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Heading Straight For Another World War

Horrible Spectre of a New Imperialist Holocaust Menaces the Whole World

The recent march of events conjures up again and again, and in ever more menacing proportions, the horrible spectre of a new imperialist holocaust. At the present moment the war clouds appear most densely packed in Europe. Will the outburst begin there? That no one can predict. It is certain, however, that the sanguinary massacre of the Austrian workers brings the war question much nearer to monstrous reality. But elsewhere along the artificially created national boundaries the sparks are flying in an atmosphere already excessively charged with rapacious imperialist ambitions. In the language of capitalist diplomats it is no longer a question of "whether" the war will come, but "when" and "where" it will begin.

The United Press reports a formidable concentration of Italian troops along the Austrian borders. Henri Berenguer, head of French Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, publicly proclaims the necessity of dispatching armed forces to Austria—to "safeguard her independence." This may be merely symptomatic of general situation. Much more ominous, however, is the spreading of fascist reaction at a breath-taking speed and the efforts to annihilate the working class movement and crush its spirit of resistance.

War is a continuation of politics by other means. Politics between imperialist powers knows no other language than that of the marauders' capture of spoils. Armies, fortified by the latest developments in mechanized warfare, deadly poison gases, and composed of millions of humanity, are marching in array to engage in a new death battle for redivision of the earth amongst the ravenous exploiters.

The mask of disarmament has fallen. In place of it there is now an open race for armaments. The League of Nations, created in the language of capitalist diplomatic hypocrisy, as an instrument to preserve peace between the nations, has sunk into disrepute even amongst its own creators. As a decoy it is not needed right now. The disarmament conference, in the words of its last remaining "faithful friend", the sleek Arthur Henderson, is in pretty bad shape. All the capitalist powers, large and small, have armed to the teeth. But most powerfully loom the gigantic war preparations of the American imperialist colossus. Wherever the war clouds may begin to unleash their torrents, wherever the powder magazine of capitalist conflicts may be ignited, one thing is certain—the United States will play a major role in it.

It is in anticipation of these furious armed conflicts that the United States prepares. Coldly and deliberately it pursues its course towards imperialist war. Its enormous capital resources must find new fields of exploitation, not only as a means of issuing out of the crisis, but also as a means of reducing the share of the competing powers in world economy. A favorable decision in this contest it will seek through the force of arms. Hence the feverish strengthening at this moment of what are called the forces of national defense. The United States today leads all the other powers in the open race for armaments.

The greatest navy in the country's history has been voted by the house of representatives in passing the Vinson Naval Replacement Bill, providing a program to cost \$475,000,000 to \$570,000,000. Coincident with this program approval was secured for building of 1,184 new naval aircraft. Announcements for the expansion of the Army Air Corps is awaited. "The sky's the limit," said Representative Hastings of Oklahoma in the House debate on the naval program. "This program may cost a billion dollars."

But that is only half the picture according to figures marshalled by Representative Bierman of Iowa. According to him, Congress and the P. W. A. are already appropriating \$1,039,000,000 this year for the

Collapse of Austro-Marxism In the Vienna Struggle

The epic bravery of the Austrian proletariat has proved to be no match for the murderous bombardment of the reaction. Battling to the end, the workers fired their last shots, the workers into which they were driven and finally cornered. The last rifle shot sounded the death knell of the once mighty Austrian Social Democracy.

Now that the smoke has lifted, the crimes of the leaders of the social democracy stand out in all their greswome enormity. Not all the efforts in the world can succeed in covering the facts by referring to the fighting done by Otto Bauer and Julius Deutsch. By their whole past policy they drove inexorably toward the catastrophe and sacrificed the Austrian proletariat, just as surely as did their German confreres a year before.

A Fatal Policy

The leaders of Austro-Marxism chained the proletariat to the anchor of the constitution which dragged it ever deeper into a swamp. They taught the workers faith in capitalist democracy as the basis upon which a new society could be erected without disturbances, peacefully. They pursued a course up to the last minute of supporting Dollfuss as the "lesser evil", despite the tragedy to which the German proletariat had been brought by the same policy. They allowed the proletariat to be disarmed, the Schutzbund to be dissolved, the Socialist whipper to be confiscated. They whimpered at Dollfuss' heels while the proletar-

iat's ranks were being demoralized and enfeebled. They talked big. They threatened a general strike if any one of four actions were taken against the workers and their organizations. In this way they succeeded in checking the uneasy masses who wanted to fight the hyena of reaction before it became too powerful.

But while they talked about a general strike, they did not take a single step to prepare for it. That is why we charge the leaders of the Austrian social democracy with treachery to the proletariat! A dozen articles would not be half so effective in revealing the depths to which Austro-Marxism has sunk, as are the simple words of its leader, Otto Bauer. Let every militant, the socialist workers above all, engrave in his mind the revelations made to the press in Bratislava, whence Bauer fled after the crushing of the workers. We print them here, extracted from the interview he granted to Mr. G. E. R. Gedyre, correspondent in Czechoslovakia of the New York Times (February 18, 1934):

"Since that date—the date of the Hitler triumph in Germany—our party has made the very greatest efforts to come to an agreement with the government, because we knew what the end would be otherwise. Either the Nazis were bound to triumph in Austria or some such terrible bloodshed as has now happened was bound to come.

Banking on Dollfuss

In the first weeks of March our leaders were still in close personal contact with Dollfuss and frequently tried to get him to agree to a constitutional solution. At the end of March he promised our leader, Dr. Denneberg, personally that at the beginning of April he would open negotiations with us for the reform of the Constitution.

"This promise he never fulfilled, for at the beginning of April he passed over definitely to the Fascist camp (although he concealed it from other countries) and refused to speak to any of the Socialists.

"When he said he could not see the existing leaders we offered to send him other negotiators. He refused sharply. As we could not see him again we tried to negotiate through other people. Honestly, we left no stone unturned....

"We offered to make the greatest concessions that a democratic and socialist party had ever made. We let Dollfuss know that if he would only pass a bill through Parliament we would accept a measure authorizing the government to govern by decree without Parliament for two years, on two conditions only—that a small Parliamentary committee in which the government had a majority, should be able to criticize decrees and that a constitutional court, the only protection against breaches of the Constitution, should be restored... Dollfuss refused.

"In our parliamentary committee in October, we announced that a general strike would take place if any one of four things, but only these things, should occur. You know these conditions. They were

(Continued on page 4)

Coal Yard Workers Win Strike in Minneapolis

Militant Battle Brings a Speedy Victory To Drivers

Vandalism!

Early last week the Rivera Lenin mural was hacked out of the wall on which Rivera had painted it in Rockefeller's Radio City Hall. Thus was carried to its logical conclusion the vandalism begun last May when Rockefeller peremptorily ordered Rivera to discontinue working on the mural because he objected to an image of Lenin's face appearing in it.

Various artists have begun a protest movement, withdrawing their work from an exhibition planned for Radio City. The protest is being joined by persons of divergent interests although the political sympathies of some of the artists for the social content of Rivera's art are the main spring of their protest.

Minneapolis.—After a whirlwind strike battle which electrified the whole city and tied up every coal yard tight as a drum, the coal drivers won complete recognition of their union in two and a half days.

The Minneapolis Labor Review of February 16 says: "The workers of the city were thrilled, both organized and unorganized, at the masterly manner in which the struggle was conducted. Picketing of the coal yards was carried on continuously during the strike and there has never been a better example of enthusiastic efficiency than displayed by the coal driver pickets."

"A week ago Minneapolis was not paying much attention to the coal drivers. Today organized and militant they are a mighty factor in the industrial world."

The same paper reports "a memorable meeting of the Central Labor Union, that heard Miles Dunne, member of the coal drivers' strike committee, declare that anyone who doubts that the American workers will fight for their rights is sadly misinformed. He said that all delegates should report to their unions that the coal drivers' strike had been a very successful one."

The Strike was conducted by General Drivers' Union No. 574. The committee representing the strikers before the Regional Labor Board, which negotiate the settlement, consisted of William Brown, Cliff Hall, Miles Dunne and Carl Skoglund. Roy Wier, organizer of the C. L. U. and attorney John Goldie assisted in the negotiations as members of the committee.

Shachtman Tour New Haven MASS MEETING

"DO WE NEED A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY IN AMERICA"

at
WORKMAN'S CIRCLE CENTER
72 LEGION AVENUE, NEW HAVEN
THURSDAY, MARCH 1st, 8 P. M.
ADMISSION 10 CENTS
Auspsices: New Haven Br. C. L. A.

NRA Attacks Hotel Strike Need Militant Policy to Overcome Crisis in Ranks

The fourth week of the New York hotel strike witnessed the complete violation on the part of the hotels of the agreement to reinstate the strikers through the agency of their shop delegates.

The Regional Labor Board of the NRA at the same time came out into the open as the chief strike-breaking agency. Mrs. Herrick, chairman, excused the hotels, denounced the union and urged the strikers to apply for work as "individuals."

The union officials, taken completely off guard by this turn of events, although it could have been predicted and explained by any worker with an elementary understanding of the class struggle, lost their heads entirely. Instead of concentrating their attention on the task of improving the strike organization, educating and steeling the strikers for a further struggle and providing means to feed them, Field, Kaldis and Costas, the official leaders of the union, explained the situation as "a breach of faith", and during the past week they have been running back and forth from the Labor Board to Mayor La Guardia and from La Guardia to the Labor Board in fruitless efforts to "straighten out" a tangle that has been purposely and deliberately created by the very people they are appealing to.

A Critical Situation

A certain demoralization in the ranks of the strikers has resulted, and nothing else could result. The strike situation has become extremely critical. A drastic change of policy is imperatively necessary in order to re-form the ranks and prevent a catastrophe. The militant Left wing elements in the union, who have made a sharp break with the leadership over these fundamental questions of policy, is pushing forward aggressively along this line. The fate of the strike now depends directly upon the results of their fight.

The strike is a class battle. If it is conducted on this basis great reservoirs of workers' energy and militancy can yet be brought into play for the salvation of the strike and the union. Power is with the workers, but it must be organized and relied upon. That is the task of leaders. Take a lesson from the

coal drivers of Minneapolis, where a fighting leadership welded together an invincible fighting union that smashed its way to victory in three days. In Minneapolis they also negotiated with the NRA. But they did not rely on these negotiations. They relied on the picket line and militant action and forced the NRA to act.

As was to be expected the "Food Workers' Industrial Union"—the special trade union organization of the official Communist Party (Stalinists)—seized upon the critical position of the strike during the past week to sow confusion and demoralization, to circulate every kind of rumor and slander and, in general, to bedevil the situation in every way possible. This wrecking crew is running a hard race with the Regional Labor Board for first "honors" in the game of breaking the strike.

Quick Action Needed

In the present critical situation, which has been aggravated and to a large extent induced by the pussy-footing policy of the leadership, heroic efforts are necessary to re-form the ranks of the strike. It can yet be done, but there is not much time left. This must be said openly. There is no greater menace in such a situation than the preach-

(Continued on page 4)

Shoe Union Forges Ahead Amalgamation Rolls over Reactionary Opposition

The new amalgamated independent union of shoe workers, born at the convention held in Boston last December, has proceeded steadily forward toward a completed organization against serious obstacles, obstacles that were successful in blocking previous attempts at unity in years past.

The United Shoe and Leather Workers Union has been represented since January 15th by the Coordinating Committee called into existence by the convention. It is to function until the constitution is finally approved and adopted by all locals, and officers are elected. All locals that were represented at the convention have approved the constitution, or have submitted minor amendments, except those noted below. Soon after the close of the convention, reactionary officialdom of the former two principal unions proceeded to do all in their power to block the move: Mahan & Co. of the old National Shoe Workers Union and Nolan & Co. of the old Shoe Workers Protective Union.

Mahan's Waterloo

Mahan met his Waterloo first and has been forced to capitulate. Nolan and his clique, however, are still active. The St. Louis locals of the Shoe Workers' Protective Union, having some 2000 organized workers in that territory have with-

drawn from the new union, a result of the "good work" of Nolan who travelled there at union expense for that purpose. Of 13 locals in Haverhill, Mass. district, he has succeeded in withholding 2 from the new union.

A statement circulated by the Nolan officialdom suggests—"with an honest desire to cooperate in bringing together several unions on a basis of more complete harmony, that the constitution (of the new union) be rejected and that a demand be made that the Coordinating Committee be dissolved and... in order to obtain ultimately an amalgamation to which all may subscribe (!!!) we offer the following: that the constitution of the Shoe Workers Protective Union be accepted with amendments.... amalgamation to be confined to the National Shoe Workers' Association; Brotherhood of Shoe and Allied Craftsmen; Shoe Workers' Protective Union and the Salem Independent Union." This in the face of the most overwhelming vote in support of the principles of the new constitution that the shoe workers have ever known!

The Fight at Lowell.

In Lowell, Mass., the bosses of Dodge, Perry & Bliss recently announced a wage scale for cutters of \$18.00 per week. The cutters refused to accept the reduction. The bosses suggested that inasmuch as there was a fight for jurisdiction between two unions (one would be the egg shell fragment of the Nolan officialdom), their factory operate temporarily on open shop principles and when the fight was settled they promised to recognize whichever wins. Needless to say this was unanimously rejected and the bosses informed that they must deal with the one and only union existing there—the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union. This the bosses refused. "All right", said the workers' spokesman, "let Nolan make your shoes!"

Doubtless Nolan considered this seriously for the next day newspapers publicized Nolan's announcement to all unemployed shoe workers who were members in good standing of the "Protective" Union that jobs were available in this shop and urged them to go and get them. But the workers' ranks held solidly, the shop remained closed. The next day the boss sent post haste for a representative of the

the careful preparation for action and the militant mass picket line. The patient day to day organizational campaign in the various yards and sections of the industry, the devotion of a number of militant workers to the idea of the Union—this must be given FIRST place in any consideration of this or any other strike.

Composed in the main of young men learning the lesson of fighting solidarity in their first labor struggle, the Coal Yard Workers have in the ranks many older men who brought to the Union and into the fight valuable experience, supplementing enthusiasm with calm judgment, and therefore striking ability. The older and the young workers found their places together in the powerful drive and sweep of the offensive.

The Crusing Picket Squad

Some of the best proposals and many of the most courageous acts came from those workers who until a few short weeks ago, knew little about strikes or union membership. One of the outstanding features of the strike was the Crusing Picket Squad. This idea came from the ranks and played a great role in the strike. The general strategy of the Strike Committee was to concentrate the pickets at the largest and most dangerous yards, leaving a more or less skeleton line at the other points, picket captains to make the necessary shifts as occasion demanded.

There were more than 60 yards to cover scattered over an area of ten miles square. To guard the St. Paul line, where more than one hundred greedy coal operators awaited an opportunity to force their workers to scab, was a task of no small proportions. (That few St. Paul drivers tried to run the blockade is a living example of the fine solidarity that exists). Here the Crusing Picket Squad found its work. From the moment of its inception, when it was taken up eagerly by the Strike Committee as well as the whole membership, in the early hours of the strike, no stray scab had any chance to get through. Car after car volunteered for this work. Manned with five to seven pickets they supplemented the main lines, making them virtually 'coal' tight.

(Continued from Page 3)

(Continued on page 4)

The Collapse Of «Austro-Marxism»

A Lecture By
MAX SHACHTMAN
IRVING PLAZA HALL
(GRAND BALLROOM)
15th Street and Irving Place
Wednesday, Feb. 28, at 8 p.m.
QUESTIONS ADMISSION 15c DISCUSSION

DEBATE The Crisis in the Communist International

What Is
The Way
Out?

JAMES P. CANNON
Says:
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IS BANKRUPT—
FOR A 4th INTERNATIONAL

On MONDAY, MARCH 5, 1934
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Chairman: SIDNEY HOOK
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THE C.W.A. FRONT

10,000 Demonstrate in New York

Last Thursday, February 15, a demonstration of 10,000 workers of the C. W. A. and C. W. S. and the various groupings of the Roosevelt sham of planned recovery—took place in Union Square. On the line of march, for the first time, joining with ditch diggers, bricklayers and all the other categories of Civil Works laborers, were the previously immune "untouchables"—the white collar office workers. They added zest to the spirit in the air.

"The C. W. A. must go on!" "No layoffs!" Thousands of workers shouted these slogans, the streets ringing with protest against the infamy of the present scheme of mass firing. The police—in their usual Hessian fashion attempted to provoke or to cut short the protest by laying out what they thought would be a "proper" route for the marchers. At the offices of the CWA at 28th St., the lusty shouts of the thousands of workers rang out their denunciation of the CWA officialdom. At this point the police tried to stem the march, but failed. The workers marched past the CWA offices twice.

While there are a few CWA organized CWA workers are members that the Association of Civil Works Employees at 22 E. 22th St. has the best chance for growth. All the speakers, including of course the Stalinists from the Relief Workers League, howled for unity! If there is to be unity among the CWA workers, the elimination of superfluous organization must take place, and the fusing of these groups into the main stream. The majority of organized CWA workers are members of the Association of Civil Works Employees. There is where we should concentrate, and help build it into a mass organization for the fight to come.

Inwood Park

A thousand workers are employed here on the A shift. Doing the usual routine of non-mechanized work, such as digging ditches for

drains, filling in or leveling land; the bricklayers laying bricks on the soggy ground, with the melting snow making the work absolutely worthless. Two months ago when an attempt was made to organize the CWA workers for better conditions (such as pay every week, union scale) and in general the right to organize, Mr. MacArthur, a supervisor (now up on charges of padding the payroll) intimidated the process. He said "you can't organize against the Government". "The NRA does not include the CWA."

When a demonstration was being organized to demand pay three weeks in arrears, Mr. MacArthur howled and stormed, threatening the immediate firing of anyone who left the job to demonstrate at the office. Nobody went! The prospect of being fired with no organization as yet strong enough to fight for the workers, dissipated the possibilities of militant protest; everybody just grumbled and cursed. When the wage cut came—the same thing.

There was no organization to lead us, except for a few workers who vented their personal feelings at this damnable "charity work" of the government. Mr. Dutch Schultz and his cohorts grafted pennies and dimes from the workers by the policy racket, and his honor the mayor did right by the working class by suspending it for a week. Mr. Schultz is operating again in collusion with the genteel Tammany boys who officiate as the Foreman with the honorable mayor's dispensation. These boys have organized it on better lines and no arrests take place.

On below-zero Friday, a Negro foreman caught cold and died the next day. A number of workers died, unable to buy decent warm clothes on \$13.44 a week, and to support a family. A worker sacrifices these essentials for paying rent, clothing his kids and buying food. Is there any money left—with rising prices—and our pay cut instead of increased to meet the rise in commodities?

A number of contacts have been made, which should soon enough develop and must develop into the basis for an organization at Inwood

Park to organize for the battle for better conditions and the continuation of the C. W. A. —CWA.

Marine Park

Marine Park, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Marine Park CWA workers succeeded in forcing from the local officials a chance to make up a half-day's pay they had been cheated out of.

When the workers received their pay-check (\$11.20), they discovered they had been docked a half-day's pay, although a promise had previously been given them that they would not be docked for going home early in sub-zero weather.

Spontaneous strikes took place in almost every section of the park, despite the fact that the gangs, which are widely separated, were not aware of their common action. More than 300 marched to the pay-shack to demand their full pay.

The major in charge rushed off hurriedly to park headquarters and returned with the information that we would be permitted to come in early and make up the time "lost".

The whole affair should make it very clear to CWA workers that organized mass action is the only means by which they can defeat the plans of the administration to squeeze down on CWA funds and eventually fire every worker from the job.

The officials in charge of the park are prepared to go to any lengths to find excuses for firing workers. They hesitate to make mass layoffs, because they know that this will enrage the workers sufficiently to make them fight back.

On Saturday morning, a windy, icy day, when it was torture only to hold a cold shovel in your hand, the prosperous-looking car of the "major" who is in charge of the project, drew up in front of a gang of section 3, and after a whispered conference with the foremen the men were told to line up for discharge slips. The reason given was that we had "refused to work"! But this dirty deal was too raw to go over, and the "major" drove away with every man still working.

What is to prevent him from coming back to try this trick again, and this time successfully? Only the organized action of the workers themselves OF WHICH EVERY CAPITALIST POLITICIAN IS AFRAID. CWA workers must learn the lessons of unions in industry and ORGANIZE TO PROTECT THEIR JOBS.

Prospect Park

Following months of the degrading nonsense which was C. W. A. "work" in Prospect Park, the new park commissioner Moses with the assistance of "Federal Brains" had put the majority of the \$13.44 leisure class at "constructive" work. In this "constructive work", the dictum laid down by Harry Hopkins that no machinery be used is carried out to the letter.

Some are sent to Coney Island to screen the sand on the beach by hand. Truly here is an eternal job for all the unemployed. Others with picks, shovels and wheelbarrows (in mechanized industrialized America) are at work, pecking away at frozen earth and rock—making roads, flower beds, ditches, etc.

Wage Cuts

Hard miserable work in abominable weather, carried on by poorly clad, ill-fed men for \$13.44 a week. A steam shovel and a truck could do the work more efficiently and well to boot than the whole crew. But no machinery is allowed for this is Roosevelt's "made work". In other words it is capitalist punishment for the crime of being unemployed.

Hundreds of thousands of men have already been laid off. They are to be absorbed into industry, we are told. At the same time figures released by Secretary of Labor Perkins, show a decline of five hundred thousand in industrial employment during the month of January.

Starvation on the farms is increasing. Farmers forced off the land by Roosevelt's A. A. A. program are joining city unemployed on relief rolls. There is nothing in sight for the "released" CWA workers except starvation or the bread lines.

"By May 1st, all CWA work will be ended", says Roosevelt. And in the parks, the mudholes and snow piles where the CWA men work this statement is being discussed. There Park. In the next week or so, a

meeting will be called near the is plenty of militancy and readiness for struggle. The conscious minority must now without further delay push the task of strengthening and building the unemployed organizations. The demonstration of Feb. 15, must be considered only as the beginning of a campaign to turn the paper or skeleton organization of the Association of Civil Works Employees and the Workers Unemployment League into real mass organizations of the CWA and other unemployed. —K.

Shachtman Tour

On March first, comrade Shachtman begins his national tour. This is the second national tour undertaken by the League this season, but it will be far bigger than any preceding it, extending from coast to coast and covering the most important industrial centers throughout the country. A period of two months and a half has been allotted for its completion with at least one public meeting at every stop-over.

It is the aim of this tour to bring the League message on the most burning questions confronting the American workers to much wider circles than heretofore. First and foremost amongst these questions stands the one of assembling the forces for a new revolutionary party. This will be comrade Shachtman's main topic. He will present the Marxist answer to the question: "Do We Need a New Revolutionary Party in America." Where more than one meeting is scheduled he will also deal with such subjects as: "Is America Headed Towards War?"; "The Future of the New Deal"; and "The Soviet Union Under Stalinism."

Comrade Shachtman is well qualified to answer these questions on behalf of the League. Our viewpoint is well known to many militant workers. They will form the active kernel in building up the meetings and there should be little doubt that in every respect the tour will be successful.

The League itself is in a state of growth with a network of branches throughout the country. Several new ones have been added recently in the Western states. This makes such an extended tour possible. The tour can be a new high point in winning new adherents to our viewpoint and gain new members for the League. In addition, and this goes without saying, the very successful Militant subscription campaign, now well under way, should find its climax in new readers being added to the list in every city visited by comrade Shachtman. All Militant readers will thus be able to help materially in making this tour a new forward step for the League.

The following is the schedule for the national tour up to Chicago. The additional dates will be reported in subsequent issues:

Thursday, March 1st—New Haven Workman's Circle Center, 72 Legion Ave.
Friday, March 2nd, Boston Mass. Otisfield Hall, Cor. Otisfield and Blue Hill Ave., Roxbury, Mass. 8:00 P. M.

Sat., March 3rd Boston, Mass. Sun., March 4th Boston, Mass. Labor Lyceum, Auspices: Young Circle League, 4:30 P. M.

Tues., March 6th—Rochester, N. Y. Wed., March 7th—Rochester, N. Y. Thurs., March 8th—Syracuse, N. Y. Fri., March 9th—Syracuse, N. Y. Sat., March 10th—Syracuse, N. Y. Sun., March 11th—Buffalo, N. Y. Mon., March 12th—Pittsburgh, Pa. Tues., March 13th—Pittsburgh, Pa. Wed., March 14th—Newcastle Pa. Thurs., March 15th—Youngstown, O. Fri., March 16th—Youngstown, O. Sat., March 17th—Cleveland Ohio Sun., March 18th—Chicago, Ill. Mon., March 19th—Chicago, Ill. Tues., March 20th—Chicago, Ill. Wed., March 21st—Chicago, Ill. Thurs., March 22nd—Chicago, Ill.

Shachtman Tour Boston, Mass. MASS MEETING "THE SOVIET UNION UNDER STALINISM" at LABOR LYCEUM Boston, Mass. Sunday, March 4th—4:30 P. M. Auspices: Young Circle League

Shachtman Tour Boston, Mass. MASS MEETING "DO WE NEED A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY IN AMERICA" at OTISFIELD HALL Cor. Otisfield and Blue Hill Ave., Roxbury, Mass. FRIDAY, MARCH 2nd—8:00 P. M. ADMISSION 10 CENTS Auspices: Boston Branch C. L. A.

Revolt in the Blockers Union

Reactionary Clique Struggle Threatens Split

The workers in the Blockers Local 42 of the Cap and Millinery International Union are up in arms against Zaritzy's arbitrary and autocratic leadership. The revolt reached its height Monday, Feb. 12, at a packed meeting in Bryant Hall when President Zaritzy was not permitted to proceed with his appointment of officers for the local.

Results of Clique Struggle

The present ferment of the blockers is the culmination of a protracted struggle that has been going on between the racketeering clique of Goldin, who headed the local till 1932, and the autocratic Zaritzy bureaucracy heading the International. In 1932, Zaritzy reorganized Local 42, and imposed upon it an appointed leadership of his own henchmen. Goldin, with a number of blockers following him, organized his own local as part of the United Hatters Union. This resulted in bloody warfare in the shops, with both cliques competing for the recognition of the bosses by giving up one after another the conditions the blockers had won through years of struggle.

Now, that the Zaritzy leadership of the Millinery International has come to terms the Michael Green outfit heading the United Hatters, Goldin was left out in the cold. One of the terms of this agreement was the merger of the two blockers locals. At the meeting on Feb. 12, Zaritzy came to announce his appointees for the merged blockers local. The workers reacted in no uncertain terms against Zaritzy's abuse of their fundamental democratic rights, to elect their own officials. Goldin is now taking full advantage of the sentiment among the workers.

Among those who joined up with Goldin in the hypocritical cry for workers' democracy in the union, are Brickman and Sint who have been partners in crime with Zaritzy in 1932 during the reorganization of Local 42. These individuals, themselves are guilty of violating the workers rights, by accepting Zaritzy's appointments when the organization took place.

Fishing in Troubled Waters

The "united front" Stalinists too are trying to fish in the troubled waters. Working in the interest of the discredited "Industrial Union" they exploit every occasion to weaken and split the International. This "United Front" group has become part and parcel of the Goldin clique of racketeers. These masters of split and disruption are trailing behind Goldin, supplying him with the "left" phrases. The "leaders" of this so-called United Front, Gustav Wollman & I. Wollman have themselves had a taste of the kind of union Goldin can give them. Goldin is the very one who expelled militant workers from the local during his rule, keeping them out of meetings with the aid of police and gangsters. We have not forgotten the kind of "democratic" elections Goldin gave us. We have not forgotten the gangster rule of terror with which Goldin maintained himself in office.

Another small figure in this shady combination is one Max Rose. This responsible person, who played around with the Left wing and even

made a big noise about his radicalism, has shown his colors in this crisis and has become a supporter of the splitting combination.

This colorful combination of the black Goldin clique, the "red" United Front and the section of Zaritzy's former henchmen, are trying now under the battle cry of workers democracy to mislead the blockers to go through with an election of officers over the head of the International, this Monday, Feb. 26.

Where Will Revolt Lead?

The revolt of the blockers against Zaritzy's abuse of the fundamental rights of the membership has reached a point now when the next immediate step will decide whether it is to become the lever that will shake his autocratic rule in the International, or it will become a purely local movement of defiance and eventually get into the blind alley of split, disintegration, and subsequent destruction at the hands of Zaritzy's superior forces: the control of the International machine. The latter must be the outcome if the blockers follow the misleadership of Goldin, Wollman, Brickman, Sint, and Co.

Zaritzy has appointed the administration of the local. Goldin and his allies are proceeding with their own elections. The day after these proposed elections, the blockers will find themselves with two sets of officers. This will mean another protracted guerrilla fight and a contest in each shop, with all the advantages on Zaritzy's side: control of the other crafts, the agreement with the bosses, and an army from unemployed blockers from which to draw recruits, not to speak of the treasury at his disposal, and the backing he will undoubtedly get from the other needle trades International unions. The hopeless fight of Local 43 and its consequences are still fresh in our memory.

The Right Road

There is only one remaining road for the blockers to follow. It is necessary to utilize the entire pressure of this revolt to force Zaritzy to call for an early election. The protest movement must be intensified and spread into the other locals of the International to pick up our battle cry for a democratically run union. There is sufficient discontent among the milliners of all crafts with Zaritzy's autocratic rule that can be ignited into a powerful movement, to do away with the abuses of Zaritzy and his henchmen. Goldin, Willman, and Co., are merely playing into the hands of Zaritzy, by dragging the blockers into the trap of a dual blockers local, court proceedings, competition for the good graces of the bosses, and the further lowering of the miserable standards that prevail in the trade.

Maintain United Local

We warn the blockers to maintain a united local under any and all conditions, not to be misled by Goldin and his henchmen, who are out merely for their personal gains; not to be misled by the irresponsible adventurism of the so-called "united front".

In this revolt of the blockers there was only one voice that spoke clearly for a militant fight along

Money vs Men

Capital and Labor in the Hotel Strike

Like a good many other industries, the hotel industry expanded and overexpanded during the boom period of the 1920s. The effects of this investment orgy were obvious even as early as 1928, at the very height of the prosperity flush. In the eight year period from 1920 to 1928 the number of available rooms had increased 50 percent (from 1,070,000 to 1,521,000) whereas the rooms actually occupied increased less than 13 percent (from 914,850 to 1,028,916), and the number of guests by about the same percentage. In other words, the percentage of occupancy had declined to 67.6%, though it is understood in the trade that 70 percent occupancy is necessary for profitable operation. During the same period, failures increased yearly from 59 in 1921 to 112 in 1928.

Wages in 1929 were as low as \$844 annually for dining room, lunch room and kitchen employees in the whole country and \$988 for New York workers. The average annual wage of other workers was \$904 and \$1,081 respectively. (These figures taken from the U. S. Census Bureau statistics of 1929 refer only to hotels of 25 rooms or more, operated all year around.)

Since the above figures were gathered wages have fallen twenty-five percent and more. Nor has the NRA helped any. Quite the contrary. Wages of waiters and waitresses which were \$20 before had fallen to \$15 in August 1933. And these are official government figures. A group of skilled workers—cooks—who were making an average of \$40.88 a week when they took their jobs, were making \$30.04 in October 1933. At the same time, hours and the amount of work to be done have increased.

Along with excessive investment what characterized and characterizes the hotels is the high degree of concentration of capital. There are 26,800 hotels in the country of which about half are small businesses (less than twenty-five rooms), many of them operated only seasonally. In the remaining half, the estimated investment is \$250,000 per hotel, 22 workers in each for the whole country and 33 in each for New York.

To further justify their wage cutting, the bosses and bankers have resorted to manipulating their accounts so that their books show smaller profits. Costs of depreciation of buildings, etc., have been falsely raised to an absurd degree; financing costs have been heavily padded. All this in order to show excuses for wage cuts against workers who in many cases have spent eighteen years learning their trade—chefs for example.

But while the bosses have no money for wages, they have plenty of money to fight workers' organization for better conditions (the "war chest" has been estimated at some \$800,000). They have the bankers who control them behind them. It is against them, against miserable conditions that thousands of workers, following the example of the Waldorf-Astoria men, are now striking under the leadership of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union.

These lines, for a fight against Zaritzy's abuses and Goldin's misleadership. That was the voice of the United Blockers League. This group of militant workers, through its leaflets, and at the mass meetings, gave the proper warning and pointed out the correct road for the blockers. We are confident that the blockers will realize that this is the only road for them to follow. —BLOCKER.

Things the Minneapolis Coal-yard Workers Won't Forget

- Those pickets who dumped two seven-ton loads in front of North Western Yard No. 1 on the first morning of the Strike: The action that warned the rest of the Companies what to expect.
- That 3 hour running fight up West Broadway to keep a load of coal from being delivered to ex-Sheriff Brown's greenhouse.
- That fighting young worker who seized a cop by the throat and made him apologize (before the crowd) for calling him a vile name.
- That in this Strike, mass picketing became a reality—not an empty slogan.
- The sight of a hall full of sleepy men jumping to their feet, shaking the sleep from their eyes, responding eagerly to the never ending demands—ten pickets here! twenty pickets there!
- The steady line of workers flocking up to join the Union—then leaving to swell the picket lines.
- The fact that few—very few, farmers tried to scab by selling wood for easy cash although wood is plentiful—and the farmers needed the money.
- The cheer that went up from the coal workers when they learned that the Ice Wagon Drivers, in spite of their officials, had decided to go out in sympathy.
- The militant young pickets who in the face of pistol fire and five squad cars full of cops—dumped that load of coal.
- That the second and the third night of the Strike—found the fuel oil drivers responding to the pickets' demands for "no fuel deliveries". Many drivers refused to work.
- The fact: That the entire police force backed the bosses, but that all the coal that filtered through the picket lines, could have been delivered by ONE UNION DRIVER in two hours.
- That the Strike was so effective after the first day—it required a Doctor's prescription to get coal through the lines—in case of sickness.
- That the Union agreement to let Welfare Coal go, the first day—was violated by any number of greedy coal owners—it was banned after that because of this double-crossing.
- That the bosses had to swallow their insolent sander that "the men can't organize", "they won't stick"—they saw UNION organization—they saw them STICK—More than that, they saw them FIGHT. —V. R. D.

Another United Front Burlesque

Chicago.—A "united front" conference held here in the Abraham Lincoln Center on February 10 and 11 resulted in the organization of a Chicago branch of the American League Against War and Fascism. The whole thing evidenced the fact that the Party has as little conception of what constitutes a united front as it had during the height of the "third period".

The call was issued by a group of individual liberals, pacifists and Communists in their own name and stated that they were not representing any organization. The opening session of the conference which took place Saturday night was held with the signers of the call firmly in the saddle as arrangements committee. They had decided in advance the number on the credential and resolutions committees and who should compose such committees.

Thomas McKenna, executive secretary of the Chicago Civil Liberties Union and undercover Stalinist, called the meeting to order. He called on John Werlik, "representative of the American Federation of Labor" but in reality representing a small metal polishers' local to act as chairman. Then he elected himself secretary of the Conference.

The chairman first called on McKenna to read a communication from Prof. Robert Morse Lovett who could not be present. The Professor's letter was full of "sexual urges" and "cosmic urges" as causes of war. Then he called on Mrs. Felsenthal, representing the Jewish bourgeois Women's Federation, to read a letter from Mrs. Lola

Maverick Lloyd of the Women Peace League who also could not be present. Her letter called on the conference to "organize the beautiful sentiments and mobilize the human instincts against war."

Both letters were roundly applauded by the 75% Stalinist audience and practically set the keynote to the entire proceedings. There followed Rev. W. B. Waltire who recounted the horrors of War and B. K. Gebert, Communist Party District Organizer who spoke in the same vein offering no clarification on either war nor Fascism.

Joseph Knight, delegate representing Local 34 of Chicago Workers Committee on Unemployment, introduced a minority report of the Resolutions Committee. His two resolutions, in contradistinction to the majority (Stalinist) resolution, summed up Marxian analysis and program of action on the questions of war and fascism. The first resolution established a correct relation between these two which the Stalinist resolution lumped together in a most confused manner. In addition to Local 34 the minority resolutions were supported by Local 21 of the same organization, the Communist League, the Communist Party Opposition (Lovestonets) and the Militant Workers Club of the South Side.

The Communist League was represented by comrades Goldman, Satir and Giganti. Of these only Goldman was able to get the floor to speak. When his allotted five minutes were up and the chairman requested him to stop voices throughout the hall urged that time be extended. A motion to extend his time, made by R. Sacharow,

representing Workers Committee, Local 21, and seconded by an I. L. D. delegate, was voted down.

The credential committee reported delegates from 151 organizations: I. W. O.; I. L. D.; W. I. R.; Communist Party; Fraternal and Cultural societies, Ladies Peace Society's; etc. The only people present not under direct party control were ourselves, the Lovestonets, the Workers Committee Locals, Junion Wobblies and several other groups. Nevertheless, the reporter for the credentials committee stated without stammering that the conference represented 96,000 organized individuals. This does not prevent the Daily Worker, however, from reporting present 175 delegates with 70,000 being represented. This enormous paper strength does not fool anybody.

The antics of the Stalinists made good subject for humor, in many instances. For example, Beatrice Shields, the party's theoretical heavy weight in the District, unwittingly told the delegates that the Program of the American League Against War and Fascism, which was placed under fire by the Left Opposition as well as by Hackman of the Lovestonets, had been formulated by the party as a minimum program and that their maximum program went much farther. It must have occurred to many that no matter how "minimum" this program was, it still IS THE PARTY'S PROGRAM. It was arrived at by agreement with no one but themselves. It is designed to attract the Ladies Peace Society but not the workers. —J. S. G.

Oneal Discovers «Trotskyism»

Socialist Locals Come Out For The Fourth International

A sacred flame flickers in the weekly column of the socialist organ, *The New Leader*. It is kept alive by the oracular commentaries of the editor, Mr. James Oneal. Every week, Cassandra croaks a warning to one or another group in the flock which threatens to stray from the barren pastures fenced in by the high priests of the Socialist party. One would think that a shepherd who has had such unrelieved bad luck in the past fifteen years would shut up shop and go into a business more suited to his talents. But not Mr. Oneal.

Local Denver for 4th International
In the *New Leader* of February 10, 1934, the smallest available type in the most obscure corner announces the not unimportant fact that

Local Denver has endorsed the Springfield (Ill.) resolution to withdraw from the International and join the Fourth (Trotsky) International.

Elsewhere we learn that, at least in New York, branches of the Socialist party are listening to speeches on "Trotsky and the Fourth International". At all events, the highly encouraging news that two branches as far apart as Springfield and Denver have adopted resolutions in favor of the new revolutionary International, would indicate that there is a distinct—if as yet a weak—current in the ranks of the Socialist party for a clean break with the Second International and association with the Fourth.

Into the breach rushes Mr. Oneal. In his column of February 17, he writes:

"A resolution has been adopted by a few (A few!—s.) Socialist locals which declares that the Labor and Socialist International, commonly known as the Second International, has an unbroken record of disservice to the working class of the world, beginning with its support of the nationalistic and imperialistic ambitions of the bourgeoisie before and during the war of 1914-1918, followed by its attempt (altogether too successful) to restore order and harmony to the disrupted capitalist economy in the defeated nations, and this at the expense of the proletariat."

"Then the strategy and tactics of evolutionary socialism and reformism have proved its inability to withstand the advance of Fascism which destroyed all the reforms and advantages that labor unions and political action have gained in decades". Therefore, it is urged that the party withdraw from the L. S. I. and join the Fourth International.

—And what would this mean? Mr. Oneal is not easily deceived. "Party members should understand that the Fourth International is a project of the Trotsky Communists and that it means that the Socialist Party should affiliate with a new Communist International. The resolution conceals this important fact."

Oneal Distorts Facts
But who is Mr. Oneal to cast a stone? He not only conceals facts of no lesser importance, but also he distorts several more. The merits of Communism versus Social

Democracy are today far less a matter of only theoretical dispute than they were over a decade ago when Oneal engaged in debate in the *New Star* Casino in New York and proclaimed that he would never join an International which harbored Noske and Scheidemann. There is today a far vaster store of factual material by which to judge than existed a decade ago—and there was more than enough even then.

As an historian of early colonial life, Mr. Oneal has delved as meticulously into facts as his un-Marxian mind would permit. Whenever he has occasion to touch upon the history of Communism and proletarian revolution, however, he becomes a disseminator of myths. To the erring "Trotskyists" in his party, therefore, he lectures as follows:

"That situations have been misjudged at times by the movements abroad may be granted, but that Communist ideology and methods have been wise and have served the working class is not true, as Bavaria, Italy, Hungary and Germany show....The Bolsheviks judged wrongly and paid the penalty in Bavaria, Italy, Hungary and Germany. The Labor Party in England miscalculated its duty in office and paid the penalty. The Socialists in Germany and Italy had not only their own choice to make but that choice was also limited by what the Communists decided to do."

Social Democratic Legends
If by "Communist ideology and methods" are meant the ideology and methods of Lenin, Trotsky and the Communist International which they founded, we don't know what Oneal is talking about. If he is referring to the legend created as a cover for socialist treachery, it should not take more than a few sentences to explode it.

1. The revolution in Bavaria was not led by the Bolsheviks at all, but by the Independent Socialists under Kurt Eisner, later murdered by Count Arco-Valley. Into the Eisner cabinet entered, upon the urging of agents of the Berlin Chancellery, the notorious social democrat Auer, who later sent a bouquet of flowers to Count Arco. Auer did not "miscalculate"; the Bavarian revolution was drowned in its own blood—but not because of the Bolsheviks.

2. It was not the Communists but the social democratic head of the Italian trade unions, D'Aragona, who quit the meeting of their National Council (where for five days and nights the Right wing had been trying to find some way of calling off the two-weeks' old occupation of the factories) in order to proceed secretly to Turin to meet with Prime Minister Giolitti. It was these two who stabbed the Italian movement in the back at the moment of its highest ascent, on the basis of Giolitti's promise that a Factory Council Law would be proposed to parliament and carried—which it never was. Two weeks after the factories were cleared, the big Fascist offensive was launched which ended with the

merits of Communism versus Social

march on Rome. Nor was it as a result of "Communist ideology and methods" that D'Aragona boasted that he had remained within the Socialist party in order to prevent the revolution; or that Turati ran to the King in the hope of staying off Fascism by a coalition; or that Baldisi was ready to enter the first Mussolini cabinet. Despite all errors they may have committed in the early period of their party existence, the Italian Communists do not bear the responsibility for the crimes of Italian reformism.

The Case of Hungary
3. Hungary is just as poor a case for Oneal, because it was never an example of Communist methods. This is sufficiently indicated by the mere fact that the Hungarian Soviet republic represented a division of power between the Communists (if that is what the group around Bela Kun can be called) and the Socialists. The dictatorship was proclaimed after the conclusion (in half a minute!) of an agreement between the socialist leadership and Kun's group. In the council of five which actually directed the affairs of the Soviet republic, the socialists had the majority! The telegraphic inquiry of Lenin, who was deeply concerned about this union with the perfidious social democrats, was answered by Kun with a deceptive assurance that the Communist position in the government was adequately guaranteed. As to the role played by the Austrian and Czech social democrats when the counter-revolution crushed the Soviets—perhaps Oneal would like to spend a couple of paragraphs on the subject....

4. As for Germany, one must be possessed of a monstrous insolence to compare, let us say, the miscalculations of a Liebknecht with the "miscalculations" of an Ebert or a Noske, or fourteen years later, a Weis and a Stampfer. We will not affront our readers by elaborating on this theme!

Stalinism Is Not Communism
Mr. Oneal is disturbed, and properly so. He is not dealing here with Stalinists, you see. He cannot foist upon the "Trotskyists" the onus of any of the idiocies and crimes of the bureaucracy which disgraces the good name of Communism. He is unable to resort to the trick of dangling before the discontented Socialist militants the misshapen form of Stalinism and labelling it Communism, in order to lighten back his ranks from the path which leads to a revolutionary position. He must therefore fumble around in his memory for the tattered legends about the "failure" of "Communist methods"—"even under Lenin and Trotsky."

We do not think that those militants in the Socialist party who stand in the revolutionary vanguard by the very fact that they have properly put the emphasis on the key problem of the day—the International—will worry greatly over Oneal's oracular admonitions. They are obviously past that stage. And the ranks will swell of those who see that there is an uncommon amount of yellow in Oneal's guttering sacred flame.—s.

MPLS. LABOR NOTES

Minneapolis.—Immediately following the lay-off of four thousand CWA workers the Public Welfare Department was besieged with angry crowds of unemployed demanding food and fuel. A near-riot followed the arrest of one demonstrator at the Court House, when the extreme temperature of 20 below zero had driven some 20 men to the relief lines for 'emergency orders'. This spontaneous demonstration forced the issuance of hundreds of coal-orders along with some food-orders 'without investigation'.

The cause of this flocking back to the relief lines of thousands of CWA workers lies in the fact that the wages they were receiving were inadequate for men with large families.

During the last month several different organizations of unemployed started among the CWA workers around every kind of issue. The Unemployed Council of the official Communist Party was given a new lease on life—under a different name however. There were Blue Eagle Clubs, Citizen's Worker Ass'n, etc. New branches of the Minneapolis Central Council for the Unemployed were formed, along with two CWA job councils.

This latter movement is a genuine united front of workers' organizations affiliated to a Central Council, which in turn organizes the unemployed, co-ordinates the efforts of all separate workers' organizations on a common minimum program of struggle against unemployment. The Central Council is made up of delegates from numerous local unions, from the co-operatives, and from three labor political groups, the Farmer-Labor Party, the Socialist Party, and the Communist League.

This movement by its program and policy is in a position to unite the organized and employed workers with the unemployed and bring the greatest pressure and striking force to bear upon the bosses and their administrators in the City Government. It has projected a conference of all CWA workers groups, not yet affiliated, to work out a program of common struggle on the CWA front. At the last meeting the M. C. C. U. changed its name to the Minneapolis Central Council of Workers, now the M. C. C. W.

A hotly fought struggle of the upholsterers in Minneapolis for 'Union Recognition' has been interrupted for the time being by an NLR Labor Board 'Decision'. To say it is pro-boss would be mild, compared with what the striking upholsterers called it. The decision was that the strikers go back to work with the scabs that the labor board could not order a 'closed shop' or an 'open shop', neither could it order that piece-work be abolished when it existed in other 'centers of the industry', and provided for the 'code' wages, and election of shop representatives for collective bargaining. On the Board were six 'Labor Leaders', six employers, and a liberal 'pro-labor' lawyer as impartial chairman. This decision smashed more illusions about the NLR and the 'New Deal' among the trade unionists of this region than any other single act of the administration so far. It solved none of the fundamental problems involved in this strike and lock-out situation.

The workers are going back to work to vote for their representatives and 'their demands', although under a handicap which may break the fine solidarity they maintained throughout the long weeks of struggle right up to the Labor Board decision. The betrayal of the A. F. of L. Labor Leaders, the Halls and Lawsons, sitting on the Board, consisted in this: they pawed off 'their rights' as labor leaders to organize workers into a union and get recognition for themselves before a Labor Board as representatives of the workers in that industry, 'their only right' under section 7a. The provincial petty-bourgeois prejudice, to keep this industry in this territory, by not putting too heavy demands upon it from 'labor', so that it can compete with other sections. This is truth, was their position. The effect is this, slower movement into the unions, more suspicious of 'Labor Leaders' are the workers, and a more serious and deeper attitude towards the whole problem of union organization on the part of the rank-and-file in the unions.

The outcome to date has demonstrated the inadequacy, the hopeless futility, of the begging tactics of the local's leaders in all previous struggles, their dickerings with employers through politicians and lawyers, their emphasis upon 'legal defense' in court cases and injunctions coming out of the struggle, their failure to maintain mass picketing consistently when experience showed that as relief lines it was used gains were made by the workers. Labor has nothing to plead for, it has the job of organizing its forces, creating and using sufficient power to force its demands upon the employers in each given situation.

Minneapolis Mooney Conference Marks Time

The Minneapolis Mooney Council of Action has for several months been more or less dormant. After a failure to attract appreciable masses due to the United Front from below tactics imposed upon it by the Stalinists in co-operation with Walter Frank, who was going to build a movement that would ruthlessly fight (by slander) the 'labor fakers' the conference settled down to monthly meetings, where the Party would chide Frank, and Frank would chide the Trotskyites for not attending meetings they were not notified of. The Mooney letter of Nov. 18th came into this situation, but it was not all there. All criticism and polemical sections were deleted, only the last paragraphs about the Motion Picture, the petitions, his birthday, etc., and his signature. Cazanov of the Left Opposition produced the original letter in complete form. Consternation ruled, the Stalinists were virtually absent from this meeting. Decision: to send both letters to Mooney and ask information.

Two weeks later another meeting was to be held. Only the Franks, the Left Opposition delegate, and a couple of trade unionists came. More material; statement of Stalinist Secretariat, bragging of achievements, the reply of Mooney that they 'quit', the resolution in reply to Mooney that disbanded the National Council of Action.

No regular meeting was held, a discussion ensued during which Frank put up a weak defense for his former position in supporting the 'correct policy' of the official party in the Mooney movement. He was 'saving the face' of the conference before the trade-unionists present. At this gathering the Party was completely absent. Where are our yesterday's all-knowing, all-seeing, all-powerful, and all-proud defenders of Tom Mooney?

More disgusting conniving, more thoughtless muddling, of our 'organizers of defeats'; more work, more hard efforts, more time must be expended to repair the damage done by the cynical Hathaways, and degenerate politicians like the Bob Minors. The local Mooney Conference decided to meet again and take up the work to win Mooney's freedom under the Moulder's Defense Committee or whatever other Centers are recommended by Mooney.

—C. F.

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Comments Refute Course in Germany

"But the Austrian workers had drawn a lesson from the German events, a lesson that every worker must learn. They chose to die fighting on the barricades rather than to be tortured in the Fascist camps."

Who penned this unquestionably correct lesson from the German events? None other than those who shout from the roof-tops that the German workers should not have fought, that the Communist party did not have a majority of the workers behind it, that armed resistance to the Fascist mob would have been a putsch! None other than the Stalinist editorial writer of the *Daily Worker* (Feb. 14, 1934) who only yesterday fulminated against the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" who have the audacity to say that the Communist Party of Germany, which had a parliamentary strength of six millions, should have fought a defensive struggle against Hitlerism!

What happens to this bookish strategy of revolution (or rather retreat) of the Stalinists, Heckert and Platnitsky? These "generals" have clearly (?) explained that without a majority of the workers behind the revolutionary party, armed struggle against Fascism was impossible, futile and counter-revolutionary!

After the German defeat, the American Stalinists were quiet for a few days—*Pravda* had not yet given them the line! Today they write voluminously—following the *Pravda* editorials! "The Social Democratic workers of Austria, abandoned by their leaders, are carrying on their struggles with supreme courage and devotion", writes *Pravda* (Feb. 14). If it appears that the leaders called the general strike, that some of them are on the barricades, all this must be "overlooked". They do not like the facts, because they do not fit their theories. So they invent others. "The Social Democratic Leaders Are Already Coming to Terms with the Dollfuss Government" runs the subhead of the *Pravda* editorial (Feb. 14, 1934—Special Edition). Without any proofs being offered!

"The devoted fighters for their class, the Austrian Communists, are in the front ranks of the present struggle. The small Austrian Communist Party has given thousands of fearless fighters to this struggle, fighters who are leading tens of thousands of workers in heroic struggle," writes *Pravda*. That Communist workers are active in the fighting is undoubtedly true; but that the non-existent Communist Party of Austria, wiped out without leaving a trace by the Dollfuss government months ago, is leading the struggle is a lie made out of whole cloth.

What happens to the theory of "social-Fascism"? Like all the spurious theories of Stalinism it goes up the chimney with all their other rubbish. The fact that Social Democracy and Fascism are irreconcilable is once again proved by

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Stalinism on Austria

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life itself. This does not disturb the equanimity of the Stalinists: so much the worse for the facts—they still persist in their theory!

The fact that the leaders of the Austrian Social Democracy by their whole course since the World War have paved the way for reaction and Fascism is indisputable. Their support of Dollfuss' emergency decree was a result of their programmatic bourgeois democratic viewpoint: Dollfuss was the "lesser evil" (as compared to the Nazis). This permitted Dollfuss and the Nazis to consolidate their forces. Their threat of a general strike "if and when" legality was violated by Dollfuss was a logical outcome of their "constitutional" program. Instead of putting it on this basis, the bureaucratic Stalinists turn the entire question on its head. Their whole emphasis is placed under the purely secondary consideration of the personal cowardice of the individual leaders of the Austrian Social Democracy.

By such methods the Stalinists are alienating the Socialist workers, instead of clear-cut explanation of the facts—distortions, fabrications, stupid boasts as to the activities of the non-existent Austrian Communist Party. And yet they shout with added emphasis for a "united front with the Socialist workers." What hypocritical gestures!

The *Daily Worker* of Feb. 14th carries an appeal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. for a demonstration that day (Wednesday) before the Austrian consulate at 4 P. M. It appeals to all workers, particularly Socialist workers. The conscientious Stalinist worker is attracted by the apparently militant tone of the call. The Socialist worker reading the appeal grits his teeth at these professional splitters. For the Socialist Party, and several of its sympathetic organizations, had already made public its call for a demonstration for the same day at the same place at 5 P. M.! Not a word of this is mentioned in the Stalinist appeal! No attempt is made to appeal to the New York City Central Committee of the Socialist party for a united front demonstration!

At the demonstration itself the Stalinists behaved in a shameful manner. The misled Stalinist workers shouted "Socialists and Communists unite and fight!" but time after time their leaders disrupted the orderly procession of the demonstrators. Fist fights between Socialists and Stalinists were barely avoided. After some time, through the intervention of a member of the Communist League, the heads of the Socialist and Stalinist steering committees met and agreed to the demand of the Stalinists that their banner be at the head of the parade with the Socialist banners. But even this was not sufficient for the Stalinists.

Various of their leaders, including Norman Tallentire, ran up and down the line of march calling on the Stalinists' workers to break their lines and get near the beginning of the parade! Here again fist fights were barely avoided.

The Stalinists repel the Socialist workers by such tactics at a time when it is a dire class need that a united front of all workers' organizations be formed which will rally behind the heroic Austrian working class. Time presses.

—JOSEPH CARTER.

ed, however, with a certain hope. Without doubt there are many who would consider it a boon to be rid of these Left wing elements and as certain it is as that the sun rises and sets, that if the audit, tax remittances, and district elections are not complied with in time, it will be used as an excuse to prohibit nominations for general officers by the New York district. This would happily relieve all reactionary elements.

Recently, L. Shore of the Coordinating Committee was delegated to go to New York to hasten along the organizational consolidation and other matters mentioned.

Elections in New York Shops

Elections held a couple of weeks ago by the N. Y. Regional Labor Board in 16 shops hitherto unorganized, but several months on strike, to determine with which union the workers desired to affiliate recorded 9 for the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union, and 7 for the reactionary Boot & Shoe Workers Union of the A. F. of L. There is evidence of the most flagrant intimidation and crookedness in the conduct of these elections including wholesale importations for the day of the election from other factories in other towns. Protests have been filed with the Labor Board in Washington, but nothing can be hoped for from this source. Only future organizing activities of the new union hold a prospect of adding these and other oppressed groups to the fold.

—SHOE WORKER.

Here and There with the United Front

In the era of the "third period" the united front policy of the Stalinized Comintern was the united front from below. Reduced to its concrete meaning this policy was a call to the workers in the Socialist parties and the reformist and Right wing unions to leave their organizations, leave their leadership, and enter into joint action with the Stalinists under the leadership of the latter on a program determined in advance by them. The theoretical sugar-coating with which the Stalinists dressed up their conceptions did not for one minute alter their ultimatum and disruptive nature.

On March 6, 1933 when the situation was already lost in Germany and Fascism was decimating the organized working class the Comintern issued a call to the Second International for a united front of organizations, repudiating on its face the united front from below. Forthwith the journalistic hacks of the Stalinist apparatus set out to prove that the line of the C. I. manifesto was the only correct line, that this was always the line, that any other was counter-revolutionary.

On May 1 the C. I. issued another manifesto reverting back to the united front from below. The same writers wriggled like worms. The united front from organization to organization had unmistakably demonstrated its superiority in the question of the Chicago relief demonstration, the New York May Day parade, the Mooney movement and the united front with the Socialist locals on the West coast. The people who had seen its fruits struggled against abandoning this policy. No doubt heavy pressure

from Moscow was instrumental in forcing the recalcitrants to accept the inflexible line.

The theses of the Thirteenth Plenum affirmed again the united front from below: "The 13th Plenum of the E. C. C. I. calls upon all Sections of the C. I. persistently to fight for the realization of a united militant front with the social-democratic workers in spite of and against the will of the treacherous leaders of social-democracy." And the sub-head under which this appears is: "C. Against Socialism from Below."

That is the policy now. But within this same FORM a change has taken place. Two outstanding events demonstrate this clearly. In the New York Hotel Strike after many appeals for unity of the Stalinist paper union with the A. F. W. the Stalinists put their new united front from below policy to work. They called upon all the strikers to strike under the leadership of the A. F. W. And under this slogan they invaded the A. F.

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W. The line they pursued there was no less disruptive than it was formerly when they were outside.

In the Madison Square Garden protest the Stalinists, who were not invited, came down in the name of unity to make a united front from below. Under the direct incitement of the Party leaders they conducted themselves as Fascists do at workers' meetings.

Their united front is a maneuver to transfer their disruption from the outside to the inside. In this way they want to cover up their weakness and bankruptcy.

Essentially the policy is the same: disruption of all organizations and movements not controlled by the C. P. in the name of and under the slogan of unity.

The appeal of the *Daily Worker* of February 18 to the Socialist Party for a united front is an attempt to cover up the Stalinists' entirely unjustifiable conduct at the Madison Square Garden protest. It means nothing. And it does not signify a change in the united front policy of the Communist Party.

The recent united front maneuvers of the Stalinists have given rise to much confusion on the part of workers who thought that the Stalinists unlike the leopard could change their spots. They thought the Stalinists, cognizant of their weakness, had finally come round to seriously promote unity in the workers' rank. The course of the Stalinists in the Hotel Strike and in the Madison Square Garden protest should show them that it is only a tactical shift within the framework of the old strategy; and that its essence is still the same: disruption.

—T. STAMM.

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Vital Questions of the New Party

The Program of the A.W.P.

The idea that the greatest immediate need of the working class everywhere is a new revolutionary international and a new revolutionary party in every country, is being accepted by ever wider sections of the radical labor movement. The decision of the Pittsburgh convention of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action to launch the "American Workers Party" on July 4, 1934, is additional proof of the irresistible power of this idea.

Because we Internationalist-Communists are for a new party which unites the maximum possible forces on a revolutionary program and for revolutionary action, we have commenced a discussion with the representatives of the American Workers Party, with the aim of establishing the extent to which agreement exists, and consequently, united action and eventual fusion is possible.

The Decisive Question

In this discussion, we pursue no narrow or sectional interests. Our fight for the fundamental principles of Marxism (carried on for over five years in this country and ten years internationally) excludes such a conception. What is decisive for us in our attitude towards any other group is not this or that individual in it, or this or that isolated action in which it has engaged. Our first question is: What is your program?—here is ours. Only when, by open confrontation, sharp if comradely mutual criticism, an agreement has been arrived at on the programmatic questions, is it possible to talk seriously and fruitfully about unity and fusion.

Program is of fundamental importance because by it the party is judged—essentially by program and not by action, because it is the former that determines and guides the action.

And it is precisely in the domain of the program that the founders of the new revolutionary party have a tremendous advantage over those who preceded them. The Third International, when founded in 1919, was able to take all the events, the actions, the isolated phenomena, the ideas, the men and the movements that went before it, subject them to the pitiless fire of Marxist criticism and strain the residue through the screen of generalization. The distilled result was condensed into the basic programmatic documents of the new International and the forming Communist parties. This not only gave them political justification for existence and an unmistakable physiognomy, but immediately invested them with a vast superiority over all the old organizations which sought to continue as if nothing—neither the war, the collapse of the Second International, the Russian revolution, nor the post-war revolutionary movements—had occurred.

On the eve of the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of the Communist International, much the same task has to be performed. Even less than in 1919 we are handicapped this time by the need of starting out with nothing. A great deal has been lost in the painful defeats suffered by the working class. That is true. But just as victories teach us, generally speaking, what to do, defeats should teach us what not to do, what to avoid.

Settled Questions

The experiences up to the time the Third International was formed were sufficient to settle in the mind of every genuine revolutionist—once and for all, irrevocably—the dispute between reform and revolution, social democracy and Communism. In the new movement, there was no longer any need to debate a whole series of problems and questions which had agitated the pre-war parties. They had become settled questions for Marxists.

Not being a political Hamlet, who is worthless just because no question is ever settled for him, the true revolutionist engaged in building up a new party must also cast up a balance of the past period, take inventory, and settle in his own mind, and what is more, important settle publicly in his own program, all accounts which the class struggle itself has settled beyond further argument. No dispute over questions of principle and strategy can be ignored in this reckoning. An unambiguous and positive stand must be taken on all of them.

It is here that the document issued several weeks ago, "Toward an American Revolutionary Labor Movement, Statement of Programmatic Orientation by the American Workers Party", reveals a number of defects which, we think, require the most drastic revision.

A new revolutionary party cannot be formed—certainly it cannot gain important strength—without justifying its existence. It cannot justify its existence as a separate organization, at least not in the eyes of the more advanced workers.

without showing conclusively that the parties already operating in the field are fundamentally outwitted or injurious to the interests of the working class.

Following the classic example of the "Communist Manifesto" a revolutionary party must make its programmatic debut with a criticism of society in which it lives and which it aims to overthrow, and conclude with a criticism of all the parties of any importance, and above all, of their basic conceptions. Not, let us make clear, a criticism of every little sect with ten members, but of every distinct current in the labor movement.

For purposes of concentration, we will in this article confine our comments to the third chapter of the A. W. P. statement: "The Inadequacies of Existing Parties as Instruments of Revolutionary Change." The parties referred to are of course the socialist and the official Communist (Stalinist) parties.

The International Approach

In the case of both parties, the problem cannot be approached from the angle of one country. The bankruptcy of social democracy and Stalinism in this or any other country derives from the fatal explosion caused in both instances when their fundamental conceptions, universally held, were tested against decisive events. It is only from this angle that the criticism of them can be generalized; for the United States only the specific manifestations can be established. (Thus, social democracy is equivalent to coalition governments with the bourgeoisie; the American social democracy, with all the will in the world, has not yet had the occasion to join a coalition.)

By failing to deal with the two principal labor parties from this angle, the A. W. P. statement not only presents an inadequate and partly false criticism of them, but one which characterizes its dangerous approach to the problem of internationalism.

The Socialist party, it says, is not a party of revolution, but of ineffectual reformism. Yes. But no reference is made to the essential characteristic of present-day socialism: its renunciation of the class struggle and, consequently, acceptance of class collaboration.

In departing from the program of class struggle and revolution, the socialist parties have degenerated into capitalist parties of labor, or more accurately, petty bourgeois labor parties, standing on the foundation and operating within the framework of capitalist democracy. If the American Socialist party is small and weak today, that does not signify that a social basis does not exist for it (or its successor, or surrogate tomorrow, in the form, say, of a "Labor" or "Farmer-Labor" party) to serve as the main pillar of bourgeois democracy. It is the sheerest self-delusion to imagine that because the American S. P. is small in numbers now, the ideology of social reformism in this country can either be ignored or passed off with an occasional sally. It is true that we hold to the view that the American working class need not necessarily pass through so protracted a reformist stage as did the English or German. Grounds exist for the belief that, given a competent revolutionary party, the period of social reformist influence in the working class can be compressed into a comparatively brief span. But one of the main pre-conditions for a successful achievement of this desirable aim lies in a clear-cut recognition of the essence of social reformism and a readiness to deal it vigorous and effective blows wherever it takes root.

As the party of petty bourgeois democracy, its alliance with the trade union bureaucracy lies in the very nature of things. "The Socialist party," says the statement, "takes cognizance of the workers' industrial struggles only to the extent of rendering auxiliary relief or publicity services, but in every other way seeks to remain 'neutral' in the conflict of ideas, objectives and organizing principles which these struggles so abundantly express or reflect. No large political purposes will ever be achieved by the labor movement if this most powerful base, the industrial struggle, will be left to drift or go in circles, or move intellectually backward." The party's record in this most important field is further marred (marred? Not at all. Characterized!—S.) by its policy of siding with the conservative as against the progressive forces in every contest in a union for influence or control. It has always wholeheartedly supported the "official" labor leadership and invariably remained "neutral" while progressives and militants fought the stalwart and pure and simple reactionaries.

S. P. "Neutrality" in the Unions

This passage is either wrong and contradictory, or just plain wrong. If the S. P. "seeks to remain 'neutral' in the conflict," why does it follow a "policy of siding with the conservative as against the progressive forces in every contest"? Or how has it "invariably remained 'neutral' while progressives and militants fought" supported the "official" labor leadership? I. e., the same reactionaries?

The fact is that by its whole incorrigible nature, the S. P. is not and cannot be neutral in the trade unions, either with or without quotation marks, any more than can the other political groups in the labor movement. "Neutrality" in the trade unions, like its cousin "No politics in the unions", has always been a pleasant mask behind which reaction fought against awakening class consciousness and against a class struggle policy and leadership. The Socialist party is just about as neutral in the trade unions as are the Communists. Directly and indirectly, the Socialist party is a prop and an ally of every reactionary, bureaucratic, class collaborationist group in the American trade unions in its struggle against the progressive and revolutionary forces. That is how it should be stigmatized.

Why is no mention made of the international connections of the Socialist party? Even for a party whose absorbing concern is with the problems in this country, the Second International is worth something more than one casual and one accidental reference. After all, it does live, and breathe, and poison the atmosphere. The fourth chapter of the statement cites, in curt parentheses, as one of the

Collapse of Austro-Marxism

(Continued from page 1)

that if the government imposed a Fascist constitution on the country, if a government commissar were appointed in Vienna, or if our party or the trade unions were dissolved we would strike. Our party stuck to the last to these four points.

The Dissatisfied Masses "The dissatisfaction and agitation of the workers against the conservative policy of our party committee grew as the government provocations increased. The workers said the government was making itself more powerful militarily, was wearing down our spirit and was choosing its own time to attack us. Excitement rose to a fever pitch during the last weeks."

"Last Sunday night in Vienna a comrade coming from Linz warned me that the workers of Linz were highly indignant and alarmed over the Heimwehr action and had declared that if any further action were taken to deprive them of their arms they would defend themselves for the sake of the Republic.

"I was alarmed to hear of the spirit, and after discussion with my informant we both decided that urgent messages must be sent to the workers to keep cool. I arranged for them to be told that if we in Vienna could submit patiently to an arms search in party headquarters they must try to do the same. Apparently the message arrived too late...."

It is by these methods and with this spirit that the Bauers represented the Austrian proletariat, over whom they wielded an undivided and undisputed influence, for the decisive battle which they fought and lost. What does it matter if, unlike so many of their German prototype, a few Bauers or Deutsches did engage in the actual fighting? The fact may be a credit to their personal courage or political intelligence. But the Bauer interview lays bare what was never successfully concealed: the leaders of the Austrian social democracy wanted anything but a struggle; they left no stone unturned as an obstacle in the road of the working class; they lifted Dollfuss into the saddle so that he might cut down an unprepared working class.

The Austro-Marxist school, in the deepest sense of the term, left its proletariat in the lurch at the crucial hour! It shored the Austrian Samson of all his strength so that when his strength was tested the pillars of reaction could fall upon him and crush him to earth. So we solemnly repeat today the terrific indictment of Austro-Marxism uttered in court by Friedrich Adler, on trial during the war for assassinating the Austrian Prime Minister Stuerghk as a protest against the chauvinism of the official social democracy, the same Friedrich Adler who today shares, as the penitentiary secretary of the Second International, the responsibility of all the others:

Adler's Indictment

"As faithful servants the leaders of the proletariat strove to save the organization. But in so doing,

events which hastened the political evolution of the C. P. L. A. into the A. W. P. the "rise of Hitlerism". A not unimportant contributor to this rise was the sister organization of the American Socialist party in Germany, that is, in every sense, the Second International as a whole.

A revolutionary program which does not establish the bankruptcy and peridy of the Second International in the imperialist war and in the post-war revolutionary storms (and it must), might at least record the fact (and the why of it) of the second terrific collapse and treachery of the Second International in Germany in 1933, and the irreconcilability of the revolutionary party with that International, its foundations and ideas. An organization which has proved to be so potent an instrument for the devastation of the world labor movement, cannot be so off-handedly dismissed by the program of a revolutionary party, unless the international aspect of the proletarian struggle for freedom is to be relegated to second, or third, or tenth place, or into an obscurity from which it is to be hauled out on annual holiday celebrations.

There is, unfortunately, a great deal in the A. W. P. statement which lends itself too easily to such a conception. If it should prevail, the results would be little less than fatal. The true revolutionist of today, despite the nationalist reaction which has intoxicated and poisoned whole sections of the labor movement, is like the true revolutionist of yesterday: first and foremost an internationalist.

If this truism is stated so emphatically here, it is because it is all but emphatically (and far from correctly) stated in the document of the A. W. P. The deficiencies of the program in this respect, as shown by the stand taken towards the Stalinist party and the problem of the International, require comment which must be left to another article. —MAX SHACHTMAN.

AD NAUSEAM

FROM THE DAILY WORKER REPORTS OF THE 17th CONGRESS OF THE C.P.S.U.

"He (the speaker) concludes with the cry 'Long live the world C. P.! Long live Stalin, great leader of the world proletariat!'" "Zinoviev hailed Stalin as the true Leninist and preserver of the party." "Giant of the revolution, Stalin leads to greater tasks." "The great Stalin, giant of revolution, thought and action." "Joseph Stalin, great leader of the party of Lenin." "Stalin given thunderous ovation." "Stalin's irreconcilability—conquered." "The inspirer and organizer of our victories, the steel giant of the revolution, Stalin enjoys the limitless love of our party." "There is no such man now in the world who is listened to as Stalin." "Millions of fighters-conquerors impatiently wait to hear the man who fulfilled Lenin's bequest." "Burning with enthusiasm the Congress rises to greet the great leader." "Long live Stalin!" "The hall is hushed as Molotov speaks about the party's successes, about the Five Year Plan—and about Stalin."

"Stalin takes the floor—the Congress stands to greet the leader—Long live Stalin! Hurrah!" "Stalin concludes. Applause honoring the leader, comrade Stalin, lasted many minutes." "Our Congress will mobilize around the leader, comrade Stalin." (Molotov). "All stand and shout hurrah." Ad infinitum. Ad nauseam.

The Waterloo of Pseudo-Radicalism

Vienna: the Socialist 'Millenium'

Except for the Fascist blood-loudu, who glory is the extermination of the militant proletariat, acclaim for the unbounded heroism of the Austrian social democracy has been universal. A casual reader of the newspapers is led to believe that die-hard conservatives have made common cause with revolutionaries in tribute to the immortal Austrian working class. Many have no doubt been confused by the sympathetic treatment accorded to the Austrian workers by American capitalist journals. That society is no more than skin-deep this "united front" of extremes will soon be proved.

It is out of no sympathy with the working class that the brass check press bemoans its bitter fate in Austria. Not many days prior to the Austrian bloodfest when the friction of social convulsion had burst into a menacing flame in France these self-same newspapers thanked their lucky stars that France had been "saved" from the riotous Commune, dominated by the mob.

The Capitalist Press

The capitalist press was the civilian field marshal and recruiting sergeant for the imperialist mass murder of fifteen years ago. They revelled in the sadistic White Terror of the post-war years. The Wrangels and the Kolchaks were proclaimed heroes in their filthy pages.

Indeed wherever the proletariat has striven to power, wherever it has challenged the rights of private property it has found the jackal press barking denunciation at the enemies of "law and order". Austria is no exception.

The Austrian workers were not fighting an offensive battle. They were defending their institutions and organizations. While we have nothing but praise for this superb fight against the Fascist monster yet it must be said that both the party and the institutions defended by these workers had become a brake on their revolutionary struggle for socialism. It is only because the capitalist press appreciates the services of Austro-Marxism in maintaining bourgeois civilization that they now reproach Dollfuss. (Yesterday he was hailed as a "modern David") The New York Times makes no bones as to its motives. Shepherd Stone says in a feature article on February 18th. **Bourgeois Praise of Austro-Marxism**

"When the Hapsburg monarchy collapsed in 1918 and Austria became the ball instead of the bat in the European game, Socialists and Christian Socialists (the bourgeois Catholics) cooperated to salvage the ruins of the Empire. The despised Marxists who barricaded themselves in their tenement houses last week saved Austria from Communism in 1919. At that time propagandists from Moscow and from Budapest, which was temporarily under Communist rule, preached the new faith in the streets of Vienna. But the activities of the Socialist leaders prevented a bloody conflict between proletariat and bourgeoisie. Last week some of the men who had rescued the country from Communism were dying because of their Marxism (sic!)."

Need we explain further that the destruction of Austro-Marxism meant the loss of a steadfast ally to the democratic and liberal capitalist class in Europe and America.

Under the cloak of democracy and in the guise of a gradual peaceful evolution from capitalism to socialism the Bauer's, the Adler's, and the Renner's staved the tide of the proletarian revolution long enough for the Heimwehr to thrust it far out of danger. **Vienna The Symbol** "Red Vienna" was the symbol for Austro-Marxism. It was hailed by its supporters as living proof that it was possible to attain a great maximum of socialism without violence, without depriving the capitalist class of its wealth or privileges—without acting as Communists. They built apartment

houses which the Times says "became models for city planners throughout the world. Rents were astonishingly low, and it was only natural that these blocks should become strongholds of socialism."

And further "Under Socialist rule in Vienna utilities were taken over and in general income from taxation was employed for public improvements and social welfare. Social legislation provided for the citizen from a few months before his birth until his burial. Health, housing, wages, unemployment dole, all came within the scope of municipal government."

Reformist Utopia Thus the utopia of reform socialism reached its pinnacle in Vienna and here too it ended in a horrible debacle. The Achilles heel of the Austrian workers was the lack of state power. The treachery of its leadership lay in their harnessing the struggle for state power when the time was ripe and the proletariat ready. Between the Commune which lasted but two months, and "Red Vienna", the socialist millennium there was this difference: state power. That is all the difference in the world. The capitalist press is thankful to Bauer and Co., because they did not follow the sure road of the proletarian revolution.

How clear is the difference in tactics and results between Communism and social democracy! The bombarded tenement houses in Vienna stand as demonstration of the futility of trying to reform capitalism out of existence. The thousands of proletarian corpses are dumb witnesses to the fact that the gradualism of the Vienna lackeys meant the gradual arming of the counter-revolution and the not-so-gradual annihilation of the flower of the working class. "Red Vienna" is now red only in worker's blood. The pride of "international" socialism has become its everlasting shame! —G. C.

Victory In Minneapolis Coal Strike

(Continued from page 1)

Inspiration and Example For Union Workers

The methods used and the manner in which the organization work was carried out, stands as a model for the benefit of those who will take up the vast work that lies just ahead. The coal workers section of the transportation industry, has gained its first objective. These workers have tested their organized strength, almost alone, in a sharp and successful engagement with the bosses.

In the course of preparation, and during the fight, many obstacles, hitherto unsuspected by the average rank and file worker, came to light. A careful study of these weak points, with a view to correcting them, will be of extreme importance for the future. The union can be only as strong as an alert and determined membership chose to make it.

First of all: No barrier must be placed in the way of recruiting the membership to full strength. THE FUEL OIL AND GASOLINE DRIVERS AND HELPERS are the next section to be organized, here there must be no delay. This approach connects up the campaign which leads from section to section and gives what assurances can be given in advance that the gains made in the Coal Strike will not be partially sacrificed.

The Open Shop bosses have learned a bitter lesson. That they are far from idle is well known to every wide-awake worker. The example of the whole police force ranged on the side of the bosses in the futile effort to break through the picket lines with scab coal, has only one meaning for the Union and each member of the Union. Be prepared! Be prepared! BE MUCH BETTER PREPARED! for the next test.

Every member of the Union as well as those workers who will be members in the coming period, should be vigilantly watching the Regional Labor Board. What exactly has been its role? It is well to note the fact that in all the efforts made by the Union Committee to present the coal workers demands to the bosses, the Board was only an agency to transmit an insolent reply and a flat refusal of the bosses to deal with the Union. During the most advantageous time of the winter season this Board together with several Labor officials were instrumental in postponing action under one pretext and another, which gravely weakened and endangered the coal workers' position.

When in spite of these obstructive tactics, the justly angered and aroused workers STRUCK the bosses, demonstrating to the bosses and to all who wished to see that the union did actually speak

for socialism. It is only because the capitalist press appreciates the services of Austro-Marxism in maintaining bourgeois civilization that they now reproach Dollfuss. (Yesterday he was hailed as a "modern David") The New York Times makes no bones as to its motives. Shepherd Stone says in a feature article on February 18th. **Bourgeois Praise of Austro-Marxism**

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Hotel Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

er of Pollyanna optimism. We repeat: heroic action and a sharp turn of policy are absolutely necessary. The genuine militants in the union must understand this, shout for it and FIGHT for it.

In our opinion concentration is necessary especially on two practical tasks:

- 1. Relief. Mobilize the strikers to collect funds. Organize a tag day. Put five hundred strikers on the busy corners, in the subways and at workers' meetings and gathering places with collection boxes to raise money quickly. Organize a big squad of strikers to canvass union meetings. Open a real kitchen and really feed the strikers. Send squads out to collect food supplies from stores, sympathizers and workers' neighborhoods. Circularize every workers' organization with an appeal for funds, get out collection lists—raise funds at once by every practical means and utilize the latent energies of the strikers themselves for the task. The strike depends relief now. The force to collect it doesn't need to be hunted for. It is right in the union headquarters. Let the leadership organize it.
- 2. Picketing. Connect the dispensation of relief directly with service on the picket line. Real and systematic picketing combined with mass demonstrations can force a settlement, and nothing else can. Instead of subordinating the actions of the strikers to the negotiations, subordinate the negotiations to the actions of the strikers. On his line the situation can be changed in 24 hours, morale can be restored and the strike can take on new life. There is no other way.
- 3. To the Leaders. Quit chasing after "respectability". Stop crawling before the Labor Board and its chairman, Mrs. Herrick. Answer the insults of this strike breaker in a manner worthy of the leaders of striking workers. Let the world know that the hotel workers are fighting for their rights, not begging for them. Above all try to convince the strikers by deeds that you conceive of the strike as a class battle and lead it accordingly. Stop your treacherous maneuvers and intrigues against the militant elements in the union and give up the idea that you can silence them with strong arm methods. Remember this is a progressive and democratic union, not a reactionary, bureaucratic one; it is the A. F. W. not the A. F. of L. Therefore try to act like progressive and militant labor leaders, not like bulldozing labor fakery.

That this can be accomplished at one stroke, no responsible and experienced worker will contend, but any undue delay in advancing along this road will be costly for the whole movement. To follow up the advantage and achieve the greatest good, means for the membership to stand ready for further developments. Ready at all times to 'crack down' if danger threatens the UNION. —V. R. D.

AGAINST HOOLGANISM

The Spartacus Youth Club (Brownsville) unambiguously condemns the actions of the disrupters of the mass meeting in Madison Square Garden called by the Socialist Party and A. F. L. trade unions. We feel that the blame falls squarely on the shoulders of the Stalinist misleaders who are doubly to be blamed because they are prejudicing the cause of Communism among the working class of America. SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB

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