.

The Left Wing has about one-third the book membership of the district, and a majority of the active membership in New York City. But these petty bureaucrats concluded the Convention in the absence of the Left Wing and illegally elected a District Committee that completely excludes from representation one-third of the membership of the District! Not one member on the District Committee!

Immediately following the Convention the NC-SYL met and suspended comrade Streeter. The meeting was held without his knowledge, and he was unofficially informed of it and of the suspension only after the meeting.

The Convention expelled us politically. That was the step. It marked the opening of a campaign against the Left Wing. The next step was the suspension of comrade Streeter in the NC. Further action towards the split will undoubtedly be taken at the Thursday branch meetings.

We condemn the bureaucratic action of the Cannonites and their illegally constituted District Committee! We condemn the bureaucratic suspension of comrade Streeter by the unprincipled bloc on the NC-SYL. We refuse to recognize this District Committee and this suspension! We declare our complete political and organizational solidarity with the Left Wing of the Workers Party and Spartacus Youth League. We call on the membership in the SYL to fight with us to build a Marxist party and Youth organization in the United States.

on "Mass Meeting  
"Split in the W. P.  
and S. Y. L."

on Sunday Nov. 10th. 2 P.M.

at Irving Plaza

15th St. and Irving Place.

Speakers -

J. Starnon - L. Berkley  
S. Stephens



## THE ASSAULT ON ETHIOPIA.

When the instigator of a bloody reign of terror over his own people assumes the role of civilizer of a backward people (i.e.: people whose ruling class has not yet discovered the use of castor-oil as a torture), it is unnecessary to prove his hypocrisy. Mussolini's guilt in the Italo-Ethiopian war is too well established to require elaboration. Italian imperialism, faced with immediate bankruptcy and consequently revolution, cannot afford the disguise of pacifism which more powerful and already established imperialisms assume. The very weakness of Italy forces her to desperate action. She must strike now or be doomed. Ethiopia is, for various reasons, the most convenient victim. Hence, the arch-civilizer, Mussolini, carries civilization at the point of the bayonet into Ethiopia. After the soldiers mop up, the Italian barbarians will more or less monopolize Ethiopia as a source of investment.

Whereas Italy is incapable of simulating pacifism, while promoting her predatory interests, the opposite is true of Great Britain. Is the British Empire menaced by the fact that Ethiopia is so close to her imperialist heart, the Suez Canal, Egypt, and India? Then take the League of Nations down from its shelf and dust it off for action. Other imperialist raids, even recently, have been so much water off a duck's back, so far as the League was concerned. British imperialism, however, cannot suffer Italian rule over so vital a territory to consolidate itself...She therefore endeavors to pull all the nations of the League, of which she is the most dominant power, into line. Her success in this endeavor depends upon the policy assumed by France. Can Britain continue to pull France along with her in the application of sanctions, and even further in the application of military sanctions? France is less belligerent (pardon, righteous) than England. Although it is true that her African possessions would be less secure with Italy as a neighbor, her main worry is the maintenance of her power on the European continent. Fearing Germany, she may be forced to string along with England. The foreign policy of France today, is dependent upon her internal state of affairs. Should Fascism conquer in France, she will not fear Germany as much as now; in fact, will probably become Germany's ally against the Soviet Union. At present, France is drifting from England - which may mean that the Fascisti are approaching their hour of triumph.

The French Fascisti have gained tremendously from the treacherous and idiotic support of the League of Nations by the Second and Third Internationals. Many bourgeois publicists are capable of evaluating the League's sudden burst of pacifist idealism. Not so the Socialists and Stalinists. The Stalinists go so far as to boast that it is they who have forced (forced!, mind you) the British and previously the French governments

into defending Ethiopia: i.e.: to anyone with eyes to see, to defend their own imperialist interests. We need not be surprised. The Second and Third Internationals are pledged to social patriotism.

The social conditions existing in Ethiopia cannot constitute an argument against the fight to defend that nation from imperialism. The Colonial peoples are an important ally of the proletariat in its struggle for the destruction of capitalism and all forms of slavery. The Ethiopian monarchy and ruling class, however, cannot and will not lead the anti-imperialist struggle to its successful conclusion. They must be regarded as unstable and treacherous allies; agents of imperialism. Today, Haile Selassie will fight against Italian imperialism so long as it is to the interests of American and British imperialism. Now that British imperialism has offered Italy the olive branch (probably to enable Mussolini to back down graciously and without losing face with his people), Haile Selassie also makes a gallant gesture in the same direction by pooh-poohing the horror stories. If the Ethiopian people are to achieve their real freedom, they will soon find it necessary to fight against their own ruling class and seek their natural and permanent ally in the world proletariat. Any other formulation of the needs of the Ethiopians can only lead to disaster in the struggle. The position on this question of the Workers Party is noteworthy for its centrist ambiguity and room for double interpretation on the role of the monarchy.

The working class must rally to the defense of Ethiopia, but not by tying itself to the machinery of its imperialist state. The main enemy of any working class is its own imperialist bourgeoisie. In the case of the U.S., the workers are faced with a cunning enemy, who can pretend neutrality and pacifism and good-neighborism, longer than any other imperialist power. Therefore, American imperialism can prepare for war all the better. The main enemy of the American workers is U.S. imperialism.

EXCERPT FROM LETTER FROM J.W., OXFORD,  
ENGLAND, FEB. 1935.

The leftwing student movement did not appear in Great Britain until 1931, as a direct result of the world crisis. In 1932, the Federation of Student Societies was formed under CP control and now claims 1000 members (out of a student total of 30,000). But I believe this claim is exaggerated. The other student leftwing organization is the Universities Labour Federation which is not very strong outside of Oxford. But here their club has a membership of over 700 (out of 5000 students). In the country as a whole the only working youth movement with a mass membership is the Labour Party's League of Youth (25,000). The ILP guild of youth and the YCL have perhaps 1000 members each. You will see from these figures that the working class parties have hardly touched at the heart of the masses.

## EXPULSIONS IN THE FRENCH SOCIALIST YOUTH.

The expulsions at the recent national congress of the Socialist Youth of France, and the events following, have been held up as conclusive "proof" of the success of the "turn". The fact that the "turn" in France initiated an entire international "turn" of the International Communist League, towards entering the parties of the Second International, or being converted into left oppositions outside the S.P.'s (as in the U.S.), - all this is disregarded. We are told that the "turn" has "worked".

Temporary gains can sometimes be made on a false political line. But in this case even the gains that are claimed cannot stand up under a thorough analysis and presentation of all the facts.

The national congress of the S.Y. expelled, it must be borne in mind, not merely members of the Bolshevik-Leninist group; Zeller and his followers were hit as well. In fact, among the expelled, were youth who were against the Fourth International. So that among the expelled there does not exist homogeneity. Nay, more! There are directly contradictory tendencies among them. While the BIG state that "reinstatement is an illusion", Pivort, leader of the group in the SFIO, of which the Zeller group is the counterpart in the youth, advises that nothing be done to "aggravate matters". It is reported that already there are signs of cracks. And is there any wonder? The very resolution that was submitted to the congress, by its creation of the illusion of the reform of the S.Y., laid the basis for capitulation.

Besides the basically false underlying thesis of the possibility of reforming the S.Y., the resolution which was submitted jointly by the Zeller group, the "Spartacus" group and the BIG, contains the statement: "The YS consider the Peoples Front as the rallying center of the exploited French masses and declare their desire to fight inside this group, but state their opposition to the political line actually imposed on the Peoples Front." Is this correct? Do revolutionists merely oppose the political line imposed on the Peoples Front, or are they in opposition to the basic concept of the thing? The latter, of course! Yet the BIG signed this!

More! "Our intransigent opposition to reformism and to Glass peace will not keep us from fighting for the fusion of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party and of their youth." Can it be possible that Fourth Internationalists subscribe to such a position? Yet the BIG signed this!

Can the party of the Fourth International be built on the basis of people expelled in support of this resolution, even assuming that they are willing? The answer is self-evident: NO!

And when the group which supports the "French turn" holds up as evidence of the influence of the BIG the fact that sections in the provinces solidarized themselves with the expelled, what they must prove first is that these are their groups and not supporters of Zeller.

We could go on endlessly, exposing the claims of the Cannonites. But the bubble has been burst already. Comrades should read carefully the material in the issues of the MILITANT for August 17th, Sept. 17th and 21st. They will then see that all of our claims are substantiated. In finishing off the illusions about the phenomenal gains made, we reproduce the section on the youth from the Internal Bulletin of the BIG in the SFIO (#6, issued after the expulsions!)

"YOUTH: The ground for progress among the youth was more virgin soil. Progress here was hence greater, and the failure to systematize the tasks of the leadership in the adults had the most dangerous repercussions. The side of mass work, even easier than among the adults (for our youth led the Entente) was neglected, as was connection with the provinces. This permitted the bureaucracy to choose its time to expel them, and will be the cause of many difficulties in the new stage of development. The organization of the Young Socialists was arguing its role with the bureaucrats: education or action - but it bears the weight of a membership mainly recruited by education and its best groups are often feebly bound to the working class youth of the vicinity and unpracticed in campaigns of penetrating them. In the midst of all their political successes, this characteristic constitutes the greatest danger for their future development. Yet the events in Brest and Toulon show that it is among the masses of youth that we will find success."

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FOR A NEW MARXIST YOUTH INTERNATIONAL!

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FOR A REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH LEAGUE!!!

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SUPPORT THE LEFTWING!!!

ON THE WAR FRONT!

BELGIUM: According to Jeune Spartacus, organ of the Jeunesse Leniniste (Vereecken Youth), several young soldiers were arrested in the Beverloo cantonments of the Belgian army on the charge of distributing anti-militarist leaflets. The next issue of Jeune Spartacus (August 25th) contained the following boxed article:

**ON GUARD!**

At Beverloo several soldiers have fallen into the hands of the civilian police while preparing to distribute anti-militarist leaflets. They are threatened by court-martial... These comrades are fighting daily to win the bourgeois army to the revolution... they are among our most valuable comrades, for they are in the most advanced and dangerous position.

To allow the generals to keep these comrades in jail would be to look on while the bourgeoisie breaks the spearhead of our anti-militarist work.

This must not be... Immediate action by all class struggle groups should be carried out, together with prompt publication in their various press of the events now taking place in Beverloo.

**WORKERS IN KHAKI!  
DOWN YOUR ARMS!  
LONG LIVE REVOLUTIONARY  
DEFEATISM!**

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BOLIVIA: During the Chaco War, the Tupac Amaru Group and the Bolivian Communist Left (now united in the Workers Party of Bolivia) carried on systematic anti-militarist work in the Bolivian army. In the course of this, the groups issued an official proclamation demanding democratization of the army, immediate peace, complete control by soldiers' committees. The proclamation concluded as follows:

**DOWN WITH THE UNIFORMED BOURGEOISIE!**

**LONG LIVE THE SOLDIERS' COMMITTEES!**

This proclamation was not a mere paper statement. It was distributed in the regiments on the front line by the tens of thousands. In the Chaco front-line regiments and the Paraguayan prison camps, the Fourth Internationalists carried on the most intense anti-militarist work of all types. Even today, the major part of the new Bolivian Workers Party is in Paraguayan prison camps.

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## FOR A NEW MARXIST YOUTH INTERNATIONAL

The murderous hand of Fascism has already placed its bloody imprint on 3 countries of Europe. It threatens to engulf the world. The world war is so imminent that today it is an accepted fact. The situation in the Soviet Union, due to the criminal policies of its Stalinist leadership, becomes more and more precarious. The fate of millions of workers hangs in the balance. The outcome depends on the extent to which the working class will be organized under revolutionary leadership.

The youth are particularly concerned in this anti-war fight. They make the best cannon-fodder. They will be the first to go. To whom can they look for leadership? Both the Second and Third Internationals have demonstrated their complete inability to conduct a revolutionary struggle. The Young Socialist International taught us this lesson in 1914 when it and its parent organization betrayed the international working class.

The defeat of the German proletariat in 1933, the People's Front in France, the declarations by the Communist Party of France that in case of war they would defend French imperialism; - officially endorsed by the Seventh Comintern Congress, - show us that we can expect no more from the YCI and CI than we do from the Socialists.

The complete bankruptcy of these two internationals, their treachery to the working class, the need for a revolutionary leadership in this critical period, all point to one inevitable conclusion: - a new Fourth International and its Youth section must be built, which will dedicate itself to the interests of the international proletariat. Such a movement has already been set on foot. Various organizations have signed a manifesto calling for the building of the Fourth International.

This was a promising start. But the German debacle, the ravages of the crisis, the consequent demoralization had also their effects on the International Communist League, one of the main sponsors of this movement. Impatient at its small growth, deceived by the leftward drift in the Social Democracy, desiring a "short-cut to the masses", they took one - and at the same time abandoned Marxism. Social democracy was re-evaluated as a possible instrument for revolution; it was found principally correct to liquidate whole sections of the ICL into the SP in one country after another (France, Belgium, Italy, Poland, etc.). As a result, today, the movement for the Fourth International and a new revolutionary youth International has experienced a serious set-back.

But we will not allow ourselves to be demoralized; we know that the only road to the masses is the Leninist road - thru the building of an independent revolutionary movement that will carry on a relentless struggle against Stalinism and Social Democracy and will address itself to the masses looking for revolutionary guidance.

In the United States, the only force that is conducting this fight is the Left Wing in the Workers Party and Spartacus Youth League. Both the Workers Party and the Spartacus Youth League, by their endorsement of the international turn and their tail-endist policy to the Socialist Party, by their centrist policies and their centrist war resolution, have forfeited the right to the claim that they are building the Fourth International.

That is now our task. The failure of these two groups does not discourage us. We have our eyes on the future; we recognize the burning need of the day. We call on all young workers and students to join with us. Fortified by Marx and Lenin, we step into the place abandoned by the others and again raise aloft the banner of revolutionary internationalism.

Forward to the Fourth International!

For a new Marxist Youth International!

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C A L L T O A C T I O N

p u b l i s h e d b y

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