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# Strike At Hallman And Sable

Capitalism rising from the depths of the crisis with a change in the conjuncture in the direction of industrial revival has broken out in a rash of strikes. The American bourgeoisie busied with applying the NRA has been taken aback by the militancy of workers recovering from the demoralization of capitalist crisis. In Toronto we are witnessing the extension of this strike wave. Strike after strike must be recorded. The upholsterers are out. The unorganized pocketbook workers in the Durable factory are out. The masses revolt against privation, against economic degradation, The masses strike! In Hallman and Sable, a fur dressers' and dyers' shop employing 225 workers, completely unorganized, working under the most beastly conditions brutally exploited terrorized, a truly militant strike has lifted backward Ukrainian Macedonian and Jewish workers on to a higher plane as collective arbiters of their own immediate destiny.

The fur industry proper in the city of Toronto, employing about 900 workers is organized in the International Union which is controlled by the demagogue and reputed burglar Federman.

The fur dressers' and dyers' section of the fur industry consisting of three shops is completely unorganized, and therefore suffers the most horrible conditions. The workers in Hallman and Sable have been the first in the unorganized shops to feel the positive effects of the conjunctural upturn and to respond to the call for unity and united action. Hallman and Sable struck for better conditions, for the right to organize.

The organizers of the strike are to be commended for their work. The W.U.L. provided efficient leadership and left-wing workers and students acted as a fermenting element. Our comrade from the Spartacus Youth Club it must be mentioned, one of the workers at Hallman and Sable, took a leading part in the strenuous organizing activity which was attended with signal success, the shop coming down 100% on the second day.

An independent union whose strength has yet to be tested in bitter contact with the boss (a former socialist) has been established. At this stage the strike is being run in a centralized, efficient and formally democratic manner. The action committee is composed of two elected workers from every department in the shop, who work in conjunction with the W.U.L. organizers. Language difficulties have proven no obstacle. The workers have great confidence in their leadership. This can be illustrated by the vote of confidence presented to the committee which interviewed the boss and was not recognized by him because of the "outsiders" present on it.

The W.U.L. organizers have effective control of the strike as a result of their activity and leadership. The resultant confidence reposed in them by the workers, they exploit fully and with craft. They take every opportunity to discredit Federman who in the eyes of the workers is a demagogue and to impress the workers with their strength and efficient leadership. In this way, indirectly, (and they do not hide their

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# The Youth Anti-War Conference

THE FAKE STRUGGLE OF THE STALINISTS AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR  
AND THE PROPOSED AMALGAMATION OF THE TWO ANTITHETICAL CONFERENCES

The Y.C.L. on a purely mechanical impulse convened on March 21 a "Youth Anti-War Conference" in the city of Toronto at which about 15 paper study classes of the Y.C.L. forming the bulk of the conference were represented. With the exception of the Spartacus Youth Club which participated in the conference for the three sessions of its moribund existence no other organization of importance answered the appeal. This is the conference it is proposed to merge with the Youth Anti-Fascist Conference in an outrageous combination, to wit, an "Anti-War Anti-Fascist Conference". In this question the S.Y.C. hastens to take a determined stand. To this end, an exposition must be given of the short-lived history of the "Youth Anti-War Conference" and the nature of the two conferences stated.

The first session of the Anti-War Conference did not produce a program of any description nor was the nature of the conference discussed. It was left to the accidental wind of the amendment to produce a formula around which a stand was taken. A Y.C.L. member against the lowering of his superiors moved that the only fight against war is the fight against capitalism. It was moved by the letter that this motion be tabled indefinitely, for its adoption by the conference would disrupt its work. A functionary of the Y.C.L. explained that the wide masses of the youth could be drawn in on the basis of a feeling against war, for many who are not yet against capitalism are nevertheless against war. Thus, this

session adopted a policy of obscuring the class nature of the struggle against war.

The delegates of the S.Y.C. took the initiative at the second session by pressing that a draft program be brought in. Around the inadequate document finally produced a lively discussion centered. As a declaration of its position, the delegates of the S.Y.C. presented a statement which in a polemical way discussed the nature of the conference, stigmatized the course of the Y.C.L. in initiating such a conference and laid down the basis for a correct, Leninist anti-war conference. With the draft as its point of departure, moreover, the delegates of the S.Y.C. pressed for the adoption of a two-point amendment which would give the conference a class position. That this was necessary indicates the sorry nature of the "radically revolutionary line" of the Y.C.L. at the conference.

The two points are:  
1. The only struggle against imperialist war is the revolutionary struggle against capitalism.  
2. We support all wars of emancipation.  
The second point was adopted, but the first was supplanted with "the fight against imperialist war is at the same time a fight against capitalism", which is as much as to say that any pacifist who howls against war is as such, struggling against capitalism. This is obviously completely false. The Y.C.L. adopted this in their confusion and disdain for the "ultra-left" position of the S.Y.C. Our comrades declined from nomination for the executive because of the

fundamentally false and confused platform adopted. The adoption of a correct class position for which we pressed would have provided the basis for our further participation in the deliberations of the conference. The third session which opened without such a basis was thus the scene of our declaration and departure from the conference. We presented our adoption 1. the thesis that the only struggle against imperialist war is the revolutionary struggle against capitalism. 2. the inclusion and elaboration of "the question of defense of the Soviet Union which had not been as much as mentioned in the resolution and 3. the deletion of the slogan "against the militarization of the youth" which our delegates considered a thoroughly un-Leninist position.

At this session the question of the very necessity of a theoretical program was raised by the Y.C.L. which had brought its leading functionaries down. It was argued that a theoretical statement of the stand of the conference on war was not necessary. What was necessary was the program of action. Thus, the axis of the conference at this stage turned on the nature of the conference. In the conference obviously there were two antithetical currents; the Y.C.L. and the S.Y.C. The former argued and moved that: "We believe that there is room for this conference composed of Communists and non-Communists on the basis of the immediate tasks contained in the resolution." Thus in spite of the fact that in Canada at the present time there are no immediate issues in regard to the problems of war on which to base a united front, the Y.C.L. invents fictive issues and propagates a united front. The S.Y.C. on the other hand opposed the conception of a united front as the nature of the conference. As a united front the Anti-War Conference is confusionist and totally

wrong. For the united front there must be unanimity on an immediate issue. This requires that differences on fundamental questions of principle should not intrude to disturb the consideration of the immediate issue. But on such a fundamental question as that of war, in the absence of immediate issues, the political program of Communism must stand out clearly demarcated from pacifism, from petty bourgeois utopianism. Here there is no question of a united front. That is the situation at the present time. That there is need of a discussion on all questions in regard to war is undeniable, but this must be realized only by the convocation of a Leninist Congress on war, to deal in the manner indicated in Lenin's letter to the comrades at the Hague Conference, 1922, with the questions of policy in regard to war.

The S.Y.C. after clearly placing its position and struggling for an about-face by the YCL brake with the conference. But it must be clearly understood that it broke with a corpse, the remains of paper Y.C.L. study classes and one lone and conspicuous Young Judea group which agreed with the Y.C.L. that there was room for a united front here. For its critical attitude throughout the life of the conference, the delegates of the S.Y.C. were stigmatized again and again by the organ of the Y.C.L. as "disrupters" playing a "contemptible role" in contrast with "the constructive policies and really revolutionary line followed by the Y.C.L." What this bombast is worth is revealed by the Anti-war conference. R.I.P.

That the Stalinists were vitally interested in keeping the sham youth Anti-War conference above water can be seen from their frenzied efforts to make a show of struggling against imperialist war. The chief functionaries of the YCL  
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# HALLMAN AND SABLE

## A Shop-Worker Writes From The Picket Line

After three weeks of intense preparation the workers of Hallman and Sable fur factory climaxed their activity with strike call issued Wed. August 15. Considering the tremendous obstacles it was necessary to overcome - the backwardness of the workers, the vicious attempts of the bosses to divide and terrorize them, the sabotagist tactics of the Federman bureaucracy, the answer to the call was an overwhelming success. 90% of the shop including almost the entire body of experienced workers answered the call.

The shop has long had a reputation as the worst in the city. The sanitary conditions are disgustingly horrible. A few dingy windows permit the passage of a few stray sunbeams and an occasional whiff of fresh air. The atmosphere is hot and humid and full of dust and hair. Aniline dyes used on all the furs enter the workers' bodies thro' their pores and also in the form of vapours. The toilets are filthy and entirely bare of such necessities as soap, towels and toilet-paper. Starvation wages are paid - 12, 14, 16 cents an hour. But to give the workers a chance to earn enough to live on, the yellow-hearted bosses permit them to work 60, 70, 85 hours a week. As a result of the long hour and low wages and abominable factory conditions half a dozen workers are yearly sent to the sanitarium with T.B. and the kind bosses show their concern by taking up a collection for the poor consumptive from his fellow workers.

Discontent has long been rife. But it was necessary for a group of left-wing workers in the shop, with the aid of the W.U.L. to take the matter in hand and to help translate this discontent into militant action.

The strike is now well on into the second week. Despite the efforts of the bosses to demoralize their ranks by circulating various rumours - that they were about to remove to Montreal; to Woodbridge; that they were going to shut down - goodness knows what else; and despite several attempts on the part of the International bureaucracy to sabotage and split the strike, the spirit of workers' solidarity grows progressively with every day. The workers are still out 100%. They are determined to stay out for as long as may be necessary. "We will not go back to the same miserable conditions", one hears them say everywhere.

The mass of workers are showing splendid spirit. No one doubts but that they will succeed. The S.Y.C. and the Y.C.L. are giving the workers their active support. The S.Y.C. prides itself in the spirit of "borderline" competition on the fact that its members were the first to join the picket line.

The S.Y.C. assures the struggling workers of Hallman and Sable the full measure of its material and moral support.

SPARTACUS SHOP WORKER

ED. The next issue of the October Youth will carry as one of its features an article on the upswing in the business cycle and on the resulting strike wave. Therein it more fully be discussed the numerous exemplary strikes in Toronto.

# UNEMPLOYMENT

## The Tasks Of The Vanguard

The rapid growth of the army of unemployed during the years of crisis has presented the revolutionary movement with a problem of prime importance, a problem that grows in complexity with the deepening of the crisis and one which grows no less complex and no less important in the face of the upturn. It must be said that, along with the international defeats and political disarmament of the working-class there exists a fearful lack of organization, of class-consciousness on the part of the unemployed nationally and locally. We have passed through a period of unprecedented misery and degradation of the workers, a period marked by practically no organizational gains, by no coherent and consequent mass attacks by the unemployed upon the positions of the bourgeoisie nationally and by no mass movement towards Communism. Those sections of the workers who have cast loose from the shackles of the old parties of Capitalism have fallen prey to the demagoguery of the third party of capitalism, the CCF. It is true that historical and political factors, the favoured position of American and Canadian capitalism in world economy have played their part in this backwardness of the workers; but this does not lessen the guilt of a revolutionary vanguard, crippled hopelessly in its youth by an international line, by Stalinism. It remains a fact that in the face of unexcelled possibilities for the growth of an unemployed movement the Stalinists have shown themselves to be impotent. But the whole game has not yet been played; it remains to be seen what the final result will be.

The National Congress on Unemployment being convened in Ottawa on Nov. 6 must not confine itself solely to the question of Unemployment Insurance.

The Draft Bill drawn up by the Workers Unity League does not suffice to cover all the problems of the unemployed at this point. The capitalist class is making a desperate effort to pull itself out of the crisis. To do this it must emerge from the years of crisis as it entered them, on the backs of the workers, at the cost of the living standards of the workers, decreased wages for workers in industry and slashed relief rates for the unemployed. The years of crisis have served to smash the lesser capitalists, to drive them out of industry, increasing the concentration of capital, strengthening the stranglehold of Finance Capital upon industry and at the same time increasing the frenzied, out-throat competition among those remaining. The capitalist in order to compete with his fellow capitalists on the world market is forced to cut his costs of production to the bone, which means lower wages for the workers; to sell his commodity on the foreign market below its value, meaning high tariffs, higher prices on the home market and increased cost of living for the workers. Government costs must be cut which means a slashing of the relief rates for the unemployed. All along the line the standard of living of the workers must be forced to ever lower and lower levels if the profits of the capitalists are to be assured. The resistance of the workers must be smashed at all costs. There can be but one answer on the part of the workers: organization. The workers in industry must strive for unity in their trades unions; the unorganized workers in untouched industries must be organized in strong industrial unions; it is the task of the revolutionary vanguard to give leadership in these struggles. The unemployed, a potential army of strike breakers in their present unorganized state must be knit

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# STUDENT INTERESTS

## vs. "PURE MARXISM"

### A CRITICAL REPLY TO R.S. ("YOUNG WORKER")

....."IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT WE CANNOT GUIDE THE STRUGGLES OF STUDENTS, LIBERALS, ETC. FOR THEIR 'IMMEDIATE INTERESTS!'"

---HEIN---WHAT IS TO BE DONE?---

The last instalment of the article on the Student Movement in the June '30th issue of the 'Young Worker' by R.S. climaxes its work of confusion and distortion with a flurry of lies and vilification. This tyro in Marxism is already a full-fledged typical epigone--a "rude and disloyal" Stalinist. Marxism is based on truth; it has nothing to gain from lies, from vitiating objectivity. The surest sign of the putrefaction of a clique falsely calling itself Marxist is the distortion it creates--after all in its own image. Let us reveal the treacherous face of falsehood imbedded in the columns of the organ of the vanguard of the working class youth.

"All this resulted", R.S. fabricates, "from the attitude of assuming that the students already understood the identity of their interests with those of the working class...." Is not here the boot really on the other foot? De te fabula narratur! We "protskyites" never for one moment assumed that the "students already understood the identity of their interests with those of the working class." That is why we took such pains to "proclaim a doctrine of 'pure Marxism'", and to take "the working class as the point of departure instead of the students themselves". Because we understood and R.S. did not, that the only way to foster a recognition among students that the historic interests of the proletariat are the interests of

society as a whole and therefore of the student, is by teaching them the immediate and important facts of the class-struggle, of the position of the proletariat in society--by teaching them Marxism and by teaching them to become Marxists. Was this "undialectical, un-Marxist"? Did we "leave out of consideration the question of developing the political consciousness of the students"? No! We taught them revolutionary politics. We taught them that Hitler was not Bonapartism. We opened the rich fountain-head of Marxism to the students and said to them: "At this, drink!" That many did not drink was not the fault of Marxism, nor our fault. The explanation is simple. In the February-March edition of the "Spark" No. 4, the Minority Statement says: "We are of the opinion that in the U. of T. at the present time, the objective conditions on the campus (in particular the class composition of the student body) are such that it is not possible to create a mass organization of students without discarding the Marxist program on which the League came into being." This letter we refused to do.

And what did R.S.' group do? They decided and stated in the editorial of the same "Spark" that "the attempt to make of the Student League a 'Communist' organization was based on an entirely erroneous conception of the student situation" and they threw over-

board "pure Marxism".

Not only there did they throw overboard "pure Marxism". Their slanderous little ways breed the epigonism. R.S. who a scant four months ago confessed to us that he did not know enough about the subject to argue the question of "Trotskyism" labors now like the inflated frog in the fable to compete with the Heckerts and Becky Buhays in calling Trotsky an "adventurer", "the high-priest of the counter-revolution" and figures in the Canadian movement like Comrade Spector, "renegades from the working class movement". R.S. speaks of the "Trotskyites" in the S.L.C. as "these students without any knowledge or experience of the revolutionary movement." What priceless democracy from the sly R.S! Again, in the fabula narratur. Even more devastating is his continuation of the same theme, that we, the "Trotskyites", "swallowed whole the demagogic 'leftist' phraseology of the so-called 'Left' Opposition; this without ever having done work in a revolutionary organization or learned anything except out of books of what the working class movement is". That on the contrary we digested and were ready to discuss "Trotskyism" with him who was not so prepared through utter ignorance of the points of contention between the official Stalinist regime and the International Left Opposition, R.S. himself can corroborate. His biting sarcasmic reproach against revolutionary experience is stupidly ignorant and arrogant. That the place of revolutionaries in the Y.C.L. we will agree, with this proviso as a check to R.S.'s insolence, that their presence there is essential not to gain revolutionary experience for themselves (because under Stalinism this is a sham and a deception) but precisely to lead the Stalinized Y.C.L. out of its sectarian

and intellectually moribund rut into a truly revolutionary road. We "Trotskyites" have always sincerely demanded to be reinstated in the Y.C.L. with freedom of discussion and of criticism. This has always been preemptorily refused. R.S. should ponder on this notorious fact ere he sneeringly reproaches us about our isolation from the Y.C.L.

R.S. taunts us for not having "learned anything except out of books of what the working-class movement is." Such a jibe directed at students and coming from him, who is the apostle of teaching the students about their own immediate interests and not about the working-class is singularly inconsistent. The history of the working class can be learned only from books and Marxism is essentially a historical science. R.S. falsifies history at second hand when he speaks about "the Menshevik past (and present) of Trotsky. Such attacks on Trotsky must be made by all fledglings in the Stalinist camp to ingratiate themselves with their bureaucratic superiors. This "knowledge of theory and history" R.S. culled from shameful tracts, the printed copy of a gigantic historical slander and vilification of Trotsky's scintillating career. Our aspiring Stalinist, moreover smugly dares to allegedly quote Lenin without giving the reference and context to the effect that "Trotsky has never had a fixed opinion on a single fundamental question of Marxism". That Lenin did not hold this opinion we have his own word for it and moreover the undying testimony of irrefutable historical facts. But to state such a slander now is to be more than ordinarily malicious, especially when the slanderer knows full well to speak only and especially of the last ten years--ten years of a Stalinized de-Leninized Comintern--that there has been an irrefragable principled struggle

on the part of Trotsky against a regime that has stifled party democracy, that led on a gigantic scale to the defeat of the great Chinese and German revolutions, a regime that has piled up terrific contradictions in the Soviet Union and endangered Soviet economy and the very existence of the proletarian dictatorship.

Trotsky has carried on this struggle on behalf of Lenin's teachings despite every form of physical privation including the Czarist method of exile. Let the Stalinist epigones strain, as they have strained with every weapon at their command including the usurped power of the proletarian state to vanquish Trotsky--the banner of Bolshevik-Leninism advanced by Trotsky rises ever higher.

That the Trotskyites were defeated in the S.L.C. cannot be denied. But the manner of their defeat is instructive. R.S. and his automata advanced the banner of liberalism of student interests and student needs in opposition to that of "pure Marxism". Among liberal students and in a liberal university such a defeat is inevitable. Yet that our influence was not wiped out R.S. grudgingly admits: "Two of them remained on the executive."

R.S. devotes a little space to slandering the extra-university activities of the "Trotskyites", especially their participation in the "Youth Anti-War Conference" where "they did their best to disrupt and undermine the work of the conference". With this point of departure he contrasts our "contemptible role" with the "constructive policies and really revolutionary line followed by the Y.C.L." The limits of this article do not allow us to examine "the really revolutionary line" of the Y.C.L. as manifested in the work of the Anti-War Conference wherein the S.Y.C. participated. A special article will be devoted to this

instructive experience which revealed the bankruptcy of the Y.C.L. in all its epigone helplessness.

In his discussion of the tasks of the student movement (a meaningless mess of verbiage) R.S. explains that the two main issues at the present time are Unemployment and War. That the student is faced with unemployment cannot be denied. But that unemployment is an issue on which to win him to Marxism is completely false. Economically considered the student is petit bourgeois, whom the pressure of unemployment and the other unholy concomitants of capitalist crisis cannot readily drive to Fascism as to Communism. In fact, stern reality teaches that the former variant is the more usual one. The economic struggle on behalf of students is no guarantee of their gravitation to Communism unless they are approached with the inexorable truths of Marxist science. The task is one of theoretical clarification, of developing the exposition of Marxism, of interpreting the day-to-day events of the class-struggle in the light of Marxism. Unemployment is not a prime problem of the student movement except in the realm of theory.

War although it affects all classes and decidedly the student strata of the population is a question under the jurisdiction of the proletariat. For it is only under the leadership of the proletariat, and the latter under the leadership of its revolutionary vanguard that anything concretely can be done against war. The question of war on the campus is one for theoretical clarification. But war is not an immediate issue among students. It is ridiculous to speak of "the rapid growth of revolutionary consciousness among wide sections of the students" especially in the University of Toronto and on the basis of the two issues analyzed above.

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# ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITIES

## Anti-Fascist Demonstration

On July 11th thousands of Toronto workers throw down tools and came out for a two-hour strike and demonstration against Fascism in Germany and world-wide reaction.

The parade, the result of several months activity and preparation by the Jewish and English Anti-Fascist Conferences manifested what strength and force lies in the hands of the workers when fighting together in real united front action.

The marchers numbered around 10,000 representing every section of the labor movement from extreme Right to extreme Left. The Amalgamated and International Unions, Industrial Union, CLDL, YCL, Right and Left Póale Zion, International Left Opposition, etc., for the first time in the history of the Canadian Labor movement struck together, in one front against the common enemy.

Besides our active participation in the Conferences, many of our comrades for a week previous to the demonstration, had been at work assisting the U.F. Actions' Committee, preparing banners, etc.. Every comrade realized the significance of the event and what it would mean to the workers, not only in Toronto but all over Canada and the United States.

It must be pointed out that the Stalinists refused to help in the distribution of last-call leaflets issued by the United Front Action Committee and it remained for the members of the Spartacus Youth Club to take an active part in this work. These same Stalinists who so flippantly shout "counter-revolutionary Trotskyites" and "sabotegers" almost every time they open their mouths, themselves sabotage the united front work as soon as confronted with the every-day tasks of the struggle.

The S.Y.C. marched under the banner of the International Left Opposition. With us were the workers of the Star Knitting Mills numbering about sixty. This is an unorganized factory and it was only due to the persistent and energetic work of our comrades that we were successful in bringing them out.

## CLDL—Non-Partisan?

On the night of the concert given in connection with the recent National Convention of the CLDL, three of our comrades attempted to sell Left Opposition literature in the concert hall. After having sold five or six copies of the 'Militant' we were peremptorily told by Beekie Buhey to "Get that filthy rag out of here, this is no united front conference." (Ironically enough the stage curtain carried a huge placard reading: 'For the United Front Against Fascism') When we informed

## ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITIES (Cont.)

her that the worker is sold at our branch meetings she answered, "That's all right. We approve of the 'Worker' and we are running this organization". When confronted by the fact that we also are members of the League her answer was: "You won't be for very long." So saying, she ordered us out.

Outside we were informed by a group of the lesser fry that the CLDL was a political organization (what price "non-political") and that we had no business bargaining in. They were quickly refuted by Patterson of the I.L.D. who in the end told us what was tantamount to the same thing:

Trivial as the incident was, it nevertheless reveals that the CLDL is in the eyes of the Stalinists, just another official organization.

## For Free Speech

During the summer months our comrades have been participating in the struggles of the unemployed for the right of meeting in the public parks, notably in the west end of the city where on several occasions, our comrade T. Mill acted as chairman of the Unemployed Council meetings. On one occasion several weeks ago, four policemen attempted to break up the meeting, seized the speaker and attempted to take him out of the park. The workers rose as one man shouting "Let him go" and swooped down upon them, forcibly taking the comrade out of the hands of the police. Our comrade saw that the speaker was safely placed on a street car and then turned his attention to the police. The workers had two of them jammed against a fence where they were vainly trying to try to explain their actions in breaking up the meeting. Violence was only avoided by the chairman's request that the workers allow the police to leave. This they did, helping the police out of the park by pushing and shoving. It was only with difficulty that the cops kept their feet. For the first time in Toronto Draper's Cossacks were forcibly ejected from a public park by the unemployed. After seeing the police away from the neighbourhood, the workers returned to the meeting where our comrade spoke for about fifteen minutes explaining the significance both of the police action and that of the workers. His remarks were punctuated from time to time by cheers for "workers' solidarity" and "International solidarity", etc. He ended his remarks with a stirring call for organization.

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The W.U.L. in organizing the strike at Hallman and Sable played an entirely progressive role but when the new union is led in the direction of the industrial union, this progressiveness changes into its opposite. The leadership of the W.U.L. is progressive at this stage only if it leads the workers in the direction which the interests of the workers in the fur industry as a whole dictates, i.e. towards trade union unity in the fur industry, towards affiliation with the International

The W.U.L. has important tasks to perform in the field of trade union strategy. In this work it must be guided by the principle of trade union unity. The question

of the integration of left-wing workers in the reactionary unions is one of burning moment especially at this time when the masses are turning towards organization, and towards leadership in militant action. The W.U.L. must organize its forces in the new union of the fur dressers and dyers of Hallman and Sable in order to gain a foothold in the International. Only in this way by urging the affiliation to the International and by organizing the left wing there will it be serving the interests of the workers.

# PEACE POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION

TROTSKY AT BROST-LITOVSK—... "IN REVEALING TO THE WHOLE WORLD THE WORK OF THE GOVERNING CLASSES AS IT IS EXPRESSED IN THE SECRET DOCUMENTS OF DIPLOMACY, WE TURN TO THE WORKERS WITH THAT APPEAL WHICH WILL ALWAYS FORM THE BASIS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY: "PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!" "

STALIN--1933--... "THE BASIS OF THE POLICY OF OUR GOVERNMENT, OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY, IS THE POLICY OF PEACE....."

The Soviet Union together with the whole world proletariat has suffered ten years of Stalinist bureaucracy. The relationship between the proletariat and the peasantry which is the foundationstone of the proletarian state power has been violently strained. The party, completely bureaucratized as out of touch with the masses. In the Party, the apparatus rules the rank and file. At the top stands Stalin, the infallible, separated from both the masses and the apparatus. The proletarian dictatorship has become a caricature. This disastrous internal situation together with the fact that the relation of forces between world imperialism and the Soviet state has been changed to the detriment of the latter, forces the Stalinist bureaucracy to capitulate to imperialism: in the East, to Japan (Chinese Eastern Railway negotiations); in the West, to Hitler (renewal of trade agreement, etc.)

The degeneration of the Soviet power at home and abroad is expressed ideologically in the theories flowing from the revisionist philosophy of "Socialism in one country" and hand in hand with this, in the peace policy of the Soviet Union. The Fatherland of the International proletariat in its relations to foreign imperialism, does not speak in the proud language of Bolshevism.

"Be assured, Comrades, that the prosecutor in the person of the Russian Revolutionary Delegation will speak with thunderous accusations against the diplomacy of all Imperialists. It is all

the same to us how the Allied and enemy Imperialists treat us. We shall carry on our independent class policy, whatever they do." (Trotsky at Brost-Litovsk). It speaks now in the shameful accents and through the mouths of petty-bourgeois utopians. Utterly incapable of understanding Marxism, brutally uncouth, the epigones trample on the vital teachings of Lenin, and while mouthing the rhetoric of his internationalism, in reality, vital reality, they look on him as a "dead dog".

Whom Lenin educated the International proletariat in irreconcilability against the bourgeoisie, in the fundamental contradiction between the Soviet power and imperialism, and on this basis taught not peace but class war and Bolshevik strategy; not disarmament, but the arming of the proletariat, Litvinov cements non-aggression pacts for Stalin and parades Europe in a mist of liberal (bourgeois) adulation telling the world that total disarmament means the end of all war. The Soviet Government accepted the Kellogg Pact "inasmuch as it... offers the Soviet Government a new opportunity to present to all the signatories of the Pact the question which is most important in the matter of peace—the question of disarmament, which is the only guarantee of prevention of war" (Litvinov at Geneva).

In this imperialist epoch, war is inevitable: either war or proletarian revolution. Capitalism cannot disarm due to its internal contradictions. To preach

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# Expulsions From The YCL

## YCL "SAVED FOR DEMOCRACY"

It has recently been "uncovered" in the Young Communist League that "Trotskyism", after having been "disposed of for all time at the Sixth Congress of the CI" (as one YCL'er smugly expressed it)—has again raised its pernicious head. Swift and drastic action by the functionaries was taken with the result that seven devoted and active comrades were expelled. The YCL was "saved for democracy"!

To be sure, not all of the seven were formally charged with "Trotskyism"—such a procedure would have resulted in a too dangerous interest on the part of the rank and file who, out of honesty to themselves coupled with a sort of natural curiosity, would have indubitably been impelled to find out exactly wherein lies the counter-revolutionary nature of "Trotskyism". Such interest and such curiosity must under no circumstances be allowed to take root, and as added precaution, the very seeds must be dug up and scattered to the four winds. Falsification plays an important role in this process. This is the political philosophy of Stalinism—this is the starting point the functionaries take in their "education" of cadres.

The ingenuity (meaning dishonesty) of the functionaries is revealed in this case by the attempt to pin on the seven such charges as: failure to do work; deliberately disrupting; petty-bourgeois (as though the YCL is or could be a 100% proletarian organization). No one ever took these charges seriously—neither the accused nor the accusers nor even those for whom they were designed. It was simply a matter of throwing a flimsy cloak (and how flimsy!) over the

operations. It was as though an anesthetic—and a local anesthetic at that—had been administered not to the patient but to the attendant nurses before the surgeon's knife does its work.

The seven comrades were expelled over a period of two weeks. Only two of the seven were given the opportunity to appear before the Section Bureau to defend the views they held of the "official line". This democratic concession, however, had not the slightest effect on the ultimate outcome. The others had their expulsion announced to them privately and any protest was merely overridden with the unctuous observation: "You are privileged to appeal to the District Bureau". No discussion on the merits or demerits of the charges was allowed in the units and it was considered improper and unnecessary to discuss the questions of principle which had been raised by the seven comrades in their respective units and in which they openly declared themselves to be in complete agreement with the International Left Opposition.

The statement of appeal sent to the District Bureau by the seven comrades was rejected on the ground that it was a collective statement and that the District Bureau would not deal with fractions. The seven comrades ought to be approached for not sending in seven identical statements, each with an individual signature attached!

The statement makes this just declaration: "We... demand our immediate reintegration into the League because of the shamefully false character of these charges of disruption; the single charge of "Trotskyism" was, in the opinion of the Section Bureau, sufficient for our indictment and expulsion. We, on the other hand, declare such an approach to the questions involved to be bureaucratic and consequently dangerous to the life and tasks of the League."

Follows brief summaries of the fundamental questions on which the comrades demanded open discussion; involving the strategy of the CI in Germany, China, England, etc. The statement points out that the tremendous losses recorded in the countries which have witnessed genuinely revolutionary crises must be attributed in

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YOUTH ANTI-WAR CONFERENCE

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participated in the sessions and lent the exalted weight of their glib oratory to the shallow arguments of their numerous camp-followers. And now, in the face of an unequivocal lifelessness of the Youth-Anti-War conference, they are attempting to bolster up their fake struggle against imperialist war by lending it the prestige of the Youth Anti-Fascist Conference by amalgamating the two antithetical conferences in an "Anti-War-Anti-Fascist Conference". This question we understand is to be discussed at the next session of the Youth Anti-Fascist Conference. The attempt to clothe this paper Anti-War conference which parades as a united front without possessing the basis for such, with the radiance of the Youth Anti-Fascist United Front which absolutely has a basis for its existence and which has already participated in a magnificent demonstration of 10,000 workers is absolutely unpardonable. The S.Y.C. is utterly opposed to such a course. The S.Y.C. is profoundly interested in helping to build a strong Anti-Fascist movement in Canada. The Anti-Fascist struggle is of burning moment. The Anti-Fascist Conference is utterly justifiable and necessary. Not only that, it must be vigorously strengthened and broadened out, because unfortunately it is very weak. To merge the utterly worthless and fictitious Stalinist anti-war conference with it, would be to vitiate the program of the Anti-Fascist Conference with pacifism and to transform it also into a headless chicken flopping blindly about. The sharp clear issue of Fascism must not be adulterated by any Stalinist anti-war baggage in the sense of extending the functions of the Anti-Fascist Youth Conference to include the problems of war. This does not mean that we are opposed to the propagation of the defense of the Soviet Union at the Anti-Fascist Conference. We must incessantly point out at the conference that Fascism in Germany will inevitably lead to war against the Soviet Union. But this latter question is subordinated to the question of Fascism. There is need for an anti-war conference and we have clamoured for it, but not a united front conference. The problems of War must be

discussed in a Leninist fashion, thoroughly, by the vanguard of the proletariat. To this end it does not make a united front after the manner of the bankrupt Amsterdam Münzenbergerio. The S.Y.C. is opposed to a united front at the present time on the problems of war. It is opposed to repetitions of the Amsterdam Anti-War conference. It is opposed to a merging of the dead anti-war conference of the Stalinists with the Anti-Fascist Conference. It is opposed to the touted Paris Anti-War-Anti-Fascist Conference precisely because it is falling into the same errors as the proposed amalgamation here.

The S.Y.C. stands for the convocation of a Leninist Anti-War Conference, representing the vanguard of the working class youth, which shall discuss all the problems of war, take up a correct and meticulous class position on war and propagate this among the oppressed and toiling masses. We inscribe on our banner from the outset the revolutionary slogan: "the only struggle against imperialist war is the revolutionary struggle against capitalism".

--S.G.--

STUDENTS INTERESTS VS.

"PURE MARXISM"

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"A beginning has been made in the creation of a revolutionary student movement in Canada" writes R.S. Precisely. But for this the credit goes to us, as the pioneers in building the Student League and in laying down Marxist practice in this unexplored field. The foundation stone of our position is contained in the thought of Lenin that "it goes without saying that we cannot guide the struggles of students, liberals for their 'immediate interests'". (What is to be done?) We are building a student movement--for Communism, not vice-versa. Our task is to draw into the revolutionary movement the student element potentially Marxist. That is "pure Marxism" and we stand by it.

--S.G.--

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the final analysis the "thoroughly false, utopian and revisionist theory of socialism in the country", i.e., the rejection of the basic guiding policy of Lenin in and of the entire Bolshevik party until shortly after Lenin's death. In those days it was repeated thousands of times that the October Revolution could not exist for an indefinite time without the aid of the western European revolution. The fact that the USSR has existed for sixteen years is not a refutation of the correctness of this internationalist position; rather, the contradictions which today exist in the USSR are a striking confirmation of the fact that the difficulties which must inevitably accompany the proletarian dictatorship in a country so predominantly agrarian as Russia, can only find their solution "on the arena of the world revolution". Whereas Lenin declared that either the world revolution will be victorious or imperialism will crush the October revolution-Litvinoff announces that there can be a "peaceful co-existence of socialism and capitalism".

In the concluding paragraph the comrades pledge their solidarity with the YCL in their common tasks and declare their readiness to accept any responsibility placed upon them.

These expulsions for "Trotskyist tendencies" and the methods by which they are realized are not an innovation in the Left Wing movement. They have been proceeding with unabating regularity for the past few years and find their sharpest expression wherever the Left Opposition strides rapidly forward. "We reject scornfully", says the statement, "The hysterical invectives-counter-revolu-

tionary, disrupter, Trotskyist renegade-hurled at us as substitutes for ideological argument." But this is only half the game. In Stalinist expulsions it is necessary that there be no discussion of it before the membership, no publication of the view of the offending members who have dared to doubt the "infallibility" of Stalin or the EGCI. This is the "democratic centralism" of the bureaucratized Comintern. This is an illustration of the manner in which the ranks of the proletarian vanguard are "cleansed". Democratic centralism! The epigones take the name in vain. Of Lenin's conception of that cardinal principle only the hulk remains. The spirit has fled.

--A.J.--

Ed.--The full text of the statement referred to here will appear in the forthcoming issue of the Vanguard.

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THE PARTY AND THE FACTION

Bolshevism with us consists in the Bolshevik faction of the party. The faction then is not a party. The party can include a whole gamut of shadings of which the extreme ones can sharply contradict each other. In the German party together with the clearly revolutionary wing of Kautsky we saw the arch-revisionist wing of Bernstein. It is not so with a faction. In the party the faction is a group of co-thinkers who have established themselves with the purpose of influencing, above all, the party in a definite direction with the purpose of introducing into the party, with the greatest possible clarity, its principles.

LENIN--COLLECTED WORKS, RUSSIAN EDITION--Vo. 11 Part 1, p.282-JULY 3, 1909.



UNEMPLOYMENT

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together in strong militant organizations, so that they can march together with the employed workers in common combat against the capitalist class. The need for organization of the unemployed has never been greater. This problem, the basic problem of organization should be one of the main items on the agenda at the National Congress on Unemployment.

-T.P.M.-

FORWARD BY WAY OF POLEMICS!

In his pamphlet "One step forward, two steps back", V.I. Lenin wrote:

"I cannot help remembering a conversation of mine at that Congress with one of the 'Centro' delegates. 'What a depressing atmosphere prevails at our Congress', he complained to me. 'All this fierce fighting, this agitation one against another, these sharp polemics, this uncomradely attitude!'—'What a fine thing our Congress is', I replied to him. 'Opportunity for open fighting, opinions expressed, tendencies revealed, groups defined. Hands raised. A decision taken. A stage passed through! Forward! That's what I like! That's life! It is something different from the endless wearying intellectual discussions which finish, not-noise people have solved the problem but simply because they have tired of talking! The comrade of the 'Centro' looked at me as though perplexed and shrugged his shoulders. We had spoken in different languages."

# L.O. Mass Meeting In Earls Court Pk

An open-air mass meeting of the International Left Opposition of Toronto took place Friday August 18th in Earls Court Park before an interested crowd of over 1000 workers.

The meeting was organized, as the chairman, Com. Chris Morrow of the Spartacus Youth Club announced, in the interests of the fight of the workers for free speech and assembly.

The first speaker was Com. M. Spector of the L.O. who in a clear and lengthy speech, pointed out, that the reasons for the growing repressions in Canada and throughout the world was because capitalism was decaying and its further existence was possible only through the introduction of Fascism, the restriction of the workers rights and the forcing down of the workers living standards. The capitalists were now preparing to drive the workers into a new imperialist war and the only way out for the workers was through organization for the socialist revolution. He further pointed out what was behind the present Swastika movement in Toronto and finally the fallacy of the CCF as a party to free the workers from capitalism.

The Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky in 1917 showed the workers the way to emancipate themselves and the I.L.O. holds to this same program. The speaker concluded with the demand for the repeal of section 98 and the freeing of all class war prisoners.

Com. T. Mill of the S.Y.C. added a few words and the meeting was thrown open for questions and discussion.

# L.O. Barred From United Front Conference

The workers of Toronto and vicinity are no doubt already familiar with the latest example of Stalinist misuse on one of the keenest Leninist weapons—the united front. The first action of the machine-controlled "Workers' United Front Provincial Nomination Conference" was to refuse to seat the Left Opposition delegates (including those of the Spartacus Youth Club) after their organizations had been invited to participate. In doing this the Stalinist bureaucrats were motivated by one thing only—fear; they dared not submit their program—drawn up by a hand-picked committee for approval by a rubber stamp conference—to the Marxist criticism of the Left Opposition. One could not ask for a more abject admission of impotence and bankruptcy. In the hands of a healthy revolutionary party the tactic of the united front owes its effectiveness to the fact that such a party has a program best equipped to withstand the attacks of rival organizations and the irrefutable criticism of events themselves. The Stalinist machine shrinks from participation in real united front; its main function is no longer the advancement of the proletarian revolution but the preservation of the tattered legend of its own infallibility. A "united front conference" called by the Stalinists is in practice nothing but a faction caucus; and when they are forced into a genuine united front their insane tactics make them the laughing stock of the working class and the shame of intelligent revolutionaries.

-C.N.K.-

As Buckley of the Toronto Trades and Labor Congress and one of the leading spokesmen of the CCF was in the audience, Com. Spector in order to better refute the CCF invited him to take the platform. Buckley spoke for 15 minutes in which he attempted to justify the CCF and explain why the class struggle in Canada could be resolved through the use of parliamentary methods only. Buckley was against all dictatorships whether it be socialistic or capitalistic.

Com. Spector when he took the platform to reply asked the assembled workers whether they would rather be under a dictatorship of the workers over the capitalist or a dictatorship of the capitalists over the workers, because there was no in-between. The workers dictatorship would in the end go away with all dictatorships and class repression, the capitalist dictatorship must today in its present period of decline, increase the repression and sufferings of the workers in order to maintain its class rule.

In a masterful way, Com. Spector tore a 11 of Buckley's arguments to shreds and tatters and exposed the CCF as a party to save capitalism despite all its "socialistic" phrases.

The meeting was a huge success and a decided gain for Communism and the Left Opposition in particular.

-M.Q.-

## C.C.F.--THIRD PARTY OF CAPITALISM

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not own the means of production. Between wage-laborer and capitalist there can be no peace. Workers must abandon the road of C.C.F.'ism for the road of the class-struggle. Emancipation lies only through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

-B.B.-



## PEACE POLICY OF THE S.U. (Cont. from page 11)

disarmament is to disarm the working class, to subject it to pacifist factory disarmament. Disarmament is a petty bourgeois reactionary utopia, a part of opportunism.

"One of the most important reasons for opposing disarmament is this: that we do not oppose it we weaken in every way our strength for the fight against opportunism by the illusions we inevitably create". Lenin gives fullest expression to this thought in his neglected article: "The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution".

The Stalinist bureaucracy uses every means to tell the imperialist bourgeoisie that the Soviet Union stands for peace. This it substitutes for a Bolshevik Comintern. A non-aggression pact, signed with France means more to the Centrists than the defeat of the proletariat in Germany. Pacifist congresses against war are launched under the leadership of utopians like Barbuda and Rotund. Such an impression is created (fooling nobody) that the Nobel Peace prize is bruted for Litvinov. The class nature of the struggle against imperialist war is obscured, and Leninism is dragged in the dust.

That the danger of Imperialist War against the Soviet Union is route is naked truth to a Marxist. But to a Marxist (who looks upon Capitalism as a world system) it is further clear that such a war is historically conditioned i.e. it flows from the complex of the world situation. Trotsky for over two years has taught that the key to the International situation is Germany. That has assumed a different meaning since the 31st of January when Hitler came to power. Fascism in Germany provides a spear-head for capitalist intervention in the USSR. Inasmuch as the Comintern ignored Fascism in Germany and played to lose, the Comintern reveals that it had no conception of the source of danger. The Stalinist bureaucracy quakes before an imperialist war which will issue it knows not whence. So, it plays possum, and propagates peace and hopes that nothing will happen. This is an ostrich policy. It has nothing in common with Marxism. Peace as a tactical move on the part of the Soviet Union shielding the entrenchment of the proletarian dictatorship, supplemented by an active

Comintern leading the world proletariat to victory, such peace is wholly in the interest of the proletariat. But peace as a blind desperate policy, based on "Socialism in one country" and supplemented by the defeat of the German proletariat—this is utterly reactionary.

An optimistic dogma is being spread by the Stalinists that the imperialists dare not attack the Soviet Union because of the revolutionary opposition to this on the part of the proletariat in their own country. That there is such opposition at the present time is a myth. In Germany, the proletariat has been defeated; Stalinism has crashed. The parties all over the world are in different stages of decomposition. Stalinism can never lead the struggle against imperialist war. Only the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat leading the masses along the road to power in struggle against capitalism can hinder imperialist war. For this a Leninist Comintern "the general staff of the world revolution" is necessary. The defence of the Soviet Union lies not in peace propaganda, nor in mythical dogmas, but in the advance of the world revolution.

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EDITORIAL (Continued from Page 1)

ins) they have built up a strong case before the workers for an industrial union in the shop, deeming for their purpose (and wrongly) that the fur dressers' and dyers' section of the fur industry is a separate industry.

This it is not. It is strongly bound up with the rest of the fur industry which is organized in the International union. To set up an industrial union here would be to set up a dual union and to betray the interests of the workers in the fur industry as a whole. For it would split the ranks of the workers. The "industrial" union that would be set up would not be an industrial union. It would be a union organized in only one section of the fur industry, set up against a union (the International) embracing the majority of the workers in the industry. This meant civil war and playing into the hands of the boss.

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# REFORM OR REVOLUTION

## C.C.F. — Third Party of Capitalism

So popular has the C.C.F. become that many workers have been led to give it support without subjecting its program to a thorough analysis. This course is fatal. This popularity is not hard to understand. Brought up in the traditions of parliamentarism and still imbued with the bourgeois ideals of the society in which they live, the masses can easily be persuaded to support a program which fundamentally is not in conflict with bourgeois society. The C.C.F. program embodies much that, on the face of it, would be described as socialistic. However the slogans of "nationalization of the banks, railroads, etc." can have many different meanings, depending upon the character of the party which employs them. When the Bolshevik party under Lenin issued these slogans, it was necessary that the workers and peasants of Russia should first overthrow Tsarism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Then the program of nationalization of the great industries operated in the interests of the masses. But the same slogans in the hands of the C.C.F. bear a different meaning. The C.C.F. intends to do all this within the framework of the bourgeois state, within a society in which the capitalist class will still be the ruling class. It is there that we Bolshevik-Leninists cannot see face to face with the C.C.F.'ers. If any thing is to be learned from history it is this — the working class will not achieve its emancipation until it has overthrown the capitalist class, until it has shattered the bourgeois state and established the dictatorship of

the proletariat. The state is and always will be the weapon of the ruling class. So long as the capitalist state exists, the working class will suffer under the domination of capitalist exploitation.

In essence the C.C.F. program is that of the Social Democracy the world over. Basing its strength upon the support of wage-workers, but for the most part, of the petty-bourgeoisie, especially farmers, the C.C.F. promises the masses emancipation from the rule of capitalists. It promises higher wages and shorter hours for wage-workers; lower interest rates for farmers—all this through the ballot. Sheer utopianism. The history of the German Social Democracy in the post-war period points out the inevitable road that the Social Democracy must follow when faced with the responsibilities of political power. There the working class was thrown a bone while the German capitalists re-built their fortunes to such a degree that in 1928, an American economist, after a detailed and scientific study, was able to declare the German capitalist class economically as strong as it was in 1913.

These are the results of the class collaboration policy of the Social Democracy. Can any worker support the C.C.F. whose program points in the same direction? Not at all. In capitalist society, a bitter struggle is being waged between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. That struggle is not incidental to the economic crisis but is the inevitable result of a mode of production in which the workers do

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