

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

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FOLLOW LENIN, LIEBKNECHT, LUXEMBURG

The Left Opposition Youth Continues the Work of Our Revolutionary Martyrs

Liebknecht and Luxemburg are intellectual leaders of the modern revolutionary working class movement. Their teachings and practices form some of the most glorious pages in the history of the movement of the world proletariat for emancipation. For the Communist youth, they are not only brilliant teachers and leaders, but more: revolutionary martyrs and heroes who made tremendous sacrifices and displayed boundless and unswerving devotion to the cause of the oppressed, brave and courageous fighters whose lives inspire the new generation of revolutionary youth.

Liebknecht and Luxemburg belonged to that small group of revolutionary Marxists who in the pre-war Socialist International led the struggle against revisionism and opportunism, the penetration of the working class movement

by middle class ideology, and for a militant proletarian struggle against the capitalists and their state power. Isolation, smallness of numbers, epithets of adventurism, Blanquism, or revolutionary romanticism did not swerve them from their course of intransigence. Personal friendship, or comfort could not deter them in attacking boldly and sharply those who digressed from the revolutionary class struggle.

STRUGGLE FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF THE YOUTH

Long before the outbreak of the World War, Liebknecht and Luxemburg in 1914 had prepared themselves for this critical moment. Despite the resistance of the "old guard" of the German Social Democracy they stressed time and again the need for anti-militarist activity, for work in the armed forces of capitalism. At International and national Congress they raised the problem of how to combat bourgeois militarism. They recognized the importance of organizing the working class youth into young Socialist leagues to counter-act the propaganda of the master class. Under the direct supervision and guidance of Liebknecht the first International Socialist youth organization was founded in 1907. It was he who gave the anti-militarist report at this Congress.

Karl Liebknecht served the German working class in the Reichstag, in the Prussian Landtag and in the Berlin city council. From these tribunals he issued revolutionary speeches to the proletariat, exposed the system of wage slavery, attacked the Kaiser's government and attempted to mobilize the masses for struggle. Particularly during the World War did Karl show that fearlessness which will always be associated with his name.

At a time when the leaders of the German and international Social Democracy treacherously betrayed the interests of the proletariat, supported their national capitalist class; when the patriotism of the masses was at a high

pitch, Liebknecht voted in the social democratic fraction of the Reichstag against supporting the war credits. He was defeated. With great reluctance, but still bound by the heavy traditions of discipline to party rule, he voted for the first war credits. On the occasion of the second war credit vote, on December 2nd 1914, Liebknecht broke with his party colleagues, openly denounced the bloody conflict as an imperialist war fought in the interests of the capitalists, and proclaimed the international class struggle against war and for socialism.

Together with Luxemburg, Mehring, Jogisches and Zetkin, Liebknecht organized the Spartakusbund, and unfurled the banner of revolutionary Marxism.

The Bolshevik revolution of 1917 found in Liebknecht and Luxemburg enthusiastic supporters. They and their comrades recognized the necessity of extending the Soviet power beyond the borders of Russia. In this direction all their activity and energy was directed.

LUXEMBURG'S DEFENSE OF MARXISM

Rosa Luxemburg was a fitting leader of such a group. It was she who was the first to open the attack on Bernstein's attempt to revise Marxism. It was she who first criticized Kautsky's early vacillations. It was Rosa who analyzed at each new stage the tasks of the revolutionary Socialists in the struggle for a classless society. Her unflinching loyalty to the interests of the proletariat guided Luxemburg to break with the social chauvinists who called themselves social democrats, and found the revolutionary party of the masses, the Communist Party of Germany.

Hardly had the Communist party been formed, when it was confronted with an uprising of the Berlin workers. It took its rightful place at the head of this movement. Liebknecht and Luxemburg plunged themselves into active participation in the struggle. On January 15, 1919, they were shamefully murdered by the hirelings of the social democrat,

Gustav Noske. For this treacherous action the entire Social Democratic Party of Germany bears the responsibility.

The Communist and working class youth must imbibe the teachings and spirit of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. The youth of the Left Communist Opposition should have courage that despite our struggle against the stream, despite our struggle against the spite of the epithets hurled against us, our struggle against revisionism in the Communist movement and for revolutionary Marxism, will lead us to victory. With the spirit and determination of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, we will carry on the struggle they so valiantly conducted, intensify our activity for the winning of the working class youth for Communism, for the reformation of the Young Communist International.

Northern China Taken by Japan

Japanese imperialism is on the war path again. After having gobbled up Manchuria, it is now marching its army into the Jehol province in the north of China. The Japanese militarists are bringing their program for the partition of dismembered China into fruition.

True to the style of banditry and plunder which characterizes all imperialism, Japan had laid low everything that stood in its road. It has reduced the city of Shanhaikwan to ruin and ashes, ruthlessly murdering more than 1,000 Chinese soldiers and civilians—women and children not excluded. And now the marauders have set about to add the Jehol province and Inner Mongolia, a territory as large as France and Germany combined, to their territorial empire.

The Japanese are pursuing their conquest practically unresisted. The Chinese generals, so militant in the chambers of the League of Nations and so belligerent in their war against the Chinese workers and peasants, have yielded to the Japanese with hardly a show of protest. They have remained far behind the battle lines and hurled brave words and epithets at the invader. But neither words nor epithets ever won a battle. To meet the Japanese bandits and drive him from his plunder, the Chinese workers, peasants and coolies must be roused to action. For they are the only ones who want to fight. From the Chiang Kai-Sheks nothing can be expected. They have shown their stripe as flunkies of imperialism long ago. Even while the battle was raging at Shanhaikwan, Chang was employing his time in fighting the partisan red troops in southern China. His greatest foe is the paternal foe. He and his ilk in all strata of the Chinese landed gentry and the capitalists fear the Chinese coolies far more than they do the Japanese. The Chinese generals (read: bandits)

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HELP SAVE OUR PRESS!

The paper is the collective organizer of the party. It brings our message to those sections of the working class where our organizers have not yet reached. It spreads our message and our program as no orator can do. And particularly is this the case with the Left Opposition whose numbers are small and whose forces are limited. The organs of the Left Opposition in the United States have and are performing an historic mission. **The Militant** and the **YOUNG SPARTACUS** are carrying the banner of Marxism where Stalinism is dragging it in the mud.

Nowhere in the workers press have there appeared such clear, penetrating analyses of the situation in this country and throughout the world. The illuminating pen of the leader of the Russian revolution and now of the International

Left Opposition has clarified the most complicated questions of present-day Marxism in the pages of the **Militant** and the **YOUNG SPARTACUS**. In these papers the young workers may again gain an education in light of Marx and Engels. But not only a key to education but a guide to action for the workers involved in the class struggle.

But these papers are in danger today. Not of losing their supporters and sympathizers because these are increasing daily. It is financial assistance that is needed! And this is a matter of life and death. There can be no appeal that is so strong that can be made for this support. It is not only an urgent but an immediate danger. All money that can be begged or borrowed should be gathered together immediately to insure the life of the **Militant** and the **YOUNG SPARTACUS**.

Military Prepares For the Jobless

We have been reliably informed that the United States government is preparing to take drastic action against the unemployed during the coming winter, should they begin to manifest their discontent by taking action. Complete plans have been prepared for the use of the regular army troops to combat unemployment riots in the major cities in the country should they occur. The army units, without undue publicity and without fanfare, are being concentrated around the big cities, primarily New York and Chicago. The troops are being recalled from the training areas of the Southwest and are being encamped in the industrial East, placed in strategic points from which it would be easy for them to descend upon the large cities at short notice. Detailed maneuvers to be gone through in suppressing unemployment demonstrations have been worked out and will be put into effect should the workers dare to come out on the streets.

The above preparations are being made by the federal government to supplement the activities of the local national guards and police squads. Detailed instructions as to how to proceed in "strikes and riots" have been in the hands of the national guard commanders of many states since 1930. Instructions have been issued from the New York police headquarters requiring all members of the force to increase their supply of bullets.

Time and again have the ruling classes answered the pleas of the masses with gunfire. So the Czar answered the Petrograd workers when they marched to ask for bread and mercy. And so does the American bourgeoisie intend to reply to the demands of the working class. Let the American workers learn from the Russians, and do what the Russian workers did, when our time comes.

With the American Communist Youth

NEW YORK

Y.C.L. District Meeting

On Sunday, January 8th, a highly interesting district membership meeting of the Young Communist League was held in New York. About six hundred comrades came, eager and ready to listen and participate in a discussion on what is wrong with the League, and how to proceed in organizing the young workers. Jack Stachel of the Communist party gave the main report. He explained the causes of the tremendous turn-over of membership and the failure to develop the League as a mass organization. First, the leaders and members do not understand that the League should be an educational, political organization to train members for the Communist party; second, in working in the shops the YCL 'ers expect the youth to flock to them as "natural" leaders rather than winning their right to leadership through struggle and example. The League should also concentrate on anti-militarist work.

DISTRICT BURO BARED FROM DISCUSSION

During the meeting, a motion was made from the floor, and carried unanimously with enthusiasm, that no district functionary be permitted to participate in the discussion! Then a number of members launched into an attack on the organization methods of the League. Comrade Claire Wernicke, an organizer of a Brooklyn section criticized the separation of the District Buro from the membership; the fact that it is not responsible to the ranks but only to the National Committee. Comrade Burland, a Bronx section organizer spoke along similar lines. He stated that while there was a turn-over of membership, one witnessed a constant change in the district leadership. The innumerable district organizers, appointed by the National Committee, instead of being elected by district conventions, often do not know the local conditions and needs, are not acquainted with the ranks or responsible to it. These criticisms were well-received by the comrades present. Other speakers discussed the work of the units throughout the city.

Stachel in his summary speech criticized the District Buro for accepting the motion of the meeting in barring it from speaking and in not replying to the critical remarks of the members. He repeated some of the points of his opening speech.

The meeting is very significant. The young comrades want to do effective Communist work. Bureaucracy and arbitrary commands and instructions, are anathema to the militant and independent spirit of the revolutionary youth. The League members are waking up. In fact, in prohibiting the district functionaries from speaking at the membership meeting—an action to our knowledge, unprecedented in the history of the Young Communist League—they went far to the other extreme. But even this is fostered by the sudden letters and decisions of the Young Communist International for chronic "self-criticism" and anti-bureaucracy campaigns.

But how to explain the speech of Stachel? Is he not repeating the criticism of the Left Communist Opposition, reiterated time and again in the YOUNG SPARTACUS on the role of the League? Is there an honest turn taking place?

The explanation is simple. The American party leadership has been blamed for the shortcomings and failures of the League by the Communist International and the YCI. The Stachels have an easy task: to criticize the youth comrades for not understanding this, that or the other thing, for not effectively carrying on Communist work.

Who is responsible for the neglect of the revolutionary education of the members? The Stachels and the Stalinist chiefs of the Communist International and YCI. Who is to give a revolutionary Marxist education to the youth? Surely not those who have revised the

basic teachings of Marx and Lenin; not those who issue "ultimatums to non-party workers, and now talk against the theory of "natural leaders". The League should concentrate on anti-militarist work. Certainly. Under what banner? Under the hegemony of the American Barbusses and Rolands, the Upton Sinclairs and the Malcom Cowleys or under its own independent leadership?

No, the sore is not on the surface. It lies deep rooted. The leaders of the Comintern, YCL and American Party are responsible for the miserable failures of the League. Their revision of Marxism, their bureaucracy and false tactics are at the basis not only of the crisis in the YCL, but also of the party and International. The Left Communists under the leadership of comrade Trotsky were expelled for fighting for the teachings of Lenin and a sound democratic regime in the party and League. We will do our utmost to win the fighting militant youth of the League to struggle with us

CHICAGO

Stalinist Expulsions from Youth Organizations

Expulsions and exclusions from the Chicago YCL and its auxiliary organizations continue apace. As the correct political line of the Spartacus Youth Clubs becomes more and more evident to the great mass of the YCL members, the bureaucratic repressions also increase. Jack Kling and his toadies are threatening the YCL'ers with all sorts of chastisements and destruction for their growing sympathies to the Left Opposition.

Examples of these repressions can be found within the Young Communist League and all its appendant organizations. On Nov. 18, an attempt was made to expel Al Lewis (who had been expelled from the YCL for "Trotskyism" the week before) from a newly formed branch of the ILD. Morrie Sennett, an ambitious young bureaucrat, led the attack. Irving Fern, a Spartacus member, who happened to be at this ILD meeting, took the floor in defense of Lewis. After the meeting, Sennett waited outside for Fern, members present rushed to Fern's defense, and attempted to beat him up. The ILD not in time, however, to save him from being knocked down.

IN THE NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE

On Nov. 21, comrades Yetta Barshevsky and Bernard Landau attended a National Student League meeting to determine the reasons for their expulsions. (A short history of the case would be appropriate here). Last August and September, the Student League started a campaign against Trotskyism. Attempts were made to expel the Oppositionists, all of which resulted in failure. And now for an example of how far the YCL will go to get rid of "counter-revolutionaries". The NEC of the NSL announced that all those without membership cards were not to be considered members of the NSL. Seeing that no one had a membership card, the decision in reality meant that the NSL was dissolved (just to get rid of obnoxious elements), and would have to be reorgan-

ROSA LUXEMBURG

"Against the threatening danger of the counter-revolution must come the arming of the workers and the disarming of the hitherto ruling class. The fight for socialism is the most gigantic civil war in history, and the proletarian revolution must prepare the necessary defense for this war. It must learn to use it, to fight and to conquer. This defense of the compact masses of the workers, this arming of them with the full political power for the accomplishment of the revolution, is what is known as the dictatorship of the proletariat. This, and only this, is the true democracy."

for the regeneration of the Communist movement, for revolutionary Marxism, for a mass Young Communist League in America.

League Liebkecht Meet

Approximately six hundred, ninety-five percent of whom are members of the League, attended the Liebkecht Memorial Meeting of the New York Young Communist League, on January 15th. Not even the entire membership, claimed to be eight hundred, was mobilized. Despite the high-sounding leaflet issued to the rank and file of the Yipsels for the meet, there was no response. In a word, few, if any non-Communist youth were at the meeting.

The exorbitant and scandalous price of thirty cents admission kept a number of unemployed youth out of the gathering. An excellent program of several well-presented plays, slides, and not-so-hot speeches filled up the program.

Comrades Bershevsky and Landau applied for admittance into the NSL. Two and a half months later the comrades were given the following answer: The NEC had refused Landau admission, and on the basis of that, both the District Committee and the Crane Executive had excluded Landau and Bershevsky, on the charge of counter-revolutionary activity.

The counter-revolutionary activity consisted of the fact that the comrades had distributed a statement to the NSL protesting their expulsions. (The October issue of the YOUNG SPARTACUS contains a summary of the statement). In the discussion that followed, our comrades showed the absolute nonsense of the arguments advanced by the NSL'ers and also discussed the Students' Anti-War Congress, criticizing the NSL for its divergence from a correct revolutionary policy. And then Lapp, the Chairman of the Crane S. L., in self-satisfied tones, made the following remark: "We'll throw our principles overboard any day for the sake of our tactics." A very good characterization of the Students' Anti-War Congress. However, for fear that the comrades would bring their cases before the membership, the NSL'ers decided that the District Committee would review the case. On Dec. 9, it was decided that it would be postponed until the District Conference. And on Dec. 15, Lapp said something about waiting for the National Conference.

MORE EXPULSIONS

Libby Greenspan, a revolutionist with a police record as long as this page, was expelled from the YCL without a trial. The usual charge: counter-revolutionary Trotskyite.

Nov. 29 witnessed more repressions. John Gregory and Libby Greenspan were excluded from the IWO on a charge of Trotskyism. Clair Levine, an organizer of many ILD branches, was put on a year's probation, and removed from her position on the District Youth Committee of the ILD. Rudolph Lapp, a former member of the SYC, was also excluded from this IWO branch on charge of tactics last summer. (The YCL, however, doesn't seem to appreciate him).

As the correct political position of the Opposition penetrates into the ranks of the YCL, and the true Communists in the YCL perceive the distinction between our true Leninist line and the false Stalinist line, zig-zagging from opportunism to adventurism, that much quicker will the bureaucracy be overthrown, and the Opposition restored to its rightful position in the Party and the International. And it is the duty of the Spartacus Youth Clubs to bring this correct program and policy before ever-increasing numbers of party and YCL members.

—BERNARD LANDAU.

N.Y. Spartacus Youth Club

The Spartacus Youth Club of New York has been moving ahead slowly but surely. This last month has seen an increase in membership. The outstanding event has been the debate with the Young Peoples Socialist League on Communism versus Socialism, where comrade Carter, on behalf of the club adequately defended the Communist position before an audience of 500. A good deal of sympathy was won for Communism which the club must now set about to consolidate organizationally.

The Spartacus Youth Club also distinguished itself at the United Youth Conference Against War called by the League for Industrial Democracy and the Socialists and predominated by them and the pacifists. There the delegates of the Club fought side by side with the NSL and the YCL against the steam-roller tactics of the leadership of the YPSL and Socialist party. Our joint protest produced its effect on the young Socialists and made many of them antagonistic to their leadership.

Besides these, the club has held some open educational meetings. At one of them, comrade Marsh reported on her stay in the Soviet Union; another on the Canton Commune; another to a report on the Chicago Student Anti-War Conference by one of our comrades who was a delegate there.

In the future, we intend to continue with these open meetings.

The New York Spartacus Youth Club and the local branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) held on January 13th, a joint open forum in commemoration of the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Comrades Max Shachtman and Joe Carter were the speakers. In the discussion a comrade who was a member of the Spartacus group of Liebknecht and Luxemburg and participated in the January struggles spoke on some of his experiences in those days.

The Club meets at 126 East 16th St., every Thursday evening, 8.15 P. M.

NORTHERN CHINA TAKEN BY JAPAN

(Continued from page One) know that the masses will not stop with the Japanese when once they are aroused. The heads of the generals are endangered.

But the cry for resistance to the Japanese is already rending the air, Students are holding meetings calling for action. In Shanghai the famous boycott is already under way. The oppressed Chinese masses will not remain silent under the Japanese attack. The Japanese imperialists will burn their fingers in the flame of the Chinese mass movement.

But a greater danger looms on the horizon. It is the danger of an attack on the Soviet Union. The territory that Japan hopes to conquer borders on Soviet Siberia and Soviet Outer Mongolia. Already the Tokio State Department has issued lying provocations about the Soviet Union desiring war with Japan. The Japanese military has interned four Soviet vessels. Latest reports tell of the Japanese driving Chinese troops on to Soviet territory, in order to involve the first workers state into war. The foreign imperialists are uniformly silent, except for an innocuous British note. All of which points with ominous glare at the sinister intent of the Japanese plans.

The workers must be on guard. The cry of "defend the Soviet Union" must become louder and firmer. All support must be given to the Chinese toilers in their war against the Japanese bandit imperialists and their internal foe—the warlords and the exploiters.

TWO ANTI-WAR YOUTH CONFERENCES ARE HELD

Student Meet Repeats the Confusion of the Amsterdam Congress

CHICAGO.—

The National Student Conference Against War met at Mandel Hall, University of Chicago, on the 28 and 29 of December. Some 680 student delegates from various sections of the United States and Canada met to discuss the problem of war and means of combatting it. Called arbitrarily, the delegates selected artificially, the conference was doomed in advance to the weaknesses that beset it and crossed it off as a factor to combat imperialist war.

Originally the conference was to have been called by the National Student League, in answer to a request from the Amsterdam Congress which transformed the war issue into a pacifist masquerade. Pursuing a policy consistent with Amsterdam, a committee of students and intellectuals was created to issue the call for the new conference. So that from the very beginning the conference had no sound policy and no real base other than the support of a few individual students.

The nature of the call gave the impression that the conference was to arrive at a program of united propaganda rather than a minimum agreement for concrete action. What is more, the students were given the leadership in the struggle against war, off hand, by restricting the conference to students. In an adopted resolution, as the Left Opposition had contended, it is recognized that students are not an independent force, but this "concession" was not enough to eradicate the fundamental fault in its organization.

SPEECHES GIVEN; LEFT OPPOSITION OUT SHORT

For a day and a half the congress was a mere symposium. Joseph Cohen, student delegate at Amsterdam, delivered the keynote address. During the day, Earl Browder and Scott Nearing presented the abstract Communist position on war, which is completely vitiated and shamelessly contradicted by their "Amsterdam" practice. J. B. Matthews expounded the position of militant pacifism, and Upton Close and Jane Adams that of pure pacifism. Most interesting of them all was Jane Adams who complained of the inability of people to see that their fight was won; namely, that against imperialist war. It is against other wars, presumably class wars, that we ought to turn our attention according to the evangel of Miss Adams. In the evening the congress split into groups to discuss various phases of war and militarism.

After a speech by Donald Henderson on the second day, the conference proceeded to discuss a program and resolutions. It was during the discussion of Henderson's talk, "How Students Should Fight War", that the Communist position on workers and students in the struggle against war, was first presented from the floor by a member of the Left Opposition. E. Geltman, who was declared out of order twice in the course of his delivery. The Communist Left Opposition, projected themselves into the than the pacifist opponents of class war. When, in the afternoon, resolutions were finally presented it was obvious no thorough discussion could be held. Except for the statement of the Left Opposition youth, which was distributed at the opening session, no prepared drafts had been submitted to the delegates prior to the congress. Discussion had therefore to be spontaneous and incomplete in character.

ROLE OF LEFT OPPOSITION YOUTH

The influence of the Left Opposition on the congress was unmistakable. The statement of the Spartacus Youth Club, and the resolutions signed by nineteen sympathizers and members of the Left Opposition, projected by nineteen sym-

pathizers and members of the Left Opposition, projected themselves into the deliberations of the Resolutions Committee and the Conference. Probably more influential than our direct activity, was the criticism and indictment by the Left Opposition prior to, during and after the Amsterdam Congress. In the student congress was to be seen a definite step "to the left" from the confused mouthings of Amsterdam. But this retreat under the fire of the Left Opposition was by no means sufficient. While the Socialist and pacifist delegates were far from reluctant in presenting their positions, the Stalinists did not present the Communist program, but the treacherously ambiguous prattle of the Amsterdam Congress. The sharp, irreconcilable conflict between revolutionary Communism and militant pacifism, blurred and confused by the organizers of the Conference, was proclaimed in written form and from the floor, in the few, very few, times that the Left Oppositionists were permitted to speak.

Since the congress, the National Resident Buro, elected there has rewritten the resolutions without changing their essential character. To a poor section on the causes of war was added an amendment by a Canadian delegate Ryerson, taken verbatim from the resolution of the Left Opposition delegates. As rewritten, with the amendment incorporated in modified form and without its barb, the resolution has the characteristic Stalinist veneer of Marxism without its content.

To the section of defense of the Soviet Union, comrade Kaplansky, Left Oppositionist of Canada moved an amendment calling for the unconditional defense. Quickly the Stalinists rallied to the defense of "unity" at the expense of clarity and rejected the amendment to a man. Another amendment, warning against the betrayals of the nature perpetuated by the Second International in 1914, was also rejected when first presented. When, later, it was again brought to the floor in a modified wording that eliminated all direct criticism of the present leadership of the Second International, it was passed with the consent of the Socialists. However, another section, which in supporting the Amsterdam Congress was construed by the Socialists as criticism of their leaders, was withdrawn at the demand of the latter a short time before the close of the conference. And so unity was preserved!

DISTORTION OF THE UNITED FRONT

For the continuation of its work, the conference elected the Resident Buro, to sit in New York. It is a section of the permanent National Committee. The Socialists who had previously desired to split from the conference found it possible to remain after the compromises and concessions of the Stalinists. In as much as the Socialists were on the committee the pacifists also decided to participate.

The Stalinists, members of the ILL student groups, accepted membership in the Committee in the name of their organization and as socialists. The pacifists took the same course. But the Stalinists—members of the Young Communist League—hid their own political banner and entered the committee merely as representatives of the National Student League. Of the Communists elected to the committee only one, E. Geltman accepted as a Communist, stating that he was a member of the National Student League and also of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

A critical review of the whole affair of the Chicago conference, its resolutions and perspectives will appear in the next issue of YOUNG SPARTACUS.

Socialist Confab Spreads Treacherous Pacifist Dope

NEW YORK.—

The United Youth Conference Against War, held with over six hundred delegates present, convened in New York City, November 25, 27. Called by a provisional committee of Socialist and pacifist youth organizations, plus the Lovestoneite youth, the conference had participating in it besides these groups, the Young Communist League, the National Youth Committee of the Communist League (Opposition), the New York Spartacus Youth Club, the clubs of the NSL, and the NSL itself.

The Conference resolved itself into a meeting under the direct control of the socialist and pacifist youth groups that initiated it. With all proceedings decided by caucus of these groups before the conference opened, the Communists and Left wing were barred from every single post and committee. The tenor of the conference rank clear from the opening chord of the conference when the credentials committee was appointed and not elected. Regular procedure, violated at the very outset, was mangled, and distorted from that point on.

The session on "Non-violent tactics in the class war", led by Fenner Brockway and Roger Baldwin, chairman of the British Independent Labor Party and head of the Civil Liberties Union respectively, indicated the attitude that the conference would take. The Left Socialist viewpoint was presented by Brockway at the opening session and continued the next day. He stressed the necessity of a "new technique" that the youth would have to work out in detail; holding, of course, the reservation that it would have to achieve the revolution without bloodshed but that force "would be used if necessary."

In the Saturday session of this part of the proceedings which was attended by the most prominent groups, including the YCL and NSL delegations, comrade Capelis took the floor and presented the Communist position on the nature and development of the state and the inevitability of the forceful overthrow of the capitalist government. That the pacifist position became reactionary in the face of these facts was pointed out: as it raised false hopes and blinded the workers to the realities.

The concluding session was the one devoted to the report of the resolutions committee. The committee, composed of seven Socialists and pacifists, had rejected outright the revolutionary resolution of the Left Opposition youth; that of the YCL endorsing the Barbusse-Amsterdam Manifesto; and even the mild

The January 14th issue of the *Militant* contains the statement of 20 delegates, from colleges in all parts of the country including most of the Canadian delegation to the Student Congress Against War recently held in Chicago. It contains many important criticisms and proposals which all Young Communists should become acquainted with. Due to lack of space we are unable to publish this statement in YOUNG SPARTACUS and we refer our readers to the *MILITANT*.

DEBATE

Communism vs. Anarchism

RESOLVED: That the working class needs a Communist party to lead it in its struggle for emancipation.

Spartacus Youth Club: YES.

Vanguard Youth Group: NO.

Sunday Evening, Feb. 27th, 1933,

8:15 P. M.

VANGUARD HALL

227 East 13th Street, New York City

ADMISSION: FIFTEEN CENTS

innocent ones of Left wing student groups on student fees, student rights, and for participation in the Chicago Conference Against War. The steam-rolling tactics of the Socialist-pacifist control commission against the Communists and Left wing evoked a joint statement from a group of twelve student groups condemning these arbitrary measures and calling for reading of resolutions from the floor. The chair democratically called this out of order!

"DISCUSSION" OF RESOLUTIONS

Because so much time had been used up by speech making of a number of invited speakers headed by the honorable Norman Thomas himself (and they had more yet!) the period devoted to discussion of resolutions became a caricature of a discussion—the Conference finally ending without the adoption of a program! Not one of the rejected resolutions was able to be read—which meant the exclusion of the presentation of the Communist program from discussion. A helter-skelter of confusion followed with two minutes allotted to speakers on the various resolutions of the official committee.

Resolutions on the cancellation of international war debts and reparations, recognition of the Soviet Union, etc., were carried. The committee introduced a resolution which greeted the Soviet Union's proposal to disarm, condemned the U. S. for not accepting it and called upon the American youth to support the slogan. The second part of the resolution called upon the U. S. to disarm by example. The Left Opposition Youth spoke and voted against the entire resolution. The Lovestoneites (who had introduced the first part of the resolution) defended it on the grounds that this called for the disarming of the capitalists and not the workers! And these were the people who waxed indignant because we had refused to vote for their candidates for the resolutions committee! Some of the NSL members joined with the Left Communist Youth in voting against the second part of the resolution.

A PURELY STUDENT OR WORKER-STUDENT ANTI-WAR STRUGGLE?

Most of the dispute then revolved around a further resolution which proposed to support a number of student anti-war conferences taking place throughout the country in the next few months, including the Chicago Conference at Christmas. Donald Henderson of the NSL introduced an amendment that the delegates get students on the campus to send representatives to the Chicago Conference. Comrade Carter of the National Youth Committee of the Communist Left Opposition amended Henderson's amendment by adding that the call be issued also to working class youth organizations. Henderson, Carter and others spoke on their motions. Both amendments were defeated. A scattering of votes supported the Left Opposition's proposal. The conference decided to send a delegation to the Chicago Conference. A resolution introduced by the Young Communist League endorsing the Barbusse-Amsterdam Manifesto was rejected.

A "Continuations Committee" was then elected. The YCL, NSL, and the Left Communist Youth declined because of the anti-democratic, steam-rolling tactics employed and the absence of a concrete program of action to serve as a basis for united front. The Lovestoneites accepted on the committee (program or no program the "united front" must go on!) and elicited just appreciation of their speeches towards the end of the Conference from the steering committee itself!

As outright a miscarriage and distortion of the united front as only Socialists and revisionists in the Communist movement are capable of expectorating was thankfully concluded. —H. C.

V. I. Lenin Organizer of World Revolution

By GEORGE CLARKE



Revolution, the passage of political power from a declining and decadent class to a rising and progressive class, is a decisive turning point—a landmark in the history of mankind. In a revolution, contrary to "normal", day-to-day events, the masses intervene consciously. As a product and a reflection of these great events, great men appear upon the scene of action and leave an indelible imprint upon history. The revolution is thereafter thought of in connection with these titanic thinkers, determined and heroic leaders. And it is rightly so. These leaders are a product of the times in which they live, but they are also a decisive link in the chain of these historic events associated with their names. Such was **Vladimir Ulianov Lenin** whose name is inextricably interwoven with the world shaking Russian Revolution of October, 1917.

But just as the revolutions prior to 1917 were distinctly and fundamentally different from the proletarian revolution in Russia, so a point of comparison between Lenin and Cromwell, or Lenin and Robespierre is difficult to find. The October insurrection marked a new epoch in the history of humanity. Previous to it all revolutions had witnessed merely the shifting of property rights from the hands of one exploiting class to those of another. For the toiling masses, in the final analysis, this meant changing one master for another. But the Russian revolution ushered in an entirely new state of things—the liberation of the working masses from the tentacles of class society forever. Thus whatever similarity one may find between Lenin and Cromwell, or Robespierre it is of small consequence if one considers that the achieved aim of the revolutions in which the two latter individuals found themselves at the head was the establishment of the system of wage-slavery whereas Lenin was the leader of that movement which proceeded to abolish wage slavery in Russia as a preliminary to its world elimination, a great difference indeed!

ROLE OF BOLSHEVIK PARTY

The October revolution triumphed, for one thing, because at the head of the proletarian masses stood the Bolshevik party armed with the unconquerable armor of Marxism. Never before had the world seen such a homogeneous, yet flexible, determined, yet realistic group of men organized into one political party. It was the disciplined organization of the proletariat that knew what it wanted and how to get it. If the creation, the building and the education of the Bolshevik party can be attributed to any one man—that man is Lenin.

Throughout Lenin's lifetime as a leader of the Russian social democracy he insisted that the party of the proletariat must be a party of action and not a talkfest or a discussion circle. On this very basis there occurred the split with

the mensheviks in 1903. The mensheviks contended at the time that any individual who adhered to the philosophy of socialism was eligible for membership in the party. Lenin refused to accept this petty bourgeois conception which would allow all sorts of elements alien to the proletariat to wear the badge of socialism without accepting any of the responsibilities of membership. This would paralyze the power of the proletarian party to act at critical moments. And it would likewise permit the infiltration of non-Marxian ideas via the petty bourgeoisie who are quite willing to accept socialism provided their personal situations are not jeopardized. Subsequent events proved a million fold the correctness of Lenin as against the mensheviks. The latter have landed in the quagmire of social patriotism and the defense of the capitalist state whereas the party of Lenin has erected the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia.

In his historic debates with the economists Lenin made clear another fundamental principle that has become of decisive significance for the international Communist movement. The economists, under the influence of illegal conditions and the rise of unionism in Russia demanded that the political party go out of existence and merge itself with the unions. Lenin decisively rejected this idea. The party, he said, must lead the class. It must not merge with it. In this case it would cease to be the organization of the most conscious and the most educated of the proletariat but would become the confused conglomeration of the most backward and prejudiced elements. This again would destroy the effectiveness of the party.

But if the building of the Bolshevik party called for organizational safeguards, it required as well the assimilation and the application of the scientific theories of Marxism. Lenin's fight against revision or distortion of the ideas of Marxism was relentless. He would tolerate no compromise with those like Bernstein, and later Kautsky, who attempted to befoul the theories of scientific socialism under the pretext of defending Marx and Engels.

When Kautsky, the literary inheritor of Marx, proceeded to revise the Marxian conception of the state, Lenin lost no time in branding Kautsky as having deserted the camp of the proletariat for the swamp of the petty bourgeoisie. And life vindicated Lenin for all the vitriol of his polemic. Kautsky, who had denied that the state was the organ of suppression of one class by another, stood on the other side of the barricades of the Russian dictatorship of the proletariat and supported the German "people's democracy" which proved to be the bloodhound of the German Spartacides. And Kautsky was only typical of the whole centrist mire of the second international.

As a Marxist, Lenin was above all, and before everything else, an internationalist. Under capitalism the proletariat has no fatherland. Capitalist exploitation does not fundamentally change as one crosses national boundaries. The master and the enemy do not differ because of language or color or skin. Actuated by this fundamentally revolutionary Marxism, Lenin was one of the very few that held aloft the banner of internationalism, while the German social democracy deserted it to support the "Fatherland", the British socialists to the defense of his Majesty's Government, and the French socialists to support the "republic". Lenin counterposed to this treachery of the proletariat, to this betrayal of the solemn resolutions adopted at the international socialist congress in Basle in 1912, to this lying idea of national defense when imperialist aims were so manifest, the internationalist slogan of the "defeat of the home government".

Karl Liebknecht Spartacan Leader and Martyr

By HERBERT CAPELIS

The stormy life of Karl Liebknecht blazes an unforgettable page in the history of the outstanding figures in the revolutionary movement. The story of the man who loses interest in self, in passionate devotion to the interests of the masses; rises supreme in defence of the exploited and suffering; fires his brilliant oratory into the inflammable minds of human beings burning with the desperation born of starvation and injustice—the story of the man who stood up alone in the face of a hostile Reichstag hating him almost to the man; with a war-mad world insane with the delirium of patriotism howling in murder orgies around him. The story of one who rose to the heights of revolutionary perspectives and bitterly fought the conservative and chauvinistic misleadership that was corrupting the social democracy. The story, likewise, of the man of character; symbol of the yearnings and aspirations of man toward

a new and higher stage of society. In short, the picture of Liebknecht—the revolutionary fighter.

Karl Liebknecht was born as his father lay in prison for his allegiance to international socialism. His birth, 1871, coincide with the period of triumph of German imperialism over lustful French chauvinism. Militarism and capitalist oppression struck the naval cord that generated the infant and sounded an alarm in its organism from the first moments of its formation. The man was born by all rights as an implement of the social revolution and grew to take his rightful place in the workers' movement. A study of economics and law in his youth at the bourgeois universities of Germany translated itself into a use of his knowledge to the ends of propaganda, agitation, and defence of his comrades.

THE ROLE OF IMPERIALIST MILITARISM

His analysis of imperialism pointed out to him the role of militarism and the urgent need for a struggle against it. Within the social democracy, his convictions and arguments on this score met the blankness of the conservative old party leaders and resulted in naught. Karl turned from these honorables to seek a base among the working class youth. Vigorous, vibrant, uncorrupted by the senility of the bureaucracy, the young responded to the call of Liebknecht. His greatest appeal, his book of 1907, "Militarism and Anti-Militarism" was destined to spread his teachings far and wide. The book was confiscated and Karl stood up in the courts of Leipzig on charges of high treason and from the floor of the capitalist tribunal boldly proclaimed the principles for which he stood. For three days he hurled the message of international struggle to a universal working class audience.

"The worker knows that the fatherland for which he is to fight is not his fatherland, that there is only one real enemy for the proletariat of every country—the capitalist class which oppresses and exploits the proletariat; that the proletariat of every country is by its most vital interest bound to the proletariat of every other country; that all national interests recede before the common interests of the international proletariat; and that the international coalition of exploiters and oppressed must be opposed by the international coalition of the exploited, and oppressed. He knows that the proletarians, if they were to be employed in a war, would be led to fight against their own brethren and the members of their own class, and thus against their own interests."

Eighteenth months of imprisonment was the penalty and sacrifice that Liebknecht paid; but he was amply rewarded by the great service he had rendered towards the actual formation of youth organizations through his systematic efforts. His work as no one else's, helped create the first International Socialist Youth Organization in 1907, of whose first bureau he was made a member. At its first congress, Karl analyzed the armed forces of capitalism: the army, the police, and special forces (such as National Guards in this country) used as strike-breakers and subduers of working class strikes and struggles. His work remains to-day the fundamental

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YOUNG SPARTACUS

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But the socialist movement was confronted not only by outright patriotism during the war but also by centrist pacifism which was, and is, far more dangerous to the working class movement because of its avowed opposition to war. The methods of pacifism do not lead the proletariat to struggle against war but sow illusions about disarmament and passive resistance to war and breed inactivity and passivity in the proletariat while the ruling class leads them to the slaughter for profits. Lenin recognized the great dangers of pacifism and his attack against this tendency is of permanent educational value to the Communist movement in this epoch of wars and revolutions. In opposition to the passivity of the centrists Lenin formulated the slogan of the "transformation of the imperialist war into the civil war". Under these anti-war slogans the Russian revolution came to a victorious conclusion.

But perhaps the greatest testimony to Lenin's internationalism is his break with the reactionary social patriots and his part in the foundation of the Communist International. The Communist International, in its first four congresses under Lenin's leadership, was the quintessence of international proletarian organization. It was a coordinated international that assimilated the experiences of the various parties, combined their collective judgment, remained firm on the path of Marx and Engels. In other words it was the real guiding center of the international proletariat and not a post office department for the exchange of fraternal greetings and the passage of harmless resolutions as the second international had been. It was the true inheritor of the best traditions of the first International Workingmen's Association led by Marx.

But since the death of Lenin the idea of internationalism and world revolution to which he devoted his life and to which he dedicated the Russian revolution, have suffered a serious setback under the auspices of the present-day revisionism of Stalin and Co. The Russian revolution which was never conceived of by Lenin and his closest collaborators prior to 1924 otherwise than as a link in the chain of world revolution has become the basis for the concept of national socialism. To this non-Marxian concept the interest of world proletariat is subordinated. The Comintern has been strangled by this bureaucracy and has not met for more than four years in an international congress.

But the ideas of Lenin live on in the work of the Left Opposition which inherits the traditions of the Russian revolution and the first congresses of the Comintern. And the power of these ideas will yet regenerate the proletarian International!

Rosa Luxemburg: Revolutionary Marxian Fighter

By Joseph Carter

The revolutionary working class movement has produced few who have mastered the spirit, method and teachings of Marxism as Rosa Luxemburg. History does not record any who have displayed such courage and devotion as Rosa. Her interests covered the fields of nature, science and society. "Nothing human was alien to her."

Luxemburg was born in 1870 of a Jewish-Polish family. Little is known of her early life. At the early age of eighteen she ran away to Zurich, Switzerland to escape being sent into exile for radical activities among her fellow-students. There she continued her studies. She absorbed the writings of the scientists, the anthropologists, and the economists. Rosa read and studied with great enthusiasm.

She worked with the Polish revolutionary Socialist emigres in Zurich. It was during the early struggle against the opportunist elements in the Polish working class movement that Rosa met Leo Jogisches, that brilliant Polish revolutionary, who remained her close co-worker and comrade to the end of her days.

Luxemburg wrote articles for the German party press, particularly the *Neue Zeit* (New Era) edited by Karl Kautsky. She soon won recognition for her intellectual brilliance. When she came to Germany, she edited several party newspapers, and actively participated in all phases of party work.

STRUGGLES AGAINST REVISIONISM

When Eduard Bernstein, the literary executor of Frederick Engels, began his revisionist attack on Marxism, Luxemburg took up the cudgels against him. Bernstein's views on the softening of class antagonisms, the gradual improvement of the workers' conditions with the development of capitalism, the all-sufficiency of bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism for working class emancipation, that is, the achievement of socialism by gradual means, through reforms, without force or violence, were met by Luxemburg with a powerful counter-attack. Her criticism was sharp and bold. She raised a loud protest against the attempt to corrupt the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Engels. She aroused the entire party to the menace of revisionism which she proved leads to opportunism, to class collaboration and betrayal. Time and again the congresses of the German Social Democratic Party and the Socialist International supported her views against those of Bernstein.

CLOSE STUDENT OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

Luxemburg was above all an internationalist. Hardly an important event of working class interest in any country could pass without her scrupulous examination and questioning: What lessons are to be learned? Have our theories stood the test of life? Do our tactics need modification or revision? Through such Marxian analyses and self-criticisms Luxemburg developed to the heights of an intellectual giant.

When the Belgium general strike for universal suffrage took place in 1902, Rosa in the columns of the *Leipziger Volkzeitung* analyzed its meaning and criticized the Vanderveldes who headed Belgium party for their stifling of the revolutionary spirit of the masses. As revolutionary events developed in Poland following the Russian Revolution of 1905 Luxemburg hastened there to actively participate in the struggle. She was soon arrested but succeeded in escaping to Germany.

Enriched by her experiences, Luxemburg conducted a struggle in the German party on the relationship between the trade unions and the party. She proposed that the "equal authority" of the party and the trade union—the theory of the "neutrality" of the trade unions which arose from the early reactionary

German state—be done away with and the party have hegemony over the trade unions. This was essential if both organizations were to work for socialism.

In her brilliant pamphlet on "The Mass Strike, the Political Party and the Trade Unions", she develops the above viewpoint as a lesson from the mass strikes in Russia of 1896-1905. For in these strikes the interconnection of the political and economic struggle, and the need of the close cooperation of the trade unions and the working class party, with the latter having the leadership are strikingly illustrated. Luxemburg foresees a period of revolutionary struggles in Germany.

Rosa further explains that one can no longer speak of a bourgeois revolution in Germany and "therefore in a period of open political popular struggles in Germany the last historically necessary goal can only be the Dictatorship of the proletariat."

Rosa Luxemburg supported the theory of the permanent revolution of Trotsky. For this the present disloyal and revisionist chief of the Soviet Union and the official International Communist movement, Joseph Stalin, cannot very easily forgive her. His attack on Rosa, by deliberate distortion of historical facts, is in reality a tribute to this dauntless fighter against bureaucracy, opportunism and revisionism. For the man who personifies these traits in the present Communist movement cannot cherish any thoughts of the revolutionary Rosa.

COLLABORATES WITH LIEBKNECHT

Luxemburg collaborated with Karl Liebknecht in his agitation for the formation of socialist youth organization. They worked together in the development of a revolutionary anti-militarist position for the German party and the Socialist International.

At the Congress of the latter held in Stuttgart, in 1907, Luxemburg presented in the name of the Polish and Russian delegates, an amendment to Bebel's resolution on war: that if imperialist war broke out despite the activity of the social democracy, they should fight with every means at their disposal against it. The Congress adopted the amendment—only to be violated later by those who faithfully pledged to carry it out.

This treacherous act of the German and International Social Democracy on August 4th, 1914—the support of their national master class—marked the summation of the gradual degeneration of the Social Democracy, the development of opportunism and class collaboration into social chauvinism and social imperialism.

Luxemburg did not hesitate for a moment. Together with Liebknecht, Mehring, Jogisches, Zetkin and others, she organized the Spartakusbund, issued illegal leaflets and literature to arouse the masses against the war. Through the brilliant organization work of Leo Jogisches broad sections of the workers and soldiers were reached with the revolutionary message.

Rosa was arrested and sentenced for her pre-war Frankfurt anti-militarist speech. Though behind bars she continued her work, publishing *Die Internationale*, keeping in touch with her small group of fearless fighters. At this time she wrote her annihilating criticism of the official party, "The Crisis in the German Social Democracy", popularly known as the Junius pamphlet, from her use of the pseudonym Junius.

"Shamed, dishonored, wading in blood and dripping with filth, thus capitalist society stands. Not as we usually see it, playing the roles of peace and righteousness, of order, of philosophy, of ethics—as a roaring beast, as an orgy of anarchy, as a pestilent breath, devastating culture and humanity—so it appears in all its hideous nakedness. And in the midst of this orgy a world tragedy

has occurred; the capitulation of the Social Democracy....It forgot all its principles, its pledges, the decision of international congresses, just at the moment when they should have found their application."

WAR HAS CHANGED THE CONDITIONS OF STRUGGLE

Luxemburg's pen was as keen as her intellect. Her devastating attack on the social imperialists and their theory of national defense, is coupled with a penetrating analysis of the causes of the war. But more. The revolutionary Marxist discovers what is new in the situation, what are the tasks of the proletariat.

"One thing is certain. It is foolish delusion to believe that we need only live through the war, as a rabbit hides under the bush to await the end of a thunderstorm, to trot merrily off in his old accustomed gait when all is over. The world war has changed the conditions of our struggle, and has changed us most of all. Not that the laws of capitalist development or the life and death conflict between capital and labor have been changed or minimized. Even now, in the midst of the war, the masks are falling, and the old well-known faces grinning at us. But evolution has received a mighty forward impetus through the outbreak of the imperialist volcano. The enormity of the tasks that tower before the socialist proletariat in the immediate future make the past struggles of the labor movement seem but a delightful idyll in comparison."

Thus Rosa Luxemburg through an independent path, arrived at the same conclusion as Lenin and Trotsky: that the world war had opened up a new period in the history of humanity, the epoch of decisive struggles of the proletariat against capitalism. This conception lies at the basis of the program of the revolutionary Communists.

Rosa concluded her brochure with an inspiring appeal to the masses.

"This madness will not stop, and this bloody nightmare of hell will not cease until the workers of Germany, of France, of Russia, and of England will wake up out of their drunken sleep; will clasp each other's hands in brotherhood and will drown the bestial chorus of war agitators and the hoarse cry of capitalist hyenas with the mighty cry of labor 'Proletarians of all countries, unite!'"

Luxemburg denounced the civil truce, the treacherous agreement not to conduct the class struggle during the war. She did not raise the clear slogan of Lenin's: Turn the imperialist war into a civil war against the home exploiters! She excluded the possibility of national wars under imperialism. Lenin criticized her on these points.

But Luxemburg's work was not yet at an end. Released from prison she was soon rearrested. She wrote voluminously. The letters to Sophie Liebknecht, the wife of Karl, and to Louise Kautsky reveal a rebel woman who loved the struggle, loved life, appreciated the beauties of nature; a striking personality who embraced loyalty, sympathy, bravery and intellect. In her prison cell Rosa penned her famous "Anti-Critique", a reply to the critics of her study of the development of industrial capitalism to imperialism, "The Accumulation of Capital." From there also she staunchly defended the Russian Bolshevik Revolution against the attack of Karl Kautsky; at the same time leveled criticism at the Bolsheviks for certain of their actions.

ORGANIZES COMMUNIST PARTY

The November revolution in Germany (1918) opened the prison-gates to Liebknecht and Luxemburg. The two quickly assembled the small groups of revolutionary Marxists to found a Communist party. The first congress of the party was held in Berlin, December

29 to 31. Rosa's inaugural address once again revealed her as an able master of the Marxian dialectic method. She proclaimed the modern revolutionists as the Marxists of the Communist Manifesto of 1848; that the tactics of street and barricade fighting are once again on the order of the day.

The party Congress, despite the opposition of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, voted to boycott the elections to a Constituent Assembly (a democratic body which was to decide the form of government and constitution for Germany), not to participate in parliaments of any kind; to call upon the workers to leave the trade unions. Such extreme measures were reactions to the opportunist utilization of the parliaments by the Social Democratic Party and the class collaboration policies of the trade unions.

The Spartacans were soon in the heat of the struggle. When the social democratic government removed the popular police president of Berlin, Emil Eichhorn, a member of the Independent Socialist Party, the latter's party and the Communists seized the building of the official organ of the Social Democrats, *Vorwaerts*, and proclaimed the overthrow of the national government. Luxemburg understood that the time was not ripe for such action. The Communist party had not yet won the majority of the working class. Her view was not accepted. Others dominated the situation.

Rosa, true to the revolutionary working class, plunged into the struggle. Liebknecht and Luxemburg were on the barricades; worked among the military men, encouraged and led the revolting proletariat. After a few days the rebellion was suppressed.

Reprisals. Liebknecht and Luxemburg are taken prisoners. Karl is shot on the pretense that he is trying to escape. Red Rosa is slugged several times; while subconscious, she is shot in the back of the head by a "brave" hireling. Her corpse is dragged away and thrown into a canal. Many days pass; nobody knows of her whereabouts. Some time later her body is dragged from the canal and interred by the side of Liebknecht. A few weeks pass, and the murdered Leo Jogisches takes his place alongside his old comrades-in-arms. The democratic and peaceful social democrats have asked for their lives. The *Vorwaerts*, a short while before the "courageous" officers murdered Liebknecht and Luxemburg, carried a soothing jingle:

"Five hundred corpse in a row,
Liebknecht, Rosa, Radek & Co.:
Are they not there also?"

The revolutionary working class will not forget this "joke" of the German social democrats.

Luxemburg's writings are almost unknown to the American revolutionary youth. Few of her works are available in English. A sad reflection on the theoretical level of the American Communists! Today Rosa is being slandered in the official Communist press.

The letter of the Chief against Luxemburg is referred to in official resolutions of the Communist and Young Communist International as a guide for "Leninist" education and the basis for the turn towards "Bolshevik" activity. In Lenin's days such an action would be impossible.

The Left Communist Opposition which defends the traditions and program of revolutionary Marxism will have to popularize and publish the writings of Rosa Luxemburg. The American young Spartacans, working in the spirit of Rosa, understanding her basic teachings, will be well prepared to meet the hardships of the coming period. Let us remember in our struggle for the regeneration of the Communist and Young Communist International that we are following in her path in the struggle against bureaucracy, opportunism, and revisionism in the revolutionary movement and for revolutionary Marxism.

Karl Liebknecht

(Continued from page four)
basis for the struggle of working youth against militarism and should be studied by every young revolutionary.

WORK IN THE REICHSTAG— AGAINST WAR CREDITS

From the time when he was elected to the Reichstag in 1912, this mighty spokesman for the workers roused them with his peerless eloquence and defiance of the imperialist mongrels. One out of the mass, he rose in all his gigantic stature on December 2, 1914 and thundered his "NO" against the issuance of war credits. The snarling wolves of capitalism and cringing curs of the social democratic leadership vanished into nothingness before the brilliancy of a speech that shot forth from the confines of that temple of "righteous" government to those for whom it was meant—the workers about to be butchered and slaughtered for the beast of German capital. With deadly precision, Liebknecht nailed each hypocritical aspect of patriotism, and jingoism exposing the aim for profit, control of war industries and their readiness to produce implements of war for any nation wanting them; the international relations of these war industries thru investment of capital; and the use of the press to spread war propaganda.

Karl was called to the army and there continued his agitation against the false idea of "national defense of the fatherland" and for the international revolution. In this critical period he carried on with his work among the youth by organizing and attending the first illegal conference in Jena, in 1915, of the German socialist youth opposition which he had been preparing in the social democracy against its corrupt and chauvinistic leadership. With the super-might of a revolutionary voice and pen he had flayed the eventual traitors; and pitted his internationalist group of the heroic Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin, and Franz Mehring against them at every step. Around their suppressed and illegal journal "The International", they had united the best elements in the German Social Democracy. The principles of revolutionary internationalism bore its fruit. The Spartakus Bund and the forerunner of the Young Communist International emerged in the fire of war and revolution.

On May Day, 1916, Liebknecht, man of the masses, came illegally in civilized clothes, to address an audience of thousands of workers demanding the ending of the boss class war. He was dragged from the platform and sentenced to four and a half years imprisonment. But Europe was aflame with the fire of revolution. The Russian Revolution stirred a fighting response in the breasts of the German working class. Revolt seized an anguished people and swept them in a mighty wave against the fortresses of capitalism in an emulation of the way shown them by the Russian proletariat. The German Revolution freed the leaders in the Bastilles of capitalist rule; and Liebknecht and Luxemburg took their rightful places at the head of the movement. In its every struggle, they surged forward with dynamic spirit that impelled an inspired working class to heroic battle against enormous odds. They faced the guns of Noske, Scheideman, and Ebert with a bravery and will unequalled in history. The Party of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, young and inexperienced, loosely organized, was unable to rally the vast masses into the actual insurrection. The treachery of the social democratic leadership climaxed the opportunist and chauvinist nature of the previous years. The soldiers of social-democratic government seized these leaders of the revolution that failed.

THE MURDER OF LIEBKNECHT AND LUXEMBURG

Karl and Rosa died at their hands. Foully, cruelly murdered, their blood lies on the hands of Noske and his bestial cohorts. The social democratic leaders

Trotsky on German Regime

What is happening in Germany today? For the moment there appears to be a lull in the political situation of the German people. How long will this situation continue? In order to understand the processes at work, it is necessary to analyze the class forces. The Left Opposition, under the leadership of Leon Trotsky, has consistently examined the events in Germany which have such an enormous significance not only for the German proletariat, but for the international proletariat and the Soviet Union. We print below excerpts from an article of Leon Trotsky written just prior to the last German elections. In it there is a brilliant Marxist interpretation of the conflicting class forces. Although comrade Trotsky refers to the Bonapartist Von Papen regime, his characterization applies with equal truth to the present Von Schleicher government. For the complete article, we refer our readers to the December 17th, 1932 issue of the *Militant*.—Eds.

Present-day German bonapartism has a very complex and so to say combined character. The government of Papen would have been impossible without Fascism. But Fascism is not in power. And the government of Papen is not Fascism. On the other hand, the government of Papen, at any rate in its present form, would have been impossible without Hindenburg who in spite of the final prostration of Germany in the war, signifies in the memory of wide masses great victories of Germany and symbolizes the army. The second election of Hindenburg had all the characteristics of a "plebiscite". Many millions of workers, petty bourgeois and peasants (Social-democracy and Centre) voted for Hindenburg. They did not see in him any one political program. They wanted first of all to avoid civil war and raised Hindenburg on their shoulders as a super-arbiter, as an arbitration judge of the nation. But precisely this is the most important function of bonapartism: raising itself over the two struggling camps in order to preserve property and order, it suppresses civil war, or precedes it, or does not allow it to rekindle. Speaking of Papen we cannot forget Hindenburg on whom rests the sanction of the social democracy. The combined character of German bonapartism expressed itself in the fact that the demagogic work of catching the masses for

bear the guilt by their tacit acquiescence. History has printed their names in huge letters of shame and abomination. Workers will curse these reptiles while they grieve the glorious memory of the dead. They killed two great revolutionaries who overshadow them like giants compared to pigmies. Nothing they do or say can stop the forward march of the working class through the principles of revolutionary internationalism our greatest lived and died for.

LIEBKNECHT THE INTERNA- TIONALIST

From out all the writings and speeches of Karl Liebknecht there soars ever more clearly the spirit of internationalism that dominated him throughout his life. He opposed with bitter and dogged resistance the national reformists and revisionists of every shade. Liebknecht, like Lenin, saw in imperialism the "epoch of wars and revolutions". His formation of the German Internationalist opposition within the social democracy was a logical and necessary outcome of his world outlook on economics and politics. His every utterance, his every action breathes the dynamic and powerful strength of that fundamental principle orientation toward international revolution that underline the basic works of Marx and Engels—and the approach of Lenin and Trotsky in the Russian Revolution.

They were a small group, the interna-

Hindenburg was performed by two big independent parties the social democracy and national socialism. If they are both astonished at the results of their work this does not change the matter one whit.

The social democracy asserts that Fascism is the product of communism. This is correct in so far as there would have been no necessity at all in Fascism without the sharpening of the class struggle, without the revolutionary proletariat, without the crisis of capitalist society. The flunkeish theory of Wells-Hilferding-Otto Bauer has no other meaning. Yes, Fascism is a reaction of bourgeois society to the threat of proletarian revolution. But precisely because this threat is not an imminent one today, that the ruling classes make an attempt to get along without a civil war by the medium of a bonapartist dictatorship....

Bonapartism of the era of the decline of capitalism differs widely from bonapartism of the era of ascension of bourgeois society. German bonapartism is not supported directly by the petty bourgeoisie of the country and village, and this is not accidental. Precisely therefore we wrote at one time of the weakness of the government of Papen which holds on only by the neutralization of two camps: the proletariat and the Fascists.

But behind Papen stand the great landowners, finance capital, generals—so rejoin other "Marxists". Do not the propertied classes in itself present a great force? This argument proves once more that it is much easier to understand class relations in their general sociological outline than in a concrete historical form. Yes, immediately behind Papen stand the propertied heights and they only; precisely therein is contained the cause of his weakness....

In evaluating the "strength" of the presidential government we must not forget the circumstance, that if finance capital stands behind Papen, this does not at all mean that it falls together with him. Finance capital has innumerable more possibilities than Hindenburg-Papen-Schleicher. In case of the sharpening of contradictions there remains the reserve of pure Fascism. In case of the lowering of contradictions one will maneuver until the time when the proletariat puts its knee on its chest. For how long Papen will maneuver the near future will show.

tionalists; as was inevitable. Yet because their teachings were in harmony with the trend of history, they found their place of leadership and direction at the head of the movement at the time the masses faced the crisis. To-day, the internationalists again are reduced to a minority. Revisionism has entered and penetrated our Communist movement as it did the social democracy in the years before the war. Stalinism, with its national doctrine of "socialism in one country" has turned from the path of international revolution.

The revolutionist today pays a sham homage indeed to our dead Karl if he does not study the struggle in the Communist movement today. The Left Opposition, the Spartacus Youth Clubs bear the banner of revolutionary internationalism. Ten years of rich experiences testify to the correctness of the struggle for which the International Left has suffered expulsion from the International they founded and the Soviet Union whose best defenders they were and are today. The regeneration of the Communist International and the future of the world revolution lies in our hands.

The fighting spirit of Liebknecht—the spirit of revolutionary internationalism finds its vindication and its extension through the International Left Opposition.

—HERBERT CAPELIS.

GREETINGS TO THE «VANGUARD»

Young Spartacus greets the *Vanguard* as a powerful weapon in the hands of the hands of the Bolshevik Marxists of Canada in winning the Communist and revolutionary workers to the banner of the International Left Communist Opposition. It will train, educate and organize the revolutionary cadres which are indispensable for this work.

Your first issue is an excellent start in this direction. It undoubtedly is a tremendous blow at the Canadian Stalinists. Just as the *Militant* in the United States served as the initial organizer of the forces of the revolutionary youth around the Left Opposition, aided in the formation of the Spartacus Youth Clubs, and the publication of the *Young Spartacus*, so, we are certain, the publication of the *Vanguard* will give a great impetus to the work of our youth comrades in Canada.

We hail the *Vanguard* as an invaluable addition to the arsenal of the International Left. Together we will march to victory.
—YOUNG SPARTACUS.

Zinaide Trotsky

Comrade Zinaide Trotsky, daughter of the leader of world revolution, is reported a suicide. Hit by the blow delivered when L. D. Trotsky and his family were deprived of citizenship in the Soviet Union, Zinaide, ill in Germany, found herself without a country. The German bourgeoisie refused to extend her time of residence, notified her that she was to be expelled from Germany.

Victim of the personal desire of Stalin for revenge, Zinaide Trotsky's suicide places another count against the murderous regime of "crudeness and disloyalty". Nothing is too low, too contemptible for the organizer of defeats in his aim of the physical destruction of the Bolshevik-Leninists or those in any way connected with them.

Pauline Gutringer

Comrade Pauline Gutringer an old militant worker-fighter in the ranks of the Left Opposition has passed away. She had been active in the ranks of the American revolutionary movement for about two decades. In the pre-war Socialist party she fought against the petty bourgeois opportunism of the Hillquits and Bergers. Pauline helped build the Communist party and was active particularly in its Hungarian section.

Her revolutionary struggle and devotion to the working class led Pauline to be a foundation member of the American Left Opposition. Here, despite her age, she partook in the early work of our group in all its phases. In its early days, she was in the front-ranks in distributing and selling our literature in face of the physical attacks of the party Stalinist bureaucrats. More than once the blows fell on her feeble body. But this could not deter her. She continued the fight for revolutionary internationalism.

When we launched the YOUNG SPARTACUS comrade Gutringer was one of its most enthusiastic supporters and readers. She would often speak to us of the great importance of developing a cadre of young revolutionary fighters. Pauline stressed the need of courageous and intransigent Communist youth who would study, think for themselves, judge events objectively and with a militant and aggressive spirit, struggle for their position.

We mourn the loss of our comrade. We will not forget her courage and sacrifice. Her spirit will continue working alongside us, as we carry on.

Save The
MILITANT

Denver Wants Rain

(With apologies to Charles Erskine Scott Woods)

(God is napping on one of the piazzas of the universe. Terrific static on the radio)

* * * *

GOD: Gabriel, what's that awful noise on the radio?

GABRIEL: God Almighty, I don't know!

God: Gabriel, have one of the electricians fix it—Steinmatz, Benjamin Franklin, or somebody.

Gabriel: Yes, Lord—I can't make head or tail of it just a lot of groaning and buzzing.

God: Listen carefully, and see if you can't understand it.

Gabriel: Sounds like a pair of bellows—whines, groans, sighs, sobs, squeeks, and nothing but wind.

God: I know, it must be a prayer.

Gabriel: That's what I said. Nothing but wind.

God: A prayer from that planet earth, I suppose.

Gabriel: Yes, from Earth.

God: Then why on earth are they praying?

Gabriel: They're in trouble I guess.

God: What seems to be the matter?

Gabriel: They want rain.

God: Who wants rain?

Gabriel: Denver, Colorado, U. S., Earth.

God: Why do they bother me with every little, local, petty affair? Don't they understand that I have a whole universe on my hands?

Gabriel: No, they only think of themselves.

God: That's what I thought. Where is Aquarius?

Gabriel: I don't know, out on the job, I guess.

God: Call him, quick!

(Gabriel goes out and St. Peter comes in.)

God: Why, Peter, you're the very person I want to see! Who started this

praying to me for weather; picnic weather, crop weather—for babies, automobiles, new department store for their benefit?

ST. PETER: Why, people always prayed and offered up sacrifice, didn't they?

God: Yes, but for some big event, to win a war, or something like that, but these little foolish local troubles irritate me—Denver wants rain!

St. Peter: But Jesus told us to ask when we want something.

God: But they should be reasonable! He didn't mean to ask for jam on your bread, or more coal in the cellar, or more wine.

St. Peter: More wine? Excuse me, Omniscience. No one would think of praying for wine!

God: Why not?

St. Peter: It would be wicked.

God: What would be wicked?

St. Peter: To pray for wine. It would be simpler to see a bootlegger.

God: A bootlegger? Ah yes, I remember, somebody called Jesus one for turning water into wine. Peter, if your church is responsible for this prayer, stop it. Ah, there is Aquarius.

(Aquarius comes in with his watering pot.)

AQUARIUS: Here I am, Lord.

God: Where were you?

Aquarius: Watering the Atlantic.

God: Was that necessary?

Aquarius: No, but I feel like it.

God: Why don't you water—what's that place?

Gabriel: Denver, Colorado, U. S., Earth.

God: Yes, that. Why not water that? They are howling—I mean praying, for rain, and here you are watering the Atlantic!

Aquarius: The Atlantic is on my route. You told me to water when I feel like it. And when I get over the Atlantic I feel like watering. I think it's the water that does it—so much water.

God: Well, for my sake, hurry over

to Denver, Colorado, U. S. Earth, and feel like watering there. Give them plenty.

Aquarius: My pot's nearly empty.

God: Go fill it. Go on—hurry. Give Denver plenty of water. Water it so I never hear from it again.

Aquarius: I'll do my best but this pot is pretty old, and—

God: Oh, hurry up, you are always grumbling.

(Aquarius goes out.)

God: Did you ever see such a literal, stupid, obstinate, old fellow in your life? And I have to trust watering the earth to him! Peter, give your attention, your personal attention, to your church. If it is responsible, for praying for rain, or sun, or something, stop it!

St. Peter: It isn't my church. We are well organized. We don't bother you much. It's those other fellows—the methodists. They are ignorant people. Ha, the Baptists, it must be the Baptists, they are strong on water!

God: By myself! There goes that radio again! Gabriel, see what it is! That simply cannot be a prayer!

Gabriel: Yes, it is, Lord. It's a prayer!

God: A prayer? That a prayer?

Gabriel: Yes, Omniscience, a prayer.

God: Sounds more like a short circuit. Well, what is it now?

Gabriel: It's from Denver, Colorado, U. S., Earth.

God: Well, for my sake, tell Aquarius to hurry up!

Gabriel: Yes, Lord—but, wait—wait—they say it's pouring torrents it's pouring pitchforks. They want you to stop.

God: Want me to stop, heh? By myself! Do they think I have nothing to do but wait on them? I've got to rest up sometime!

Gabriel: They say it's another deluge.

God: A deluge? Where is Noah? Where is Noah, I say? Somebody find Noah!

Gabriel: The rivers have flooded, dams burst, houses washed away, fields covered with mud, crops ruined, and still it pours!

God: Confound that stupid Aquarius, he has no discretion! Gabriel, tell Aquarius to stop! Hurry, Gabriel, hurry!

I certainly will have to find another water carrier with more discretion.

Gabriel: Instantly, Lord.

God: First they pray for rain, then they pray to stop the rain. Impudence, I say! They think I have nothing to do but sit up here in heaven and watch Denver.

Gabriel: There seems to be a fight going on. Two reverends, when the rain began, each claimed to have produced it by prayer; now the people want to lynch them.

God: What do you mean, lynch?

Gabriel: I don't know, Omniscience, I think it's some Christian practice.

God: Whatever it is, I hope they do it!

Gabriel: And each, now declares the flood is the other's fault.

God: Yes. Well?

Gabriel: One pounds his pulpit and shouts; "Enough, Lord, enough!" And the other banks his fist on the Bible and shouts: "Lord, this is ridiculous!" Boats are in the streets.

God: Send, Noah, I tell you they need a sailor!

Gabriel: He has stopped.

God: Who? Noah?

Gabriel: No, Aquarius.

God: Well, it's time. Cancel that order for Noah.

Gabriel: Here comes Aquarius, Lord; he wants to see you.

God: What does he want?

Gabriel: He wants to talk to you about his job. He says he's not satisfied. Nobody understands or appreciates his work.

God: I'll say he doesn't understand it! But he'll have to keep it.

Gabriel: He says he can't please everybody.

God: Neither can I. Now don't disturb me. I'm busy working on the star. There goes that infernal radio again. What is it now? More prayer.

Gabriel: Not exactly. The Denver Power and Light Company through reverend Jenkins Undershot wants to thank you for the recent abundant rains.

God: Huh, glad somebody's pleased. Now, for God's sake disconnect that radio.

(CURTAIN)

—C. C.

Left Opposition Youth Statement to Chicago Anti-War Conference

Your presence at this Congress signifies that you, as the representative of a group opposed to war, have come here to take part in planning activities directed against militarism and war. Your sincerity is unquestioned. Undoubtedly your intentions are good. But good intentions are never decisive in shaping a correct program of action. What is decisive is political clarity; and political clarity is precisely what we—the Communist Left Opposition Youth—are trying to bring into this Congress, the preparations for which were characterized by the greatest ambiguity and confusion.

The fact that war is so imminent and that so many contradictory theories are current on how to fight against war only creates a greater need for clarity of issues. We base our present declarations, as we have our past ones on the teachings of Lenin and Trotsky in general and the declaration of the International Left Opposition to the Amsterdam Congress in particular.

Origin of Wars

Wars are not created by evilly disposed men. Neither do they result from the existence of armaments. Nor are they precipitated by the accentuation of supposedly innate mutual hatred between peoples. War is the extension of politics; politics is concentrated economics. Hence the roots of war are not to be sought in men's minds, because they spring not out of men's thoughts but out of the very economic structure of the present capitalist system. It is the capitalists' greed for ever greater profits which lies at the bottom of all imperialist wars. It is in the interests of the ruling capitalist class and by this class that wars are made, and millions of workers forced to give up their lives

on the battlefields.

At this moment, before our very eyes, a war is in the making. The antagonism between the capitalists of all nations has become so acute, that only a spark is needed to set off another imperialist war, the bloodiest in the history of man. Before our very eyes preparations are under way for an attempt to destroy the Workers' Government of the Soviet Union by booby capitalist intervention. Should the capitalist plans succeed, the working class will be reduced to an even more wretched position, and society set back for years and decades.

But there exists the power to stop this. The working class by destroying capitalism by world revolution, is the only force capable of putting an end to all wars, by destroying the causes of all wars.

Pacifism of all shades is impotent in the face of the war problem. The League of Nations, disarmament plans, peace treaties, peace conferences, and passive resistance, have not and cannot stop imperialist war. War is an integral part of capitalism and all pacifists are, in the last analysis supporters of the present system. The history of pacifism is a history of opposing war in peace time and a rush to the colors in war time.

Essence of Pacifism

Pacifism, by declaring its opposition to all wars, declares its opposition to the class war also, by which only means the proletariat is able to emancipate itself from capitalist oppression, and in so doing also emancipate society from the ever recurring scourge of war. By opposing all offensive wars, the pacifists oppose the wars of national liberation of the colonial peoples against foreign imperialism. Pacifism declares its support of "wars of defense". But are not

all imperialist wars carried on in the name of national defense? The pacifists' proposals for disarmament are absurd. Disarmament is impossible under capitalism; and even if it were possible, it would be quite meaningless in the face of a highly developed industry so organized that it can all be converted into war industry at a moment's notice. Peace pacts have long ago proved to be mere scraps of paper; and the League of Nations has completely been exposed as an organization of brigands.

Thus, while Pacifism doesn't and is incapable of offering any real solution, it sows illusions in the minds of the masses and must therefore be combated most energetically. Only one solution exists and this is the Communist solution of world revolution to be achieved by the proletariat.

But this is exactly the weak point in this present congress. In failing to clearly define its aims from the start, the real issues are obscured and as much confusion reigns here as in the Amsterdam Congress. But the still greater fault of the organizers of this Congress is that they arbitrarily segregated the student youth from the working class youth. The students cannot effectively struggle against imperialist war. To do this, they must join forces with the working class youth as a whole. The way to rectify this basic mistake is to make this congress the starting point for a real united front congress of the whole youth movement.

Against a "Permanent Organization"

We consider it absolutely wrong to create a permanent individual membership anti-war organization. Such an organization will only separate the struggle against war from the general struggle against capitalism. If it unifies this struggle, it can only act as a competitor

to the Communist party and the Young Communist League for which there can be no substitutes. A permanent organization of this character can only act as a haven for all kinds of "individual" anti-war fighters who substitute radical phrases for action.

United front action is the means to struggle against war. We call upon the Young Communist League the official banner bearer of the revolutionary struggle against war to initiate this united front movement. Without the open and rightful leadership of the YCL, without a united front of proletarian and student youth, without the revolutionary program of Lenin, a mass youth movement against imperialist war is unthinkable.

This congress must renounce all hopes in the League of Nations, of capitalist "disarmament" and of all pacifist illusions. It must denounce the humbug of national defense as propounded by pacifists since this serves to oppress and divide the smaller nations. It must announce its support of wars of national liberation of colonial peoples. It must unequivocally declare its support and defense of the Soviet Union and call for economic collaboration with the Workers' land.

This Congress must establish that the only solution to the problem of militarism and war is the revolutionary one.

For our part, we will defend and fight for the Marxian doctrines of Lenin and Trotsky. We will fight all those who try to sow liberal-pacifist or militant-pacifist illusions about war and peace.

AGAINST PETTY-BOURGEOIS PACIFIST CONFUSION!

FOR REVOLUTIONARY CLARITY!

FOR REVOLUTIONARY ACTION!

—Communist Left Opposition Youth (Spartacus Youth Clubs) December 27, 1932.

WHAT IS TECHNOCRACY?

Pull off your whiskers, Howard Scott, we know who you are. Weren't you an advisor to the Wobblies at one time? Sure you were, you can't fool us. Sure, we know you worked at Muscle Shoals at one time, and weren't you fired from a job once for being lazy. Furthermore, did you stop beating your grandmother—or if you have no grandmother, your wife (or if you have no wife, your children)?

Howard Scott, Technocrat—he was nothing but a new born babe at one time; look at him now. The best publicity man the country has yet produced, surpassing even the far-creating pyorrhea, J. B. Watson. The latter merely saw his product slapped on every billboard and on every car-card throughout the country; the former however, has penetrated to the very insane asylums of the rockbound Nevada coastline.

Technocracy, price system, twenty thousand, million billion (whoopie) ergs, calories, energy determinants, (and a whole flock of other words we have even forgotten how to spell) are the accompaniments of all articles on the subject. Surrounded by this halo of confusion even for one accustomed to reading Hegel (I hope this gets by the city editor's desk), a reading of the conclusions of the technocrats leaves one with but one desire—to see a ten cent movie.

Kilowatts—we always thought that it was some secret formula whereby the electric company jacked up the light rates. Now we discover that it has something to do with prices and the price system.

WHAT IS THIS "PRICE SYSTEM"

All problems, except those directly concerned with the gathering of statistics, are approached in a manner making one think of an engineer trying to make a pair of shoes. (Marx wasn't the only one who could turn something on its head.) An attack is launched against a so-called "price system"—but capitalism as such is left unscathed. Our modern merchants are to cut out the flesh of "prices" without so much as spilling one drop of "capitalist blood". In their analysis of history all questions of classes, social systems (slavery, feudalism, capitalism) class struggles, all are simply ignored. All previous history up to the end of the last century is lumped into one category, the period from then up to the present making up the second stage. (Their "third period" is slightly delayed). And thus they ramble along throwing phrases about, attacking everyone from Aristotle to Marx to the most modern of our modern economists, and undoubtedly have not so much as bothered to read any of them.

Discounting all the talk about "price systems" and "energy determinants" the report of the group remains an attack on the present economic system that has yet to be answered.

"The American worker, on a production basis, is the poorest paid in the world, surpassing even the Chinese coolies, who in comparison is richly rewarded for what he produces." Thus reads the damning indictment of our present economic system, written by this group of university professors and prominent engineers. "Technocracy", the name of the organization with headquarters at Columbia University, recently made public its report on a survey of the increase of productivity of American industry. The above quotation remains one of the outstanding statements of the entire report.

PROSPECTS FOR UNEMPLOYED

The conclusions arrived at are not very cheering to the millions today unemployed. The report shows that due to the enormous increase in the use of machinery and labor saving devices, and the increased efficiency (to say nothing of the increased speed-up) during the past three years, that only fifty-five per-

One Year of Young Spartacus

Clarity and Action! Under this slogan one year ago the youth of the American Left Opposition launched YOUNG SPARTACUS. Determined to reach the Communist, socialist and working class youth with our program, to educate and organize them around our banner for the reformation of the Young Communist League on the basis of revolutionary Marxism, we have in the short period of one year made modest, but significant achievements.

Our paper has endeavored to bring light and clarity on the basic questions confronting the international and American working class, and, particularly, the Communist movement. Emphasis has been laid on the situation in Germany, where events are taking place which may change the course of humanity for some time to come; the policies and practices of the German Communist Party, etc. We have made a conscientious effort to break with that well-known narrow national seclusion of the American working class and even, revolutionary movement, which regards international events and policies as foreign to our problems. Our issues have carried reports of the activities of the revolutionary youth in other lands. On this question which we consider of utmost importance, one can see the sharp contrast between the YOUNG SPARTACUS and the *Young Worker*, the official organ of the Young Communist League.

While developing the international consciousness of our readers, YOUNG SPARTACUS has carried interpretative articles on the outstanding American events and working class campaigns, elementary educational articles and a number of light features to make the paper attractive to young people. As yet we are not satisfied. The paper should be of a still more popular character. The paper should reflect the activities and needs of the American working class youth in sharper and more concrete form.

Our success in this direction depends to a large extent on the development of Spartacus Youth Clubs and their work. At the time of the first issue of the YOUNG SPARTACUS, we had one club, in New York. Today there are Spartacus Youth Clubs in New York, Chicago, Toronto and Minneapolis with good prospects of organizing them in several other cities. That is the big job ahead of us—the formation of Spartacus Youth Clubs, their development as virile Communist youth groups actively participating in the struggles of the working class youth and the Young Communist League; and the utilization of the YOUNG SPARTACUS as the collective organizer and voice of the Left Opposition youth.

The existing Clubs have taken part in the anti-war activities of the Young Communist League. This is particularly

WHERE IS RAKOVSKY?

Insidious rumors, more terrifying than the death-like silence that filled with dread the heart of every true Bolshevik the world over, have reached us that Rakovsky is no more. That brave and glorious banner-bearer of the Ukrainian Revolution whose life is the consummation of the ideas of the Bolsheviks lies somewhere in the far-off regions of Siberia—dead or alive we know not. His blood—if the rumors are true—lies ineradicably stained on the hands of the Stalinist criminals who exiled him in Barnaul and deprived him of all medical care as he lay fighting the clammy hand of disease.

Christian Rakovsky, undying enemy of the bourgeoisie—heroic soldier and leader in the barricade fighting of the Russian civil war days lives forever in the memory of every revolutionist who knows his history and record. Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukraine, invincible leader of the struggle against counter-revolution, leader of the Bolshevik delegation which thundered the Bolshevik program at the

robbers gathered at the Genoa Conference; ambassador of the Soviet republic to London and Paris.

Can a single one of the calumniators, the stranglers of this brilliant, unparalleled Bolshevik match that record? The dignity of character, unswerving loyalty and determination that enshrined him eternally in the days of Lenin and best days of the Comintern? The bureaucratic regime, that exiled him with Trotsky and the other revolutionary internationalists in 1927 stands condemned in the eyes of proletarian revolutionaries. Their national socialist doctrine compelled them to fear this unflinching spokesman for international revolution who fought them as he had fought the reaction before them.

For months they have deprived him of elementary medical attention. They remain silent in the face of rumors that stop the heart throbs of the anxious co-fighters of that superb figure. Together we cry out and demand to know: what has happened to Rakovsky? Let the bureaucrats take heed. Communist workers are putting the question.

ducing industry during the present depression years have made it possible for one hundred unemployed in 5 factories to produce the equivalent of the 2370 brick plants working in 1929, etc., etc. A mass of figures and data accompany the report. In conclusion, they say that any prospects for a marked decrease in unemployment are not very bright.

To the engineers' creative ability is tied the hydra of unemployment, inseparably bound by the relationships of the present economic system. The technocrats have thrown a mass of figures at us, but offer no solution to the impasse. We can use these figures, to reestablish once more what the Communists have been saying: The productive forces in society have developed to a very high point, but the social and economic relations of today hinder any further development. This development is now turned against us, and instead of human happiness and freedom, they produce more misery. To get out of this situation, the working class must snap the social bonds, must overthrow the system of capitalism and go forward to socialism.

TERROR HITS ILLINOIS MINERS

The miners of Christian County Illinois are again in the throes of another terror unleashed upon them by the combined coal operator thugs and National Guard. All civil liberties have gone by the board. Miners have been arrested and flung into the county jail. Picketers have been beaten and slugged. A miner's wife has been murdered by some of Lewis' hired gangsters. A fatal skirmish has ensued in which several strikers were injured.

A general strike call has been issued by the Progressive Miners Union in protest against the brutalities of the local authorities. Taylorville, the heart of the trouble, is a stronghold of the Progressive Miners Union. The mines in this region are the property of the Peabody Coal Co., which is working hand in glove with the UMWA. The latter is herding strikebreakers into the locality. Once more Lewis and Co. have exposed their rats face. More power to the rebel miners!

true of New York and Chicago. At several anti-war conferences the Clubs have presented the viewpoint of the International Left Opposition on the problem of the struggle against war. This important activity should be increased a hundredfold.

Aside from anti-militarist work, the Clubs have distributed YOUNG SPARTACUS, held regular educational discussion meetings, organized classes, debated with the Socialist and Anarchist youth groups, and in New York, participated on one or two occasions on the picket line during youth strikes.

The last point, participation in the struggle of the young workers, should be given more serious attention. Our slogan is Clarity and Action. Clarity without action is insufficient. The youth of the Left Opposition should in the coming period keep its eyes open to such work; organize industrial fractions; work among the youth in the factories and work-shops, and win them for the Spartacus Youth Clubs.

In this work YOUNG SPARTACUS is an indispensable weapon. In its development from a four page to an eight page monthly, it can be made a popular, fighting organ of the Left Communist youth. The task is not an easy one. It requires enthusiastic and energetic activity. Up to now, the New York comrades have carried almost the entire burden.

Our one year pioneer work serves as a spring board from which we can win the Communist and working class youth for the Spartacus Youth Clubs, for the program of the Left Communist Opposition. The youth comrades and Clubs should get active in the campaign to sustain and expand YOUNG SPARTACUS. Build the sustaining fund. Get subs. Sell and distribute our paper. Every youth comrade on the job. On your toes, young Spartacans!

Book Notes

A series of popular Marxist pamphlets on current questions are being issued by the Pioneer Publishers for the Left Opposition. The first, on "Unemployment and the American Working Class", by Arne Swabeck is already off the press, and for sale. It will be soon followed by one on "The Left Opposition of the Comintern, Its History and Principles" by Max Shachtman; another containing two articles by L. D. Trotsky on "Soviet Economy in Danger" and "The Expulsion of Zinoviev". The first two pamphlets will sell at five cents each, the other at ten cents.

The readers of the YOUNG SPARTACUS can purchase the volumes of the History of the Russian Revolution by L. D. Trotsky at a twenty percent discount. (Extra postage charge). The publishers' prices are: Vol. I—\$4.00, Vol. II and III—\$3.50 each.