(Continued from Page 1)

upon how we answer the questions channels such as the A. F. L.

The organization of the unorganized into industrial unions under Left wing leadership is our main task. The immediate practical task, which cannot be separated from the main task is the organization of a Left wing within the conservative unions. The revolutionists must work in the organizations where the masses are.

The Stalinist-Muste bloc has not yet answered these questions. We have already lost years because of the Stalinist blunders in this field. The time is short. An answer must be given and should be presented before the Cleveland conference.

ganizations are officially represent- ed. Ohio unemployed conference. A united front from above cannot be covered up by a list of 82 signatures. What counts is the political tendencies and numbers actually represented.

The conference is making a bad start and the call has failed to answer the most burning problems for a correct trade union policy, tions which are supposed to show ance of power. e to fight the capitalist offensive which has taken on the form of the Industrial Recovery Act.

-HUGO OEHLER.

Revealed in Steel Code

(Continued from Page 1)

taking from the workers every real means of enforcing their demands, ler, we predicted friction between which the American Left Opposimaking them completely dependent the Nazis and their allies that tion persistently, through the Miliemployer. And it is this Plan that must be preserved and protected from any interference-especially that of any real trade union.

Even the Children Are Protected

The Cossack state troopers, gun- turn in the right direction. men, the courts, enforced starvation national government behind them thinly camouflaged.

And this code is not to be the only one of its type. Already the operators of the bituminous coal industry have announced their intention of following the lead of their fellow brigands in the steel industry.

representative of the Industrial ed only in private letters exchanged position's fight for party democracy Recovery Act in practise. It per with carefully selected confidantes. mits the steel industry, at present the most centralized in America, to form a huge, solid trust, uniting the whole industry against the Opposition suffered an even more tion and the party bureaucracy, workers. It gives the barons the ignominious end. In 1923 the part-direct support of the federal govies of the Comintern had not yet the precise nature of its attitude stead of state troops are to be used skyism. The first open attack of unmistakable. Klara Zetkin's and to butcher striking workers. By the septumvirate upon Trotsky the Industrial Reevery Act, a unicaused a distinct uneasiness in the cold. Helplessly ensconced among the Industrial Recvery Act, a united front of industry and government is created for the task of driving down the standard of living of the workers. Against this only leaders expressed themselves similar united front of all workers or arly; in Germany, the Moscow aparts of the standard of living a united front of all workers or arly; in Germany, the Moscow aparts of the living and her authority, with the ganizations can fight that is the paratus encountered, if not a re- heroic revolutionary memories attask of the hour. If the Communisistance, then at least a reluctance tached to them, serving a cynical ist party proves incapable and its to join the pack. At that time, bureaucracy to conceal its malpracleadership unwilling to use a cor- Klara Zetkin took no great pains tises. rect united front tactic in bringing to conceal her sympathy with the about such a united front, it is Opposition. It is true, to be sure, destroyed.

-PETER MORTON.

"Since Lenein Died"

Cleveland Meet Spartacus Delegates at to Take Up Fight On 'Recovery' Anti-Fascist Confab

(Continued from page 1) were made to organize a united of trade union policy and tactics. front movement against Fascism The capitaists and their govern and War. In March of this year ment hope to maintain the status the United Youth Conference quo among the working class. Where Against Fuscism was organized. this is not possible they will at- What was the result? After a suctempt to guide the pressure of the cessful demonstration before the class into company unions. Where German Consulate, those in control the pressure reaches beyond these of the Committee—the leaders of ism. The Soviet Union is being jected. channels they will try to guide the the Young Communist League—dis- threatened by a frontal attack from force into safe and conservative solved the united front behind the Japan which can easily be convert-League in May. Not only did the Y. C. L. violate the agreements they dissolved the permanent committee without giving any reasons to the affiliated groups. Are these

The call for the Cleveland Con- munist party which played into the difficult, ference is signed by 82 individuals hands of the Social Democracy and All the more important therefore such united front to the socialist portant organizations have signed will show that all the organizations ary movement on Fascism and War. false and harmful theory of social as individuals, which means the of the working class, including the A critical review of the past polic- Fascism, the tactic of the united the conference. Many paper or Communist party, have been smash- leadership of the Communist Inter- and unequivocally rejected. Only

15 are Musteites. They have ob- facts must be faced and not invent- Fascism, and united-front only tained a few others whom they are ed. To repeat that "the C. P. G. from below under revolutionary using as a window dressing. In is not only not destroyed, but its in- leadership. other words, the Cleveland call is fluence on the masses is despite its | The International Left Opposition a united front from above between illegality, greater than ever"- has for many years clamored for a Stalinists and Musteites with a (Varga-Inprecor-June 21st, 1933) united front of the German socialsprinkling of others to give it a is criminal lightmindedness and democracy, trade unions, and Comgood appearance. This is a con- serves to cover up the capitulation munist party against the danger of tinuation of their united front of the Stalinists in Germany be- Fascism. This was called counterfrom above started at the Columbus, fore Fascism without a struggle, revolutionary, Last February, after

forces for the organization of a new

sons of the recent historical defeat. backs of the other participating ed into an offensive of all the imgroups. Similarly with the Nation- perialist powers against the workal Youth Day's Conference, organ- er's fatherland. In America, the ized by the Young Communist government is going ahead with extensive plans for militarization. The London Economic Conference arrived at in the united front, but reflects the deep rooted conflicts of be solved only by war.

The task of the revolutionary work. Hitler came into power, the Labor

ovestone's "Quotations"

International Left Opposition in the man Fascism.

assumed quite the contrary; (2) acterize the Right wing swamp. Fascist regime by the German bourgeoisie primarily as an off-set to a powerful working class movement against the bourgeoisie; (3)

After the seizure of power by Hit-After the seizure of power by Hit-in the course of the two years in

facts, we must, of course, admit it, giving the exact Marxist analy- World in Centralai, sentenced to our mistake. But all these errors sis of each force represented and 25 to 40 years for murder on were predicated on one assumption each step taken and calling for charges growing out of the defense As for the ways in which the that is sine qua non for revolution- struggle. steelmen will protect these delicate ists in forming strategy and tactics: and useful children of theirs from namely, that in the face of the im- take the Lovestoneite fraud serious. 1919, has been paroled as promised the contamination of real unions minent danger, the working class ly, if one knows its purpose. It is by Gov. Clarence D. Martin, accordthat is not stated in the code. There would mobilize for struggle and only part of its bargaining process ing to a wire received by the Amis no need of that. The past shows that the leader of the working with the Stalinist bureaucracy for crican Civil Liberties Union. that there is no weapon, legal or class, the official Communist party, reinstatement. One of the chief illegal that the barons have hesi. would, in the face of the danger, be prerequisites for peace with Stalin I. W. W. prisoners, refuses to ac-

> The whole logic of developments only doing their share. used by the bourgeoisie to lead for examination.

In the past few issues of the it in this civil war; that the heavy of trade union tactis. In spite of Lovestone sheet, the Workers Age, conditions of civil war would make these blunders and shortcomings, there has appeared a regular rub- the Nazis dependent upon their full support. The class conscious the Right wing masters of political their rapid entrenchment, giving workers and Marxists must fight sleight-of-hand manipulated quota- Hugenburg and Co. a certain bal-

If we leave aside Lovestoneite ers Age, previous or during the Liberties nion and Andrew Strong. hypocrisy and disregard the paper's spurious motives for a modification of the paper's spurious modification Slavery Provisions ment, our errors, as gleaned from the quotations cited there, can be that the workers of Germany would Chief of Police Roy E. Steckel, listed as follows: (1) We did not predict that Fascism would come to power without civil war, but not fight. But we are quite ready to take their word for it post humously. It only helps to charland members of the Police Commission humously. It only helps to charland between subposensed. The defense

> would impede rapid Fascist en- tant and in innumerable mass meetings, followed the Hitler danger Insofar as these are the bare step by step and warned against the Industrial Workers of the

tated to use against their workers. compelled to make a last minute has ever been a fight against "Trot- cept a parole. He holds out for a skyism". The Lovestoneites are commutation of sentence, maintain-

by keeping the strikers away from flowed in that direction. As Com- As to the broader principle as- sion of guilt. His contention that groceries—all were used in the munists, we naturally had the per- pects of the question under discus- he and his comrades were innocent spective that the working class sion and the character of the Love- of the charge of conspiracy to murwould fight; that a fighting work- stone group at the present stage, der was borne out, says the Civil the arsenal of the steel barons will ing class would resist Fascism by we shall yet return to it on future Liberties Union, by evidence offerbe even larger. That is what the civil war; that Fascism would be occasions, for a more extensive ed at the trial but barred on tech-

to the Communist International for a world united front against Faseism. This maneuver of the Social Democracy aimed to shield its own betrayal policies of the last nineteen years. The Comintern replied with a rejection of the world united front and a proposal of national united actions between the Socialist and Communist parties. The Communist party were advised to Communist party on a Marxian refrain from criticizing the Socialprogram, on the basis of the les- ist leaders during the period of the united front. In other words, the The struggle against war and non-aggression pact of the Social Fascism is the burning question of Democracy was accepted by the the moment. In the far east the Stalinists! This definite break with

The world situation is tense. The been destroyed. For the struggle against Fascism and War we must be reinstated into the Communist International, the false theories the imperialist powers which can The Communist International, the and tactics of Stalinism rejected. Young Communist League, and the Above all, the victory of Fascism Red International of Labor Unions the methods to be employed in the in Germany, the imminent danger should appeal to the Labor and Somovement against war and Fascism? of Fascism in Austria, threatens cialist International, the Socialist The New York Conference will to unite all the imperialist forces Youth International and the Interhave to discuss the reasons for the for war on the Soviet Union. With national Federation of Trade Unvictory of Fascism in Germany, the best defender of the Soviet ions for world united front against You will have to understand the Union, the militant German pro- German Fascism, the danger of criminal policies of the Social letariat lying prostrate before the Fascism in Austria, the war danger Democracy and the policies of the Nazis-the defense of the Soviet and capitalist offensive. In the Stalinist leadership of the Com- Union is a thousand times more United States the Communist party and the Y. C. L. should appeal for ed. Out of the 82 signers 42 are It is above all necessary for us tion of its revisionist program of movement of the working class be Stalinists and their sympathizers, to speak openly and boldly. The Socialism in one country, social aroused against Fascism and War.

> Spartacus Youth Club (Communist Left Opposition)

Struggle for Workers' Rights Scores Victory in Los Angeles

charges of speaking without permits pal courts, 'reds' are being given arrests were part of an official conspiracy against them. Moreover, Judge Irvin Taplin in dismissing the case against one of the defendants ruled that the orthese blunders and shortcomings, ric "Trotskyism Exposed", in which other bourgeois allies and impede of handbills, leaflets, and circulars applies only to commercial advertisements and not to political proin order to put life into our de- "tremendous" errors on part of the The working class did not fight, Ross, Communist candidate for We plead guilty: We assumed that Mayor, Samuel Davis Daniel Sigal, course of the struggle against Ger- it would. The Lovestoneites ac Max Shone, Sol Fisher, and Paul cuse us of this "error". Very well. Stern are represented by attorneys We have never read in the Work- A. L. Wirin of the American Civil

> will call on them in its effort to We forecasted the utilization of a that the German workers would missed on the grounds that the or-If they did not directly predict prove that the cases should be dis-

> > Britt Smith, one of the Last Two Centralia Prisoners Paroled

Britt Smith, former Secretary of of the union hall against an Arm-But it is unnecessary to really istice Day mob of Legionnaires in

--G. 'nicalities by Judge John M. Wilson.

The Party in the Field Lit is needless to point out that the question: How do the philosophical views of a certain person or a certain group refract themselves in of Artand Philosophy

Dear Comrades: Your letter poses very important problems which do not, how-Chinese people are being attacked the correct tactics of the united ever, admit, in my opinion, of genable in all cases. As an organization we have as the point of debest forces of the proletariat have parture not only definite political ideas but certain philosophical and scientific methods. We base our-

A Reply to the American Comrades | tician and to Gorky the artist, in and actions which, moreover, the velde, Monnet and Paul Louis. party could always correct in good time and tactfully.

Viewed from this standpoint, first of all unite the revolutionary selves on dialectical materialism, philosophical activity lies between forces. The Left Opposition must from which flow conclusions not art and politics, closer to politics only concerning politics and sci-than to art. In philosophy, the ence, but also art. Still, there is party itself occupies a distinct a vast difference in our attitude militant position, which is not the towards these conclusions. We can- case—at least not to the same exnot, to any similar degree, exercize tent-in the field of art. Objections the same rigorous control over art, to the effect that by the "dogmaby the very nature of this activitization" and "canonization" of ity, as over politics. The party is dialectical materialism, the party obliged to permit a very extensive prevents the free development of liberty in the field of art, eliminat- philosophical and scientific thought, ing pitilessly only that which is do not deserve serious attention. directed against the revolutionary No factory can work without basing tasks of the proletariat; on the itself upon a definite technological other hand, the party cannot as doctrine. No hospital can treat its sume an immediate and direct responsibility for the declarations of base themselves on the established its various members in the field of teachings of Pathology. It would art even when it accords them its be sheer folly to permit dilletantes Robbed of Rights representing about 50 organizations. of Fascism. A realistic analysis of is the need for utmost clarity within the Communist and revolution. It make this appeal effective, the two rules-the preservation of the liberty necessary for individual factory or in the hospital, on the organizations are not yet backing social democratic party and the ies and practices of the Stalinist front only from below must openly of the responsibility for all its selves "innovators". Innovators tion is very poor among the masscreation, and the non-transmission pretext that they consider themroads to the patry-is especially must first prove their right to in- cs. "What good is a vacation, or national should lead to the rejectin this way can a powerful mass obligatory in those cases where it fluence practical technology and the eight hour day", says the unis a question not of theoreticians medicine. The party must be es- employed worker, "what I want is in the field of art, but of the artists pecially vigilant towards those work even if it's a twelve hour themselves: painters, men of let-"innovators" who only warm up day!" But it is precisely because ters, etc. In addition, the party stale critical dishes, or towards of these sentiments that it was must be able to distinguish clear- those who are still in the period of necessary to make it understood ly the line where generalization in investigating, with uncertain re- with all means at one's disposal the field of art passes directly into sults. But least of all does this that the shattering of the eight the field of politics. Without mak- signify that in the sphere of phil- hour day strikes at all-the unem-Workers in Los Angeles have ing here any concessions in princi- osophy the party can act as if all ployed, who thereby have even less scored twice in their trial on ple, the party must, however, con-questions have already been re- of a chance to get work, and the fine itself in the case of artists to solved for it, and that it has nothing worker in the factory, whose wage rectifications, firm but tactical, of to expect from the further devel- is going to shrink even more miserand resisting officers during a May any false political conclusions flow-opment of scientific thought. It is ably, ers of Germany is to assemble their and Socialist International appealed Day demonstration. For the first ing from their artistic views. Marx not an easy matter to find the cortime in the history of the munici- expressed this idea in a jocular rect political line in this field. It phrase about Freiligrath; "Poets is acquired only by experience and wanted to conduct a serious and the opportunity to prove that their are queer fish." (Die Dichter sind by a flexible leadership. Just as effective resistance against the dissonderbare Kauze.). Lenin applied in artillery fire, the target is usu-franchisement of the workers and different criteria to Bogdanov the ally hit by a series of shots which against the unlimited and merciless theoretician and professional poli-fall far and then short of the mark. aggravation of exploitation, then

It is needless to point out that the the field of politics and of the organization?-always has a tremendous significance for the elabration of a correct control by the party. Thus Lenin fought mercilessly against Gorky in 1917 when above all other considerations stood the Martin Glee, Harry Ross and M. spite of the fact that for a certain necessity of a revolutionary overperiod of time Bogdanov and Gorky throw. On the other hand, it must were closely associated in politics. be considered as the greatest shame Lenin proceeded from the stand- that the Stalinist bureaucracy is point that by his artistic activity transforming Barbusse the novelist and his popularity, Gorky could into a leading political figure in endow the cause of the revolution spite of the fact that it is precisely with benefits far exceeding the in politics that Barbusse marches harm of his erroneous declarations arm in arm with Renner, Vander-

I am very much afraid that I have not given you a satisfactory reply to the practical questions put to me. But what has been said explains, I hope, why I could not give such a reply which requires a concrete knowledge of the situation and the personal conditions. Just the same, perhaps these brief considerations will at least partially help in the working out of a correct policy in this complicated and responsible field.

With Communist greetings, -L. TROTSKY.

Prinkipo, June 16, 1933.

(Continue n Page 1)

Where there is a will, there is a way. If the social democracy they could find ways of making the masses understand the significance of the new labor regulations of the government. Not even the blue pencil of the censor could prevent them from doing this.

A Sterile Protest

"With the representation of economic interests in Austria", the Arbeiterzeitung weeps on June 10, "things stand thus: Before the issuance of a decree which digs deep underneath the living conditions of thousands of people, the working class hears nothing of the new decree. The workers representatives are not asked for approval, the trade unions are not consulted. Parliament is simply out of the picture....But once the decree is issued, it is not even allowed to be criticized and if criticism is attempted, confiscation follows." Again the facts are stated quite correctly, but the workers are not served merely with a statement of the facts.

There is the argument that Fascism would gain advantage from serious difficulties of the Dollfuss government. Fascism will really reap its fruits from this capitulation policy. Decades of trade union work, the destruction of the monarchy, the example of the Russian revolution were all necessary for the Austrian working class to gain those niggardly social-political protective measures which were just as tremendously overestimated in their time by the trade union "experts" as they are powerlessly surrendered by them today. The more we allow to be taken from us without a struggle today, the harder it will be and the more sacrifices it will require, to regain what is lost, in the future.

"It seems as if the government only has the bosses' desires in mind" (From an inquiry of the social democrats in the Federal Council).

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Klara Zetkin

(Contined from Page 3) The proposed steel code is a fair of the party leadership, were utter-

Sympathetic to L. O. at Start

national (Warski was another, for example) who confounded the Opwith their own desires to "loosen a little" the rigid lines of revlutionary Marxian doctrine. When the Her sympathies for the Russian gap widened between the Opposi-

1922, at a time when a member of ment to winch an oppressive bureau- learn to avoid the errors flowing against Rosa. But this time, she the Comintern could still defend cracy is compelled to resort to its from them. In the mind of the too voiced no open protest. The Trotsky against the death sentence speakable triumphs!

fluence among the American masses cal platform. Trotsky's refusal to lessly, to struggle against authority surrection was fully justified.

tionists of the S. R. party. But half If she violated her own consci. gods than Jehovah, paraphrased to in the mouth, a paralyzing of the a decade of Stalinist rule had re- ence in a public assault upon the Role Kup. a Kurt Sauchen, will, a terrible spiritual degradaduced the Comintern and its lead-line former to such a state that ing figures to such a state that maintained silence when others reached up to the hem of Rosa's a Klara Zetkin, who once found traduced the memory of Rosa Lux-skirts—left no mud untouched with dozen Spartacans left in the Interwords in behalf of those who had emburg. But it was a silence un- which to besmirch her. Hundreds antional, and with her death the words in behalf of those who had emburg. But it was a shence undeffected the death of Uritzky and Worthy of one who was fortunate worthy of one who was fortunate enough to have such a mentor and sinated Lenin and blown up Trotsky's military train—could look on sky's military train—could look on the second look on th in silence while the artificers of the ocracy in 1921-1922 by trying to October revolution, the Rakovskys, portray Rosa as a Menshevik, Klara the official world by poisonous at constituted under the banner of the Trotskys and hundreds of Zetkin came to her defense with tacks upon Rosa—more elegant in Bolshevism. She brought with her others, were sent into prison, exile magnificent vigor, and concluded phrase than Ruth Fischer's, but the great tradition of that resolute or banishment. But no, not entire by pillorying the defamer of the no less despicable—and hymns of group that formed itself under the ly in silence. For with an eye to great Eagle. Later, too, even un praise to Stalin. the renown still attached to her der the Zinovievist dispensation, praise to Stalin.

Paralysis of Stalinist Degradation slaves' revolts in antiquity. Is it perhaps symbolic that Klara Zetkin the task of writing the scurrilous to disseminate the idea that Rosa And Klara Zetkin? In the corripamphlet for international con- had been "a syphilis germ in the dor of the program commission of sumption, in which she demonstrat- body of German Communism", the Sixth World Congress, another ed that the Bolshevik-Leninists Klara Zetkin still found sufficient of the old Spartacans, an educated were really counter_revolutionists strength of mind and purpose to Marxist, Hermann Duncker, almost Here was a revolutionist who had and that the banishment to Turkey exceriate such an abomination. But wept with mortification before his doomed to have even its small in- that she did not rally to its politi- been accustomed to speak out fear- of the October in- the triumph of Stallnism has meant intimates at the idea that the

Comrades who can turn in extra copies of Since Lenin Died by Max cause had always found in her copies of Since Lenin Died by Max Eastman, are asked to do so. They will be refunded the original cost will be refunded to an always found in her revolutionary doctrine, that exponents of the former which was just cause had always found in her revolutionary doctrine, that expolutionary doctrine,

cal platform. Trotsky's refusal to lessly, to struggle against authority surrection was runy justined.

have Brandler and Thalheimer made under the greater odds, to swim To resist a Lenin and submit to a itual undermining of the International. "Must we the ashes of the dead, will revive have Brandler and Thalheimer made under the greater odds, to swim the scapegoats for the Zinoviev against the stream in the company Stalin—no, it is not some integrat. Stalin policy in the German Oct. of such protean figures as the ober, took the form of a conditional founders of German Communism. A making for true homogeneity of Luxemburg exceeded all imaginable gram too?" Yet he voted for it, old warriors, and enrich it with

his views even when they were op. own ranks. What a terrific arraign- bureaucracy, this aim occupied a peculiar triumph of Stalinism posed by the most authentic lead- ment of a regime that can preserve remote and purely casual place. which heralds its own collapse ers, she protested to Lenin and itself only at the cost of such un. The tenor of the campaign was the meant for her, as for all revolucommandment of the jealous deity tionists who failed to choose the imposed upon the counter-revolu- Silent on Slander of Luxemburg of Israel: Thou shalt have no other alternative of open struggle, a gag

. . . .

perhaps symbolic that Klara Zetkin should die just after the ignominious death of the Communist party which she helped to found? The tradition of the Spartacans, however, established in the dark days of the war, is not irrevocable. The