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CONTENTS

THE WORKERS' THEATRE ON TOUR

EXPULSIONS IN THE Y.C.L.

STALINIST HOOLIGANISM

ECONOMIC SITUATION

STUDENT MOVEMENT

DEFEND JOE DERRY

CHEN DU SIU

GERILANY

MORE EXPULSIONS IN THE YCL

The fight of the members of the Young Communist League of Canada to correct the false, clerical line of their organization has led to seven new expulsions. Comrades T. Hill, G. Hill, L. Hill, A. Joel, S. Johnstone, Chris Morrow, A. Coopersmith were expelled for "Trotskyism". These comrades were active YCLers and formed the best element in the League. The majority of the expelled were experienced and educated young communists with a militant background in the revolutionary movement. Before joining the YCL they had formed the stormy left wing of The Socialist and Labor Party and of the former Toronto Young People's Socialist League. It was they who were directly responsible for the dissolution of the Toronto YPSL and the affiliation of the best elements of the organization to the revolutionary movement.

The expelled had only a short time previous really interested themselves in the Left Opposition and began reading its press. It did not take these serious thinking young communists long to convince themselves that the present regime in the YCL was falsifying the teachings of Lenin and the strategy of the Young Communist International during the Lenin period. That a revision of Marxism was also taking place inside the Young Communist International and that this was at the bottom of the present conflict inside the communist ranks.

Five years ago, 21 active and leading young communists were expelled because they refused to accept a resolution condemning the Left Opposition and its suppressed program as counter-revolutionary. They wrote at that time, "The majority of the comrades who voted for the resolution, did not do so out of inner conviction nor understanding but because they were faced with the threat of expulsion."

The issues raised by the Left Opposition cannot be disposed of by suppression of the opposition Theses, and falsification of their proposals and real views. So long as comrades are faced with suspension or expulsion if they vote against official resolutions of this issue there can be no Bolshevik discussion. A stop must be put to bureaucratic strangulation and administrative and ideological terror in the life of the League.

"Even though we may be expelled from the League, we regard ourselves as a part and parcel of the YCL of Canada, and shall carry on a fight for our re-instatement as well as against bureaucratism, for inner party democracy and for ideological clarity. If the National Executive Committee of the League proceeds with its present plans of suspension and expulsions, we accuse it of a policy of splitting the League. We shall fight for the unity of the YCL of Canada, upon a Leninist basis."

It was in the spirit of the above that the Left Opposition was born. After five years of persistent and difficult up-hill battle the ideas of the Left Opposition are penetrating deeper into the League as well as amongst the revolutionary young workers. The new expulsions are only a further proof of the general growth of the Left Opposition movement.

To the expelled YCLers we say, The Spartacus Youth Club hails your militant fight against bureaucracy and for a correct political line. Together we will carry on the fight for the regeneration of the YCL and the victory of Leninism.

DEFEND JOE DERRY

Once again the police terror in Canada is being directed against a revolutionary organization, this time in an attempt to outlaw the Young Communist League. At a recent meeting in the north-west Toronto, the police arrested a young worker, Joe Derry, charging him with being a member of an unlawful organization. This latest move on the part of the police cannot be taken placidly. The workers' movement has been done great harm by the illegalization of the Communist Party in this country. The outlawing of the YCL would add another great impediment to the struggle of the workers for emancipation from capitalist exploitation. While the Spartacus Youth and the Left Opposition has its differences with the YCL we will not support any attempt to outlaw it. We are fighting for the ideological clarification and the strengthening of the YCL and because of that, the attack on the YCL by the police arouses the sternest protests from the Left Opposition. We urge all workers who are fighting against the reaction in Canada to join hands to beat off the iron heel of bourgeois tyranny. The Spartacus Youth raises its voice against this latest attempt. **FREE JOE DERRY!**
HANDS OFF THE YCL!

CHEN DU SIU

From China comes the news that Comrade Chen Du Sir, secretary of the Left Opposition of the C.P. of China, has been sentenced to 15 years imprisonment by the Kuomintang courts, for Communist activity. Comrade Chen is known and loved throughout the world as the father of Chinese Communism. Chen Du Sir throughout his imprisonment and trial worthily upheld the best traditions of the Communist movement, and courageously put

forward his Communist position, bitterly attacking the Kuomintang. This in sharp contrast with the bringing capitulations of some Chinese C.P. officials who have fallen into the clutches of the Kuomintang in recent years.

In the face of these facts it is amazing to read that the Chinese Communist Party has opened up a slander campaign against Chen and the L.C., thereby aligning itself with the vicious butchers of the Kuomintang.

THE WORKERS' THEATRE ON TOUR

On June 25th the Workers' Theatre, the dramatics section of the Progressive Arts Club, completed its first Ontario tour. Since its organization about a year ago, this group has been steadily increasing its activity but not until the tour did the members properly realize what tremendous value their agit-prop plays and skills could have.

They performed in seven towns in all--St. Catharines, Niagara Falls, Thorold, Wolland, Port Colborne, London and Windsor. Almost everywhere they were enthusiastically received; and there were many who wanted to know when they could expect them again.

The Workers' Theatre did not remain aloof from the class-struggle which is the source of its existence and efforts. They arrived in St. Catharines on the very day the strike in the Canadian Canners factory was called. Their performance was put off immediately after a strike meeting; and though the strikers were tired as a result of the long meeting and the heat, their fighting spirit was brought back to top pitch by the several agit-prop plays. A comrade drew some strike cartoons and made some banners for t

the picketers; and when they announced that they would join them on the picket line in the morning and remained until after eight by which time the factory gates had already closed on the few scabs that were brought in from out of town.

The tour was of far more value than a bare agitation tour could have been. It won a wide popularity for the Toronto Workers' Theatre and resulted in the organizations of one or two similar groups in other centres. All in all, it was a real success.

-I. L.-

"MASSES" VS. DIEGO RIVERA

As an example of sheer mental acrobatics in defence of a completely untenable position, it would be difficult to equal the opening editorial note which graces the May-June issue of "Masses" the monthly organ of the Progressive Arts Club. The outburst in question constitutes a vicious attack upon Diego Rivera, the revolutionary artist whose quarrel with the Rockefeller's has become a working-class issue. Rivera's murals, although done under the aegis of great capitalist "art-lovers", have frequently roused the ire of anti-working class interests. On this occasion he was dismissed for his audacity in depicting Lenin joining the hands of workers, upon the walls of Radio City, the great new "cultural centre" which the Rockefeller's are building in New York. Rivera's dismissal and the threat of destruction hanging over his uncompleted work produced a storm of working-class protest, which has culminated in united front action for their preservation.

This turn of events has pleased the Communist Party and the

organizations which support its policies in a very awkward position. Like countless others Rivera was expelled, in 1921, by the Stalinist bureaucracy and plastered with the usual labels of "renegade", "counter-revolutionary", etc. The fight to preserve his murals has now forced the Party to support the achievements of an individual whom it has condemned as a traitor and an enemy of the working class. It is literally in a position where its left hand does not know what its right hand is doing. In New York the John Reed Club (corresponding to the local PAC) has made a spectacle of itself by carrying on a steady campaign of vilification against Rivera while officially participating in a united front to protect his work. This pitiful travesty is reproduced in Toronto when "Masses" calls for a fight to save Rivera's murals and then devotes a column to exposing him as "an active counter-revolutionary agent of the bourgeoisie".

Apparently this man is a real menace to the working class. For the last two years, charges "Masses", the most powerful representatives of American finance capital" have been backing Rivera in "an unceasing warfare against the revolutionary movement". This is counter-revolutionary activity with a vengeance! Accepting this accusation as true, the only interpretation that can be placed upon Rivera's quarrel with the Rockefeller's is that it is a farce, designed to ingratiate this renegade with the workers, in order that he may later mislead them. If this is so, then why is the Communist Party contaminating itself by cooperating in a united front to protect his work? But perhaps Rivera is artistically a revolutionary, although politically a counter-revolutionary. "Masses", however, will have none of this. "Rivera's political career", says this organ of revolutionary clarity, "cannot be divorced from his artistic achievements."

ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Anti-Fascist Conferences.

The Spartacus Youth Club, in collaboration with comrades from the adult section of the I.O. in Toronto has played an active role in the Jewish and English Anti-Fascist United Front Conferences. The Jewish Conference has been somewhat more successful than the English Conference having attracted a large number of workers organizations of all political tendencies for the purpose of uniting the strength of the workers against Fascism. The proposed two-hour protest strike which is to take place on July 11th will have the support of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union and the Industrial Union as well as a large number of political organizations. No small share of the success of the Conference has been due to the Left Opposition delegates who were in the forefront in opposing the sabotaging tactics of the right-wingers and the ultimatum attitude of the Stalinists. It has been plain to all that the Left Opposition takes the fight against fascism seriously. Our conduct at these conferences has naturally heightened our prestige among the workers and won many new supporters for the Left Opposition.

Youth Anti-War Conference.

The Youth Anti-War Conference, the latest of the series of Stalinist-pacifist-liberal anti-war conferences found itself in an uncomfortable position from the beginning because of the determination of the Spartacus Youth delegates to force the adoption of a Leninist position on war. We refused to soft-pedal on the class character of war and insisted that, in the present circumstances, the conference should devote itself to teaching young workers that the problems of war can only be solved by the proletarian revolution. The Stalinists, having burnt their fingers with their

How pitiful then, must be the artistic destitution of the proletariat if it is reduced to defending as the artistic expression of itself, the work of "an active counter-revolutionary agent of the bourgeoisie"!

With the well-known Stalinist flair for blanket denunciation, "Masses" goes on to assert that Rivera has "both financed and identified himself with all types of working class misleaders, from the Rand school to the renegade Trotsky and Lovestone groups." Apparently the bitter lesson of "social-fascism" in Germany has not yet taught the official "vanguard of the proletariat" the folly of lumping together all those who do not see eye to eye with Stalin's yemen. "Masses" concludes triumphantly by producing evidence that Rivera "in his blind hatred of the revolutionary movement has abandoned all pretence of logic, ethics or even sanity." We might remark that this expression applies very well to the "blind hatred" which "Masses" displays toward Rivera. It charges him with asserting that Ford and Rockefeller supported him because they were secret revolutionaries, and that the Ford massacre was a "frame-up between the Stalinists and General Motors". If Comrade Rivera actually made these statements, we can only warn him not to waste his irony in future upon people who have become so engrossed in defending their solemn absurdities that they have entirely lost their sense of humour.

--N.K.

Up to now there has been only one victorious proletarian revolution in the world. I do not at all hold that we committed no errors on our road to victory; but, nevertheless, I maintain that our experience has some value for the German Communist Party. I cite the closest historical analogues. How do the leaders of the C.P.G. really? With profanity....." L.D.T.

ultra-left sectarian policies of the "third period" now moved to the right and would not hear of our proposals. In the last session, there was an open split and the Y.C.L. decided to retain Young Judaea, the reactionary Zionist organization, on the basis of a mutual agreement to forget the Leninist position on war. The Spartacus delegates had to withdraw from the Conference but over that we have no heart-burnings. Composed largely of Y.C.L. study classes and a few nonscript organizations and including not a single trade union or mass organization, the Conference can succeed in doing nothing but sow confusion.

Study Classes.

On June 15th, we held our first open study class in a new course of lectures on the "Fundamentals of Marxism and the History of the Class Struggle". Thus far the classes have been fairly successful with an attendance of about forty people. A considerable number who wish to attend regularly have officially enrolled in the class. This promises a serious group for the study of Communism and we are hopeful that a fair percentage will be recruited for the work of the proletarian movement as taught by Marx and Lenin.

Sundry Outings.

During the summer months, outings are held almost every Sunday where the day is spent in the open, comrades and friends gathering for sports, entertainment and informal discussion.

We continue to spread the L.O. literature, "The Militant", "The October Youth", and works of Com. Trotsky. With events moving so rapidly in the international proletarian movement, it is necessary that every young worker and student read the organs of the I.L.O.

STALINIST HOOLIGANISM DEFEATED

It has long been the custom in every country where the Left Opposition begins to make rapid strides forward, for the Stalinists to attempt to counteract this progress and growing popularity by organizing "pogroms" against the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists". The strong-arm methods of breaking up meetings; physical attack on comrades, exposing Oppositionists to the police, (Bulgaria), jailing, starving and torturing Oppositionists in the Soviet Union who refuse to sacrifice their principles or to belly-crawl before the apparatus, are the chief Stalinist weapons in their attempt to combat the inexorable growth of the I.L.O.

In the United States and Europe this system is not new. Only in Toronto is it an innovation. For this reason it is worth while to recount the events of a meeting called by the L.O. at the Spadina Concert Hall on May 12th last.

The meeting was called to present the view-point of the I.L.O. on the German situation, to analyze concretely the treacherous role played by the German Social-Democracy and to lay bare the reasons for the collapse of the C.P.G. There were approximately 500 present, about equally divided between sympathetic workers and rabid Stalinists. Before the meeting was called to order a leaflet was distributed with lightning rapidity. The contents of the leaflet itself is scarcely worth mentioning. A mere slanderous and venomous "pile of garbage" defies imagination. It "proves" among other things that without the shadow of a doubt Trotsky is in alliance with Hitler, that Trotsky supports the Social-Democracy, and that Trotsky appears as scavenger wherever the workers' blood has been spilled. "LEFT WING ORGANIZATIONS" was the signature affixed to the leaflet.

This was the climax to the hysterical drive which was written to artificially create a lynching atmosphere against the L.O., for such a signature tacitly implied that the leaflet spoke in the name of all left wing workers. It must be admitted, however, that the thing is a masterpiece in its own way.... a masterpiece of falsification and distortion.

Following the distribution of the leaflet, a certain tension was felt for it was obvious that the Stalinists had come organized for a very definite purpose. It did not take long for this to be disclosed. In his capacity of chairman, Comrade Speeter made it abundantly clear that after the speakers there would be a discussion period in which any one not in agreement with the speakers would be given the opportunity to state his views. This announcement had scarcely been made when, apparently upon the pre-arranged signal of a whistle, the Stalinist mob rose to its feet as one man and aired its political views by shouting and booing, to disrupt the meeting. The Internationale was sung, in which the whole audience joined. A first fight and a neck riot were narrowly avoided whereupon a leading Stalinist dramatically appeared at a window at the back of the hall, like Jesus summoning the faithful, to exhort his followers to leave. In those who trooped out, one could not help but notice how well the Y.C.L. was represented. To their credit it must be said that a handful of Y.C.L.'ers remained to listen attentively to the criticisms of the L.O. being disgusted with the spectacle their comrades had made.

The hall being cleared of the rabid elements, the meeting continued. Comrade Madonald spoke at great length on the German events and concluded with a scathing denunciation of the hooligan tactics employed that night, and giving the lie to the slanders made in the leaflet. The third speaker was a young comrade

a member of the Y.C.L. who outlined the erroneous path the official view had taken and demonstrated the correctness of the L.O. When the discussion period was reached, a large number of "the faithful" had drifted back and proceeded to ask the usual "annihilating" questions. ("Why isn't Madonald in Kingston?")

The most tragic aspect of the whole affair is the fact that the police appeared on the scene - fortunately then things had quieted down. It is a downright disgrace to the revolutionary movement that the bourgeois protectors of "law and order" have to come as super-arbiters to settle ideological disputes at working-class meetings. Every Y.C.L. or every proletarian youth, must ask himself what that display of hooliganism signifies. Why is it that ideological discussion is being supplanted by attempts to physically suppress another point of view? If the Y.C.L. and C.I. leadership is infallible, if the programme is 100% perfect, would it not be easier to show the incorrectness of its opponents on a platform like intelligent people? Why is it necessary for them to resort to methods which remind one of a small boy with a bad temper? Do they seriously believe, perchance, that in this way the voice of the L.O. will be silenced? If this is the case, our reply will be to redouble our energies in bringing the truth before the workers.

(As a result of this violation of the United Front, both the English and Jewish Conferences Against Fascism have passed resolutions censuring the Stalinists. --Ed.)

THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

The article by R.S. in the Young Worker, on the Canadian Student Movement is full of vulgar errors typical of Stalinism. This article which pretends to be a critical historical survey of the student movement, and a programmatic schema for the development of student organizations under the aegis of "non-sectarianism" is a stark renunciation of Leninism on this question. The article jumps into the bag with both feet. Students, it says, realize "with increasing force: that they are preparing themselves as workers, (my emphasis) in a society that offers no security of work". If the Marxist concept "worker" means anything, it means that the student is not a worker. Students in their vast majority, are petty bourgeois and their purpose is to get jobs as lawyers, doctors, professors, etc. Those are in no sense the occupations of workers. Then what price the Stalinist identification of the student and the worker.

The second vulgar and utterly erroneous view is that to quote the article: "It was those sections who felt the crisis most immediately because of their economic situation (my emphasis) who started the student movement". This is historically untrue, because the students in the U. of T. who started the student movement did not feel the crisis most immediately but rather were outraged by the breath-taking contradictions of capitalism, outraged at the poverty and misery of the workers and the other oppressed masses. In other words their approach was not through their own needs, their own economic situation, but through their wider social outlook. The leaders of the S.L.C. formed the S.L.C. not because they felt the crisis keenly on their own persons, but because they were Communists. R.S. is using the untruth we caught him in to establish the theory that a Student League should be formed on the basis of student interests, as

he has it, "voicing student needs". He thus establishes as fundamental that the only approach to students that is non-sectarian is the student approach, i.e. "They must be brought to it (i.e. Marxism) by first understanding their own position, their interest must be aroused on the basis of their own worries and situation". This is utterly and completely false. On this ground the question arises: are you who speak about the student in this manner Communists and interested in building a strong Communist movement to which those students should contribute, "who have risen themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole, (Linx) or are you student liberals interested in establishing a student movement to fight for the needs of students? Communists, said Lenin, cannot support the struggles of students, liberals, etc. for their own interests". On the basis of their own worries and situation students are led to Fascism which in its first stage fosters their interests. Our task as Communists among students is to make Communists out of them, to educate them in Marxism. Our approach is thus essentially through theory. The Student League should be an organization having as its task the crystallization of the student element potentially Marxist. The Students that can be won over to Marxist ideology must be trained and fostered, steeped in that ideology. Before their eyes the Marxist conception of history must be spread out and the only revolutionary class in capitalist society must be inducted to them that they may base their political orientation on this firm ground. In their eyes the working class must become concretely as well as theoretically the arbiter of society's fate. And that is why one can only laugh at the helplessness of R.S.'s criticism when it says: "It was taken for granted that, because it was to the working class that the students were to be drawn, and because it was the working class which was to destroy capitalism, therefore it is the working class that must be talked

about". And is not R.S. very ridiculous when he quotes the headlines of the articles in the first issue of the Spark and shows that the Spark dealt with the most immediate problems of the class-struggle in Canada and in Germany. "Where do the students come in? Nobody seemed very much worried about the students he wails. Quite so, my dear R.S. Our job was to educate the student in the immediate facts of the class-struggle about which he has no other way of learning except through our agency as Communists.

In your article you state: "The work of the Student League, then, is to give leadership to those sections of students affected by the crisis, to awaken the political consciousness of as broad masses as possible, and to rally them to the side of the revolutionary proletariat." That is a laudable task in spite of the exaggeration when you speak of "broad masses". But throughout your whole article you emphasize again and again that the way to carry out this task is not as the S.L.C. attempted to do it i.e. as you say "the Student League proudly proclaimed a doctrine of 'pure Marxism' talked about the struggles of the proletariat, ignored the situation of the students and abused and antagonized all students not as 'left' as themselves". We have had occasion to point out before that you were against propagating a "doctrine of 'pure Marxism'" because this in itself antagonized those students who as petty bourgeois and bourgeois are opposed to the working class. We emphasized the fact, to you that we as Marxists do not apologize for Marxism. But let us emphasize still more strongly that your attitude here is nothing less than that of a bourgeois liberal. In the manner you propose you are building merely a Student League which revolves around a student ideology, which lifts the student to the position of a social class and which puts his worries and situation first and on a pedestal. Is that calculated to teach the stu-

dent Marxism? Marxism is a theory, it must be taught. Students have to lift themselves up to Marxism. It is our task in the Student League to help them. That is why we must propagate a "doctrine of 'pure Marxism'" and by 'pure Marxism' we mean orthodox Marxism, as Lenin understood it, revolutionary Marxism unadorned by any revisionism.

We can by no means outline for students whom we wish to draw into the revolutionary movement a program of "arousing their interest" on the basis of their own worries and situation". That does nothing but perpetuate their interest whereas it is our task to teach them to subordinate their interest to the historic interest of the proletariat. R.S.'s view about the interest of the student smacks as we pointed out in the beginning of this article, of a vulgar tendency to identify the student with the worker. This must be strenuously fought against. (On a broader historic scale this tendency leads for instance to an identification of the role of the proletariat with that of the peasantry, two distinct classes whose interests do not always coincide and to the building of worker-peasant parties which betray the interests of the proletariat.)

The accusation of "sectarianism" leveled against the former policy and leadership of the S.L.C. by R.S. sounds too much like a new word learned in haste. R.S. proves that he has not at all digested the Marxist method of analyzing class-relationships. He makes no attempt at discussing the social composition of the U. of T. and of the basis for a student league which should have as its task the crystallizing of the student element potentially Marxist. He therefore concludes with pompous oration that the S.L.C. was "sectarian". Why? For two reasons -- (1) because it attempted to teach "pure Marxism". (2) because it won over few students. The concept "masses" has become a fetish with the Stalinists. There are "masses"

everywhere. And they approach the different types of masses (student masses, "worker masses", "farmer masses") as if they were all capable of playing the same consequent revolutionary role. Thus the farmers and students will follow the working class and all will miraculously become Marxists. To approach the students, however, by teaching "pure Marxism" as we hold is the only correct method, is in their eyes "sectarianism". As Trotsky says, "where there's a word for it, why think?"

L.S.G.

(As we go to press, the "Young Worker" appears carrying the concluding article of R.S. in his series on the Canadian Student Movement. Amusing as it is, this article yet requires an answer. Our next issue will carry a reply and analysis of R.S.'s conclusion.--Ed.)

"A cattle dealer once drove some bulls to the slaughter-house. And the butcher came high with his sharp knife.

"Let us close ranks and jack up this executioner on our horns", suggested one of the bulls.

"If you please, in what way is the butcher any worse than the dealer who drove us hither with his cud-gel?" replied the bulls, who had received their political education in Manuilsky's institute.

"But we shall be able to attend to the dealer as well afterwards!"

"Nothing doing", replied the bulls, firm in their principles, to the counsellor. "You are trying to shield our enemies from the left you are a social-butcher yourself."

And they refused to close ranks -- From Aesop's Fables.

...A PARTY THAT IS CUT LOOSE FROM THE CLASS IN A REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS CANNOT RISE AGAIN...

Young Workers! There has taken place in Germany one of the greatest catastrophes in the history of the revolutionary movement. Lenin called the revolutionary party the conscience and memory of the working class. We must not allow the Stalinist bureaucrats who have themselves lost all conscience to bludgeon out the memory of the advanced workers. The party must digest and draw lessons from all the experiences of the working class, the defeats as well as the victories. It is thus alone that the proletariat matures, grows wiser and prepares itself for its successful struggle with the class enemy. It is for this that all young workers must not rest satisfied with the dishonestly evasive apologies of the Stalinist leaders intent on covering up its monstrous crimes in Germany; it is for this that all young workers must not be distracted by the foul dirt of lies and slander hurled by the Stalinists, and slandering with their own guilt the L.O. The workers must demand a free and thoroughgoing discussion of the German experiences. It is thus alone that we will fulfill our duty to our class, to the thousands of our German comrades writhing in the Nazi torture-chambers.

The German working class has been defeated! It is necessary to say this. Lenin said, "It will become a socialist to call a defeat a victory". Fascism comes to power over the bones of workers -- Hitler has delivered blow after blow upon the working class until to-day it remains but a bleeding hulk, prostrate. Its organizations crushed, its leaders jailed or murdered, our class lies helpless at the feet of Finance Capital. The C.P.G. is smashed, the Social Democracy is dispersed, giving the lie to Hoekert's statement that Fascism "bases itself on the active support of Social Democracy", the free trade unions are

in the hands of the Fascists; the Red Trade Union organization died as it had lived, a miserable abortion. Hitler marches on from victory to victory, meeting with no organized resistance on the part of the German workers. Decades of revolutionary tradition, the second strongest party in the Comintern, the whole organized might of the German workers have gone for naught. It must be clearly and unequivocally stated: The German working class has been defeated!

How do the leaders of the C.I. explain the defeat of the German workers. In the first place by a frantic and puerile attempt to deny that the German C.P. and proletariat have been worsted. Just as yesterday the Stalinists tried with a cheap braggadocio to exercise away the menacing threat of Fascism (announcing in Sept. 1, 1930 that the Nazis had reached their pinnacle of development, the speech of Remacle in the Reichstag - "Let Hitler seize power, then we) so to-day they shout hysterically that no defeat has taken place. Whatever powers of convincing might be lacking in this procedure, they make up for by their filthy lies against the L.O., reduced as they are by their political wretchedness to gather the arguments from the cesspools. However consoling a balm this might be for the smarting pates of the bureaucrats, it is something that the working class must never permit. We have seen in the past how one of the greatest factors in the degeneration of the C.I. responsible for so many defeats of our class is this willing blindness, of the bureaucrats to the facts of the class struggle; their flight from the world of reality made unpleasant by their blunders of the past, to the realms of their imagination; to the nebular evolutions of the bureaucratic brain. (Trotsky says somewhere that all bureaucrats are idealists) For a Leninist, the first prerequisite for redressing of the forces of the proletariat is a pitiless account of facts as they are. AN ATTEMPT TO

COVER UP THE EXTENT OF THE GERMAN DISASTER WILL NOT LESSEN THE SUFFERINGS OF THE GERMAN WORKERS BUT WILL PAYE THE WAY FOR EVEN GREATER CATASTROPHES.

Again they explain to us that the defeat (which they all but call a victory) was inevitable and due to the treachery of the Social-Democrats. We have at no time minimized the treachery of the Workers of the S.D. We repeat again that first and foremost the accession of Hitler to power is due to the traitorous role of the Socialists who after drowning the revolution of 1919 in workers' blood, have pursued a perfidious policy of disarming the proletarian hand that over a butcher or Hitler. But this is not a discovery of Hoekert in the year 1933. It was the recognition of this fact that brought into life the Third International, which set itself the task of leading the workers to victory triumphing over the bourgeois counter-revolution and its more subtle instrument the Judas Socialists. For Communists the traitorous role of the S.D. is as much a factor in the objective obstacles that impede the way to victory as the bourgeois police. The task of the C.P. is to overcome both the police and the Socialists. It was this that the C.P.G. failed so tragically to do. The truth of the matter is that just as the whole policy of the Socialists since 1914 was necessary to enable Hitler to attain power, there was also necessary to make possible Hitler's bloody victory, all the stupid errors of the Stalinist bureaucrats in the C.I. and in Germany. And by lying to the workers as to the present situation in Germany, the foul-mouthed Hoekert renders Hitler an invaluable service, bamboozling the workers and helping him thereby to maintain power.

But the Stalinists have yet another source of consolation. Hitler they say, cannot give the masses bread, therefore they will rise and overthrow him. This was the cheerful bit of optimism that Rocky Buhay

voiled out at the Anti-Fascist mass meeting in Hyacin Hall some time ago. That Capitalism cannot solve its contradictions is for us a foregone conclusion. But it is the very arch-stone of Lenin's teachings that there is necessary for a successful revolution not only the objective factors (the crisis of capitalism, the demoralization of the ruling class, etc.) but also the indispensable subjective factors - a trained, far-seeing vanguard. History has shown us repeatedly that without this last condition the most favourable situation can end up as a disaster. (Italy 1920, Germany 1919-1923, 1933). The conditions of the modern class struggle are of so complex a nature, the ruling class so cunning through experience, the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat so gigantic, that a victorious revolution can come only under the leadership of a steered vanguard. Hitler cannot solve the crisis of capitalism in any serious way, but without the leadership of a Leninist party the starving masses can not do away with Hitler. Without such a party the putrefying corpse of capitalist society can drag the proletariat and humanity with it to an ignominious grave. There is no absolutely hopeless situation of capitalism, taught Lenin, it will not collapse of its own weight - there is necessary a party of gravediggers to bury it. To what effect?

For years the Stalinist epigones have carried on an "educational" campaign against "Luxemburgism" - distorting her views by assigning her wrongly a belief in the automatic collapse of capitalism. After the cumulative benefits of such an educational campaign we find our bureaucrats supporting the position they assigned to Luxemburg to cover up their bankruptcy in Germany. How is this. There is an inner logic in the fact. Starting out with the revisionist theory of Socialism in One Country, basing themselves on the anonymous hostile class forces in the Soviet Union and elsewhere,

exerting pressure upon and even penetrating into the party, the throb-bore Stalinists are forced to form one revision of Leninism to another. Yesterday Socialism in One Country, to-day the rejection of Lenin's teachings on the role of the party - who can say what to-morrow! All in the name of the bolstering up of the prestige of the bureaucratic apparatus.

Winning under the blows of the Leninist criticism of the L.O., the Stalinist bureaucrats take flight to a still more dishonest dodge. If yesterday these intransigent papin-jays refused to wobble and manoeuvre in the interests of the proletariat (the United Front) to-day they display a bottomless ingenuity in attempting to cover up their guilty footsteps of yesterday. They lie outrightly saying that at no time did they refuse to enter a united front with the Social Democracy and that the Social Democratic leaders alone are guilty for the sabotage of the united front of the proletariat in Germany. That the reformist tops did all in their power to sabotage the unity of the proletariat, that they fear the formation of the fighting front of the proletariat we know only too well. But this made all the more necessary for the C.P. to force them to the wall and tear off their masks of hypocrisy before the workers. One quotation from Throelmann's speech at the 12th plenum of the E.C.C.I. will suffice to reaffirm what was actually the position of the C.P.G. at that time.

The responsibility for the debacle must be fixed. The events prior to and during the catastrophe point the finger inevitably at the German party led by Stalinism. The working class will say: "You have betrayed us; you have capitulated to Fascism". At a time when the working class and the working class alone could offer a way out to all the toiling masses through the proletarian revolution the party raised the insane slogan of "social and na-

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

tional emancipation"; when the working class ranks were split between the Social Democracy and Communism, the party, having failed to win the masses away from the reformists because of its sectarian ultra-left policies raised the slogan of "Social-Fascism"; when unity above all was necessary the Stalinists drove the Social-Democratic workers away from Communism by their ultimatum policy of "United Front only from below". In the face of the shift to the left of the reformist workers in the free trade unions the party left the unions, formed "pure Red Trade Unions isolating and quarantining the communist workers away from the majority of the working class, voluntarily giving up their most valuable point of contact with the workers loving them at the mercy of the reformist bureaucrats; in the face of arising fascist danger, threatening the whole working class, the party raised the stupid slogan: "the main danger is the Social Democracy"; supported the Fascist "Red" referendum, refused to call for a Leninist United Front; a united front of organization to organization for the execution of a common task and raised the defeatist slogan of "After Fascism, Communism". The party called Bruening a fascist, Papen a fascist, Schieckner a fascist, everybody was fascist except the party. For years the Stalinized C.P.G. has called its friends enemies and its enemies friends, confusing and demoralizing its own followers and the working class at large. During a revolutionary crisis when the party had to prove to the workers its historic right of leadership, after years of bureaucratic ultimatum, it failed miserably, it capitulated before fascism, it forfeited its every right to leadership. The historic responsibility for the defeat rests upon the shoulders of the Stalinized C.P. it has collapsed under the weight of its own guilt. **THE GERMAN WORKING CLASS WILL RISE AGAIN: STALINISM NEVER.**

-T.P.H.

The statistics of the past few months indicate with certainty that the cyclical crisis in capitalism has been passed and that a period of increased business activity has been entered upon. Now it becomes the duty of Marxists, not to falsify the statistics and confuse workers with false programs, but to determine accurately the extent of the uprising, to indicate the probable development of the near future and to draw from this analysis, a course of action for the working class.

The Canadian statistics for April, May and June show the extent of the increase in business activity in Canada. Bank debits, wholesale prices, employment, railway carloadings and the index of physical volume of production all increased and the increases can be only partly attributed to seasonal influences. That there has been a turn in the cycle is obvious. Building contracts which fell off 25% in May, rose again in June. The textile and automobile industries have been particularly busy. It should be remembered, however, that all the indexes, except that for automobile production are still below the 1932 levels which means that capitalism has still a long way to go before it actually emerges from the depression.

The figures for the United States are still more convincing. Steel production increased steadily from 15% of capacity in March to 41% at the end of May which is higher than at any time since early in 1931. In the U.S. also, textile and automobile production have risen rapidly. Construction continues at a low level but the recent increase in orders for lumber indicates greater construction activity in the coming months.

Next to the rise in steel production, the most striking fact in the American situation is the general rise in prices since the beginning of the year. To a great extent this

has been due to the departure of the U.S. from the gold standard and to the American program of inflation but another significant factor is a widespread anticipation of better business reflected in a general increased demand for commodities of all kinds.

Despite these facts, the situation still contains great elements of uncertainty. The collapse of the World Economic Conference will do much to dampen the ardor of the bourgeoisie in all countries. The inflation by France and the other gold standard countries of a new tariff war promises further contraction of international trade channels. In the face of this new development, import and export trade will continue to decline. A second element of uncertainty lies in Roosevelt's inflation policy. The speculative activity stimulated by this policy rests on the insecure basis of a continuation of the program. Once the banks cease pumping money into the markets, falling prices may again appear. It should be remembered however that the success of an inflation policy lies in the extent to which the real value of the wages of workers are reduced relative to the income of the bourgeoisie. The spectacle of rising prices unaccompanied by rising wages indicates that the program is enjoying a certain measure of success. But for the working class this success means a reduced standard of living and hence should give it nothing to be cheerful about. This latest subtle attack on wages must be met with widespread demand for higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions.

In the face of a rising conjuncture, these demands have the greater chance of success if backed up by the united strength of the workers. When the workers are returning to the factories, they have strength, they can make deep inroads on capitalist exploitation. Now is the time for successful strikes.

Workers, prepare yourselves for the coming struggles! Fight for your standard of living! Fight for unity of the working class!

—B.B. Spoor

On Friday, July 7th, a mass meeting under the auspices of the Unser Kampf Workers' Club took place at the Labor Lyceum. Despite the oppressive heat, over 100 attended.

Comrades Spoor and MacDonald were the speakers, with Comrade McCoy in the chair. Comrade Spoor gave a stirring speech exposing the attempts of the Stalinists to sabotage the united front against Fascism.

The meeting was quite orderly but a few interruptions by Stalinists served as reminders of the meeting described elsewhere in this bulletin. Comrade MacDonald then spoke and the details of yet further slanders propagated by the Stalinists were disclosed and answered.

Questions were now in order and it was interesting to note that the questions presented by the Stalinists were of a more intelligent nature than hitherto.

The meeting adjourned on the note of preparing for the 2-hour last strike on the 11th.

—J.B.

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