QUESTION BOX

BROWNSVILLE WORKER (Continued)-

Question: How can we conciliate the successes of the five year plan with the numerous reports of starvation in the S.U.?

Answer: The successes of Soviet economy are due to the political and social structure of the workers' state, which makes a planned economy possible. We must, however, recognize the limitations which her present world position and inherited backwardness place upon the S.U. and upon such planning. A serious food shortage or other difficulties (e.g. the shortage in cattle after Stalin's 100% collectivization adventure), difficulties caused by drought, etc., or by an accentuation of contradictions (disproportions between the different parts of the economy) are by no means excluded, and, while they flow essentially from the backwardness of the country and not from the social form under which it is living, only a living Communist party can guard against them. By choking the party, Stalin has only prepared the way for a further accentuation of the contradictions and for unexpected, unpleasant surprises.

It would, however, be safe to greatly discount the "famine" rumours since these mostly emanate from anti-Soviet lie factories. Unfortunately, between these and the Stalinist exaggerations, aimed at bolstering up the prestige of the bureaucracy, it is exceedingly difficult to get a factual picture of affairs. Trotsky's "Soviet Economy in Danger" probably gives you as good a description as is available.

R. Z., LOS ANGELES-

Question: What is the declared public policy of the Soviet Union towards proletarian revolutions and fascist counter-revolutions in other countries? Is it true that official statements have appeared in the Soviet or other C.P. press declaring that the U.S.S.R. is opposed to any disturbances that will upset the

Answer: The official foreign policy of the Stalinists was expressed by Litvinov at the disarmament conference, and repeated by Stalin at the meetings of he workers, in the struggle against the C.P.S.U.: The SOLE purpose of the Soviet Union is the building of Socialism on the territory of the the experiences of the last World U.S.S.R. If objection is raised that this was in- War, the building of the Commutended only to fool the capitalists then let such objectors answer why Litvinov's speech was published as a ONE-CENT pamphlet, i.e., it was intended for the widest distribution among the workers.

Since the main HISTORICAL task which the Stalinists set for themselves is the building of Socialism vative ties fostered by capitalist in the Soviet Union, EVERYTHING WHICH INTER- training and old (workers') party FERES WITH THIS MUST BE SACRIFICED TO allegiances than the mature adult IT. A revolutionary upheaval disturbs world and workers. therefore Soviet economy, which must export and import, so that the logic of their position forces the Stalinists to do everything in their power to maintain pecially the socialist, youth in the the international status quo. They do not state it United States, as well as in Europe, as bluntly as this, as your question suggests, but to the recent events in Germany what is decisive is the logic of their position as it and Austria; the unmistakable leftmust work out in practice.

The capitalist reporter, Walter Duranty, gives us b. The youth are not only the a picture of how the Soviet Bureaucracy reacted to most immediate reserves of capithe recent revolt of the Austrian workers: ". . . Here talist military organizations, but perhaps lies the explanation of the Soviet confusion also a great potential source of the what is happening in Austria. Whether the Bol-

"The only Communist party congress held in three not distant, but immediate dangers over nine million black peons of him in the craft unions. and a half years has devoted itself to two questions to the working class. To think of the hourbon south. Such a victory which in a sense are one—the second Five Year Plan conducting effective anti-war activand the organization of the party and governmental ity among the civilians or among system to handle the same most efficiently. Foreign the armed forces, without seriously problems have been considered primarily in the light organizing the youth is a hopeless of he plan-that is, their possible effect upon it. It dream. All talk of the struggle is true that the speakers, from M. Stalin down, have against fascism which is not pretalked of world revolution and have even given the dicated on winning the young in the working class and thus render Communist International an occasional pat on the workers and students for the prole- it impotent in the struggle against head. But that has been only a side issue.

"It was clear throughout to any impartial observer the. that 70 percent of Soviet interest was concentrated on the Five Year Plan and its organization, 29 peraffairs in regard to world revolution. . . .

"So the Austrian workers' revolt, although intrin sically gratifying to the Bolsheviki, has elements of surprise, the consequences of which may be unpleas-

ant." (N. Y. Times, Feb. 18, 1934.) A capitalist reporter? Yes! But the Stalinists thereby affected by the same prob- breaking the morale of white work- world socialism or communism. have never denied the report and it is impossible to lems, the youth league works on ers who revolt against a lower It is therefore, the duty of the deny that it fits their theories perfectly.

The clearest official document which expresses the vanguard of the entire class. For should not be held responsible for Bolshevik-Leninists, to divert the Stalinist position towards revolution is the promise us, to form a political youth organ. this. However, this has led the attention of all fellow Negro workmade by Litvinov to Roosevelt: ". . . it will be the ization on any other program is less developed white workers to be- ers from the idea of Self-Determinfixed policy of the Government of the Union of Soviet utopian and dangerous. It is an lieve the Negro a professional ation for the Black Belt, which in

"Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any that the strategy and tactics of the that they oftimes play. However, it the embodiment of true working organization or group-which has as an aim the Communist League are the strateoverthrow or the preparation for the overthrow of, gy and tactics of the youth league. or bringing about by force of a change in, the poli- The latter is a broad mass organtical or social order of the whole or any part of the ization which includes strata of and is destined to play an egregious every assistance to defeat the Negro United States, its territories or possessions." (Daily young workers and students who role in the labor movement in the bourgeoisie. The Negro worker Worker, Nov. 18, 1933).

What other documents are necessary? Question: Has the C. P. of the U.S.S.R. called any connection between the theoretical Negro labor was brought to Boxton erous in the hands of a black man anti-Nazi demonstrations before and since Hitler's and the practical, the study group

coming to power? Answer: If they have it certainly has been kept litical subordination is maintained a dark secret even by the Daily Worker which surely by a capable Communist League (or would not be backward about reporting such demon- party) cadre working inside the strations. In 1923 huge demonstrations and meetings youth league which directs and were held in the Soviet Union to support the German leads it; by an exchange of repreproletarian revolution, on the order of the day at sentatives of respective committees that time. Compare the present attitude as further -national bodies to local executive evidence of the Stalinist foreign policy and its ob- committees; and by a sound Marx-

Question: The following is taken from the C. P. which the youth will readily follow. platform in the 1934 California elections: "All Nazi c. Since the political youth ships should be prohibited from landing or trading league should have in its ranks in U.S. ports." What should be the Communist posi- primarily militant youth who are

jective results.

Answer: The above slogan is obviously ridiculous. League (later the party); that is, It is tantamount to asking those workers permanently to become revolutionists, it is necengaged in unloading goods from Germany to give essary that it have organizational up their jobs. Then why not from Italy? Carry it autonomy. This includes the right to its logical conclusion, why not permanetly refuse of its members to govern their orto load or unload ships of all the capitalist coun- ganizational life, elect their own tries, including the U.S.S.R. since they are all con- committees and officers, and detertrolled by finance capital? Even the U.S.S.R. cannot mine youth policies, all within the correctly take such a position, but on this the Stal- general framework of the political

inists are silent. The chief difficulty with the Stalinist slogan lies (and the new party). in its failure to set limits to the perspectives of this type of sruggle in support of the German workers. can develop their own methods of Our position on this was stated editorially in the work and policies suitable to the Militant (Oct. 21, 1933) as follows: "An internation- special needs and desires that arise al strike against the handling or transport of Ger- from the physical and intellectual man goods and communication, as an anti-fascist immaturity of the young workers: demonstration for a definitely limited short time, the special effects of capitalist milshould be the aim. . . ." This applies equally as well itarism and bourgeois youth organto the U.S.S.R. but the Stalinists exclude this coun- ization upon them; the necessity of try from their slogan so as not to embarrass the winning the youth from the reformforeign policy of Litvinov.

Spartacus Youth League | Struggle Against War

National Committee of the Spartacus Youth League and approved by the N.C. of the C.L.A. for discussion by the League membership to be ratified at the C.L.A. convention. The thesis contains a statement of the general relations between the youth and adult organization. They hold with equal force in reference to the new revolutionary youth league and the new party. Other youth resolutions for the Spartacus Youth Convention to be held on December 2nd in New York City have been published in a supplement to the October number of Young Spartacus. Copies are available at 144 Second Ave., N. Y.C. Comrades are urged to study these documents and submit their comments and criticism to the discussion.-Ed.

mediate task of constructing a Marxist international party, and new party. our ultimate aim of using this instrument to accomplish the workers' revolution.

Marxism and our active participa-.ion in the economic struggles of mperialist war and fascism. As nist International, the victory of lascism in Germany, have shown, the youth are more sensitive to social and political crises. They are less fettered by traditional conser-

This is demonstrated once again by the reaction of the radical, esward trend of these young workers.

uture active forces of fascism. sheviki like it or not the situation here is as follows: Imperialist war and fascism are tarian revolution is fruitless prat- the ruthless exploitation of the op-

II a. The most effective medium of the chief means of keeping the emancipation of the proletariat. League (and later the new party). endeavour which flies in the face strike breaker. of reality and runs counter to our

b. Political subordination means want to learn communism. Such near future. Let us take Boxton, must be taught to see that capitaltraining requires the most intimate Iowa for example. Some years ago ism is destructive and is as dangand the field of class struggle. Poian policy in the class struggle

tion towards this question as regards Soviet ports? to be trained for the Communist program of the Communist League

> This is needed so that the youth ist and centrist (including the

This thesis is submitted by the | Stalinist) youth organizations; and for the self-discipline and self-education of the militant youth.

d. To provide the youth leaguers with an understanding of the decisions and policies of the Communist League, particularly affecting the youth, they are encouraged to attend discussion meetings of the branches of the Communist League, and discuss these policies during their own pre-convention period. Further, the two organizations conduct joint activities in united fronts, industrial, unemployment, anti-militarist and anti-fascist

e. "It is wholly inadequate that the youth should repeat our formulas. It is necessary that the youth I a. The future of our movement fight their own opinion with that "Militarism is of such great imporyoung workers to our banner. This conviction and independence of the entire labor movement. This is true both in regards to our im- character." (Trotsky). In this spir- task cannot be carried through it we should train our youth for the ONLY by the young communist

(Continued on Page 4)

By SIMON WILLIAMSON

that confronts the American sec-

working class democracy.

The American bourgeoisie has

always felt the acute need of main-

Draft Thesis for C. L. A. Convention Fundamental Aspects of Youth Work

The Need for a National Anti-Militarism and the WORLD OF LABOR

many years ago. The special youth character of this question lies in the particularly brutal manner in which it effects the youth. The problem as a whole, it must be understood, is again a problem concerning the working class as such, especially of decisive importance for the revolutionary party. There has been a definite tendency in the revolutionary movement to consider this work as having a purely youth character, and leaving the youth to grapple alone with this remendous and decisive question. Actually, anti-militarism and the struggle against war is a major party activity in which the youth should take the revolutionary for- play a most important role. The mulas tighting, transform them in- fact that periods existed when the to flesh and blood, work out for youth alone carried the banner of themselves their own opinion, their anti-militarist struggle is no justiown personality, and be able to fication for this division of labor. depends upon our ability to win the courage which comes from sincere tance that it must be fought by leagues". This is fundamental. III a. Our two and a half years The last imperialist war witnessed of youth work has resulted in a na- the collapse of the only workers tional organization, the Spartacus international with the result that The building of a new party Youth League, which, though han- the proletariat remained defensemeans the assembling of the best dicapped by small numbers and less against the crushing blows of elements in the present labor move- material poverty, has already made the ruling class. Left without a ment on the basis of revolutionary its impression on the more radical leadership, observing that its parties surrendered to chauvinism, the

the Y.C.I.) which seized the deserted banner of proletarian anti-war and anti-militarist work and together with the Bolsheviks and the the increasing danger of a new imperialist war, it is necessary to prepare now. The existing internationals, by their propaganda and activity, demonstrate that a repetition of the past by them is likely. work shall not be left entirely or the strongest party. primarily in the hands of the youth organization. The youth must carry on an education of its own section, rally broad masses of the youth in the struggle against war, fight the pernicious influences of pacitism, penetrate the armed forces, etc. But "the youth performs all of this work under the political leadership of the communist party". We need now to stress the acute danger of war, the need of intensified efforts in the struggle auginst its outbreak, and should it come in spite of this struggle, to organize the forces of the proletariat to put an end to it, through the "transformation of the imper-

ialist war into the civil war". The fundamental aspects of the antipropagate against war among the masses, to engage in such propaganda within and without the armed forces, to seek to organize them against capitalism itself. But i this work must be of a continuous and persistent sort, engaged in by the Party organization, actively assisted by the youth organization. which brings home to the young and war, and enlists them in the general proletarian struggle against elections of 1937. this evil.

SOCIALIST EDUCATION OF THE YOUTH

This is the third fundamental youth organization. It is essential-Trotskyites, are opposed to this method, and the education of the theory because we see that it will youth should not be limited to politics alone. It must be divided into While we reject the social demonot separate and distinctly youth, most actively, the importance of socialist education will be realized. For the most part, the youth will have to acquire the absolutely essential theoretical background through systematic study while they are in the communist youth organization. The opportunities for such study will be greatly limited when they become a part of the adult organization. One can say with fustification that in the present organizations of the youth (Stalinist and Social Democratic) a systematic educational program

does not exist. The youth organization must build its educational work along political, scientific and cultural lines. The question of physical or sport activity should really be a separate field of work, flowing out of the above. The danger that the youth movement might become a pure educational movemnt is overbalanced by the fact that it is a once it is reached.

In a brief and concise manner, the more important fundamental questions relating to youth organization and activity were discussed. On the basis of an understanding of these basic questions it will be possible to concretize them in the actual process of building the youth organization. Upon the foundation outlined above, it will be possible to create a broad revolutionary youth organization which would heed the needs of the masses of young workers. The youth organization must, at all events, prevent

P.S. All emphases mine—A.G. approach.

NORWEGIAN LABOR PARTY ELECTION VICTORY

The Municipal elections in Norway brought the expected results, in the colossal victory of the Labor The fundamental concepts of workers were on their own, so to Party. As against the Storting (Parliament) electhis work have been laid down speak, in the conflict against the tions of 1933 the party gained, even though in the war. The only bright star to cross municipal elections the eligible electorate was smallthe horizon was the International er than in the Storting elections. (Two years resiof Socialist Youth (it later became dence in a city is required for participation in the municipal elections).

> The Labor Party received in the present elections 14.49% of all votes cast; if we add to this the Communist vote the total would be 45.58%. In the capi-International Left, proceeded to tal, Oslo, the party received an absolute majority, struggle against the war and the where it enjoys 43 representatives as against 41 of cruel system of militarism. With the bourgeois parties. In at least 45 additional cities and communities the party enjoys an absolute majority. In a number of other cities the party has an equal number of representatives to the combined strength of the bourgeois parties, and again in others such as Trundheim, Bergen, etc., they fell short of an absolute majority by only a few votes. There is It is highly important that this hardly a community where the Labor Party is not

The National Socialists received altogether 2.88% of all votes cast. In Oslo they were united on the same ticket with two bourgeois parties. This ticket received less votes than did the Fascists by themselves in the Storting elections of last year. Here too the effect of the events of June 30th in Germany were unfavorable to the Norwegian Fascists.

From our point of view one can establish that the stronger the Labor Party becomes the more reformist it is. The whole propaganda in the present election campaign was pointed in this direction. They emulated the policies of the Swedish and Danish Government Socialists while the "radical" united front policies of the French section of the Second international were condemned by the Norwegian "Independent" Labor Party.

It might be expected that after these favorable results the party will at least issue the slogan "dissoaution of the Storting and new elections". Under the militarist struggle laid down at pressure of the election results and the general feel-Stuttgart (the proposals of Lenin ing in the country it becomes probable that the Labor and Luxemburg), Berne (1915), Party should receive more than 50 percent of all the and the Y.C.I. (1921), still holds votes in a new election. This would be the first time good and needs only to be applied that a reformist party would in actuality receive the properly. Such a program means to hoped-for 51 percent of the votes and one can await with anxiety the policies that will result.

But it is not to be "feared" that the Labor Party would raise such a "radical" slogan. The "dissolution of the Storting" has never taken place in Norway and the Labor Party follows traditions very closely. It will merely limit itself to the demand for power when the Storting meets in January. The King and the Prime Minister, Mowinckel, will declare that this demand has no foundation since the workers the meaning of militarism bourgeols parties in the Storting have a majority of six. And then quiet will prevail until the Storting

EXECUTIONS IN SPAIN

field of work for the revolutionary The Lerroux-Gil Robles government has carried ly a struggle against capitalist edu-uprising on the persons of two terrorists. Jose cation. It must be done by coun- Naredo and Jose Guerra were shot in Asturias Thursteracting this training of the youth day morning after all attempts at intercession and with a proletarian class training. pressure on the government for pardon or commutever expect to win and enjoy true tion, the wooden horse of Self-De- We are not interested in a mere ation had been exhausted. Many other rebels howschool room education. The slogan ever, including a number of Catalonian leaders who of "theory and practice" has to be had also been sentenced to die, have had their senmade a reality. Education through tences commuted to long prison terms, such as 30 al Communists, sometimes called the class struggle must be our years, life imprisonment, etc. Hundreds of other cases are still pending, awaiting court action.

In spite of the unanimous vote of confidence that "three headings, political, general it obtained from the rightist controlled parliament a education and physical training". few days ago, the present government is quite evidently under strong pressure from both sides. Lercratic conception that the youth roux is still obliged to heed the voice of the masses. organization must and can only be It is significant that the revolutionists are being an educational and cultural organ- prosecuted for individual acts of terrorism rather political program of the Communist erican, despite the persecution the white bourgeoisie. If the labor a plane it deserves. Socialist edu. flons were only carried out "with deep regrets" on cation is now the weakest part of the part of Lerroux who feared to show further youth work and it must be made signs of weakness. However, while attempting to the strongest. When it is realized make a few examples, Lerroux does not dare to inthat the other fields of work are stitute a reign of terror against the working class.

> The Fascists and Monarchists have demanded that but are the problems of the class the most severe penalties be meted out to all those in which the youth participates implicated in the revolt and that the Socialist and other labor organizations be declared illegal. But in spite of the setback suffered last month, the Spanish workers have still been able to maintain their organizatious. They returned to work defeated and sullen, but by no means demoralized and hopeless. They are now, despite continuance of martial law, still in a position to exert considerable pressure on the reactionary rightist regime. The workers movement is now entering a period of readjustment in which a serious realignment of forces is taking place. Drawing the lessons of the defeat, the revolutionary currents of both major camps-socialist and Syndicalist-show signs of breaking with their inept and traitor our leadership. It is the task f the Communist Internationalists to support these progressive currents, fixing with them the responsibilities for the October debacle, drawing them to a Marxist posicon, and together with them constructing the new revolutionary party without which victory in the pending decisive struggle will be impossible.

MENDIETA IN STRAITS

Wali Street's Cuban puppet Mendieta has appealed class struggle organization which to the opposing capitalist parties and political groups participates actively in the efforts for assistance in surmounting the present critical to emancipate the proletariat. We period. Having lost most of his own popular supmust strive, first, to establish such port, he now finds himself on the brink of the abyss. a balance and then to maintain it Only the army under Batista, stand between him and oblivion. With a rise of the revolutionary wave the lackey of the sugar interests now finds it indispensable to broaden the base on which his rule rests.

The masses meanwhile are reassembling their orces in an attempt to carry still further the revolution begun in August 1933, and which suffered a serious check with the fall of Grau San Martin last January and his replacement by Mendieta. While the petty bourgeois groups are still in the lead in the general political fight against the present government, the workers, upon whom the real outcome must depend, are rapidly and persistently elbowing their way to the fore. Strikes follow each other in rapid succession, each wave rising higher than the

Within the proletarian ranks a deep ferment is itself from becoming sectarian, ul. taking place. The Bolshevik Leninist party advances tra-political, or a "second party". rapidly, increasing its mass contacts and influence: The youth organization is its field the Stalinists are losing ground no less rapidly. cut out for it and must apply itself "Young Cuba", the split-off left petty bourgeois wing intelligently and diligently to these of the Grauist "Autenticos", now seek a united front asks. -ALBERT GLOTZER. with the Bolshevik Leninists. Decisive

workers and the radical youth can fully stated years ago that "Labor erican Negro will simply lend to or help the plan, and, maybe, 1 percent on foreign be won for the new revolutionary in a white skin cannot emancipate the strength and influence of the movement is an autonomous politi- itself so long as labor in a black Negro bourgeoisie who is as much cal organization which accepts the skin is branded." The black Am- an enemy of the working class as ization, we must put this work on than on strictly political charges. The two execu-

Discussion Article

The Fight for Full Social, Economic

and Political Equality

One of the most serious problems ing a leading role in the labor

tion of the Fourth International is so be cited of the coal mining areas

through which the mass of young workers divided. Karl Marx truth- A Jim-Crow republic for the Ammeted out to him, is kept by the movement aids such a movement it Since the young workers are part white capitalist as a reserve of will help prolong the life of capiof the general working class and cheap labor for the purpose of talism and retard the triumph of the basis of the program of the standard of living. The Negro Communist League of America, th

> have been used for this end by the for full economic, social and politicapitalists are ignorant of the role cal equality, which carries within the black proletariat is gradually class democracy. losing his race consciousness and

the breaking down of the walls of of Illinois. Despite this the Amerwhite chauvinism and so-called ican labor movement in the past race prejudice held by the white has ignored the importance of the proletariat of the country (who are Negro worker joining its ranks. It influenced by the white bourgeoi- shunned the helpless Negro profesie) and the winning of full eco- tariat by aiding the bourgeoisie to nomic, social and political equality Jim Crow him. The American for the Negro masses. Such a Federation of Labor has always victory will give the franchise to barred him from or Jim Crowe At present, the Stalinists are termination or a Jim Crow republic in the southern section of the United States. We, the Internation-

later the Negro workers were play-

unions. Graphic examples could al-

taining division of black and white eventually, like most Stalinist theories, serve as a boomerang to the ulent. Race hatred has been one

reality means more discrimination, Most Negro proletarians, who and focus his attention on the fight

In the fight to gain this objective acquiring a class consciousness, the Negro proletariat must be given to break a strike and lower the as in the hands of a white man, morale of the whites. The job and that humanity cannot be free was accomplished, but twenty years until capitalism is overthrown.

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