

OCTOBER YOUTH



PRICE 2¢

ORGAN OF THE SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB

No. 5

OCTOBER
NOVEMBER

1933

**For a Fourth International
Strike Wave In Canada
Expulsions From CLDL
Revolutionary Cuba**

October

EDITORIAL

The New Turn For a Fourth International

The International Left Opposition is taking a step of the greatest historic importance; it is laying the basis for the formation of a new, a fourth, international. Just as it was necessary for the revolutionary wing of the Second International to break organizationally with the reformists after the scandalous betrayal of the world working class in 1914, so has it become necessary for the revolutionary wing of the Third International to break decisively with the centrist bureaucracy that has strangled the Comintern in its deathly grip.

The International Left Opposition has conducted itself for ten years as a faction of the Comintern, exerting pressure towards the correction of the false line that was and is being pursued, working towards the reform of the Comintern. The International Left Opposition by every conceivable means, in spite of the persecution of its members and the vile abuse with which its arguments were met, attempted to bring back the Communist International to the true revolutionary road. This work while not without results in some instances, did not meet with success. It has become plain that the bureaucracy in control of the Third International, yielding to alien class forces, the peasantry, in Russia, dizzy with gazing at the mirage of "Socialism in a single country", has brought the Comintern down and down until it is now but a shell of the revolutionary international that it was under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. The false, opportunist, line of the Stalin bureaucracy led to the decline of the Communist Party of Great Britain after its abortive policies in the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee, it led to the defeat of the Chinese working class in the revolution of 1925-27, it led to the miserable capitulation before Hitler in Germany. In Bulgaria and Austria the Communist Parties went into illegality without a murmur; in all countries the Communist Parties are becoming more and more isolated from the working masses. The bureaucracy cannot be reformed and the Comintern is now practically synonymous with the bureaucracy.

The betrayal in Germany was the culmination of a series of defeats, it demonstrated finally that the Communist International is incapable of leading the working class to victory. It was another demonstration fact that the working class cannot triumph unless it has a revolutionary party at its head. It is this fact that makes imperative the formation of a new international, standing firmly on the basis of the revolutionary principles laid down by Marx and Lenin, that will, in the decisive battles not far distant, lead the workers to the overthrow of world imperialism.

Strike Wave in Canada Industrial Revival Brings Struggles

During the past several months there has been developing in Canada a significant strike movement. Parallel to the movement in the United States although much smaller in size, the strike wave in Canada is sweeping across the country.

Theoretically, the situation here is of very broad significance, especially in the contrast it presents to the American situation. The NRA in the States, is more than a mere attempt to organize national industry and finance. This task can be accomplished only at the expense of, only on the backs of the working class of America. In order to insure its success, it is necessary that this working class be kept under control. Driven to desperation by the economic misery which the crisis has imposed on them, and sensing an opportunity now to better their conditions, the working class had begun to stampede; the bourgeoisie seeing the possibilities of such a mass movement, have attempted to control its direction by officially recognizing the reformist unions, and by setting up an elaborate class-collaboration machinery. Bourgeois individuals are not entirely incorrect when they look upon this official recognition as a spur to organization. What they fail to perceive is that this spur was applied not to initiate the movement but to direct it--although it is very probable that its application speeded the movement at the same time as it did direct it. Thus in the US one finds the workers streaming into the AP of L unions; in Canada the movement, in comparison, is of smaller proportions, but that organizing has taken place has been chiefly under the leadership of the Workers' Unity League.

The question of the immediate source of the strike wave in Canada is somewhat simplified because of the absence of an NRA. That this immediate source is the cyclical upturn can be concretely shown by reference to the specific cases making up the movement. e.g. the strike of the workers of Hallman and Soble took place at a time when the firm was doing its heaviest business in four years; the upholsterers struck under the condition of a similar industrial pickup; and the strike of the furniture workers also occurred at a time when new orders were bringing the workers back to their jobs.

Because of the absence of an NRA, the movement here has taken a more radical direction. In Canada even more than in the US, the great masses of the workers are still unorganized and therefore more bitterly oppressed by the crisis. The growth of the depression gradually liquidated the lower strata of the bourgeoisie; with the corresponding concentration of the control in fewer hands, production has become more and more centralized. Now that the industrial revival is returning the workers to the factories, they are finding themselves integrated into larger and more organized economic units--which in itself would produce an urge to unionize.

It is of interest to trace the progressive development of the movement over the course of the past few months. Beginning with June there have been the following strikes:

Strike of 1000 mine workers of Glace Bay, Nova Scotia--in the face of a lockout when they refused to accept a pay-cut.

(Continued on Page 8)

EDITORIAL

The New Turn

For a Fourth International

The International Left Opposition is taking a step of the greatest historic importance; it is laying the basis for the formation of a new, a fourth, international. Just as it was necessary for the revolutionary wing of the Second International to break organizationally with the reformists after the scandalous betrayal of the world working class in 1914, so has it become necessary for the revolutionary wing of the Third International to break decisively with the centrist bureaucracy that has strangled the Comintern in its deathly grip.

The International Left Opposition has conducted itself for ten years as a faction of the Comintern, exerting pressure towards the correction of the false line that was and is being pursued, working towards the reform of the Comintern. The International Left Opposition by every conceivable means, in spite of the persecution of its members and the vile abuse with which its arguments were met, attempted to bring back the Communist International to the true revolutionary road. This work while not without results in some instances, did not meet with success. It has become plain that the bureaucracy in control of the Third International, yielding to alien class forces, the peasantry, in Russia, dizzy with gazing at the mirage of "Socialism in a single country", has brought the Comintern down and down until it is now but a shell of the revolutionary international that it was under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. The false, opportunist, line of the Stalin bureaucracy led to the decline of the Communist Party of Great Britain after its abortive policies in the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee, it led to the defeat of the Chinese working class in the revolution of 1925-27, it led to the miserable capitulation before Hitler in Germany. In Bulgaria and Austria the Communist Parties went into illegality without a murmur; in all countries the Communist Parties are becoming more and more isolated from the working masses. The bureaucracy cannot be reformed and the Comintern is now practically synonymous with the bureaucracy.

The betrayal in Germany was the culmination of a series of defeats, it demonstrated finally that the Communist International is incapable of leading the working class to victory. It was another demonstration of the fact that the working class cannot triumph unless it has a revolutionary party at its head. It is this fact that makes imperative the formation of a new international, standing firmly on the basis of the revolutionary principles laid down by Marx and Lenin, that will, in the decisive battles not far distant, lead the workers to the overthrow of world capitalism.

Strike Wave in Canada

Industrial Revival Brings Struggles

During the past several months there has been developing in Canada a significant strike movement. Parallel to the movement in the United States although much smaller in size, the strike wave in Canada is sweeping across the country.

Theoretically, the situation here is of very broad significance, especially in the contrast it presents to the American situation. The NRA in the States, is more than a mere attempt to organize national industry and finance. This task can be accomplished only at the expense of, only on the backs of the working class of America. In order to insure its success, it is necessary that this working class be kept under control. Driven to desperation by the economic misery which the crisis has imposed on them, and sensing an opportunity now to better their conditions, the working class had begun to stampede; the bourgeoisie seeing the possibilities of such a mass movement, have attempted to control its direction by officially recognizing the reformist unions, and by setting up an elaborate class-collaboration machinery. Bourgeois individuals are not entirely incorrect when they look upon this official recognition as a spur to organization. What they fail to perceive is that this spur was applied not to initiate the movement but to direct it—although it is very probable that its application speeded the movement at the same time as it did direct it. Thus in the US one finds the workers streaming into the AF of L unions; in Canada the movement, in comparison, is of smaller proportions, but that organizing has taken place has been chiefly under the leadership of the Workers' Unity League.

The question of the immediate source of the strike wave in Canada is somewhat simplified because of the absence of an NRA. That this immediate source is the cyclical upturn can be concretely shown by reference to the specific cases making up the movement. e.g. the strike of the workers of Hallman and Sable took place at a time when the firm was doing its heaviest business in four years; the upholsterers struck under the condition of a similar industrial pickup; and the strike of the furniture workers also occurred at a time when new orders were bringing the workers back to their jobs.

Because of the absence of an NRA, the movement here has taken a more radical direction. In Canada even more than in the US, the great masses of the workers are still unorganized and therefore more bitterly oppressed by the crisis. The growth of the depression gradually liquidated the lower strata of the bourgeoisie; with the corresponding concentration of the control in fewer hands, production has become more and more centralized. Now that the industrial revival is returning the workers to the factories, they are finding themselves integrated into larger and more organized economic units— which in itself would produce an urge to unionize.

It is of interest to trace the progressive development of the movement over the course of the past few months. Beginning with June there have been the following strikes:

Strike of 1000 mine workers of Glace Bay, Nova Scotia—in the face of a lockout when they refused to accept a pay-out.

(Continued on Page 8)

Mass Expulsions From the CLDL

14 Left Oppositionists Expelled for "Disruption"

One thing must be said for the Stalinist apparatus; it is constantly (often hysterically) alive to any danger which begins to threaten its clique interests. It is ever prepared to subordinate the interests of the working masses (after all, a matter of secondary importance!) to the necessity of preserving the status quo in the organizations in which it is the controlling factor. Expulsion is on the order of the day when members do not kowtow to the apparatus, do not recognize its "infallibility", and openly voice their differences -- be they political or tactical -- with those of the elect "four hundred". In this regard the Stalinist apparatus has found the "renegade Trotskyists" particularly irksome and invariably has to resort to expulsions. It matters not a whit to the apparatus if the organization doing the "cleansing" is, as the CLDL is supposed to be, a non-political, united front organization carrying on the defense work of class war prisoners.

Seventeen Left Oppositionists have just been expelled from the CLDL -- fourteen from the Clara Zetkin branch in West Toronto, and three in Montreal. No individual charges were made -- that would have been an embarrassing obstacle. They were simply expelled as "disrupters" en masse. As yet we have not received the details of the Montreal expulsions but we feel safe in assuming that the story is much the same as here. The immediate causes for the expulsions

in Toronto were as follows. The Spartacus Youth Club had applied for affiliation to the CLDL. No reply being forthcoming, a resolution was passed in the Clara Zetkin branch recommending that the District Bureau accept the application and forward a reply to the S.Y.C. The D.B. apparently regarded this resolution as a challenge to its integrity for that august body lost no time in sending its reply to the SYC, rejecting the application on the grounds that the SYC is a "strike-breaking" and "disruptive" organization, working in the ranks of labor for the class enemy.

The Clara Zetkin branch was requested at its next meeting to endorse this action of the DEC. The little bureaucrats of the branch, of course, lost no time in following instructions, for it is always the best policy to exhibit unswerving loyalty (read: servility) to the upper crust. Six IO and SYC comrades were present at the meeting and protested the slenderous attack on the SYC. They exposed the utter falsity of the charges and pointed out the contradictions between the fact that a Left Oppositionist organization was unacceptable to the worthies of the DEC while individual Left Oppositionists had for a long time been active in the League. This ludicrous contradiction was liquidated in true Stalinist tradition: expulsion. The motion for the expulsion of these IO and SYC members present at the meeting was quickly amended by a more far-sighted individual to include all the "Trotskyists" in the branch.

What difference does it make whether or not they are present to
(CONT. ON P. 18)

The Anniversary of October

How Can We Defend The Soviet Union?

November 7th is here! Sixteen years have elapsed since the great victory of October. Again the world proletariat demonstrates and rejoices. Sixteen years ago today the first giant step on the road to emancipation was taken; the first Workers' State was established. The Russian Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky successfully led the first proletarian revolution. The proletariat joined by the oppressed peasantry swept away their bourgeois and reformist masters and began the task of building socialism. We join with the workers of the world in celebrating the first major victory in the history of the working class.

But wait, rejoicing and cheering are not enough. The Workers' State still stands alone. Are other countries on the verge of their October? Does Soviet Russia stand as a shining example to the rest of the world proletariat? These are timely questions on this, our day of celebration.

In Canada and the United States we find gigantic strikes. In the former country, the Communist Party is illegal with the majority of the workers still voting for either of the capitalist parties. During this last year a Canadian counterpart of the European Social-Democracy has arisen, the C.C.F. Thousands enthusiastically support this party and their disillusionment in its policies is still in the future. In the U.S., the initial hysterical acclamation of the N.R.A. is giving way to doubt and dissatisfaction. The majority of the organized workers are under the guidance of the treacherous A.F. of L. functionaries while the red In-

ustrial Union has left a history of scabbing and unsuccessful strikes. The North American masses can be characterized as a child taking its first uncertain steps -- it needs leadership and guidance.

In Europe the picture is painted in deeper hues. The Continental proletariat with relatively large C.P.'s is nevertheless bewildered and disunited. All eyes are turned to Germany. Hitler's victory is reflected in France and Austria where strong Fascist movements are growing; the loose of the Fascists in Italy has been renewed by the recent German events. In Germany, the race persecutions are but a transparent cover for Hitler's coup. It is obvious to all that it is the defeat of the proletariat that Fascism has achieved.

Hitler makes no secret of his plans. His program is one of German expansion via the conquest of Russia. The inauguration of Fascism in Germany brings the threat of intervention a thousand times closer. Russia is hemmed in with a warring Japan on the east and a hostile Germany on the west.

And the situation in Russia itself is tense. The peasantry has just passed through a terrible period of famine. Stalin's achievement -- finishing the Five Year Plan in four years -- has wreaked havoc with both the rural and urban population. In the political field, revolutionary internationalism is forsaken for the theory of "socialism in one country". The Communist Party, completely bureaucratized, tries by diplomatic manoeuvres to verify its false theories. Pilsudski, arch-enemy of the Polish proletariat, is invited by Stalin to review the Red Army. Party democracy is dead; in this respect, Stalin's bureaucratism is no less efficient than Hitler's dictatorship.

We must realize the sharpness of the present situation. The very
(cont. on p. 16)

The Future Tasks of The Spartacus Youth

The collapse of the Communist party in Germany before the advent of Fascism signifies a defeat for the German working class and for the world proletariat. Does the Comintern recognize this defeat? No! They deny that there has been any defeat and have endorsed the actions, or rather the lack of action of the German C.P.

To save its very hide, the Stalinists dares not admit its fatal mistakes and blunderings in Germany, for then there would have to be a reckoning. The rotten planks that Stalinism has laid and through which the German Communist Party crashed to destruction, namely, Social Fascism, United Front from Below only, and Non-Participation in Reactionary Trade Unions, these would be examined and thus the adventurism and opportunism of the Stalin regime would be exposed.

That the collapse of the second largest and strangest Communist party in the world should evoke no response from the Russian workers is significant. With their reactionary nationalistic policy of Socialism in one Country the bureaucracy has succeeded in isolating the Russian proletariat from the rest of the world. The truth of the German debacle has been concealed from them. Instead of bringing home the lessons learned from the mistakes made in Germany, the Stalinist misleaders bring back Peace Bonds with the Fascist countries. To lull the fears of the Russian working class with the idea that "Stalin is in his Kremlin, All's right with the world", this is the task of his

flunkies. The Comintern has been able to ignore completely the German disaster. Not even so momentous an event as the sweep of Fascism to power can force the Stalinist bureaucracy to hold a congress of the Comintern; such is the strangle-hold of the Stalinists on the Communist Parties. This proves conclusively the impotence of the castrated Third International. Then we must break with the Third International -- a Fourth Communist International must be built to lead the workers to victory.

The New Turn will enlarge the perspectives of the Spartacus Youth Club immeasurably. Our status in regard to the YCL will change completely. In the past, we have been a loyal fraction, vainly endeavouring through criticism to correct the false line of the YCL. In the YCL, as in the party, internal party bureaucracy reigns supreme, and the stagnation of the League increases rapidly. The SYC hitherto prevented by its fractional nature from becoming a mass organization will now be in a position to put theory into practice.

We shall work on a broader organizational basis; recruiting into the club all class-conscious young workers. Our task will be to organize young and inexperienced workers into subsidiary organizations such as sport and cultural clubs which will offer them some incentive and attraction. Through these clubs we can torch them the ABC's of the class struggle and the historic role in society of the working class.

(CONT ON P. 10)

Revolutionary Cuba

The need of the day -- a marxist party

The last few months have found Cuba torn from stem to stern by political revolutions; revolutions which have overthrown one political regime to replace it by another equally as impotent, equally as submissive to American Imperialism as the one before it. The first to feel the aroused people's wrath was "Butcher" Machado who due to his crude dictatorial methods of repression called down upon his own head the violent ire of the rapidly degenerating petty bourgeoisie. The proletariat, till then passive, carried on a terroristic fight against the military dictatorship. Not until the direct intervention of the proletariat was the crisis precipitated and Machado removed. This intervention on the part of the proletariat, the general strike almost upset the plans of the American ambassador to Cuba, Welles, to side-track the anti-imperialist movement onto an anti-Machado plane. But the political passivity of the proletariat, whose demands were neither "unreasonable" nor "unpatriotic", allowed Welles to keep the cap upon the anti-imperialist sentiment without resorting to forcible means. Despite this possibility the mediators were worried and had to allow the people to blow off steam in some way. The movement began and was allowed to carry on in a violent form. The members of La Porra, Machado's organization of assassins, were hunted down and shot like rats where they were found. These acts of terror brought no intervention but sometimes received the aid of the police and soldiery. Such were the methods of the mediators in keeping the revolt on an anti-Machado plane. These "thunderstorms" as they were to the mediators, did not pass over quickly

enough to please them. De Cospedoe, the newly established President, "faces the serious problem of.... preventing the successful mass revolution from becoming too revolutionary". (N.Y. Times, Aug. 14, 1933)

But De Cospedoe proved to be just as impotent as his predecessor Machado. Although the general strike came to an end with the return to work of the Havana bus workers and other stevedores and dock-workers, strikes still continued throughout the country. Here and there the military intervened but on the whole the soldiers fraternized with the workers. The last straw was reached with the proposed wage cut of the soldiers. They rebelled, overthrew their officers and for the first time in the present revolution put forth "THEIR OWN LEADERS". The political leadership that the soldiers and sailors need in the present situation has been supplied by the petty bourgeoisie under the slogan of immediate convocation of the Constituent Assembly. Anti-imperialist sentiment runs so high among the people that everything points towards the demand for the abrogation of the Platt Amendment, which gives the U.S.A. the right to intervene with military forces in Cuba. But the refusal of the junta of five set up by the petty bourgeoisie to convocate the Constituent Assembly, to speak plainly on the question of the Platt Amendment indicates the nature of their program. It could not be otherwise for they are incapable of conceiving, let alone carrying out, a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism which involves the liquidation of themselves as a class. Caught as they are between the over-present throat of the imperialist bourgeoisie and the rising tide of revolution

(cont. on p. 9)

Organisational

ON SEPTEMBER 23rd, the Spartacus Youth Club held a joint affair with the strikers of the Durable Leather Goods Company. The affair as a whole was very successful. There was an attendance of about 200 people, consisting mostly of strikers, Y.C.L.'ers and our own comrades.

A simple but very effective greeting was given by Comrade Esther Silver, the secretary of the Durable union. She pointed out the bad wages and conditions existing in the shop at present and stressed the need of financial and moral assistance. Comrade Macdonald, of the I.O., then spoke affirming again our support and solidarity with the strikers.

It is significant to note that the Durable strikers had asked Salsberg, representative of the union, to speak at this affair. As late as the same day of the affair, he had promised to be down, but to the surprise of the workers he did not turn up. Naively enough, they were very puzzled that Salsberg, who seemed so sincere and earnest would not even greet them because the entertainment was being held jointly with the S.Y.C.

Positive results were derived from the affair in that \$15 was collected for the strike fund, another and perhaps a more important result being the growth of a stronger feeling of good-will and co-operation between the S.Y.C. members and the Durable strikers.

Study Classes

AN IMPORTANT part of the activity of any revolutionary group is its educational work. The working class youth must be trained in the essentials of its theoretic weapon--Marxism, in the history of the Communist movement, in the strategy and the tactics that the proletariat must use in the struggle that leads to its dictatorship--learning from the lessons of the past how to fight in the future.

During the summer and ending a few weeks ago, such a course of lectures was delivered by a prominent young LO comrade. For the fall and winter period a new series, open to all young workers and students, is being undertaken by another well-equipped Marxist. The time and place are 8.30, Friday evenings, at 210 Beverley Street. The course will deal with the history of the development of man, the evolution of society, of private property and the State, Marxian economics, the lessons of the early struggles of the proletariat for emancipation, the Russian revolution and its brilliant example to the world proletariat, the historic struggle between Stalinism and Trotskyism and the tasks of to-day.

Never before in its history has the working class been faced so sharply with the alternative--the conquest of power, and on to Socialism; or black reaction, back to barbarism. Now is the time to prepare for battle--every young worker must go to school and learn how to fight for the overthrow of the capitalist barriers to progress.

Activities

For the Stratford Strikers

Under the auspices of the Spartacus Youth Club, an entertainment was held Saturday, October 21st. The purpose of the affair was to raise money for the Stratford strikers and to demonstrate solidarity with the workers carrying on their militant struggle.

gle for the betterment of their conditions.

A large number of members and sympathizers was present, and our purpose achieved, to the tune of \$9.00.

Spartacus Youth Club,
Street,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

October 3, 1933.

Dear Comrades:

I received a copy of your lively and interesting organ "October Youth" and wish you success from all my heart.

With comradely greetings,

L. Trotsky

THE STRIKE WAVE IN CANADA (Continued from Page 2)

Strike of 2000 lumbermen of the Thunder Bay region for an increase of 13¢ per cord.

Strike of 350 fur workers in Toronto--which won them a 20% increase and reduction in hours.

Strike of 100 canning factory workers in St. Catharines--against wages of 10 and 15¢ per hour. Successful.

Strike of 700 workers of the Mercury Mills in Hamilton. Concessions won.

Strike of 1400 miners in East Coulee, Alta. Successful.

Strike of 250 upholsterers in Toronto under the leadership of the WUL. Large wage increases won.

Joint strike of 700 furniture workers in five factories, and 80 workers of the Swift Company, in the town of Stratford. This can be truly called the crest of the strike wave, from the point of view of its militancy, the proportions it has taken on, and its potential after-effects.

REVOLUTIONARY CUBA

among the proletarian masses they are already beginning to cringe.

The new government of Grau San Martin, set up by this junta is harassed on all sides. The striking sugar plantation workers have seized the plantations and are determined to fight the soldiers that have been sent against them. The influence of Communism is growing amongst the masses. The government, condemned to futility and impotency as it is, has beat a path that swings more and more to the right, to the bourgeoisie, and to the American Imperialists while the workers swing more and more to the left towards Communism. The degree to which the government has capitulated to the Bourgeoisie is indicated by the discussions now going on in official circles. Welles and Co. are trying to negotiate a coalition bourgeois government. This government in order to live will have to crush the workers. Will the soldiers fight or support the workers?

The situation cries out for a revolutionary party, a Marxist leadership. Stalinism in Cuba, just as everywhere else, is impotent in the face of this situation. Consequently the leadership falls upon the shoulders of the newly formed Left Opposition group. Cuba is in a state bordering on civil war. She can be taken over that boundary by a correct leadership under correct slogans. The most important of these slogans is "Nationalization of Industry." Cuba stands in danger of intervention on the part of American Imperialism and will be in more immediate danger as events unfold and show a definite trend. The American proletariat must, in support of the Cuban workers, raise the cry **HANDS OFF CUBA**; we can do our part by supporting this movement as much as possible.

(continued bottom next column)

News From Vancouver

A LETTER FROM A VANCOUVER Y.C.I. MEMBER ON THE SERIOUS SITUATION IN DISTRICT #9

At no time during the last two years has the situation in District 9 of the Y.C.I. approached the critical condition in which it finds itself at the present time. This is not to be wondered at, however, if one is cognizant with the Stalinite apparatus and its multitudinous shortcomings. From the District Bureau to the units chaos reigns supreme, and it is not hard to see that this is the result of a bureaucracy which extends up into the National Executive and beyond, and down into the life of each member, a bureaucracy which has inflated upon the whole league membership an absolutely stereotyped policy which repeatedly fails to adjust itself to local conditions. As a result the gains made have been negligible, despite all the favorable conditions for radicalizing of the youth which the lengthy capitalist crisis has presented. The opportunities at hand are tremendous; it is not unusual to have young workers come voluntarily to the League, asking for assistance in their struggles against wage cuts, long hours and rationalization. Yet the membership does not grow and the League remains inactive.

(CONT. ON P. 10)

Cuba can rise and enter upon the path of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat only under the leadership of a revolutionary Marxist party. Soviets are on the order of the day. **LONG LIVE THE CUBAN REVOLUTION.**

L.M.

Swabeck Speaks In Toronto

The Future of International Communism

The first public meeting in Toronto on the new turn was held on Tuesday, October 10th, when Arno Swabeck addressed a mass meeting at the Labor Lyceum on the "Future of International Communism"; Jack Macdonald was chairman. Comrade Swabeck is a member of the National Executive Committee of the Left Opposition in the U.S.A. and has just returned from a visit to Europe.

The speaker outlined how the First and Second Internationals, each originally founded on a Marxist base, had both collapsed as a result of the antagonistic forces at work within them. The Third International, built from the proletarian kernel of the Second International, and likewise upon a Marxist base, had now reached the stage where the antagonistic forces at work within it had caused its collapse also.

Comrade Swabeck pointed out that the collapse in Germany sealed the doom of the C.P.G. and at that time the L.O. called for a new party in Germany. The Communist International, in denying the defeat and covering up its own guilt had revealed its own bankruptcy; no session of the C.I. discussed or questioned the C.I. policy, thus revealing that they have reached their final stage of decay and degeneration, made rotten by the disease of international Stalinism. "A new party or an International which can not learn from the Germany events is incapable of learning altogether

The German events reveal finally the utter bankruptcy of the Stalinist C.I. It is now necessary to build a new revolutionary international, a general staff of the world revolution.

In relation to the Soviet Union the speaker stated that a new party must be built to save the Soviet Union for the Soviet and international working class. Since the property relations remain proletarian, the S.U. is still a proletarian state, even though distorted and caricatured by Stalinism. It is necessary to reform the S.U. through a new party.

In the past, the L.O. has claimed itself a fraction of the C.I., Leftward moving Socialist groups, sympathetic to us but repelled by Stalinism, were kept away from us because of this. They would not tie themselves to a Stalinist C.I. whether directly or through a fraction. They were unwilling to take up the task of reforming the C.I. But now that we have given up this slogan of reforming the C.I. and are striving as an independent group towards the building up of a new international, these groups can be saved for Communism.

The speaker made it clear that the L.O. does not consider itself the new international, but it has taken the first step in proclaiming the need for it and devotes all its energies to the work of building and of gathering forces for the new revolutionary international. The intense interest displayed at the meeting and the questions posed to the speaker stood out in direct contrast to the hoodlum tactics employed by the Stalinists on former occasions, notably the meeting at the Spadina Concert Hall on May 12. It promises well for the future success of the L.O. in its work of reorganizing the revolutionary forces of Canada. The meeting concluded with stirring addresses from Comrades Spoorer and Macdonald. Both appealed for support for the developing revolutionary movement in Canada. The meeting was closed with the singing of the International.

--G.B.

Concerning Slander

(Beginning with this week we shall print in this column concise rebuttals of various slanders, both current and historical. We shall be able to deal with only a few of them; to consider them all would be neither possible nor necessary. Our purpose is to disclose to all honest elements in the Y.C.L. and elsewhere -- the vicious and unprincipled character of the slander that is circulated about the "Trotskyites" to teach them that it is necessary to question and doubt and ascertain things for one's self.)

IT IS rarely that one sees theory of any kind analyzed in the "Worker", but evidently that does not apply to L.O. theory, for we find Trotsky's united front explained in the issue of the 30th. The explanation begins on the correct path a nice, big, juicy falsification. It claims that Trotsky wants to forgive and forget the treachery of the Social Democracy in past history, that he wishes to unite the C.P. and S.P. into a bloc and build a federation of the two. Now, what did Trotsky really say.

"It is necessary to force the social democrats into a bloc against fascism. No common platform with social democracy, or with the leaders of the German trade unions, no common publications, banners, placards, March separately, but strike unitedly! Agree only how to strike, whom to strike and when to strike! Such an agreement can be concluded even with the devil himself, with his grandmother and even with Noske and Grzesinski. On one condition, not to bind one's own hands."

THE "WORKER" recently revived the old attack on Trotsky for publishing "Five dollar" books and articles in the bourgeois press. It is interesting to read the answer Trotsky gave to this slander in 1929.

"The slanderers (Yaroslavsky and the other agents of Stalin) are raising a great noise on the subject of American dollars. Otherwise it would hardly be worth while to stoop to this sort of rubbish. In order to leave nothing unclear, I will therefore tell you about the dollars.

I gave my articles to an American press agency in Paris. Lenin and I, dozens of times, have given interviews and written expositions of our views on one question or another to such agencies. Thanks to my banishment and the mysterious circumstances of it, the interest in this matter throughout the world was colossal. The agency counted on a good profit. It offered me half of the income. I answered that I personally would not take a cent of it, but that the agency should deliver at my direction a half of the income from my articles, and with this money I will publish in the Russian language and in foreign languages a whole series of Lenin's writings (his speeches, articles, letters) which are suppressed in the Soviet Republic by the Stalinist censorship. I will also publish with this money a whole series of important Party documents (reports of conferences, congresses, letters, articles, etc.) which are concealed from the Party only because they clearly demonstrate the theoretical and political bankruptcy of Stalin. This is that "counter-revolutionary" (according to Stalin and Yaroslavsky) literature which I intend to publish. An accurate account of the sums expended in this way will be published when the time comes. Every worker

(Continued on Page 16)

Strategy à la Stalin

A Satire

If one has been watching the bourgeois press over the course of the past few months, one could not help but be convinced that Comrade Stalin, shrewd man, has succeeded in entirely deceiving the world bourgeoisie, imagine! They actually believe that Stalin has deserted the international revolution and has entirely engrossed himself in the task of building socialism in one country... Poor, foolish bourgeoisie! How little do they suspect that this is only a diplomatic ruse on the part of Comrade Stalin, a ruse expertly calculated to put them off their guard.

Comrade Stalin, let it be known, is an internationalist; but he is also a tactician of the very first water. As the organizer of the Red Army, Comrade Stalin first became acquainted with the military tactic of camouflage--and ever since then he has been camouflaging right and left, camouflaging history and politics and economics and revolutionary theory. This does not mean, however, that their fundamental values have been changed; one would have to be a counter-revolutionary of the deepest dye to believe such unprincipled slander. Let us recall the words of Lenin, "Bolsheviks", Lenin said, "must be prepared to use every means at their disposal in order to achieve their end"... It is in the full word and spirit of this that Comrade Stalin--shrewd man--has undertaken his systematic camouflage of the international essence of the proletarian revolution. One must, after all, acknowledge that such a task requires an unusual degree of Bolshevik sensitivity--for the bourgeoisie as a class, is itself not entirely without shrewdness; and in order to

make the revolutionary bourgeoisie fool-proof it was necessary to effect tremendous changes in the actual appearance without, it is understood, in any way impairing its action by a superabundance of deceptive artifices-- With what expertness, with what tact, Comrade Stalin has proceeded herein.

First of all, he put the bourgeoisie off guard by replacing--or rather, covering--the item of international revolution with the concept of socialism in one country. Next, he ceased to call Congresses of the Communist International; but here he was able to steal a march on the bourgeoisie by utilizing their ignorance of the exact nature and function of plenums--for although there has been no congress of the C.I. for almost six years now, every single detail--or at least, almost every single detail--of importance has received entirely adequate treatment in the plenums of the C.I., the aspersions of slanders and counter-revolutionaries to the contrary. With rare craft and cunning Comrade Stalin enters into non-aggression pacts and pawns on fascists and imperialists for all the world as if there could be nothing but friendship between them. Especially has he been able to effect their deception through his campaign in the press. When Izvestia announces that "we have no quarrel with our imperialist neighbors whether they carry out their capitalist policies under the banner of bourgeois democracy or of fascism" how should the simple-headed bourgeoisie understand that this is a mere covering for an actual policy of international revolution? How terribly simple it is to deceive the naive and superficial imperialist boobs. For instance, when Walter Duranty failed to hear of any anti-Hitler demonstration in Soviet Russia he wrote in the New York Times that "Soviet Russia's foreign policy is not affected by Hitler's persecution

STRATEGY A LA STALIN

of German communists; but when Hitler prepares himself for an attack on Russia, then Soviet foreign policy is most vehemently affected... naive and guileless Walter Duranty, a foolish bourgeois! Your failure to understand this campaign shall lead you to perdition... mighty Stalin, man of steel, man of destiny! Through your knowledge and application of camouflage, the world world revolution shall yet become fact.

There is however, one trouble... a very minor one--with Stalin's application of the tactic of camouflage; so perfect is it that the world proletariat and even Stalin himself are no longer able to discern the fundamentals; that is, for them too, the camouflage has become reality.--But what matter this so long as it deceives the bourgeoisie.

...Let us be serious. What actually is the situation and what, actually, does it mean? During the past several months articles on Russia and International Revolution have appeared throughout the liberal bourgeois press. The general tenor of these writings is disclosed by Frederick Griffin's article in last week's "Star Weekly". Stalin Griffin decides, has given up the international revolution--as witness the theory of socialism in one country, the abandonment of International Congresses, Russia's passivity in international affairs, and her key-towing, peace pipe-smoking and pipe-betting. These bourgeois newspaper gentlemen, of course, are generally strongly skeptical about the Soviet experiment; but they also generally agree that the Stalinist regime is preferable, and more practical and intelligent than the Bolshevik regime of Lenin and Trotsky. According to Griffin Marx, Lenin and Trotsky were idealists--academicians--romanticists; but Stalin, the politician, Stalin the economist, Stalin

Stalin the statesman, etc. etc.-- will go down in history as a greater man than Marx, Lenin or Trotsky. It is obvious that these gentlemen stand opposed to the revolution; and that they are for the Thormidorian regime of Stalin which is rapidly squandering its revolutionary heritage.

The imperialists can be thankful for the Stalin regime and the theory of Socialism in One Country; they serve their purpose in that they disorganize the world proletariat and thus weaken the Soviet Union itself. But despite its abandonment of revolutionary principles and despite its key-towing, etc., the Stalin regime can hope for no mercy at the hands of the imperialists; Russia, at the present time is one of the few remaining fields of imperialist exploitation; nor will the bourgeoisie rest content as long as there remains one iota of the heritage of October.

Down with the Reactionary Theory of Socialism in One Country! Down with the Thormidorian Regime of Stalin!.... Forward under the Banner of the Permanent Revolution!

---I.L.---

"If it is at all possible to realize socialism in one country then one can believe in that theory not only after the conquest of power but also prior to it. If socialism can be realized within the national boundaries of backward Russia then there is the more reason to believe that it can be realized in advanced Germany. Tomorrow the leaders of the CP of Germany will surely bring forward this theory. The Draft Program empowers them to do so."

---TROTSKY.

Defense of Joe Derry

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE JOE DERRY DEFENSE COMMITTEE IN MONTREAL

Joe Derry was arrested while addressing an anti-war meeting and charged with being a member of an allegedly unlawful organization, the Young Communist League of Canada, in violation of Section 98 of the Criminal Code. This infamous anti-labor law has already been used in order to inter eight Communist leaders in the Kingston penitentiary and to declare the Communist Party illegal in Ontario and semi-illegal in the rest of Canada. If Joe Derry is convicted, The Y.C.L. will automatically find itself in the same position as the Communist Party. That Section 98 will be extended to include other worker's organizations all over the country is more than probable.

Section 98 was put on the statute books of Canada for the immediate purpose of legalizing the crushing of the Winnipeg general strike of 1919. It constitutes a powerful weapon in the hands of the ruling class to keep the whole working-class in subjection.

Only a broad and powerful united front movement of the organizations of the working class, particularly youth organizations, irrespective of their affiliation and views, can free Joe Derry. This achievement would be a step towards the abolition of Section 98 and an unprecedented struggle for the definite guaranteeing of free speech, assembly and organization on the working class.

An effective common struggle can be set in motion only by a democratic and centralized conference of the representatives of workers' organizations.

The method adopted, however, of merely setting up committees in various organizations, while postponing the calling of a conference to the remote and indefinite future, constitutes a retreat from the course of a centralized united front. The effectiveness of a united front, the invaluable of its experience consists precisely in the fact that workers of different affiliations fight together for a common aim.

Actually, moreover, the committees are being set up, if at all, only in left-wing organizations -- an inevitable result of the whole course pursued. Instead of a united front the campaigning of the left-wing organizations, which would in any case take place, is being conducted under the label of setting up committees. This is but an expression of sectarianism, and unwarranted pessimism in the possibility of mobilizing the workers' organizations by means of a democratic and all-sided conference.

No matter how strenuously the course adopted is pursued as a "preparatory" course to the creation of a broad united front movement, the desired end will not be attained. The preparatory work must be carried on precisely with the perspective in mind of a date immediately fixed for the convening of a representative conference. As it is, however, the old united front from below, i.e. no united front at all, is being revived with the addition of the ornament of committees in left-wing organizations.

United front conferences have been failures in the last year because, for one thing, abstract slogans were put forward, not fitting in with a concrete situation. The very campaign in the Joe Derry issue has up to now not centered around the question of freedom of organization and

the abolition of Section 98. Due to the pressure of our delegates, the committee eliminated the tendency to make the issue a struggle against war. No one would think of calling a united front for the overthrow of capitalism because someone has been arrested for advocating this overthrow. A correct program of action is necessary for every particular united front. Such a program, however, without the means of carrying it through -- a representative conference -- is meaningless.

United front conferences have been wrecked by the putting forward of ultimatums to reformist organizations, condemning reformism as a political method and even dubbing it "social fascism." The united front for the defense of Joe Derry demands agreement on only one concrete issue. Each organization maintains its independence and its freedom of criticism, but refrains from slandering its temporary allies.

The mistakes of the past are no justification for a return to the "united front from below." They rather point to the necessity of a correct united front policy today.

The Left Opposition and the Spartacus Youth Club refuse to share the responsibility for this false course that must ruin the splendid prospects for a powerful movement. In the interests of the struggle for freedom of organization for the working class we uphold the banner of the Leninist united front.

There is a sentiment afoot in Stalinist circles that, since Joe Derry is about to be sentenced, it is too late to initiate a broad united front movement in his defense. Joe Derry has already been in jail for some time, but Section 98 is still on the statute books of Canada, a useful weapon in the hands of

the ruling class against the workers' struggle. The leaders of the C.L.D.L. considered it too late to set on foot a united front for the release of the five charged with sedition precisely because the five had already been sentenced. The Joe Derry case must not suffer the same fate.

The Joe Derry Committee must declare itself a Provisional Committee and transfer its powers to a duly convened united front conference of all workers' organizations for the defense of Joe Derry. To make such a united front a success we are ready to do our utmost.

--INTERNATIONAL LEFT OPPOSITION
(MONTREAL BRANCH.)

--SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB
OF MONTREAL.

"The new International cannot be proclaimed: it still has to be built. But one can, and one should, from to-day onward, proclaim the necessity to create a new International."

Ferdinand Lassalle, who was no stranger to opportunism, nor to adventurism, nevertheless expressed the fundamental requirements of revolutionary politics: "Every great action begins by the assertion of that is." Before replying practically to the questions: How is a new International to be built, what methods are to be applied, what delays are to be fixed--it is necessary to assert openly what is: THE COLLECTIVE IS DEAD FOR THE REVOLUTION."

--G. GOUROV

EDITORIAL - THE NEW TURN

At an international congress held in Paris of independent Socialist and Communist groups, four organizations signed a declaration, drawn up by the International Left Opposition, proclaiming the necessity of a new International. They were the Socialist Workers Party of Germany, the Independent Socialist Party of Holland, the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland and the International Left Opposition. A nucleus is already in existence; the basis is in the process of formation.

As this is the most important question on the order of the day we intend to devote more attention to it in our columns, to explain further the reasons for the step, its full implications, what it means to the working class youth, and so on. But we cannot of course deal with it adequately enough. We would advise our readers, for further material, to get the "Militant", past issues if possible, as well as future issues. This can be done through the comrades who sell the "October Youth".

Young workers, this is a step of the greatest significance to you. It means the formation of an international working class party that will be capable of leading the struggles of the workers and that will lead the world revolution for the overthrow of capitalism and the creation of the world socialist republic. It is to be the workers party behind which the workers must throw their whole fighting capacity if their emancipation is to be assured. Give your support to this move, rally to the assistance of the Left Opposition and the Spartacus Youth Club, take your part in the struggle for freedom.

ANNIVERSARY OF OCTOBER
(continued from Page Four)

existence of the USSR is imperilled. We must realize that to be a friend of the Soviet Union is not enough. Words will not stop the advancing German army. We must study and analyze, sift and weigh and then decide on a definite line of ACTION.

There is only one road out of the darkness -- that of international revolution. Though the long struggle is before us, we have the brilliant lesson of Russia to guide us. We need not despair. Though Leninism in the official movement has been robbed of its vitality, or entirely forgotten by "Communists" of Stalin's stamp, its revolutionary essence has been saved and inscribed into the banner of the International Left Opposition. Under this banner Lenin's struggle will be carried further -- on to the victory of the world proletariat. With an international leadership inspired by revolutionary Marxism, with Bolshevik-Leninist parties in the capitalist countries, the working class will emancipate itself and humanity.

LONG LIVE THE SOVIET UNION!
FORWARD TO THE NEW INTERNATIONAL!
FORWARD TO VICTORY!

CONCERNING SLANDER
(continued from Page 11)

will say that it is infinitely better to publish the writings of Lenin with money received in the form of an accidental contribution from the bourgeoisie than to propagate slanders against the Bolshevik-Leninists with money collected from the Russian workers and peasants."

A letter to the Russian workers by L. Trotsky. The Militant--May 1-15, 1929.

CLDL-SYC Letters

On June 24th, the Spartacus Youth Club sent a communication to the CLDL, expressing its desire to affiliate to the latter body. As no reply was received, another letter was sent reaffirming our sincerity and eagerness to join in the defense work. Two weeks elapsed and still no word was received. However, several of our comrades belong as individuals to the Clara Zetkin branch of the League and they proposed and passed a resolution demanding that the centre take action immediately. Action, (of a negative nature) was taken, and the SYC received a notice that the matter had been referred to the Central Executive Committee for decision. In reply a third letter was sent from the SYC from which we quote as follows:

"....We are not aware that the matter of affiliation is handled by any other governing body of the CLDL than the district council. You cite as the reason for your action that you have been informed of the activity of the SYC as 'disruptive work in the general labor movement'.We are forced to suspect that you are discriminating against our organization—a youth working class organization....The SYC since its inception has orientated itself on the defense of the working class, against police terror and capitalist reaction....and participated in the Anti-Fascist demonstration held on July 11th....It has actively participated in the picketing of the Hallman and Sable strike, of the Durable pocket-book makers' strike....In no sense can our activity be construed as 'disruptive'. To brand us such is to lie and to slander. We indignantly repudiate such accusations...."

Two weeks later a reply to this letter was received. We quote as follows:

"....The D.C.C. decided to refer your application to the N.E.C. not because we 'deemed it of so serious a nature' but simply because the communication from the Clara Zetkin branch asked for it and because we had reports from important working class organizations affiliated with the CLDL, that the activities of your members are of a disruptive nature. The fact that the CLDL is a non-partisan mass organization....does not mean that we accept into our ranks such 'organizations' which are being condemned by masses of workers as disruptive elements, and whose activity is calculated to bring disunity and a weakening of the struggles of the toiling masses....The opinions, suggestions, desires and wishes of the rank and file workers of our organization who do not attend the universities and cannot be classed as cynical 'students' or half-baked intellectuals—their wishes are supreme with the CLDL. To be a so-called 'intelligent militant' is, in our opinion, not enough. There are plenty of intelligent militants among the bourgeoisie. Destructive, demoralizing criticism and slander against the CLDL does not permit you to call yourselves: 'intelligent militants'".

(Here came a long tirade about the disruptive activity of the Trotskyites all over the country: the Anti-Fascist United Front Conference, the Student League, the Montreal branch of the CLDL, etc. The original of these paragraphs can be found in any current issue of the Worker.)

(Continued on Page 18)

"....You have some nerve to talk of your activities during strike-struggles of the workers. The needle trades workers, we are informed, the workers of the shops, who are conducting strikes for better conditions under the leadership of the Workers' Unity League are considering your "efforts" as being of a demoralizing and strike-breaking character. They judge you by that you do and not by what you say, and they have nothing but condemnation for you. We of the CLDL have every respect for the stand taken by those masses of workers against you, and we must therefore, reject your affiliation to the CLDL."

Is this mass labor defense organization really non-partisan as it claims? Then why is it that the political ideas of a few Stalinists at the top should be imposed on the rank and file? Why are those not in perfect accord with their ideas automatically eliminated and labeled disruptors? The conduct of the Left Opposition members in the general working class movement is absolutely unimpeachable. We criticize these actions of the Stalinite misleaders precisely in that they stifle independent thinking and criticism on the part of the rank and file and make the organization partisan and sectarian.

As long as we still have capitalism and socialism, we cannot live peacefully—either one or the other will be the victor in the end. The obituary will have to be sung either over the death of world capitalism or the death of the Soviet Republic."

--LENNIN.

CLDL EXPULSIONS (continued from Page 3)

defend themselves? If they are Trotskyites they must of necessity be disruptors....How revolting procedure can scarcely be imagined. Without wishing here to lend the dignity of a reputation to the charges of disruption, strike-breaking, etc., it should require but a single example of the activities of the SYC to prick this bubble of slander. In a social affair to demonstrate its solidarity with the Stratford strikers, the SYC raised over \$9 for their support. What the Canadian working class needs, therefore, is bigger and better "disruptors" — and more of them! But who are the disruptors of the defense movement? Is it the "Trotskyists" who, in the Clara Zetkin branch, were chiefly and almost solely responsible for the founding of the branch, or is it the bureaucrats who expel the "Trotskyists" because of political differences which have no place in a defense league. Is it the "Trotskyists" who are always ready to accept and carry out tasks, or is it the good people who, in their determination to rule, come armed with a manufactured majority?

Repressions such as those always have their background. And almost invariably the background is the same: a step forward by the International Left Opposition, a gain in popularity for the views for which it works. A mass meeting of 700 workers, such as was held by the Toronto branch of the IO recently at which the call was made for the Fourth International, finds its reaction in Stalinist circles in the form of physical repression. This is to be expected, but it must also be remembered that the armour the Stalinists have donned is not altogether impenetrable. The reported thrusts from the Marxist-internationalist sword of the ILO will continue to fix the vulnerable points, whose number, to be sure, is legion.

--A.J.--

NEWS FROM VANCOUVER

(continued from Page 9)

With the disappearance of democratic centralism, that members remain seem to be bound and gagged. Expression of opinion by the membership is frowned upon; we are told that only the District Bureau has the correct political analysis. Discussion on the German catastrophe is not welcome as it brings out certain issues whose investigation reveal the failure of the Comintern and the fallacy of the theory of social fascism.

In this connection there has occurred an amusing and well-timed incident which has struck fear in the hearts of the local bureaucrats. A certain comrade was taking a study class for the YCL; after a very comprehensive series of lectures on the Communist Manifesto he was suddenly requested to present the "Communist situation". The bureaucracy suspected him of "Trotskyism" and planned to expose him on that issue. The comrade was successful however, in bringing their "official" interpretation to a reductive and absurdum. Needless to say, the bureaucracy had had enough, and he was asked to speak no longer, and a torrent of abuse is now being directed against the Left Opposition and Comrade Trotsky, the circumstances surrounding the latter's exile being once again distorted.

An appalling lack of theoretical knowledge is a necessary corollary of this state of affairs. Capable speakers are not to be found and as a result those who speak are unable to present the revolutionary case to the masses of young workers. No work is being done whatever in the formation of cultural groups for the development of proletarian art and literature.

In every aspect of its work, the League is clogged with bureaucratic narrowness and inertia. Re-

TASKS OF THE S.Y.C.

(continued from Page 5)

Among the youth in the factories we must succeed in establishing nuclei to carry out the task of organizing the young workers. In this field, the YCL has notoriously failed to make any headway. Penetration of reformist mass organizations with the objective of forming a left wing will be necessary; and we must make a determined effort to win over the best elements in the Stalinist ranks. Among the students, the SYC has in the past made considerable headway; this work must now be carried on more extensively. The broadening out from a necessarily sectarian and highly critical minority group into a youth organization that will be felt as a mass force in the class struggle will place upon each and every member of the present SYC the greatest responsibility—a responsibility which cannot be over-estimated. Every member should equip himself so that he will be capable of conducting a study group that will attract the more serious elements of the Canadian youth—who are now repelled from Communism by the bureaucracy, its tactlessness, and ignorance of the YCL.

Our main task will be to educate the young workers and lead them in their daily struggles; keeping always in view our final goal.

—S.V.J.—

form is urgent. The young workers of Vancouver must be organized once more on a sound Marxist-Leninist revolutionary policy.

VanLo #2.