

YOUNG

MILITANT

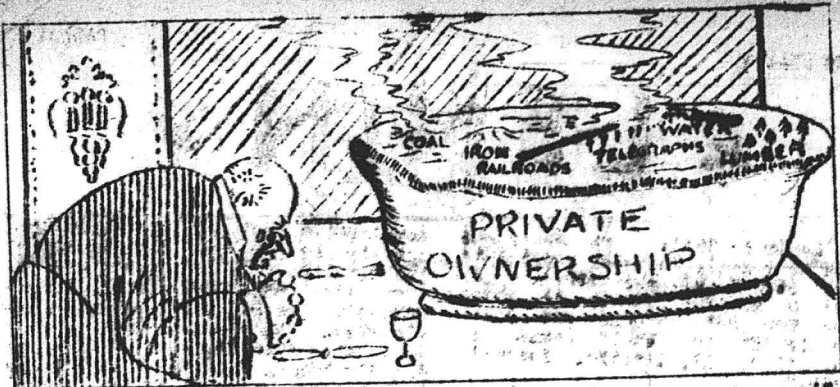


WISLAW LEVIN

ORGAN OF THE SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUBS

VOL. III No. 1 JANUARY 1934





"O Lord, Control my appetite if you must, but don't take my pie away!"

**YOUNG MILITANT** FORMERLY OF **"OCTOBER YOUTH"** **JAN. 1934** VOLUME **NO. 1**

**- CONTENTS -**

	Page
EDITORIAL-- <b>LENIN</b> .....	1
STRIKE IN ONTARIO BOYS' TEAR.....	3
PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE AT MONTEVIDEO.....	4
CLOAKMAKERS PREPARE TO STRIKE.....	5
ORGANISATIONAL ACTIVITIES.....	6

**UNITY--When--Why--How--** 8

ELEMENTARY MARXISM	
2--THE CLASSES IN SOCIETY (a) The Bourgeoisie.....	10
CONCERNING SLANDER ---- .....	13
A LETTER FROM ENLUSSI .....	14
THE VERDICT AT THE LEIPZIG TRIAL.....	15

<b>Fascist Propaganda at Convocation Hall</b> 19	
KARL LIEBKNECHT AND ROSA LUXEMBURG.....	20

"Proceed but slowly! We have not fled, we are not beaten....  
 We are here, and here we will remain! And the victory will be ours.  
 For Spartacus means fire and spirit, Spartacus means soul and heart.  
 For Spartacus means Socialism and World Revolution!"

--- Karl Liebknecht ---

# ★ LENIN ★

Lenin is dead. Ten years ago on January 22nd, the word swept into every corner of the world. Was there a single country in which there was not someone who said: "Our leader is gone?" Lenin is dead. "Farewell, Ilyitch. Farewell leader."

Tellers all over the globe, mourned the loss of Lenin. In some countries they numbered hundreds of thousands, in some tens of thousands, in others a mere handful. Wherever Lenin was known, his death could not but evoke a feeling of despair, of bewilderment. From every country came the cry: "We are leaderless." But it was only for the moment. For although Lenin was dead his teachings lived on, embodied in the first workers' State the Soviet Union; and in the "organizer of the World Revolution," the Communist International. And the followers of Lenin turned with renewed courage and determination to the carrying on of Lenin's work, the work of Communism. "Lenin is gone, but we have our International, we have the life and teachings of Lenin as an example. We shall conquer."

The genius of Lenin lay in his elaboration of a method, in his application in practise of the revolutionary teachings of Marxism, of the class struggle in the Imperialist epoch, and in his powers of guidance and direction. The doctrines of scientific Socialism were forged during a period when capitalism had yet a progressive role to play, when it was yet too early, therefore to speak of an immediate practical application of them in the proletarian revolution. For this reason Marx remained the proponent of the theoretical teachings of Socialism. Out of his studies of the laws of

development implicit in Capitalist society he evolved the system of theoretical weapons which was to serve the proletariat as the indispensable pre-requisite to its emancipation. Upon this system, Marxism, the teachings of Lenin are solidly based. Leninism is Marxism in practise, Marxism of the Imperialist epoch, of the epoch of wars and revolutions.

The first workers' State, the Soviet Union, still stands to-day as a testimony to the genius of Lenin and to the correctness of his teachings. Under Lenin's leadership the Bolshevik party in its ceaseless struggle with the Mensheviks was able to hammer out the basic strategic and tactical weapons that were to carry it to victory over the Tsarist autocracy.

The party, under Lenin's guidance was able to arm and re-arm itself theoretically in time to win and justify the confidence of the Russian masses in the first proletarian revolution. The party, under Lenin's direction, was able to come through the October insurrection victorious; to smash the remains of the old state power and to erect upon its ruins the new workers' government: The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. If the Soviet Union is in danger to-day, if counter-revolution is imminent, it is due to the departure from Leninism of the Stalinist Centrists, due to their floundering about, now in the swamps of opportunism, now in the camp of adventurism. The Soviet Union exists to-day, despite the ruin wrought by Stalinism, on the strength of its capital obtained during the October revolution.

(Continued on next page)

the first few years of its existence under the Lenin regime. And it was upon this same basis: the theoretical clarity achieved by the Bolshevik party, tested and hardened in the fires of revolution, that the Third International was founded.

Of this second great testimony to the greatness and genius that was Lenin, the embodiment of his teachings, the Communist International, the Stalinists have left nothing. Lenin was said to be present at and to participate in a leading capacity in the deliberations of the first four congresses of the Communist International, those congresses where the fundamental strategy and tactics of the World Revolution were forged, where the banner of World Communism was raised aloft again to serve as a beacon for the world proletariat. And that wave of revolution, initiated by the Russian workers in 1917, in its sweep across Europe brought over fresh forces to the Communist International. The International took its place in the vanguard as the organizer of the World Revolution, striding proudly at the head of the workers across the face of Europe and over of America. Lenin was at the helm.

But the victory fell to the enemy. The International was too young. The Hungarian revolution was drowned in blood, the German revolution failed, the Italian workers were sold out. It became necessary to settle down to the hard bitter work of the every-day struggle, to tack and manoeuvre. "Into the masses," was the cry, "win the majority of the working class." Then Lenin died.

Roughly dating from Lenin's death the evolution of the C.I. has been constantly downward. Lenin's death strengthened the forces of reaction immeasurably in the Soviet Union. The Stalinist faction which had been secretly organizing its cadres even during Lenin's life, and had been duly warned against this course by him, now came out into the open under the guise of a

struggle against "Trotskyism." They were able to succeed because of the weariness of the Soviet masses and their disappointment at the delay of the World Revolution. The very revolution had failed them, they thought. It was necessary then to concentrate one's attention on the construction of Soviet economy. The revision of Leninism was scribbled out under the slogan of "building Socialism in one country". Hostile class forces gained the victory over the party through the medium of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The Left Opposition, the Bolshevik wing of the party, was expelled, Stalinist Centrism was transplanted bodily into Lenin's International. The organizer of the World Revolution became the world organizer of defeat. The Chinese Revolution was betrayed in the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy; the British General Strike was sabotaged for the sake of Stalin's united front with the Trade Union bureaucrats, Hicks, Purcell and Scales. Finally, the German Communist Party capitulated before Hitler, taking with it to final and utter bankruptcy, the Communist International. Lenin is dead. Lenin's International is no more.

No! Lenin is gone but Leninism lives. Lenin's International will rise again. Just as the Third International was the historic descendant of the glorious First, so the new International that will arise out of the chaos and anarchy that is to-day will be the historic embodiment of all that was best in Lenin's International.

In the struggle for the building of the new Communist, the Fourth International, the young workers who are to-day finding their way to the revolution for the first time will play an important part. Communism is a task for generations, the young workers supply continuity to the Communist movement. History summons them to their tasks.

In Lenin's life and teachings they will find a rich store of material (cont. bottom next column)

# The Strike in the Ontario Boys' Wear

When the workers at the Ontario Boys' Wear decided that they could no longer put up with the horrible conditions of 52 hours for \$5.00, the question arose as to how they could be bettered. The only possible way was to organize in a common struggle against their enemy, the boss.

The workers therefore went to the Amalgamated and asked to be organized and led in a fight for union conditions. The Amalgamated accepted them and immediately began to organize a strike in the shop. A mass meeting was called in the Labor Lyceum where it was decided to impose a 4% tax during the strike for the support of the workers. All the workers were in favour of it since they realized their duty to their fellows in a bitter struggle of this kind.

Several workers from the shop described the miserable conditions and the terroristic methods used by the boss to keep them from organizing. It was plain that the workers, many of whom were women, were mili-

tants, determined to fight. Elements of this type are certainly capable of leading a strike. Great enthusiasm was evident throughout the meeting.

What has been the result of all this? Instead of mobilizing the Toronto workers to aid both financially and morally, the strike which is now going into its tenth week, the Amalgamated bureaucrats are still using their old tactics of seeking the support of shady politicians. As a result, the workers engaged in the struggle have been left with nothing but their own meagre resources; during the whole strike, there has been mass picketing only once. Such methods cannot possibly win any strike for the workers. Only the pressure of the workers as a whole will compel the boss to make a favorable settlement.

Much more could be said of the Amalgamated bureaucracy, but that must be left to a later date.

--G. Henderson--

erial with which to equip themselves for the fight. In his personal life, he best typifies the Communist morality, that is, the subjecting of oneself at all times to the needs and interests of the proletariat in the class struggle. In his teachings, they will find the theoretical weapons which alone can insure victory. Furnished with these lessons, they can hope for victory, because they have every historic right to it.

## WORKERS' SCHOOL FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

Starting January 24.  
A series of lectures on the Rise and Decay of Capitalist Civilization.

Every Wednesday night 8pm

Lecturer: MAURICE SPECTOR

Place: 215 BEVERLY ST. - All welcome.

# The Pan American Conference at Montevideo

The Seventh Pan American Conference, convened at Montevideo, Uruguay, had many gratifying results -- if you look at it from the point of view of an American capitalist. Most of the problems had to be treated very delicately as the relations between South America and the U. S. A. were rather strained by the outbreak of the Cuban Revolution. However, Secretary of State Hull is a master of diplomacy and the finesse he displayed in dealing with such people as Giraudy (delegate from Cuba) was truly remarkable. The Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay, tariffs, more investments in South America, all came up and were duly discussed and settled with the U. S. reaping a rich harvest from each successive point. Thus the conference filled the role that had been allotted to it -- a means of extending American trade and an agency for exporting American capital.

Nominally, the Pan American Union calls the conferences, but the Union was instigated by the U. S. A. whose Secretary of State must be at the head of the Governing Board. The expenditure of time and energy in these conferences which are called roughly every five or six years has proved a wise investment for the U.S.A., for statistics show that trade between the States and Latin America takes a sudden rise after each conclave.

At this conference, America put across a system of tariff-reducing treaties between herself and the republics of South America. This plan, called the Hull Tariff Plan, will naturally facilitate trade and Uncle Sam will secure a larger part of the South American market. Trade between South America and Europe will of consequence suffer and the U.S.A. will have gained

yet another victory over the nations of the Eastern Hemisphere.

Typical of all bourgeois peace parleys, the attempts of the conference to settle the Bolivian-Paraguayan dispute met with complete failure. Though we might probe a little further to try and find who is supplying the armaments and war supplies to the fighting nations, suffice it to say that the American delegates gave many long speeches about the need for co-operation and peace, etc., but to no avail -- the conference was forced to hand the problem over to the League of Nations Chaco Investigating Committee. Indeed, so ardent was Hull in his efforts that the New York Times of December 27th headlined its front page with: "American Parley Ends in Harmony." "Hull, Terra and League Chaco Committee applauded for efforts to end war." Bolivia and Paraguay, despite their participation in the conference were not sufficiently impressed, for their soldiers still continued their senseless slaughter of each other. The only concrete results of the war deliberations was an additional example of the impotence of bourgeois peace parleys.

The conference proved to be a miniature reproduction of outside world conditions. Argentina, backed by British capital has in previous conclaves been Uncle Sam's chief opponent but as England is forced to give way to the States in this field also, the Argentine delegates outdid themselves in abetting the States in all its schemes.

Cuba proved to be a troublesome wasp buzzing about Uncle Sam's hoary but respectable head. Giraudy, the Cuban delegate, actually expressed in

# Cloakmakers prepared to Strike

will for, the anti-American sentiments of his country. The temporary strength of the Cuban government which is caused by a number of factors, (strong anti-American feelings of all the Cuban non-bourgeois people; the danger felt by the American government that if she intervened in Cuba, Europe would take the opportunity to step in to plunder some of Cuba's great natural wealth) all these factors contributed to Cuba's defiance of the U.S.A.

The South American masses would do well to learn the lesson that the States is in deadly fear of any combined action against her; by expressing their sentiments more loudly (and perhaps resorting to force) they could gain more concessions from the States and ultimately send the American capitalists scampering to safer ground. The Cuban masses have only begun to discover the use of united force and have very far to go before casting off the imperialist yoke.

Though through the medium of the Pan American Conference, American imperialism has succeeded in entrenching itself more firmly in Latin America, it should be realized that a positive economic gain for the States is accompanied by a corresponding rise in the dissatisfaction of the subjugated South American workers. As the vise of American capital tightens, so proportionately does the misery and discontent of the South American masses deepen.

This dissatisfaction must be solidified and hardened if a revolution against America is to succeed. When this is accomplished, the proletariat of South America will have overcome one of their major difficulties on the road to the proletarian revolution.

Every cloakmaker in the trade must know that the conferences between the union and the bosses have been futile. The union will have to call a strike within the next few days that is the only language that the bosses will understand. The employers are ready to accept those demands which will not affect their profits, and not improve the material conditions of the cloakmaker, whomst supplement their wages with assistance from the charitable institutions.

You cloakmakers know well enough that conditions cannot be worse, that you have nothing to lose, for this reason, when the union will declare the strike, we are certain that you will all as one, leave the shops as loyal and brave union soldiers. We are certain that you will see to it that the history of the last strike, when four of the largest factories remained working will not be repeated.

You must fight in a determined fashion, in the same manner as you have previously shown yourself capable, for the demands which the union puts forth to your employers, because they are righteous demands. It is about time that you ceased working more than 40 hours a week, and abolish unemployment in the cloakmakers trade, because the bosses utilize the unemployed as a weapon to worsen your already miserable living conditions. Overtime work must be abolished entirely, unemployment insurance fund to which the bosses should contribute 2% of the wages paid, must be fought for. A minimum wage for every department etc., must also be won.

Cloakmakers! Keep a watchful eye that such fashion "deals" as in the last strike which the union officials made, shall not repeat themselves. Take the situation in hand; carry through mass picketing; let nothing frighten you in the struggle for better conditions. (cont. on page 18)

# Organisational Study Classes, Workers' Forum

The Mt. Dennis Spartacus Youth Club which was only formed a few weeks ago, has already started out on a program of activities. Prominent in this is a course of study class in "Problems of Scientific Socialism" to be conducted by a well-equipped comrade.

Beginning January 19 the course will go on weekly over some months. Those young workers and students of the district who wish to attend can get further information from the members or from the chairman at the Sunday night West York Workers Forum in Jolly's Hall.

\*\*\*\*\*

Many workers will remember the brilliant and instructive course of classes in Marxism and working class problems led by comrade Maurice Speeter two summers ago. As a direct result of this educational work now forces for the revolution were recruited and trained in the fundamentals of theory and practice of the working class movement.

Now, comrade Speeter, under the auspices of the Toronto Spartacus Youth League, will lead another course conceived on a similar plan, to begin the latter end of January. Everyone who realizes the vital necessity of a correct policy as a preliminary to correct revolutionary struggle for emancipation, will take advantage of this opportunity. Watch for further announcements.

\*\*\*\*\*

The series of lectures mentioned above will commence on Wednesday January 24, at 8 pm.

Place: 213 Beverly St.

The subject will be "The Rise and Decay of Capitalist Civilization". The course will be 12 lectures, one each Wednesday night.

The Toronto branch of the International Left Opposition took another step in the extension of its influence by an entry into the working class district of Mount Dennis, a suburb of Toronto. Mount Dennis had for some time been considered a stronghold of Stalinism, for it was here that the Stalinites had a strong membership, one of their largest and most militant mass organizations. In order to acquaint the workers here with the principles and program of the Left Opposition, and discuss the problems that face both the local and the international working class, it was decided to hold a Workers' Forum on Sunday evenings in Jolly's Hall.

The first meeting of the Forum took place Sunday December 17th. The speaker was Comrade Maurice Speeter, on the subject of "The Crisis in International Labour". He told of the reasons for the necessity of an international working class movement; he then reviewed the First, Second and Third Internationals, the reasons for their growth and decay, and their contributions to the revolutionary experience of the working class. The speaker then showed how the fatal blunders of the Comintern, especially in Germany, made necessary the formation of a Fourth International. The Stalinites share responsibility in the victory of Fascism, and other mistakes were brought to light for the first time for many of the audience.

The subject of the next Forum "Soviet Recognition by the U.S.A." was very timely, and well handled by Comrade Jack MacDonald. The diplomacy of Lenin was illustrated copiously by documents and quotations, and it formed a striking contrast with that of Stalin. Comrade MacDonald explained the third and fourth paragraphs of Litvinov's letter to Roosevelt, and the meaning they held for the revolutionary workers.

# Activities

## Montreal Unemployed

### Organize Soup-Kitchen

The next meeting took place after the holiday season on January 7th. In spite of the bad weather forty-five workers turned out to hear Comrade Speeter speak on "The Program of the C.C.F." He opened with an analysis of capitalism before and after the war stressing the economic changes that have taken place, and the imperative need, in the imperialist epoch of wars and revolutions, for a revolutionary working class party, not one of domestic reform, like the C.C.F. Comrade Speeter emphasized the fact that the C.C.F. evades the fundamental questions of who will control the State; that the C.C.F. is composed of and led by the petty bourgeoisie and farmers, with the workers in a subordinate position; that such an organization will not enter into the every-day struggles of the working class; and, that since it has not an international orientation, it cannot hope to strike a single blow at international capitalism. The audience was so interested that it kept the meeting open till eleven-thirty.

\*\*\*\*\*

On December 23rd, an affair was held in aid of "Unser Wort", organ of the German Left Opposition. The affair on the whole was a success, fifteen dollars being collected.

An interesting talk was given by a young comrade in the U.O. on the splendid work being done by the L.O. in Germany. He spoke of the difficulties the comrades had in smuggling copies of the organ into Fascist Germany; in many cases the paper having to be cut into small strips and smuggled in piece-meal.

He concluded by making a stirring appeal for funds to help the Unser Wort in its daily struggles.

Up to the present the unemployed of Montreal have been almost entirely unorganized. Because of this, the conditions of unemployment relief have been unspeakably miserable, in striking contrast to the conditions in Verdun where the unemployed organized in a strong militant organization were able to win considerable demands for the betterment of their relief. Relief in Montreal is distributed through various denominational institutions (Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, etc.). This not only tends to keep God's faithful spiritually uncontaminated (the syphilis that you are as likely as not to pick up at the various hostels does not infect the soul -- just the sinful flesh). In addition there lurks behind the whole arrangement the cunning purpose of keeping the ranks of the unemployed divided -- of playing one section off against the other to the common disadvantage of all.

Jewish single men's relief has been up to now a bit better than that of the others. Not heavenly, mind you -- just a bit better. Nor was the story as simple as all that. If the meals (served eternally without butter and without milk -- in observance of Jewish dietary laws) were a bit better -- then the Jewish unemployed were given no clothing whatsoever. Apart from this there were one hundred and one details petty in appearance but very annoying and harmful in reality, such as the serving of a heavy meal in the morning and a light meal in the afternoon. (Perish your stomachs, argued the manager, the kitchen routine must be preserved!), the insolent treatment meted out to the unemployed by the management, the tobacco was provided without cigarette paper, etc.

(Cont. on p. 17)

# when... why... how...

Communist duty of the Left Opposition to recognize the utter bankruptcy of the Third International and take upon themselves the task of gathering cadres for the building of a new international revolutionary movement. The attitude that the workers in the reformist and Stalinist parties who realize the failings of their organization should take to party unity and party splits, is well posed by Trotsky in his advice to the opposition in the Austrian S.D. party.

"The opposition poses for itself the task of 'saving the party'. What are we to understand by that: the traditions of Austro-Marxism, its political course, its bureaucratic apparatus? But we must, on the contrary, put an end to all this as rapidly and as thoroughly as possible. It is impossible to save the Social Democratic masses from disintegration and political corruption without the proclamation of an uncompromising struggle against Bauer and Co. (the leader of the Austrian Social-Democratic party). This struggle must inevitably lead to a split with the greatest advantage to the proletarian revolution. Does that mean that the Austrian Social Democratic opposition shall immediately leave the party and create a new one? No, that is not my opinion. To-day when the opposition has not yet presented itself before the working masses, such a split would only facilitate the task of Bauer and Co. Here also, the first step should be: 'to speak out what is' (Militant, June 3/33.)

## TRADE UNION UNITY

The organs of struggle of the working-class in their everyday fights for better conditions are the trade unions. Here actual organizational unity is necessary on a much broader scale than in the political field. When workers join trade unions, whether they be reformist unions or left-wing unions, they do so because they sincerely want to struggle for better

living conditions and believe that the union will lead them in their struggles. The workers, therefore, no matter what their political views, are fundamentally agreed as to why they are trade union members and what they want. Under these circumstances, it is the duty of revolutionary workers to devote themselves to the fight for trade union unity and the substitution of the industrial form of unions for the craft form; it is their duty to build the unity of the workers in their economic struggles.

Any division in the ranks of the workers in this sphere of their struggles against the exploiters, plays into the hands of the bosses. It is for this reason that revolutionary workers must fight for industrializing the trade unions -- for bringing all the workers in the industry together in one organization instead of dividing them into various organizations according to their crafts. It is necessary to fight unremittingly against all tendencies "towards dual unionism; against the Stalinist trade union policy of the 'Third Period.'" It is tragic that as a result of the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy it is necessary to retrace class-conscious workers that their place is not in simple little revolutionary unions of their own but with the "broad masses of the workers in their popular unions. By setting up their "revolutionary" dual unions they thereby weaken the struggles of the working-class itself -- first of all, because they remove the best and most class conscious elements who understand the tricks of the reformist labor-fakers and are capable of leading the fight against them; second of all, because it is inevitable that the bosses should play one union against the other and further antagonize the workers towards the left-wing. Finally they thereby destroy whatever contact the revolutionary party has with the masses.

(Cont'd on next page)

## UNITY (Cont'd)

One, however, does not call for trade-union unity abstractly. It is hardly conceivable, for instance, that the unity of the Federation of Catholic Unions with the popular unions will ever become a fact. Such organizations may become necessary to smash by means of a left-wing working front within and by applying the tactic of the United Front. Furthermore, in industries where there is no union, or merely a paper union, revolutionaries should take the initiative and attempt to build industrial unions under their own leadership.

## THE UNITED FRONT-

Both in the political and economic spheres of the class struggle, the vital interests of the working class demand that workers' organizations, unite in common struggle for common immediate aims. These organizations may or may not have principled differences as a basis for their separate existence of various proletarian organizations that makes the United Front an essential tactic during the period preparatory to the revolution. "The working class itself is not homogeneous. Its different sections arrive at class-consciousness by different paths and at different times. The bourgeoisie participates actively in this process. Within the working-class, it creates its own institutions, or utilizes those already existing, in order to oppose certain strata of workers to others. Within the proletariat several parties are active at the same time. Therefore for the greater part of its historical journey, it remains split politically. The problem of the united front -- which arises during a certain period most sharply -- originates therein." (Leon Trotsky -- "What Next?")

How do we propose such a United Front? Let us take the example of a United Front against Fascism. In this case it would be the duty of the revolutionary party to say to the Social Democratic and other workers' organizations: "On the question of revolutionary struggle, our organizations have irreconcilable differences. But in our attitude to Fascism, there is a  
(Cont'd on Page 11)

## The Classes

## (a) The Bourgeoisie -

The class struggle which we attempted to define in the last article shows itself concretely under capitalism in the historic struggle between the capitalist class and the working class. These two classes are the opposing poles in capitalist society. The capitalist class rules and the working class is enslaved. Between these two fundamental sections of capitalist society lies the class of the petty bourgeoisie, in its mass an oppressed class. This class fills in all the social corners of capitalism, and in the course of the class struggle breaks and divides, part supporting the working class, part uniting with the capitalists.

It is our task at this point to analyze each of these classes separately, so that a general picture can later be re-created of the class-struggle under capitalism.

The capitalist class consists of all those individuals who are concerned directly or indirectly with the exploitation of wage-workers. Such are the owners of factories, and large enterprises of all sorts. Such are the financiers and bankers who control large masses of capital, who are directors of many large scale industrial and commercial concerns, who wield great economic power through their control of the stock exchange. The capitalist class is a small class necessarily.

The capitalist class evolved and expanded in control of the large scale plants of mass production; the factories, the mines, the railroads, the steamship lines -- in short, the means of production. Masses of wage-workers are collected and herded together, are hired by the "boss" to spend the hours

## in Society

of work at the machine, producing commodities. Commodities are goods which are produced in order to be sold, to bring in a profit. Profit is roughly the amount of money the capitalist clears when he has sold his commodities, over and above what he has spent in paying wages, in paying for the raw materials, in paying for the wear and tear of machinery and plant. In short, profit is roughly the total amount of money realized by the sale of the commodities, minus the cost of production. To understand the nature of profit one has to understand Karl Marx's theory of value. We will investigate this later. It is enough to state here that all profits are derived from the exploitation of wage-workers. We will also explain the meaning of exploitation.

Profits are the foundation of the capitalist system. The search of the capitalist class after profits has resulted historically in the development of a gigantic and very complicated industrial, commercial and financial system. This has resulted in the establishment of the modern centralized capitalist nation, and in the over-running of the world by capital.

Capital is the dominant form of property under capitalism. The greater part of the profits wrung from the workers by the capitalist is transformed into capital for use in extending exploitation, i.e., in making more profit. We shall have to explain capital at greater length later. Capital has developed to such an extent, that the controlling influence lies in the hands of a tiny minority. The rise of stock, the development of finance, has enabled the capitalist to effect a wide-flung control. Fifty members of the senate in Canada con-

trol and direct the economic life of Canada. These fifty senators are directors of 334 commercial and financial institutions. Their economic position in control of the accumulated capital of the country allows these capitalists to exert a dominating political influence. They control the government. They control the state.

At first glance it would seem that the government rules the country, rules both the capitalists and the workers alike. This is not true. This only seems so because the capitalist class generally does not govern. It is the man behind the throne. It draws its administering and governing agents from the other classes of society, especially from the petty bourgeoisie. It bribes them with jobs, honours and privileges. It corrupts them into becoming brutal bulwarks of its regime.

The modern capitalist state which has grown so huge and fat that it is almost an independent force in society, is the organ of domination of the capitalist class. It is an organization of force, designed to keep "law and order", so that capital can peacefully exploit labour. The special bodies of armed men, the police, who are placed above society, and become increasingly divorced from it, who are selected for their lack of working-class consciousness, stand ready to defend capitalist property to the death. That is their function as part of the state. They are at the beck and call of any capitalist who has "labour troubles", in the shape of strikes on his hands.

A recent article by the Assistant Secretary of War of the U.S.A., Woodin by name, in the January 6 issue of "Liberty" explains in utterly frank terms the state, nature and functions of the ultra-modern American standing army. We quote: "Economic breakdown unless promptly corrected, induces social breakdown. In such a crisis the Army is the only organization in the country which is able and ready to maintain the government".



# Concerning Slander

"The Worker" of Saturday, December 23 says: "Counter-revolutionary Trotskyites...are busy denouncing the U.S.A.-U.S.S.R. agreement, coining political capital out of phrases which they, as well as anyone else, know are largely formal. It is certain that these people would denounce any agreement made by the U.S.S.R. with a capitalist country, no matter what clauses were inserted.

What do they mean by "largely" and "formal"? Do they mean that clause four of the agreement which says: "Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group--and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group which has as its aim the overthrow of, or bringing about by force of change in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions," -- do they mean to say that this clause is a mere formality, a scrap of paper? That it is nothing new, perhaps? To this we reply that clauses 3 and 4 are unprecedented in the history of Soviet Diplomacy; that although the Soviet Union was compelled to make material concessions in the past, it has steadfastly refused to compromise their revolutionary principles and organizations, no matter how

distressed its condition was; that this declaration means the formal abandonment of the Comintern--which has not met now in six years; that the Comintern has presented no thesis on the situation in Cuba; that "The Worker" can reprint no documents of Soviet diplomacy which make the largely formal (!) concessions made in clauses three and four.

The Left Opposition, furthermore, has always fought for recognition of and long term credits for the Soviet Union... It is only a few years now since Stalin and his lackeys spat "Counter-revolutionaries!" at the Left Opposition for their proposal that the Communist parties agitate for these demands.

Ah what a cat this "Trotskyism" must be! More than a score of times, already the Stalinists have chanted their official dirge over its poor, dead, body and still they find it necessary "to shoot to the left" -- to direct fusillade after fusillade into its corpse. The explanation lies not in the constantly increasing deadness of Trotskyism but, on the contrary, in the growing vitality it manifests.

The January 13th issue of the Worker came very near being an "anti-Trotsky" issue instead of a "Lenin Memorial" issue. The vagueness of their lies and insinuations would be enough to make any worker have doubts about them. To answer them all would be too tedious; but almost every word about "Trotskyism" was of the same false fabric.

The capitalist class stands over an inferno. The productive forces of society must be free. On that road lies progress. To be free, society must free itself of capitalism, must overthrow the capitalist class and smash its state system. The class which alone can perform this emancipating act, the act of the social revolution, is the working class. The working class stands face to face with the capitalist class as its mortal and implacable enemy.

--S.G.--

What do they mean when they say that "Lenin succumbed to the cumulative effects of the bullet fired into his body by Fanny Kaplan, a representative of the same perverted middle class philosophy which to-day groups itself around Leon Trotsky"? Unable to lie openly, they attempt to implicate

(Continued on Page 20)

# The Verdict at The Leipzig Trial

The German Supreme Court has handed down its verdict, placing the guilt for the fire upon Van Der Lubbe. The four heroic Communists, Torgler, Dimitroff, Popoff and Tancov, were declared not guilty. This decision was influenced by the pressure of the world-wide protest against the Nazi terror.

The verdict of the International Commission of Jurists at London, the contrary evidence given by Van Der Lubbe, and the review of the evidence respecting the fire in the "Brown Book of Hitler Terror" all pointed to the fact that the trial was a pure frame-up. The death penalty for the four Communists was sought after by Nazi judges in order to intimidate and give a legal cover to the reign of terror instituted by the Hitler Gangs particularly against the Communist Party.

That the German Fascist Party was directly responsible for the fire, is the opinion of the International Commission. Such facts as the existence of a secret passage between the Reichstag Building and Goering's office and the deliberate absence of the Berlin Fire Department from the scene of the fire until the damage had been done are silent testimonials of the Nazi guilt.

The argument that the fire was of political significance as a signal for rebellion, was absurd. The Nazi Court could produce no evidence that party members had known the existence and meaning of this supposed signal, and, so of what use is a signal, if those for whom it was intended, know nothing of it.

Even in the face of the danger of their comrades in Leipzig, the desire for revenge was uppermost in the minds of the C.P.G. leadership. Torgler, who dared mention a criticism of the Party leadership, was filthily gossiped about in Paris during the trial. In the C.P.G. statement published in the L'Humanite, mention was made of Dimitroff's bravery, but nothing was said of Torgler.

The four comrades are still prisoners. The latest reports state that the three Bulgarians will be charged with using false passports, and Torgler will be indicted for treason. If convicted, they can be beaten to death in a Nazi Concentration camp. Only a united front of all workers' organizations can help to save them from the Nazi terrorists.

--L.G.--

## SIMPLIFIED PROCEDURE

The following advertisement has recently been published in various papers in Holland.

"The National Socialist Workers' Party of the Netherlands is interested in connections with industrialists, manufacturers, etc., letters to be addressed to Box 3252, Amsterdam, Holland. Secrecy assured."

Quoted from the Modern Quarterly, Autumn, 1932.

MONTREAL LETTER

(cont. from page 7)

Some little while ago, upon the initiative of some Spartacus Youth Club comrades, the question was raised among the left wingers present of organizing the soup-kitchen. In the few weeks that have passed since, great success has been registered. At first the committee elected at a mass meeting of unemployed was refused recognition by the kitchen management, and subjected to insult and threats. The same committee backed by a considerable portion of the men presented its demands for clothing to the Jewish Federation in charge of relief work and these demands were granted fully. The men have been provided with winter underwear, shirts, socks, caps, gloves, trousers, etc.

At the last meeting of the kitchen unemployed, attended by well over one hundred, it was decided to form a permanent organization. The men realized that it was only by militant union that they were able to win their demands. They then realized: that the whole class of bosses (whose system is responsible for their sufferings) appears as a united force in the person of the relief officer interested in screwing down the relief rations to the point where they are just enough to keep us from dying on the pavements (which would be impolite and disreputable), but miserable enough to have us starve slowly in our homes (which is "law and order", good and godly;) that it was necessary for us unemployed workers to confront this class with our own united might; that the amount of relief that we receive is not dependent upon the humanitarian charities of the ruling class--but upon the extent that we are able to force them to grant us concessions--by organized militant action.

Because use of this over eighty workers have already joined the new organization of Jewish Single Unemployed. Com. Salter of the S.Y.C. was elected chairman of the organization.

Because we can only win our struggles by uniting with the French, English and foreign-born workers, we have affiliated to the Single Men's Unemployed Association.

The Hespeler Strike

Bit by bit, town by town, the workers of Canada are being drawn into a new period of embittered class struggle and are gaining practical experience as to the nature of our "democratic" state. The Hespeler strike has now been added to the series of mass struggles waged since early last year.

The 600 workers of the Dominion Woollens Co. in Hespeler were driven to strike action by the constant worsening of factory condition, speed-up, wage-cuts, etc. In face of the fierce opposition of the bosses and the treachery of their agents, they continued for weeks to wage a solid and heroic struggle for living conditions. The first attempt of the bosses to herd in scabs with police protection was smashed. With bare-hands the strikers attacked the armed and drunken police and sent the scabs helter-skelter. The attempt to mediate with the workers through the agency of the smooth-tongued labour-politicians also failed. Finally, when reinforcements of provincial police arrived to help the bosses, they were able to intimidate a certain number of strikers and herd them back to work. The strikers, although weakened by their long struggle and not strong enough to cope with the police and financial forces arrayed against them, held out for a while longer before returning to work. They have been forced to retreat; but it is only a temporary retreat. Their splendid struggle will serve as a source of courage for them in future struggles.

--I.L.--

The work is but before us. We are preparing to wage battle for a series of further demands.

Comrades Unemployed of the other soup kitchens! Do not merely applaud. Join us in the common struggle!

Worker Correspondent

UNITY

(cont. from page 10)  
 common hatred. If you really wish to fight Fascism, as you say you do, then it is necessary for us to form a United Front of struggle against it. Only in this manner can we save our organizations and our workers from its bloody dictatorship. We retain our political independence; we retain our right to carry on separate political action--strikes, demonstrations, etc.; we agree, during the course of actual struggle to confine ourselves to criticism based on this "actual struggle." We do not bind ourselves forever--if we find that, at a certain juncture, the reformist leaders are acting as a brake on the struggle, then we, as an independent organization, reserve the right to lead the struggle to conclusion independently.

This is the United Front tactic as conceived by Lenin and elaborated in the theses of the first four congresses. The "United Front from above" means treachery for the working class; the "United Front from below" means defeat. The "United Front from above" means treachery, because history is made by class struggle, by mass action, and not by agreements between executives. One cannot move the revolution forward over the heads of the workers. (Such "united fronts" were the agreements of Stalin with Chiang Kai-Shek and the British Trade Union Bureaucracy.)

The "United front from below" means defeat for the working class because there is no such thing, and consequently it can never lead anywhere. Here we are able to unite the working class around our banner, the very question of the united front would become non-existent. It is necessary to realize that the workers are in their organizations for the precise reason that they believe in them; and that although they may be willing to fight Fascism, they are not prepared to join the Communist party in order to do so. In order to smash the control of the reformists, it is first necessary to expose them before their workers. The tactic of the united front is not merely in the immediate life interests

of the proletariat, but also in its final interest; for by means of it, it is possible to draw the reformist leaders out of their lairs and oppose them before the eyes of the struggling masses.

The only united front is the united front from organization to organization.

\*\*\*\*\*  
 For the class-conscious worker, therefore, UNITY means:

1. The political unity of the working class under the leadership of the revolutionary party--a unity based on principle.
2. Trade union unity--against dual unionism; for industrial unionism.
3. The United Front of workers organizations, in the struggle for immediate concrete aims.

--I.L.--

(Clockmakers--Stand Ready!)  
 (Cont. from page 5)

ter conditions, for a decent living for you and your families. Establish once for all a militant union which shall guard and defend your interests. Now you have your best opportunity.

We, the young Spartacus organization, youth section of the Left Opposition, "Trotskyists", greet you needle-workers in your struggle for a better living. We will be with you on the picket lines till you have won the strike. We are calling upon all workers organizations, the whole labor movement over the country to support financially and morally the spirited walk-out of the needle-trade workers against their bosses' animal appetites for profits, and for a decent living. Your struggle is also ours. Your victory means also our victory.

Out on strike, follow clockmakers!  
 a clockmaker,

# Fascist Propaganda at Convocation Hall

Italian Fascism has been given the official stamp of respectability with the presentation in Toronto during the week of January 8-13, by the National Council of Education, of Italian Week. Characterizing itself as an impartial educational body, the Council of Education requested the Italian government to send over a half dozen spokesmen to "discuss" Italian affairs. But who are these spokesmen? Without exception they represent the upper nobility and Fascist specialists of capitalist Italy. With an audacity that is only found in the respectable atmosphere of the university, these Italian counts and professors relieved themselves of a host of lies and fabrications designed to persuade their audiences that Italy is the new land of hope and freedom. After all, why embarrass oneself with facts when you can get Canon Coby or Mrs. Plumptre to smile blantly at whatever you say? Why tell Toronto, that unemployment in Italy has risen to several million during the past few years, that the peasantry is on the borderline of starvation, that wages are only a fraction of what they were five years ago? Why, in fact, should they tell Toronto that Italy is arming to the teeth, that freedom of speech, press and assembly have all been abolished, so long as they are told that the "soul" of Italy is being revived? This, in the last analysis, is "education" and it is education that the National Council of Education asked for.

We do not exaggerate. Anyone who was present at the lectures delivered in Convocation Hall this week, will agree that Fascist propaganda was never more openly disseminated in Toronto.

Italian Week has been called "International Week--No. 2"--and thereby hangs a tale. The first week was British Week and the second was to have been Russian Week. But why was this

Russian Week never held? The facts are these. Mr. Carl J. Kotchum, M.C., a journalist who has spent many years in the Soviet Union was selected to deliver the series of lectures. When first requested to give this series, he was to present "an objective picture" of Soviet affairs. The N.C.E. learned, however, that he really intended to do this and so censorship began. When he arrived in Canada, he was told that he was to confine his talks to "the old days of the terror and the famine" and to say nothing which might facilitate the resumption of trade with Soviet Russia.

Kotchum rebelled immediately cancelling two of his lectures. He continued to Toronto and gave two of his scheduled lectures for the N.C.E., after which the Council stepped in and cancelled the remaining six. So ended Russian Week. In its attempt to cover up the whole rotten affair, the Council of Education has been careful to make no further references to Russian Week and has gone so far as to label Italian Week as "International Week--No. 2".

The reader must understand that the enlightened educationalists have no prejudice against dictatorships--oh no!--so long, however, as they are dictatorships of capitalists. Let anyone dare say a word in favor of the Soviet Union and he is "muzzled" (to use Kotchum's own description of the treatment given him) and discredited. But are you a Fascist? If you are, step forward! The National Council of Education wishes to educate the Canadian population, impartially of course, in the benefits of the "corporate state". And so we have Italian Week by special permission of Mussolini and by special request of the National Council of Education.

# Liebknecht and Luxembourg

The anniversary of Lenin's death is also the anniversary of the death of two heroic figures of the proletarian revolution in Germany: Luxemburg and Liebknecht.

Rosa Luxemburg, who spent her youth in the Polish revolutionary movement developed to her full Marxian stature in the mighty mass proletarian movement of pre-war Germany. In the Social-Democracy she took her place with the leaders in the revolutionary wing of the party and lent her great talents with intensest energy to the struggle against Bernstein revisionism in defense of Marxism. She was a revolutionary full of genius, not merely wedded to action, but deeply versed in theory—a profound Marxist. Her works attest this.

Very early did Rosa Luxemburg sense the opportunism of Kautsky with whom she was on terms of close friendship and, together with whom she had waged the struggle against Bernstein and the Right wing. After 1905 began the first coldness, and long before even Lenin suspected the opportunism of Kautsky, she had already broken with him and begun a struggle against his treacherous policy. Kautsky's policy was one of adaptation to capitalism, of "wearing down" capitalism, which meant in practice the "wearing down" of the revolutionary fire of the masses. Rosa Luxemburg's was the stern yet fiery policy of social revolution. For her dauntless banner in opposing the war, in struggling against militarism, in preaching the social revolution, Rosa Luxemburg was imprisoned and wore out her sickly body behind the iron bars. From behind these gray iron bars issued the revolutionary pamphlets of genius with which she agitated the proletarian masses and pointed to revolution.

(Continued on Page 21)

## CONCERNING SLANDER (Continued from Page 13)

ate Trotsky in the shooting of Lenin by vague suggestions of a link between him and Fanny Kaplan. Lies are not the weapons of the revolutionary proletariat but of opportunists and reactionaries; the lies of the Stalinists are not in the interest of the working class, but contrary to it.

--And alongside all their praise of Stalin they forget the small item that before his death Lenin broke off all personal relations with Stalin and that in his "Testament" Lenin demanded Stalin's removal in view of the brewing quarrels between Stalin and Trotsky.

\*\*\*\*\*

About eight months ago, Comrade Trotsky said that there will be a temporary upsurge in American capitalism.

The Stalinists branded this as counter-revolutionary because this, according to them, proved that Com. Trotsky had confidence in American capitalism.

And this is what we get from none other than Stalin himself. Referring to the world crisis, when Walter Duranty, correspondent of New York Times, interviewed him last December, he said "It shattered them badly, but unless I am mistaken, business is beginning to improve. I think the lowest point, perhaps, is already past. I do not believe they will reach the heights of 1929, but with some fluctuations, a transition toward a revival is not only possible but probable".

What do the Stalinists think now? Isn't this sound counter-revolutionary? Imagine Stalin having confidence in world capitalism!

--A.K.--

LUXEMBOURG AND LIEBKNECHT  
(Continued from P. 20)

The Bolshevik Revolution of October, 1917, the proclamation of Lenin and Trotsky, Rosa Luxemburg (as also Liebknecht) attacked and indicated as an example for the proletariat of Germany Her name from then on is inseparably linked in an immortal chain with that of Liebknecht.

Karl Liebknecht, a Marxist revolutionary with a long and honorable tradition in the proletarian party, which had known the guiding hand of Marx and Engels, stands out in German proletarian history as the man of action, the hero who against the whole opportunist majority of his party, alone voted against the war credits in 1914. Alone he stood--one against a hundred and sixty-seven. Together with Rosa Luxemburg and a faithful band, Karl Liebknecht in uniform stood in Potsdamer Platz during the war and shouted: "Down with the war! Down with the Kaiser!" ---to awaken the betrayed proletariat from its oppression. He was imprisoned as was Rosa Luxemburg. His activity as hers, although circumscribed did not stop even there. They kept in close touch with the growing revolutionary movement, which emerged from the war-weary proletariat. They were leaders of the Spartacus Bund, the historical germ of the German Communist Party --which so shamefully betrayed its trust last year in the defeat before Fascism. When the 1918 revolution overthrew the Kaiser and ended the war, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were freed.

Then began an intense activity. Soviets were established by the revolutionary proletariat. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg fought to lead the proletariat to the proletarian dictatorship, to the Soviet government. The reactionary Social-Democracy, traitorous to the core, once more betrayed the proletariat. Ebert, Noske, Scheidman, established a bourgeois republic. Noske gathered together the ruff raff of the old regime, officered by Hohenzollern officers and led them against the proletariat and against the Spartacists, the object of their special hate. 15,000 Spartacists were

shot down in cold blood on the streets of Berlin. Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were captured and murdered, their bodies thrown into the river. Social-Democracy has a heavy debt to pay the international proletariat.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs, which inherit the revolutionary traditions of the Spartacists, of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, together with the heritage of Russian Bolshevism, cherish and revere as one the heroic memories on this anniversary of their death, of Lenin of Karl Liebknecht, of Rosa Luxemburg.

--N.F.--

\*\*\*\*\*

"This Bolshevik stage-- it is hard for us to understand, for it is no bourgeois parliamentary democracy, in which theoretically every man has a vote, and practically a small capitalist group rules; it is a dictatorship of the proletariat, of the unskilled, propertyless masses of the people, for the purpose of forcibly and permanently wrenching from the hands of the property-owning class the weapons of its dominance. In its resistance to this process, the Russian bourgeoisie has shown itself ready to join the Kaiser himself.

It has taught me three things:

That in the last analysis the property-owning class is loyal only to its property.

That the property-owning class will never readily compromise with the working class.

That the masses of the workers are capable not only of great dreams, but that they have in them the power to make dreams come true."

--John Reed. (1918)--