

Young Communist Murdered in Kentucky Fascist Danger in Germany

Leon Trotsky Shows the Way to Defeat Hitlerism

Twenty year old Harry Simms, youth organizer of the National Miners' Union and a member of the National Executive Committee of the Young Communist League, was shot and killed by an agent of the Kentucky coal operators. The *Young Worker* (2-15-32) describes the dastardly deed.

"Simms was shot early Wednesday (Feb. 10) as he walked along a railroad track with Green Lawson, section strike organizer in the Brush Creek Section. Noticing a hand propelled railroad car behind them, they stepped off the tracks to permit its passage. Instead of passing the car, containing Arlen Miller and Red Davis, two Brush Creek deputies in the pay of a Rockefeller coal subsidiary, stopped. Recognizing Simms, Miller drew his gun and deliberately shot him in the stomach. Simms later died in the hospital. Miller was "tried" and discharged.

Harry Simms symbolizes the revolutionary young worker of America struggling for the emancipation of his class. A member of the Young Communist League since the latter part of 1928, Simms participated in the New England textile struggles, the unemployed movement in Connecticut, and volunteered for work among the mining youth of Kentucky. The coal barons ordered his assassination. Such young people are dangerous to the power that be!

Communist Unity: Reply to Simm's Murder

What is our answer to be? What can the class conscious youth, the young Communist do, to concretize his feeling of sorrow at the less of this brave young revolutionist? He should join the ranks of the organized Communist youth move-

ment, endeavor to become a more active fighter in the ranks of the revolutionary working class, an intelligent warrior against the damnable system of wage slavery. Our comrades in the Young Communist League should recognize the dire need at this moment for the unity of the Communist movement. The onslaught of the bosses against the militant workers and Communists is just beginning. The workers, adult and youth, need the intelligent, capable and clear sighted leadership of the Communists who will organize and lead them against wage cuts, unemployment and starvation, educate them through struggle to the necessity of a proletarian revolution. Otherwise the sporadic, spontaneous strikes and struggles of the workers will be headless, disorganized, and led into all sorts of side channels by the labor agents of capitalism within the working class; its most active fighters will be imprisoned or murdered.

The killing of comrade Harry Simms should be met by the call for the unity of the Communists ranks, the launching of a broad united front campaign for the elementary democratic rights—freedom of speech, press, assemblage, the right to organize and strike,—and for the release of Roth and Adams, Siroka, Thompson, Young, Morgenstern and Goodman, Soderberg, Trajer and Bunker, Mooney, the Centralia boys, and the other innumerable class war prisoners. Through this struggle, through the fight against unemployment and wage cuts, under intelligent Communist guidance, the working youth, the adult worker will come to recognize the Communists as their leaders, will learn the necessity to struggle for its class emancipation.

(We reprint below a summary of the essential thoughts of comrade Trotsky's brilliant article on "The Workers' United Front Against Fascism". The entire writing, as well as other indispensable material for an understanding of the socio-political situation in Germany, and its importance and the correct Marxian policy to be pursued, is contained in a pamphlet recently issued called "Germany—The Key to the International Situation". (Pioneer Publishers—10 cents a copy).

The coming presidential elections in Germany gives the Communists an exceptional opportunity to win the social democratic workers. The official Social Democracy in its support of Hindenburg exposes itself in its true light.

What is the German Communist Party doing? Where is the once powerful Young Communist League of Germany?

Read and circulate the above mentioned pamphlet of comrade Trotsky. Distribute the *Militant*, the weekly organ of the American Left Opposition. Circulate the *Young Spartacus*. Rouse the Young and adult Communists to realize the seriousness of the situation, to question the official policy, to exercise pressure for the change of the course of the German Communist Party and Young Communist League.—Eds.)

At the present moment Germany is going through one of those great historic hours upon which the fate of the German people, the fate of Europe and in an important measure, the fate of all of humanity will depend for decades. The Communists want to break the back of capitalism. But it is not enough to want, one must know how.

The Fascists are growing very rapidly. The Communists are also growing, but much more slowly. Therein lies an enormous danger. It is stupid to believe that the Nazis would grow uninterruptedly, as they do now, for an unlimited period of time. Sooner or later they will drain their social reservoir. The moment can arrive long before the Fascists will have united about them even half of the votes. They will not be able to halt, for they will have nothing more to expect here. They will be forced to resort to an overthrow. Consequently, the question of the seizure of power by the Fascists will not be decided by vote, but by civil war, which the Fascists are preparing and provoking. Hitler and his advisors realize and foresee this.

Hitler's Strategy

His calculations are altogether simple and obvious: He wants to lull his antagonists with the long-run perspective of the parliamentary growth of the Nazis in order to catch them napping and to deal them a death blow at the right moment. It is quite possible that Hitler's courtesies to democratic parliamentarism may, moreover, help to set up some sort of coalition in the immediate future in which the Fascists will obtain the most important posts and employ them in turn for their *coup d'état*. For it is entirely clear that the coalition, let us assume, between the Center and the Fascists will not be a stage in the "democratic" solution of the question, but a step closer to the *coup d'état* under conditions most favorable to the Fascists.

Should the Fascists really conquer power, that would mean not only the physical destruction of the Communist party, but veritable political bankruptcy for it. The seizure of power by the Fascists would therefore most probably signify the necessity of creating a new revolutionary party and in all probability also of a new International. That would be a frightful historical catastrophe. But to assume today that all this is **unavoidable**, only genuine liquidationists are capable of. With this conception we Bolshevik-Leninists have

(Continued on page Four)

N.Y. Youth Club Supports Young Spartacus

The Marxian Youth Club was addressed on February 7th by comrade Max Shachtman of the Communist League of America (Opposition). In his speech on "The Young Spartacus and the Left Opposition" he stressed the necessity of the club taking a clear position on the principle questions which form the basis of the three main factions in the Communist movement. That the Left Opposition the Marxian faction, and especially its fourth organ, the *Young Spartacus* should be endorsed and supported.

Thus, with a clear aim, of educating and training the youth in Communism and Marxism as understood by the Left Opposition and win them for its ranks, the club should proceed to direct its energy towards the goal of a real Communist youth movement. This task goes hand in hand with the attempt to build a fraction in the official Young Communist League and win its ranks for the Opposition. At the same time it should endeavor to do work among the non-Communist young worker and student, and the socialist youth.

Name Changed to Spartacus Youth Club

Following comrade Shachtman's report and discussion on it, a motion was made and carried that his suggestions be favorably referred to the Executive Committee; the latter to bring in a concrete report at the next meeting of the club. At the February 14th meeting the following changes were recommended and unanimously carried: (1) The name of the club to be **Spartacus Youth Club** so as to identify it with the *Young Spartacus*. The latter to be considered the official organ of the club the comrades to write for, sell and distribute it. (2) The preamble of the constitution to be changed to read that the club "... educate the youth in Marxism as taught by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky". This further identifies the club with the Left Opposition. Its meaning is that whereas non-Communist youth who want to become Marxists and Communists may join, those who are definitely hostile to the Left Opposition will be barred from membership.

At a subsequent meeting a new executive committee was elected. Steps were taken to increase the club's activities. A class in the A B C of Communism is in the process of formation. At the last meeting a discussion on "Revolutionary Youth and Literature" was combined with a sociable. Regular business and discussion meetings are being held every Sunday at 84 East 10th St.

Imperialist War and the Class Struggle

"Theoretically and politically", Trotsky once wrote, "pacifism has just the same basis as the doctrine of social harmony between different class interests." In other words, just as it is impossible to accept the theory of the diminishing class struggle and the growth of peaceful relationships between the two antagonistic classes in society, so it is impossible to accept the doctrine of pacifism which implies the acceptance and the expectancy of a peaceful relationship between the two antagonistic classes in society, of a peaceful co-existence between capitalist countries through the ages.

In China the conflict increases constantly. With her armed forces mobilized on a war basis, having over-ridden Manchuria and occupied Shanghai, bombarded Chapei, and at present instituted an attack on a twenty-mile front, Japan mockingly threatens to begin an offensive against China. The other imperialists mobilize. Japan insists upon the recognition of her rights in China: the right to economic concessions, complete control of Manchuria, to destroy with every means possible the anti-Japanese boycott; in a word, a free hand to exploit China. Capitalism, principally will not protest these demands and "rights" of Japan. They demand the same. But they will not allow Japan to get the upper hand in China. All the capitalist countries are ready at a moment's notice to go to war to defend their individual interests and if possible to assert the one or the other's hegemony depending

on the corresponding military and economic strength of the competitors. But behind the demands for economic "rights" stands the gun—the force behind the demands.

Fake Disarmament Conference

In Europe, at Geneva, the annual conference for disarmament takes place. This mockery exists for the purpose of creating illusions regarding the possibilities of the establishment of peace under capitalism. In reality the conference is a session of the war-mongers in preparation for war. It is there, around long tables where they gauge each others strength, jockey for positions of advantage in the international arena of struggle. The proposals of the Soviet Union for complete and immediate disarmament are rejected as utopian and impractical. Instead lengthy figures, tended only for the purpose of confusing the workers of the world, are presented showing why it is impossible to disarm and why the armed forces are a necessary corollary of the present system. The League of Nations "demands" the end of the war in China. The disarmament conference wishes to put an end to war at the very moment that war is taking place. The Japanese delegates announce at Geneva that they welcome any steps taken toward disarmament while their troops are invading and attacking China. The representatives of the various capitalist countries state similar platitudes while their troops are likewise mobil-

(Continued on page Three)

In the Youth Movement

Y.C.L.-Yipsels Hold Debate

Amidst intermittent applause and boos, the Young Communist League and the Yipsels debated on February 22nd in Brooklyn, on the program and tactics of the Socialist party as opposed to those of the Communist party. An audience of about 1,000 listened to—and sometimes participated in—this unusual event.

There were three alternating presentations for each side. This was followed by alternate rebuttals—two for each team. After the debate, questions were permitted one from each section of the hall, that is, six questions—three for the young Communists and three for the Socialist youth.

In spite of the enthusiasm of the audience and the efforts of the participants, the debate was poor. The important questions, imperialism and armed insurrection, dictatorship of the proletariat, Soviet power, bourgeois and proletarian democracy were either not mentioned or handled very inadequately.

Stalin and Litvinov Quoted by Socialists

The Socialists quoted Stalin on the American Communist Party leadership, Losovsky on the T. U. U. L. unions in the United States, and Litvinov on disarmament. Stalin was interjected by them as authority for the view of "the possibility of peaceful co-existence of the Soviet Union and the capitalist world"! Lenin was quoted against the position of dual unionism; his statement about the use by Communists of all means to maintain contact with the masses was utilized to prove that the followers of Lenin were scoundrels, liars and completely untrustworthy. The American Communist Party was held responsible for the splits in the working class in this country. The Communist party was criticized for the absence of inner party democracy. One of the young Socialists with the air of a Columbus announced that the Tammany Hall regime in New York City was nothing more or less than the expression of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" since the workers freely express their wills at the ballot box! All the spokesmen of the Yipsels spent time in hurling epithets and insults at Communism in general, their immediate opponents and the Communists in the audience.

Socialist War Position Attacked

The banner holders for Communism failed to define clearly their attitude towards bourgeois democracy, armed insurrection, attitude towards socialist worker and united front. In their presentation they omitted even mention of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The deeds of the Y. P. S. L. were not examined. Their attack on the position of the American Socialist Party during the World War was considerably weakened by exaggerations and misstatements: "The S. P. of America supported the war", "The Socialists want war", etc. The present situation of the Socialist International on war (the statements of Vandervelde and Blum on the "right of national defense"—Labour Mag. (Britain) Jan. 1930), the support of Hindenburg by the German Social Democrats in the coming presidential elections, and other important facts were not mentioned.

The young Communists exposed the role of the European and International Social Democracy during the last war and the post-war period. The support by the Socialist party of the Right wing in the trade unions was scored.

The speakers of the Young Communist League had a brilliant opportunity to present the program of Communism to the young Socialists and their sympathizers but missed their mark. All their speeches were intended not for the Socialist youth but rather for the Communists and their supporters. It was likewise with the Socialist debaters: They made no effort to convince the Communists in the audience!

Young Communist Rebuttal

The best speech of the evening was the final rebuttal by Max Weiss, editor of the *Young Worker*. (This in spite of his passing remark on comrade Trotsky). He defined the conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat (unfortunately, he did not spend much time on it), and successfully combatted some of the distortions of Communism dished out by the young Socialist speakers. He accused one of his opponents of tearing out of context the quotation on Communist ethics and then proceeded to prove it by quoting the sentence preceding the one quoted. ("Infantile Sickness of Left Communism"—Lenin) He clinched his argument so successfully that the young Socialist following him—albeit the same one who had used the argument—failed to as much as mention the question again.

During the question period comrade Carter of the Left Opposition obtained the floor. He stated that since the Y. P. S. L. spokesmen devoted so much verbiage to the absence of democracy in the Communist party, why don't they explain why, in spite of the objection of the overwhelming majority of the membership, the New York City Yipsel officials suspended four of its most active members—for inviting a representative of the Y. C. L. to speak at a Y. P. S. L. arranged miners' relief meeting. After the question was posed the Communist party and league members in the audience who a short time ago had shouted "Trotskyite", smiled with approval, some applauding. When one of the Socialist debaters began to answer, someone started to sing the International and everybody joined in.

Our youth comrades who were there fraternized with the youth present and after the meeting distributed the *Young Spartacus* and sold the pamphlet on Germany.

Morgenstern - Goodman Jailed

We have been informed that comrades Leon Goodman and Bernard Morgenstern, of Philadelphia, youth members of the Communist League of America (Opposition), have been sentenced to three months imprisonment for violating the infamous Flynn Sedition Act of the state of Pennsylvania.

The comrades were arrested one year ago for distributing leaflets issued by the National Committee of the Communist League explaining the causes for unemployment, pointing out that the solution to the problems of the working-class under capitalism was its overthrow through the insurrectionary act of the proletariat.

The Morgenstern and Goodman case has been entirely neglected and willfully sabotaged by the Stalinized Labor Defense. The I. L. D. has done absolutely nothing toward the defense of our comrades for only one reason: they are Oppositionists. It is necessary to protest vehemently against this policy of the I. L. D. which proceeds on the basis of defending only those supporting the Party and Stalinism. Our comrades were arrested on the class struggle front and this alone made it incumbent for the I. L. D. to come to their defense. The I. L. D. did nothing in the matter.

Our comrades will serve out their prison term and we will await their return to active participation in our ranks. We quote below a section of their reply to the judge upon pronouncement of their sentence, because the reply is the kind that all revolutionists should give on such occasions:—

The Drive of the Young Communist League

The Young Communist League has opened another recruiting drive (Jan. 15 to April 22) with the object of doubling its membership. We recall two previous drives in which the Y. C. L. undertook to double its membership. One which terminated the "shock plan" on September 30, 1930, and the other just prior to the convention in July 1931. In neither case did the League succeed in doubling its membership, nor come anywhere near it. It would seem that it would be wise to be a little more modest in setting a figure this time, particularly when in the six months following the convention only 700 new members are claimed. What magic is there in a recruiting drive which in four months expects 3750 new members?

Objective Conditions for Growth

There is no doubt that the objective conditions are such which allow for excellent opportunities in increasing substantially the membership of the Y. C. L. The economic crisis has made thousands of young workers more susceptible to Communism. Unfortunately the Stalinist leadership of the party which prescribes the policies for the Y. C. L. is incapable of utilizing these opportunities. It is truly surprising to learn that actually 2000 young workers paid their initiation fee into the Y. C. L. during the six months of July-December 1931. Of these only 700 or 35 percent remained and 1300 or 65 percent were lost. (At this rate the League in order to double its membership should set itself as its goal in this drive the recruitment of 10,714 new members). In the New York district for the period of August 15 to November 7, 1931, 160 young workers joined the League. 52 remained and 108 were lost. These figures printed in the *Young Worker* demonstrate that many young workers are ready and willing to join the Y. C. L. but that the Y. C. L. cannot hold and develop them.

Why is this so? In an article in the *Young Worker* of January 11, 1932, we are presented with the following explanation as the main cause for the enormous turnover: "They (the new members) come to a few unit meetings. There they find that the units, instead of faking up and discussing the conditions of the youth in their block or shop concentration, working out simple and concrete demands around which to mobilize the young workers for struggle, and working out methods and plans of how to reach the youth in their territory or shop—that instead everything else is talked about there. Is it any wonder that we have such a large turnover?"

Reasons for Failure

The first thing to note in the above "explanation" is that the responsibility is unloaded on the shoulders of the members in the units, the rank and file. If we cannot retain our new members (how many "old" members are there in the Y. C. L.?) it is because you comrades in the units do not know what to do, despite the fact that we have continually been instructing you exactly what to do.

We will not deal with the entirely mechanical approach, to shop work implied in the quoted remarks. In passing let us merely state that like everything else in the class struggle activity in shops have their ups and downs, occasions when workers in a particular shop are in the mood for struggle and other occasions when they are passive. Therefore it is evident that discussions in units would have to have some relation to the processes of reality. But what is false in the "explanation" for the inability of the Y. C. L. to retain its members, is the contention that they fall out because there is not enough discussion of "practical" activity. In fact that is precisely with what the Y. C. L. has concerned itself almost exclusively in the last two years. What have been all these innumerable "plans of action" and "shock plans" if not concerned with practical work? All this practical work has meant little for it was not developed on the basis of correct policy and correct regime in the Y. C. L.

Political Nature of Y. C. L.

The explanation is false because it ignores the political character that the Y. C. L. must have. It practically reduces the Y. C. L. to a trade union with a few political characteristics. In the Y. C. L. the young worker wants to discuss more than only conditions in the shop. He wants to understand the class struggle; he wants to know the relation between the struggle for better conditions in the shop and the entire class conflict. In short he wants to learn Communism in all its international and historic sweep. Only such education can make him a Communist fighter and retain him in the ranks of the Communist movement.

This problem cannot be solved by organizing a few classes in the A B C of Communism. It is necessary to transform the Y. C. L. into an educational organization, education through practice, study, and discussion in a regime of democratic centralism, as conceived by the Y. C. L. in its first years. The greatest obstacle to such a course is the Stalinist bureaucratic regime, which rules through commands and not education. The greater part of those young workers who leave the Y. C. L. do so because they cannot adapt themselves to a regime of empty routine and blind obedience, a regime which expels followers of the Marxian wing, the Left Opposition, a regime of infallibility which always blames all failures on the members for not carrying out its "correct" line, a regime which suppresses discussion of the fundamental and burning questions raised by the Left Opposition.

—GEORGE RAY.

Address to the Judge

"We are here, as fighter of your starvation system, not as criminals. Your class has grown rich and powerful on our poverty and degradation; has flourished on the blood and tears of the working class. For wanting to change all this; for our struggle to overthrow capitalism, to emancipate society from human slavery and to build a Communist society where exploitation and hunger no longer exist, you persecute us. Your verdict we can only accept as a verdict of capitalist class justice. Today you pick us out because you think us small and weak. Tomorrow you will stretch further—to every brave voice of working class freedom. You will jail us; you can never jail the ideas we stand for. The days will soon be here when your whole system, already doomed, will stand before the bar of proletarian justice. HAIL THE REVOLUTION!"

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Published Monthly by the National Youth Committee, Communist League of America (Opposition) at 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

H. Stone, Business Manager Editorial Committee

Martin Abern Joseph Carter
Albert Glotzer George Ray
Vol. 1. No. 4

MARCH 1932

Subscription rate: \$0.50 per year; Canada and Foreign—\$0.65. Five cents per copy. Bundles rates, 7 cents per copy.

Left Opposition Platform

Logic of Theory of National Socialism

At the time of the seizure of power in November 1917, none of the leaders of the Bolsheviks looked forward to any great length of time before the Russian Revolution would be followed by a successful overthrow of the bourgeoisie in other, more advanced, capitalist states. However, instead of victories as in Russia, a series of defeats followed one upon the other; Italy, Bulgaria, Germany in 1918, Hungary, and culminating in the suppression of the German masses in 1923. Influenced by these defeats, a section of the Comintern became pessimistic as to the probability of victory for the Communists in the west European countries for a long period to come.

This pessimism expressed itself in the turn in the program of the Comintern and in the attitude of some of its leaders to concentrate all efforts for the completion of socialism in the Soviet Union without the state aid of more advanced proletarian countries. This point of view of Stalin and Bucharin was strengthened by the beginnings of successes of Soviet industry in extricating itself from the complete economic collapse of the civil war period. Thus the year 1923, the year of the first Trotsky Opposition, marks: (1) the year of the culmination of defeats for the workers in the capitalist countries, (2) the year of the first visible signs of advance in getting out of the 1918-21 civil war crisis in the Soviet Union. The above factors led to the development of the view of the possibility for the building of a complete socialist economy in a single country, the Soviet Union, despite its economic backwardness and isolation. Trotsky and the Left Opposition opposed this revisionism of Marxism and the teachings of Lenin.

The theory of socialism in one country (Stalin-Bucharin) as against the Marx-Lenin-Trotsky conception of international revolution and socialism has had its devastating effects upon the world's proletariat. Let us suppose that a revolutionary situation or a developing revolutionary situation arises. The following set of tactics could be pursued:

Two Methods

1. A clear cut Communist policy—an independent Communist party stand against the capitalist government and against the liberal and labor misleaders (of course united fronts on specific issues are accepted—but not blocs in which the Communist party subordinates itself to the other groups).

2. A policy which does not sharply criticize the liberal-labor group and subordinates the Communist party to a liberal-labor Communist combination. The purpose of this bloc would be to strengthen the forces against the openly reactionary anti-Soviet elements.

If the main outlook is toward the completion of socialism in a single country, there is implied the tactic to concentrate all efforts on weakening the anti-Soviet front. This would result in the liberal-labor-Communist bloc, with little or no criticism of the liberal and labor leaders by the Communists. This type of "Communism" would fear to criticize the liberal-labor group in order not to weaken, in their opinion, the anti-Soviet bloc against the conservative forces.

"But", one will say, "what greater guarantee could there be for the successful completion of socialism in the Soviet Union than the successful revolution in the imperialist countries. Why is not the first tactic the logical one?" The Stalinists say in reply: The pursuit of the second policy guarantees to a greater degree than the first, the safety of the Soviet Union. The second is more easily accomplished: the pursuit of the first involves the possibility of the defeat of the Communist Party, which

would undoubtedly mean the strengthening of the capitalist forces and a more ruthless policy toward the U. S. S. R.

The Left Opposition opposed the Stalinist conceptions as false. Time has confirmed its views, both in theory and practice.

The Anglo-Russian Committee

The Conservative Party enters the scene as the definitely anti-Soviet group. The fakers of the Labor party the I. L. P. and of the Trade Union Congress make-up the liberal-labor group, having the support of large masses of the workers. The Communists existed as a small and weak party. The General Strike was called. Comrade Trotsky pointed out that the Thomas-Purcell-Hicks-Citrine group would betray the strike. He advocated a sharp criticism against them and an independent policy for the Communist party of England. The Comintern however, failing to criticize the British trade union leaders, relying especially on its so-called 'Left' section, Hicks and Purcell, and gave them the stamp of approval of the Russian trade unions. This policy disarmed the British party for effective struggle against the labor misleaders. Trotsky advocated, at the time of the actual betrayal of the General Strike, the break up of the Anglo-Russian Committee by the Russian trade unions, thereby making possible again the growth of the Communist Party through its exposure of the treacherous character of the British trade union leaders. He warned that after the latter had made full use of the Anglo-Russian Committee for their ends—to bolster up their prestige among the workers—they would find an excuse to withdraw from it. The Comintern, however, rejected comrade Trotsky's proposals. Stalin stated in 1926: "The purpose of this bloc (A.-R. C.) to constitute a broad movement of the working class against an intervention in our country (U. S. S. R.)."

Only a few months after comrade Trotsky's criticism, the heads of the British trade unions again dominated the situation; they withdrew from the Committee because of "Russian interference". Precisely the excuse that Trotsky predicted! The result: The Anglo-Russian Committee did nothing to defend the U. S. S. R., the revolutionary and Communist movement missed the opportunity to develop a mass movement which would challenge not only Thomas, MacDonald and Co., but the Chamberlains and their masters.

China—1925-1927

Here again a perfect picture can be drawn. The conservative anti-Soviet group is represented by the imperialist countries (England, France, Japan, Italy, the United States). The "liberal-labor" group is represented by the Kuo Min Tang. Trotsky advocated an independent Communist party, a sharp criticism of the Kuo Min Tang, the struggle for proletarian leadership in the revolutionary movement, and, during the March to the North when the masses of workers and peasants were in arms and the revolutionary movement was on the ascendancy, the slogan of Soviets.

The Comintern, on the other hand, subordinated the Communist party to the Kuo Min Tang, and opposed the slogan of Soviets because that would mean a decisive break with the bourgeois Kuo Min Tang and a struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. The C. I. here again based its tactics, among other reasons, on the desire to avoid a sharp clash, the reverberations of which might endanger the completion of socialism in the Soviet Union. It also wanted, to paraphrase Stalin, to have a broad united anti-imperialist front (with Chiang Kai Shek!).

When the Kuo Min Tang had utilized

Imperialist War and the Class Struggle

(Continued from page One)

ized for the war in the Far East.

It is necessary, however, to understand that war is an integral part of capitalism. Every national section of capitalism depends upon its military arm for the defense of the same. War is the practical means through which one or the other capitalist state acquires control of the world market. The armed forces of a capitalist state has a twofold function: on the one hand the defense of the interests of the state externally, and on the other, the weapon by which the working class is kept in subjection at home. When this is understood it will become quite clear why the "outlawing" of war can come about only through the destruction of capitalism.

The youth particularly, more so than any other section of the working class, is directly and immediately affected by war. It is estimated that almost one-half of the mortal losses during the last war were youth. Extended militarization takes place constantly. The schools are infested with ROTC units and instructors representing the army—and, go beyond the teaching of military science by influencing the entire curricu-

lums of the schools. The working youth and especially the unemployed are made targets of huge advertising campaigns for enlistment in the regular forces. The CMTC organized on a national scale offer "vacations" to broad layers of young workers and students. And there exists the National Guard, organized precisely for the purpose of strike-breaking activity, and for "labor disorders and disturbances".

While pacifism and the social democracy bellow loudly about the establishment of peace and the liquidation of all conflicts yes, even class conflict, they first establish through the official spokesman of social democracy, until recently Paul Boncour, that "the menace to peace is Bolshevism".

It must be clear that to liquidate war it is necessary to liquidate capitalism which breeds war. This can only be done through the insurrectionary overthrow of capitalism. To that objective we must always struggle and during a war period we must raise to our lips, the cry: turn the imperialist war into a civil war! There is no other solution. To destroy capitalism would mean the end of the class struggle—it would also mean the end of war.

—ALGLO.

KARL MARX: REVOLUTIONIST

Karl Marx was born on May 5th, 1818. At the age of twenty-nine he wrote that momentous document which brushing aside the utopian sentimentalities of Prodhon, Saint Simon, Fourier and Louis Blanc, laid the basis for scientific socialism. Revealing the motive force in history as the developing productive powers and the class struggle dependent upon it, the Communist Manifesto taught the working class the role it is destined to play, that of emancipator of the entire of humanity from exploitation and class rule by over throwing the capitalist class, socializing the means of production and exchange and establishing a classless society, socialism. In 1864 he aided in the formation of the First International.

In 1867 his first volume of Capital appeared. Here Marx uncovers the laws which underlie capitalist economy explains the exploitation of the worker through the difference in value of his labor power (amount necessary for necessities of life) and the total value which he produces. This difference is called surplus value and forms the source from which profits, interest and rents are derived. Marx further shows the laws of competition, of the concentration and centralization of wealth which lead to the ultimate destruction, with the proletariat as its grave digger, of wage slavery and opens up the era of socialism.

Marx's analyses of the class struggles in France in 1848-1850, his study of the phenomena of Bonapartism in the "Eighteenth Brumaire", are brilliant examples of his penetrating dialectic method. However, he is at his best in his revolutionary defense of the heroic efforts of the Parisian proletariat in their Commune of 1871.

The lessons for the international working class, the uselessness of the bour-

geois state apparatus as an instrument of proletarian emancipation, the need for its revolutionary destruction, the despicableness of the bourgeoisie, its international unity against the working class, the requisite of a party determined and capable of leading the proletariat, the limitations of democracy, all these and more are illuminated in Marx's Civil War in France. The Russian Bolsheviks, Lenin and Trotsky learned a great deal from this writing.

Later, in his criticism of the Gotha Program, Marx repeats in lucid form the teaching that: "Between capitalist society and Communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding with this there will be a period of political transformation during which the State can be nothing other than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat".

The death of Marx on March 14, 1883 marked the passing of an intellectual giant, a pioneer social scientist, a true proletarian revolutionist. The modern Marxian, the Communist, cherishes dearly the inheritance left by Marx and his co-worker and comrade Frederick Engels.

MEN OF ENGLAND

Men of England, wherefore plough
For the lords who lay ye low?
Wherefore weave with toil and care
The rich robes your tyrants wear?
Wherefore feed, and clothe, and save,
From the cradle to the grave,
Those ungrateful drones who would
Drain your sweat—nay, drink your
blood?

Therefore, Bees of England forge
Many a weapon chain and scourge,
That these stingless drones may spoil
The forced produce of your toil!
Have ye leisure, comfort, calm,
Shelter, food, love's gentle balm?
Or what is it ye buy so dear
With your pain and with your fear?
The seed ye sow, another reaps;
The wealth ye find, another keeps;
The robes ye weave, another wears;
The arms ye forge, another bears.
Sow seed,—but let no tyrant reap;
Find wealth,—but let no imposters
heap;
Weave robes,—let no idler wear;
Forge arms,—in your defense to
bear.

—PERCY B. SHELLEY.

—H. S.

Spartacan Comments

PRINCE OF WALES AGITATES THE YOUTH

The Prince of Wales recently added his "two-cents" to the discussion on the causes and cure of the present economic crisis in a speech before ten thousand boys and girls in London. "The enemy today is depression and apathy," he is reported to have said, "Let us attack them with two of our old fashioned characteristics—good sense and good humor." And that "depression and apathy are the devil's own—they are not English, so away with them".

Thus spoke the Prince to the paupers! A jolly young fellow is he! His speech will undoubtedly help in the development of the sense of humor of the British working youth!

COMMUNISM VERSUS ANARCHISM DEBATE

On Friday evening, March 4th at the Irving Plaza, 15th St., and Irving Pl., New York City the debate of the year will take place. (Where did we hear that before?) Our own Max Shachtman—no introduction necessary, I hope, will debate Carlo Tresca, editor of *Il Martello* and nationally known anarchist leader, on the subject of Communism or Anarchism in Spain. We are confident of the outcome. Max will—let us not brag, let's go to the debate and then pass judgment.

THE YOUNG SPARTACUS

Speaking of valuable publications, how do you like the *Young Spartacus*? We are sure it has already found a place in your heart—and head. Of course—it has a few weaknesses. But after all, we are all human and learn by our mistakes. We have only just begun. With the help of our readers we expect to expand and improve. Every reader can help by subscribing or ordering a bundle of our paper. (Subscriptions are fifty cents a year; bundle orders are at three cents per copy). If you don't think it is worth it—well, reread the issues and change your mind. Remember the future is the home of the youth!

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST REVIEW TO BE ISSUED

The National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) is to issue a bi-monthly theoretical organ, *The International Communist Review*, beginning April 1st. Some of our young comrades have taken it as a challenge to the *Young Spartacus*! Calm your fears, impetuous youth! It will far exceed your most optimistic expectations, brush aside your whimsical skepticism, and cudgel your brain a bit. We fearlessly hail the *International Communist Review* as a valuable and long-needed addition to the Left Opposition press.

N. Y. COMRADES ATTENTION

Here is a chance to learn the true history of the Communist International. Max Shachtman will begin a popular lecture course on that much abused subject at the *Labor Temple*, 14th St., and 2nd Ave., N. Y. C., on Wednesday evening, March 9th, at 8:00 P. M. It will continue for eight successive Wednesdays. The out-of-town comrades cannot be blamed for being envious. —PLEBIAN.

IMPORTANT DATES IN MARCH

- March 4th, 1919 Communist International founded.
- March 12, 1917 Formation of Provisional Government in Russia. Beginning of democratic revolution.
- March 14, 1883 Karl Marx died.
- March 18, 1871 Paris Commune established.

Trotsky on the Fascist Danger in Germany

(Continued from page One)

nothing in common. We are unflinchingly convinced that the victory over the Fascists is possible not after their coming into power, not after five, ten or twenty years of their rule but now, under the given conditions, in the coming months and weeks.

Can we successfully repel Fascism in the course of the next few months, that is, with the existence of a greatly reduced, but still (unfortunately) very strong social democracy? The Central Committee replies in the negative. In other words, Thaelmann considers the victory of Fascism inevitable.

Once Again: The Russian Experience

In order to express my thought as clearly and as concretely as possible I will come back once more to the experience with the Kornilov uprising. On August 26, 1917. General Kornilov led his Cossack troops and one irregular division against Petrograd. How did the Bolsheviks proceed in this question? The Bolsheviks did not content themselves with a general appeal to the workers and soldiers to break with the conciliators and support the red united front of the Bolsheviks. No, the Bolsheviks proposed the united front struggle to the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries, and created together with them common organizations of struggle.

Today the social democracy as a whole, with all its internal antagonisms, is forced into sharp conflicts with the Fascists. Our task consists of taking advantage of these conflicts, and not of uniting the antagonists against us.

The front must be directed against Fascism at the present time. And this common front of direct struggle against Fascism, involving the entire proletariat, must be utilized in the flank attacks against the social democracy, which are for all that no less effective.

It is necessary in fact, to show complete readiness to make a bloc with the social democrats against the Fascists in all cases in which they will accept a bloc. To say to the social democratic workers: "Throw your leaders aside and join our 'non-party' united front", means to add just one more hollow phrase to a thousand others. The German worker has been raised in the spirit of organization and of discipline. This has its strong as well as its weak sides. The overwhelming majority of the social democratic workers will fight against the Fascists, but—for the present at least—only together with their organizations. This stage cannot be skipped.

No common platform with the social democracy, or with the leaders of the German trade unions, no common publications, banners, placards! March separately, but strike unitedly! Agree only how to strike, whom to strike, and when to strike! On one condition: not to bind one's own hands.

It is necessary, without any delay finally to elaborate a practical system of measures—not with the aim of merely "exposing" the social democracy (before the Communist) but with the aim of actual struggle against Fascism. The question of factory defense organizations, of unhampered activity on the part of the factory councils, the inviolability of the workers' organizations and institutions, the question of arsenals that may be seized by the Fascists, the question of measures in the case of an emergency, that is, of the coordination of the actions of the Communist and social democratic divisions in the struggle, etc., etc., must be dealt with in this program.

In the struggle against Fascism, the factory councils occupy an enormously important position. Here a particularly precise program of action is necessary. Every factory must become an anti-fascist bulwark, with its own commandants and its own battalions.

A practical program of agreements with the social democratic workers, we

proposed as far back as September, 1930. (The Turn in the Comintern and the Situation in Germany, published by the *Militant*), that is a year and a quarter ago. What has the leadership undertaken in this direction? Next to nothing. The program of action must be strictly practical, strictly objective, to the point, without any of those artificial "claims" without any after-thoughts, so that every average social democratic worker can say to himself: what the Communist propose is completely indispensable in the struggle against Fascism. On this basic condition it is possible to put the social democratic workers along with us by our example and to criticize their leaders who will inevitably serve as a check and a brake. Only in this way is victory possible.

We can find a theoretical explanation for our bloc with the conciliators in the struggle against Kornilov, in Lenin, in the second part of volume XIV of the Russian edition, in a letter of Lenin to the Central Committee, written at the beginning of September 1917.

We are proposing nothing different from this: complete independence of the Communist organizations and press, complete freedom of Communist criticism, the same for the social democracy and the trade unions.

When the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany adopts the position expressed in the lines of Lenin quoted (referred to) above, the entire approach to the social democratic masses and the trade union organizations will change with one blow: Instead of the articles and speeches which are convincing only to those people who are already convinced without them, the agitators will find a common language with new hundreds of thousands and millions of workers. The differentiation within the social democracy will proceed in rapid tempo. The Fascists will soon begin to feel that their tasks consist not only of defeating Bruening, Braun and Wels, but in taking up the open struggle against the entire working class. On this plane, a deep differentiation will inevitably begin within Fascism. Only by this road is victory possible.

—L. TROTSKY.

Andres Nin Greets «Young Spartacus»

Editors of *Young Spartacus*,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Comrades:—

The publication of *Young Spartacus* must fill all sincere Communists with joy. The youth is the hope of the revolutionary movement. One of the most disastrous consequences of the policy of Stalinism has been exactly this, that it has dampened the ardent fire of the youth, its initiative and its combative spirit and subdued it to a dead level of bureaucratic submissiveness. It is the duty of the Communist Left Opposition to struggle against the disease, and preserving the youth from the disastrous consequences of the Stalinist policy. In this way *Young Spartacus* can fulfill a great role. With the effective and enthusiastic collaboration of the experienced militants and American communists and of the International Opposition, the *Young Spartacus* will lay down a vast basis for the youth movement in which, under the banner of the Communist Left Opposition, will contribute with all its force to regenerate the Communist movement in your country and to forge the instrument of struggle, a strong Communist party, which will lead the American working class to victory in the great social conflicts which are approaching.

Fraternal Communist Greetings,
ANDRES NIN

Barcelona, January 14, 1932.

Question and Answer Column

Question: What is socialism?

Answer: The word socialism has been used in various ways. We will distinguish its two chief meanings as a movement and as the society of the future. Used in the first sense we say, "What was the condition of British socialism prior to the war?" Here it is evident we mean the tendencies, organizations, leaders and so on, associated with the striving for socialism. We read references frequently to the victory of socialism. The reformists when they use this phrase usually mean a parliamentary or a ballot box victory. The revolutionists mean the seizure of power by the workers through an armed uprising. Thus in 1915 Lenin said: "From here (the law of uneven development of capitalism) it follows that the triumph of socialism is, to begin with, possible in several or even in only one individual capitalist country." The Stalinists for their purpose have misinterpreted this to mean that it is possible to build a complete socialist society in one country, when in actuality Lenin was merely speaking of the triumph of socialism as synonymous with the successful seizure of power by the workers.

The distinguishing features of the future socialist society are as follows: no private property, social ownership of the means of production operated according to plan, elimination of distinction between city and country. The state will have disappeared as an organ of suppression of one class by another but some institutions of compulsion will still exist because productivity will not have attained that stage where goods can be produced in practically unlimited abundance and distributed according to needs and not according to labor. The attainment of this stage will signify the entrance into Communism.

From a definition of what is socialism it will be seen how erroneous is the contention of the Stalinists that Russia has already entered the period of socialism. The truth is that the Soviet Union in its present stage of development is much closer to capitalism than to socialism. The correct way to characterize the stage of development in the Soviet Union is to say that it has entered the period where it is building in the direction of socialism.

Question: What are the fundamental characteristics of the capitalist society?

Answer: There are three main characteristics: 1. The commodity character of production, that is, goods are produced for the market. 2. Private ownership of the means of production (land, factories, plants, mines, raw materials, fuel, etc.). These are concentrated in the hands of a small minority of the population—the capitalists. 3. Wage labor. The worker is compelled to sell his labor power, which in capitalist society is a commodity, to the capitalist, who owns the means of production, in return for wages.

Question: Who coined the expression "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class" as a description of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor?

Answer: Mark Hanna, the notorious American politician. The expression was popularized by Danial DeLeon.

Readers are urged to submit questions of inquiry or information to the "Question and Answer Column"

Read the *Militant*, weekly organ of the Left Opposition in America. Contains regularly articles of interest to the class conscious worker and Communist.