

# STUDENT

# SPARTACAN

## CONTENTS

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WHAT IS THE SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE	2
EDITORIAL PAGE	3
WAR FIRES IN ETHIOPIA	4
WAR AND THE STUDENT	5
THE SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE STUDENT POSITION	6
WHAT IS FASCISM? by LEON TROTSKY	7
ROLE OF VIOLENCE IN SOCIETY	8
HAVE YOU READ?	10

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE NY STUDENT FRACTION OF THE

SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE: 55 East 11 Street, New York.



WHY THE SPARTACAN STUDENT?

Six years of chronic crises are bound to make an impression on the minds of the young students of America. The old psychology is bound to be uprooted. But many factors enter into the process. It is a far cry from the first psychological reaction to its organized expression in the form of an experienced and ideologically matured movement.

The hopeless plight of the working class has not yet definitely begun to crystallize the ideology of the students into revolutionary channels. Whether the eventual consummation of this process will be circuitous or direct, whether it will be side tracked and derailed into reactionary blind alleys or make bold strides toward class-consciousness depends to a very great extent upon the ability of those who have already arrived at a full revolutionary position to clarify the issues and lead the way toward the further development of the American students.

It is such a task that the SPARTACAN STUDENT proposes for itself. We aim to bring clarity to the many problems facing the student youth. We believe that to face these problems boldly and scientifically is the only way. We have nothing in common with those who use sentimental and emotional approaches; those who pose as friends of the working class and use this disguise to bring confused notions and prejudices. We will not pull our punches against these types. Against the incorrect programs of the NSL and the SLID we will counterpose ours.

That may be said to be the negative side of the SPARTACAN STUDENT, but the coin has another face. We present our views and ideas; our positive program of action. We will be on constant guard against any falsifications or revisions of basic tenets of Marxism. Our heritage is the revolutionary teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. It is our task to spread them, to concretize them, to elaborate them. The task is a large one and only just begun but our shoulders are set to the wheel.

The first issue of the SPARTACAN STUDENT is of a necessity limited in content and material, but we intend to overcome this by contributions and criticisms of our readers.

SCHOOL HAS OPENED AGAIN

Campus in the fall. Groups of students lounge on the steps of the buildings. Through the smoke of cigarettes, vacation comparisons rise nonchalantly to the sky. It is easy to forget that beyond the ivy-covered walls there lies another world that is pained, wretched, and revolting. A world eager to clutch at the fine dreams you have been building for yourself during your student hours: eager to crush your plans, to destroy the naive stuff of which your hopes are made of, to point a mocking finger at the real future that lies in wait: to show you the growing strength of fascist principles and to thrust you into the hell of all hells: WAR.

We must not fool ourselves any longer. Our will to see and to do must not be poisoned by the toxins of our educational system. Our minds must not accept uncritically, the complacent hope with which our teachers push us out into the streets. The student youth of today must face realities. They must learn that the depression is more than a newspaper headline; that depression means enduring starvation and misery and wretchedness. Students must understand that as long as our capitalistic society continues, there will never be any hope for the thousands of youth unemployed.

There is no time for waiting. There is no time for sitting back, for waiving aside the need to act. Capitalism is fast moving toward its last bulwark of protection: fascism and war. The cruel machinery that will mean annihilation and untold horror for millions of men is grinding into action. It is up to us to fight this barbarous destruction. It is up to the thinking student to organize his activities, to learn how "peace and plenty" may descend upon this earth, to learn how to usher in a new social order in which freedom will be an actuality and not a mere catchword for politicians, a system in which dreams and life will not be destroyed in blood.

From New York to California our comrades are active. We call upon the working and student youth to join with us, work with us, study with us, and above all fight with us! Join the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE! AGAINST CAPITALISM, FOR SOCIALISM!



## What is the Spartacus Youth League?

The Spartacus Youth League is an organization of young workers and students, which conducts activity in the shop and the school. Tho we stand on a revolutionary Marxist program, we are open to all young people who realize that the struggle in modern capitalist society is between worker and boss and recognize that their place is with the working class. Our purpose and activity is education of the youth to become revolutionists and to aid them in their struggles - to organize in the factories for better living conditions, to combat unemployment and the demoralization it sows, making youth an easy prey to Fascist demagogy, to fight all attempts to prepare the youth as cannon-fodder for the next war. (ROTC, CCC, etc.)

### What we Stand For

The danger of Fascism grows daily more acute - war clouds are becoming darker and darker - and in one section of the globe they have already burst. The Spartacus Youth League carries on a relentless struggle against Fascism and war, pointing out that the only final solution can be the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the setting up of a worker's government @ the dictatorship of the proletariat. For the immediate day to day struggle against the specific manifestations of war and Fascism, we propose the united front of all working class youth organizations.

The international situation presents an intense struggle between capitalist and working class. The Second and Third Internationals have demonstrated their complete bankruptcy as revolutionary working class organizations. The situation in the Soviet Union, due to the false policies of its leadership which has abandoned revolutionary internationalism for meaningless peace pacts with its mortal enemies, capitalist governments, becomes more and more precarious.

The burning task of the day is the creation of a new, Fourth International and new revolutionary parties in every country of the world. The Spartacus Youth League dedicates itself to the building of such a movement and its youth section, a revolutionary youth International.

### The Y.C.L. and Y.P.S.L.

Neither the Young Communist League nor the Young Peoples Socialist League can any longer pretend to lead the youth in the U.S. Both are youth sections of social-patriotic internationals. From the Y.P.S.L. we have expected nothing since 1914 when its parent organizations betrayed the working class by support of their capitalist governments. The Y.C.L. presents no rosier prospect for the youth. The recently held 7th Congress of the Communist International has put the official stamp of approval on social patriotism. In France, as well as in other capitalist governments, the Stalinists and Socialists are being systematically prepared to fight for "their" country under the illusion that French capitalism will really insure the defense of the Soviet Union.

### What to do About It?

The Spartacus Youth League says - "These organizations which stand committed to a policy of denfending their capitalist fatherlands will never lead you in a fight against capitalism, will never teach you to fight against imperialist war. Your place is with the Spartacus Youth League - the only working class youth organization that stands on an international, revolutionary base; the only organization that can lead the struggle against imperialist war because it teaches the only successful way to fight it - "turn your guns on your masters instead of on your class brothers in the trenches."

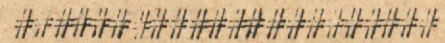


WAR AND THE STUDENT

According to the mortality statistics of the World War, the second lieutenants had a greater proportion of fatalities to their credit than any other rank in the army. The second lieutenant was mainly recruited from the student patriot element, students who were given special officers training at home, without first receiving, in many cases, training in the rudiments of soldiery. It seems, therefore, that the benefit of a higher education is that the educated person can become a corpse, much quicker and more certainly than the uneducated in the service of greedy and murderous imperialism.

The student soldier cannot console himself with the thought that he is dying for an honorable cause. On the contrary, he sacrifices his life so that backward and colonial peoples can be exploited mercilessly by "civilized" financiers. On the other hand, he can have no selfish motive in fighting. He is not fighting for the products of other peoples; the advanced nations go to war in order to get rid of surplus products and capital of their own in undeveloped countries.

Let the student answer: Is he willing to be the tool and the victim of predatory and irrational forces? He must begin today the struggle against war and war makers. This cannot be done by pacificism, which, at best, leads to courageous futility or, at worse, to duped cowardice. War can be stopped only if the cause of war, capitalism is eliminated. To do this, the student must ally himself with the workers--the only class, which because of its social conditioning and key place in production can work for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a workers society.



SOVIET DIPLOMACY AND THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTION

After the conquest of power the proletariat itself goes over to the position of the "defense of the fatherland". But this formula acquires an entirely new historic content. The isolated workers' state is not a self-sufficing entity but only a drill ground for the world revolution. Defending the U.S.S.R., the proletariat defends not national boundaries but a socialist dictatorship temporarily hemmed in by national borders. Only a deep understanding of the fact that the proletarian revolution cannot find completion within the national framework; that without the victory of the proletariat in the leading countries all the successes of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. are doomed to failure; that other than through the international revolution there is no salvation for any country in the world; that the socialist society can be built only on the basis of international cooperation--only this firm conviction, penetrating the very blood and marrow, can create a safe basis for revolutionary policy in time of war.

The foreign policy of the Soviets flowing from the theory of socialism in one country, that is, the actual ignoring of the problems of the international revolution, is based on two ideas: general disarmament and mutual rejection of aggression. "General disarmament", even if it could be realized, would only mean the strengthening of the military superiority of the more powerfully industrial countries. To present disarmament as the "only real means to prevent war" is to mislead the workers for the sake of a common front with petty-bourgeois pacifists....Our attitude to war is determined not by the legalistic formula of "aggression" but by the question of which class carries on the war and for what aims. In the conflict of states, just as in the class struggle, "defense" and "aggression" are only questions of practical expediency and not of a juridical or ethical norm.



When the instigator of a bloody reign of terror over the Italian people assumes the role of civilization to backward people, it is unnecessary to prove his hypocrisy. Mussolini's guilt in the Italo-Ethiopian war is too well established to require elaboration. Italian imperialism, faced with immediate bankruptcy and consequently revolution, cannot afford the disguise of pacifism which more powerful and already established imperialisms assume. The ~~very~~ weakness of Italy forces her to desperate action. She must strike now or be doomed. Ethiopia is, for various reasons, the most convenient victim. Hence, the civilizing mission of the arch-civilizer Mussolini.

### The Role of the League of Nations

Japan raped China with impunity. France, only recently, sent a punitive expedition against the Riffs in Africa. England has done likewise with India. The League of Nations has already divided the colonial world among the conquerors of 1918. Both England and France still enjoy the fruits of their possessions in Asia and Africa acquired in the same manner as Italy is now acquiring Ethiopia. Taking these facts and a host of others into consideration, one finds it necessary to seek an explanation for the sudden energy of the League in applying sanctions to Italy, elsewhere, than in the League's reputed pacifist idealism.

The League of Nations is not a pacifist institution. The righteous indignation of the League is due to the fact that the imperialist interests of the dominant powers in it are endangered by Italy's aggression. England, especially, is menaced by the fact that Ethiopia is so close to her imperialist heart, the Suez Canal, India and Egypt. France is less insistent on sanctions. Her African colonies would be less secure, it is true, with Italy as a neighbor. Her worry, however, is the maintenance of her power on the European continent. Fearing Germany, she must string along with England. The role of the League then, is to enable Britain and her allies to masquerade as preservers of the peace, as defenders of weak nations.

Workers, in supporting the League, are not supporting the interests of peace; but merely helping one gang of imperialists against another. By tying the working class to the League machinery of sanctions, the parties of the second and third Internationals have capitulated to social-patriotic support of imperialism.

### United States Neutrality.

The United States, just as in 1914 has posed as being neutral. By her so-called neutrality, the U.S. has supported Italy. By preventing the shipments of munitions, the U.S. has merely sided with Italy, since she can manufacture all the munitions she wants right at home, while Ethiopia is forced to rely on outside countries for her guns. The United States is now spending more money than ever before in her history on armaments. She is prepared to defend to the hilt the territories which she robbed from colonial countries and just as in 1917, will be prepared to step in at the most advantageous moment, when she can get the most out of it.

### The Position of the Worker's Party

The workers Party calls for the defense of the Ethiopians against Italian aggression and for unremitting struggle against the common imperialist war. But for this defense and this struggle, the Workers Party calls for the sole means by which they can be conducted: for the independent action of the working class. It is the independent sanctions of the working class, its own boycotts, strikes, defense funds, mass demonstrations, that can aid the battles of the Ethiopian peoples, not the sanctions of capitalist states. Against the Stalinists and Socialists, the Workers Party rejects every form of social patriotism; it rejects all ideas of truce with the bourgeois state, democratic or fascist; it exposes the role of the League of Nations as the pawn of the imperialist member states; above all, it directs its attacks against the enemy at home, against U.S. imperialism.



Trotsky's words on fascism written in relation to the German events take on added significance in view of approaching fascism in France today. France today is the most important battleground of the classes, the key to the fate of Europe and perhaps of the world. Should Fascism add this country to its list of conquests it will hurl the proletarian cause back for decades and mortally injure the existence of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the signal of the French working class revolution would arouse the oppressed of Germany, Austria, Spain and Italy and forever destroy the fabric of Versailles and Hitler's vision of Mittel Europa. All eyes on France!

At the moment that the "normal" police and military resources of the bourgeois dictatorship, together with their parliamentary screens, no longer suffice to hold society in a state of equilibrium--the turn of the Fascist regime arrives. Through the Fascist agency, capitalism sets in motion the masses of the crazed petty bourgeoisie and bands of the de-classed and demoralized lumpenproletariat; all the countless human beings whom finance capital itself has brought to desperation and frenzy. From Fascism the bourgeoisie demands a thorough job; once it has resorted to methods of civil war, it insists on having peace for a period of years. And the Fascist agency by utilizing the petty bourgeoisie as a battering ram, by overwhelming all obstacles in its path, does a thorough job. After Fascism is victorious, finance capital gathers into its hands, as in a vise of steel, directly and immediately, all the organs and institutions of sovereignty, the executive, administrative and educational powers of the state: the entire state apparatus together with the army, the municipalities, the universities, the schools, the press, the trade unions, and the cooperatives.

When a state turns Fascist, it does not mean only that the forms and methods of government are changed in accordance with the patterns set by Mussolini--the changes in this sphere ultimately play a minor role--but it means, first of all for the most part that the workers organizations are annihilated; that the proletariat is reduced to an amorphous state; and that a system of administration is created which penetrates deeply into the masses and which serves to frustrate the independent crystallization of the proletariat. Therein precisely is the gist of Fascism.

The above is not at all contradicted by the fact that, during a given period, between the democratic and the Fascist systems, a transitional regime is established, which combines the features of both: such, in general is the law that governs the displacement of one social system by another, even

though they are irreconcilably inimical to each other. There are periods during which the bourgeoisie leans upon both the social democracy and Fascism, that is, during which it simultaneously manipulates its electoral and terroristic agencies. Such in a certain sense, was the government of Kornensky in 1917 during the last months of its existence, when it leaned partly on the Soviets and at the same time conspired with Kornilov, the White Guard counter-revolutionist. But such a condition of the state and of the administration is temporary in character. It signalizes the transition period, during which the social democracy is on the verge of exhausting its mission, while, in the same period, neither Communism nor Fascism is ready as yet to seize power.

The social democracy, which is today the chief representative of the parliamentary regime, derives its support from the workers. Fascism is supported by the petty bourgeoisie. The social democracy without the mass organizations of the workers can have no influence. Fascism cannot intrench itself in power without annihilating the workers' organizations. The parliament is the main arena of the social democracy. The system of Fascism is based upon the destruction of parliamentarism. For the monopolistic bourgeoisie, the parliamentary and Fascist regimes represent only different vehicles of dominion; it has recourse to one or the other, depending upon the historical conditions.

In the course of many decades, the workers have built up within the bourgeois democracy, by utilizing it, by fighting against it, their own strongholds and bases of proletarian democracy--the trade unions, the political parties, the educational and sport clubs, the cooperatives, etc. Fascism has for its basic and only task, the razing to their foundation of all these institutions of proletarian democracy.



THE SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE STUDENT POSITION

In view of the approaching fusion between the NSL and the SLID, it is necessary to discuss the entire student problem from a fundamental angle.

The United States has about five million students attending college and high school. Reactionary movements, fascism at present have always bid for this force in order to direct it against the working class. Particularly in the colleges, where the middle class supplies most of the students. The aim of the student, even when he comes from the working class, is to get into the middle class as a professional or business man. Bound in the main with classes other than the working class, there is no lasting unity among the students. Their existence as students is but for a few years, after which they take their place in a class society.

Unlike workers, students are not faced with the same essential problems throughout their lives. They have not as a group identical social problems. In addition, precisely because of his middle class nature, he cannot play an independent role in society. He must align himself with either of the two decisive classes in modern society: the working class or the capitalist class.

Outside of the capitalist channels, two organizations, the NSL and the SLID, are attempting to organize the students. Our attitude toward each is determined by the same factors. An organization which aims to educate the students can do so only on the basis of a revolutionary program doubly essentially where different class elements are involved. Thus the NSL and the SLID are predicated upon a false promise: the unity of the interest of the students.

Both the NSL and the SLID, because of their respective domination by the Stalinists and the Socialists, present only confused conceptions of student problems, and false programs on combating imperialist war, militarization, and fascism. Each new event proves anew the bankruptcy of the views of the two groups. For the November 11 demonstration they have signed a united front pact with other youth organizations "to support by every means at our disposal genuine neutrality legislation...no loans, credits, munitions, or secondary war materials to belligerents". Capitulating to the church and Y groups, they have forgotten that colonial wars

against imperialist would-be oppressors must be supported. Yesterday they supported the progressive revolutionary struggles of the Cubans; even more recent they were for the defense of Ethiopia and material assistance to it. But in the twinkling of an eye, they have shifted their position 360. Now they join all confused liberals and pacifists to plead of their predatory imperialist government--genuine neutrality legislation. As the war crisis becomes sharper, their true colors are revealed.

Thus the fusion of the two groups would only continue the old confusion and incorrect policies on a larger scale. To the fusion, the SYL counterposes its position: all revolutionary students must directly join the revolutionary political youth organization which we consider the SYL. In the schools their primary function is to spread revolutionary education through discussions, lectures, literature and personal contact. They must concretize these teachings through participation in working class activities and by leading the students on issues in the schools directly affecting them. Their work and their function needs no substitute mask in the form of a student organization. Their task is to organize SYL fractions upon each campus for the purpose of systematic activity and education among the students.

The SYL does not categorically oppose the fusion because in reality there is no reason for a separate existence of these organizations--their programs being similar. However, the SYL raises the whole question of program and organizational form of the new student organization. We are opposed to separate student organizations which seek to organize students either on a purely student program or a so-called revolutionary one. In regard to the unity of the NSL and the SLID, we favor unity on a local school basis of campus discussion clubs which can become the center of the radical students.

SPREAD THE SPARTACAN STUDENT AMONG YOUR FRIENDS. FOR MORE COPIES WRITE OR VISIT 55 East 11 Street, NYC.