

Cleveland Meet to Take Up Fight on 'Recovery'

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upon how we answer the questions of trade union policy and tactics. The capitalists and their govern...

The organization of the unorganized into industrial unions under Left wing leadership is our main task. The immediate practical task...

The conference is making a bad start and the call has failed to answer the most burning problems of trade union tactics. In spite of these blunders and shortcomings...

Slavery Provisions Revealed in Steel Code

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taking from the workers every real means of enforcing their demands, making them completely dependent upon the tender mercies of their employer. And it is this Plan that must be preserved and protected from any interference... especially that of any real trade union.

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.

—PETER MORTON.

"Since Lenin Died" Comrades who can turn in extra copies of "Since Lenin Died" by Max Eastman, are asked to do so. They will be refunded the original cost.

Spartacus Delegates at Anti-Fascist Confab

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were made to organize a united front movement against Fascism and War. In March of this year the United Youth Conference Against Fascism was organized.

The New York Conference will have to discuss the reasons for the victory of Fascism in Germany. You will have to understand the criminal policies of the Social Democracy and the policies of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist party...

It is above all necessary for us to speak openly and boldly. The facts must be faced and not invented. To repeat that "the C. P. G. is not only not destroyed, but its influence on the masses is despite its illegality, greater than ever"...

Lovestone's "Quotations"

In the past few issues of the Lovestone sheet, the Workers Age, there has appeared a regular rubric "Trotskyism Exposed", in which the Right wing masters of political sleight-of-hand manipulated quotations which are supposed to show "tremendous" errors on part of the International Left Opposition...

If we leave aside Lovestoneite hypocrisy and disregard the paper's spurious motives for a moment, our errors, as gleaned from the quotations cited there, can be listed as follows: (1) We did not predict that Fascism would come to power without civil war...

Insofar as these are the bare facts, we must, of course, admit our mistake. But all these errors were predicated on one assumption that is sine qua non for revolutionists in forming strategy and tactics: namely, that in the face of the imminent danger, the working class would mobilize for struggle...

The whole logic of developments flowed in that direction. As Communists, we naturally had the perspective that the working class would fight; that a fighting working class would resist Fascism by civil war...

Klara Zetkin

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national (Warski was another, for example) who confounded the Opposition's fight for party democracy with their own desires to "loosen a little" the rigid lines of revolutionary Marxist doctrine. When the gap widened between the Opposition and the party bureaucracy, when the program of the former unfolded to its fullest extent, when the precise nature of its attitude towards the Brandlerites became unmistakable...

Here was a revolutionist who had been accustomed to speak out fearlessly, to struggle against authority under the greater odds, to swim against the stream in the company of such protean figures as the founders of German Communism. A just cause had always found in her a courageous champion. Even in causes not so just she had never failed to express her convictions. In

forces for the organization of a new Communist party on a Marxist program, on the basis of the lessons of the recent historical defeat.

The struggle against war and Fascism is the burning question of the moment. In the far east the Chinese people are being attacked and subjected by Japanese imperialism. The Soviet Union is being threatened by a frontal attack from Japan which can easily be converted into an offensive of all the imperialist powers...

Above all, the victory of Fascism in Germany, the imminent danger of Fascism in Austria, threatens to unite all the imperialist forces for war on the Soviet Union. With the best defender of the Soviet Union, the militant German proletarian lying prostrate before the Nazis—the defense of the Soviet Union—a thousand times more difficult.

All the more important therefore is the need for utmost clarity within the Communist and revolutionary movement on Fascism and War. A critical review of the past policies and practices of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International should lead to the rejection of its revisionist program of Socialism in one country, social-Fascism, and united-front only from below under revolutionary leadership.

The International Left Opposition has for many years clamored for a united front of the German social-democracy, trade unions, and Communist party against the danger of Fascism. This was called counter-revolutionary. Last February, after Hitler came into power, the Labor and Socialist International appealed

Workers' Rights Struggle for Los Angeles

Workers in Los Angeles have scored twice in their trial on charges of speaking without permits and resisting officers during a May Day demonstration. For the first time in the history of the municipal courts, 'reds' are being given the opportunity to prove that their arrests were part of an official conspiracy against them.

We have never read in the Workers Age, previous or during the German catastrophe, where they dispensed their wisdom to the effect that the workers of Germany would not fight. But we are quite ready to take their word for it positively. It only helps to characterize the Right wing swamp.

If they did not directly predict that the German workers would not fight, they might have just as well, for all the interest and agitation these national opportunists displayed in the German situation in the course of the two years in which the American Left Opposition persistently, through the Militant and in innumerable mass meetings, followed the Hitler danger step by step and warned against it, giving the exact Marxist analysis of each force represented and each step taken and calling for struggle.

But it is unnecessary to really take the Lovestoneite fraud seriously, if one knows its purpose. It is only part of its bargaining process with the Stalinist bureaucracy for reinstatement. One of the chief prerequisites for peace with Stalin has ever been a fight against "Trotskyism". The Lovestoneites are only doing their share.

As to the broader principle aspects of the question under discussion and the character of the Lovestone group at the present stage, we shall yet return to it on future occasions, for a more extensive examination.

to the Communist International for a world united front against Fascism. This maneuver of the Social Democracy aimed to shield its own betrayer 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 world situation is tense. The best forces of the proletariat have been destroyed. For the struggle against Fascism and War we must first of all unite the revolutionary forces. The Left Opposition must be reinstated into the Communist International, the false theories and tactics of Stalinism rejected.

The Communist party, the Young Communist League, and the Red International of Labor Unions should appeal to the Labor and Socialist International, the Socialist Youth International and the International Federation of Trade Unions for world united front against German Fascism, the danger of Fascism in Austria, the war danger and capitalist offensive.

Spartacus Youth Club (Communist Left Opposition)

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Britt Smith, one of the Last Two Centralia Prisoners Paroled

Britt Smith, former Secretary of the Industrial Workers of the World in Centralia, sentenced to 25 to 40 years for murder on charges growing out of the defense of the union hall against an Armistice Day mob of Legionnaires in 1919, has been paroled as promised by Gov. Clarence D. Martin...

Ray Becker, the last of the eight I. W. W. prisoners, refuses to accept a parole. He holds out for a commutation of sentence, maintaining that a parole implies an admission of guilt. His contention that he and his comrades were innocent of the charge of conspiracy to murder was borne out, says the Civil Liberties Union, by evidence offered at the trial but barred on technicalities by Judge John M. Wilson.

The Party in the Field of Art and Philosophy

A Reply to the American Comrades Martin Glee, Harry Ross and M. Morris.

Dear Comrades:

Your letter poses very important problems which do not, however, admit, in my opinion, of general and categorical solutions suitable in all cases. As an organization we have as the point of departure not only definite political ideas but certain philosophical and scientific methods. We base ourselves on dialectical materialism, from which flow conclusions not only concerning politics and science, but also art. Still, there is a vast difference in our attitude towards these conclusions. We cannot, to any similar degree, exercise the same rigorous control over art, by the very nature of this activity, as over politics. The party is obliged to permit a very extensive liberty in the field of art, eliminating pitilessly only that which is directed against the revolutionary tasks of the proletariat...

Viewed from this standpoint, philosophical activity lies between art and politics, closer to politics than to art. In philosophy, the party itself occupies a distinct militant position, which is not the case—at least not to the same extent—in the field of art. Objections to the effect that the "dogmatization" and "canonization" of dialectical materialism, the party prevents the free development of philosophical and scientific thought, do not deserve serious attention.

It is needless to point out that the question: How do the philosophical views of a certain person or a certain group reflect themselves in the field of politics and of the organization?—always has a tremendous significance for the elaboration of a correct control by the party. Thus Lenin fought mercilessly against Gorky in 1917 when above all other considerations stood the necessity of a revolutionary overthrow. On the other hand, it must be considered as the greatest shame that the Stalinist bureaucracy is transforming Barbusse the novelist into a leading political figure in spite of the fact that it is precisely in politics that Barbusse marches arm in arm with Renner, Vandervelde, Monnet and Paul Louis.

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.

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Austrian Labor Robbed of Rights

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tion is very poor among the masses. "What good is a vacation, or the eight hour day?" says the unemployed worker, "what I want is work even if it's a twelve hour day!" But it is precisely because of these sentiments that it was necessary to make it understood with all means at one's disposal that the shattering of the eight hour day strikes at all—the unemployed, who thereby have even less of a chance to get work, and the worker in the factory, whose wage is going to shrink even more miserably.

Where there is a will, there is a way. If the social democracy wanted to conduct a serious and effective resistance against the disfranchisement of the workers and against the unlimited and merciless aggravation of exploitation, then 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, 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 Dollfus 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 those meager 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).

against Rosa. But this time, she too voiced no open protest. The peculiar triumph of Stalinism which heralds its own collapse meant for her, as for all revolutionists who failed to choose the alternative of open struggle, a gag in the mouth, a paralyzing of the will, a terrible spiritual degradation.

Klara Zetkin was one of the half-dozen Spartacus left in the International, and with her death the best of the living is gone. She embodied in her finest days the link between the pre-war Left wing movement in the social democracy and the International that was reconstituted under the banner of Bolshevism. She brought with her the great tradition of that resolute group that formed itself under the name of the heroic organizer of the slaves' revolts in antiquity. Is it 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 Spartacus, however, established in the dark days of the war, is not irrevocable. The new Communist movement in Germany, rising like a phoenix out of the ashes of the dead, will revive all that was glorious in the old tradition and the memory of the old warriors, and enrich it with the struggle for the liberation of all the oppressed.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

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