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Austrian Workers Fight Historic Battle

LEON TROTSKY

AUSTRIA NEXT IN ORDER

(Almost a year ago, on March 23, 1933, Leon Trotsky wrote an analysis of the relationship of forces in Austria and the problems of the working class confronted by Bonapartism and Fascism. This study, while obviously not applicable to the present events in their entirety, nevertheless retains an essential validity in so many respects as to invest the extracts which we reproduce below with a particular timeliness which will, moreover, be of great value in facilitating an understanding of the turbulent events now occurring before our eyes.—Ed.)

Despite the experiences of Italy and Germany, the leaders of the Austrian social democracy do not understand the situation. In order to live and breathe, these people must fool themselves. This they cannot do otherwise than by fooling the proletariat.

Bauer places the blame for the defeat in Germany upon the Communists. We are not the ones to defend the German Stalinists! But their chief crime consists in their having given the social democrats the possibility of preserving their influence upon the basic part of the German proletariat and of loading upon it the tactic of debasing and fatal capitulation, despite all the crimes and betrayals committed by the social democracy. In essence Bauer's policies are no different from the policies of Wells-Stampfer. But there is a distinction. Bauer will be unable to shift the responsibility upon the Austrian Stalinists, who have managed to doom themselves to complete impotence. The Austrian social democracy is not only the leading party of the proletariat, but is the strongest social democratic party in the world as regards the population. The political responsibility lies upon the Austrian social democracy, solely and entirely. All the more fatal will prove to be the consequences of its present policies.

The Austro-Marxists say—if we are deprived of liberty, then we shall fight to "the end". By such subterfuge they want to "gain" time for their vacillations, when in reality they are losing the most precious time for the preparation of defense. After the enemy deprives them of liberty, it will be a hundred times more difficult to fight, for the liquidation of rights will be accompanied by military and police destruction of the proletarian press and the proletarian apparatus. The enemy prepares and acts while the social democracy bides its time and whines. The Vorwaerts also repeated times innumerable: "Woe to Fascism, if it ventures against us!" The events have demonstrated the value of such rhetoric. The party which proved incapable of giving battle when it held in its hands almost impregnable positions and powerful resources will crumble into dust when it is completely expelled from the legal arena.

By their seemingly dreadful but in reality pathetic chorus of "if we are attacked", the Austro-Marxists reveal their genuine suffering, they still hope that things will be left in peace, that things, God help us, will not go beyond mutual threats and waving of fists. What this means is that they are chloroforming the proletariat to facilitate Fascist surgery. A genuine proletarian politician, on the contrary, would be duty bound to explain to the Austrian workers that their class enemy, himself, has been caught between the paws of history; that no other way out remains for him except to destroy proletarian organizations; that in this instance there is no escaping the mortal struggle; and that this struggle must be prepared for in accordance with all the rules of revolutionary strategy and tactics.

Otto Bauer has been hinting that in the event of a direct attack on the part of the enemy, the workers

will resort to a general strike. But his too is an empty threat. We have heard it more than once in Germany. The general strike cannot be produced out of one's vest pocket. The workers may be led to a general strike, but to do so one must fight and not play hide and seek with reality; a call to battle must be issued, one must organize for the struggle, arm for the struggle, widen and deepen the channel of struggle, not confine oneself to the legal forms of struggle, i. e., the framework dictated by the armed enemy. And first of all, the party itself must be permeated through and through with the idea that unless it engages in a decisive battle, it is lost.

It is quite possible that the Central Committee will actually issue a call for a general strike, after the "open", (that is to say, the decisive) blow has been dealt. But this would mean that after leaving the stage, one calls upon the masses for a naked protest, or manifestations of impotence. Just so did the liberal opposition call upon the people not to pay their taxes after the monarch had told it to go to hell. As a rule, nothing ever came of it. In all probability, the workers will not respond at all to the belated and hopeless appeal of a party already smashed.

But let us allow that the Fascists will give the social democracy time enough to call for a general strike at the last minute, and that the workers will respond solidly to the call. What then? What is the goal of the general strike? What must it achieve? In what forms must it develop? How should it defend itself against military and police repressions, and against the Fascist pogrom? Wiseacres will reply that it is impossible to answer such questions beforehand. That is the usual subterfuge of people who have nothing to say, who hope in their hearts to get along without

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C.P. Disrupts Garden Meet

BULLETIN—As we go to press, news comes of the disgraceful conduct of the Stalinists in disrupting Friday's Madison Square Garden meeting held in solidarity with the heroic Austrian workers. Called by the Socialist party and various N. Y. trade unions the Garden was packed with about 22,000 workers of all political opinions. The Stalinists could not run the meeting so they employed all means to disrupt it!

Clarence Hathaway attempted to take the platform to speak to the masses assembled. A fight started. Stalinists shouted: "We want Hathaway". Chairs were flung from the balcony. Throughout the hall fights broke out. The Stalinists who had shouted "Communists and Socialists! Unite and Fight!" showed what they meant by this slogan! Miseducated and misled, the Stalinist workers conducted themselves in a shameful manner.

Thousands of workers, thousands of trade unionists, Right and Left, saw what happened. The Stalinists showed the workers whom they are trying to win over what a farce their demands for free speech and workers' democracy are. Left wing workers not tied by Stalinist discipline left the hall cursing the Stalinists.

What ammunition for the Right wing labor fakery! What an instrument in the hands of the Socialist leaders! The uninitiated worker will confuse this action with Communism! True Communists denounce such disruptive tactics as anti-Communist and anti-working class.

A United Front on Austria

Pious resolutions approving the action of the Austrian proletariat in fighting determinedly against Fascism are already plentiful. Internally disrupted demonstrations of protest against the bloody terror of Dollfuss have already disgraced the workers' movement in New York. In any concrete sense the American working class has thus far done exceedingly little to demonstrate the concern it must feel for the fate of its brother class, now courageously defending the interests of the world proletariat.

There is no time to waste in bringing aid and comfort to the workers of Austria. Messages of sympathy and encouragement, really powerful mass demonstrations of protest and solidarity, even material assistance can be sent from this country to Austria. The fact that a government censorship exists and that the usual facilities of communication are closed, does not make such collaboration in this momentous struggle impossible. There are technical means available for carrying out every desirable action. Only the will is necessary.

The time has come once again when all efforts must be directed toward bringing about a united, militant, powerful mass participation in the struggle against Fascist reaction. Only such a united front will enable the American workers to make to the Austrian struggle the contribution which it should be their pride to make.

To bring this and about, a united front conference is necessary at once. The Communist party, the Socialist party, A. F. L. unions, every important difference among them—and no united front can be permitted to obscure these—there is a basis for joint action in this all-important matter. The active support of the fighting Austrian workers, the smashing of Austrian Fascism, for the crushing of counter-revolutionary intervention in Austria—these are no sectarian matters. They are the concern of the whole class. He who prevents unity on this question, buries a knife in the backs of the heroes of Vienna.

The Communist League of America stands ready to do its utmost to bring such a united front into being at once.

HOTEL STRIKE

BULLETIN

Just as The Militant goes to press comes the report that the Hotel Men's Association has rejected the agreement which, according to the heads of the Regional Labor Board, they had previously accepted. The struck hotels all during the day had been refusing to take back the strikers according to the terms of the agreement. Now it is reported they are insisting on the notorious "merit clause" under which the active militants among the strikers would be blacklisted.

Great indignation seized the mass of strikers at this double-cross of the hotel bosses. The general strike has been declared on again in full force, and at this writing the strikers are sweeping through the hotel district in a stormy mass parade.

(The following editorial was written after the acceptance of the agreement by the membership meeting. The new developments give no reason to change the viewpoint expressed in the editorial but, in our opinion, only add emphasis to it. At the present critical juncture plain speaking on every issue is necessary.—Editors of The Militant.)

A compromise settlement of the general strike of the New York hotel workers negotiated through the Regional Labor Board was accepted by a vote of the strikers at a mass meeting on Thursday February 15th. Already, however, there are reports of violations of the agreement by five hotels.

The agreement provides that all strike breakers are to be discharged, and all strikers put back on the job. The rehiring of strikers is to be committed in not later than two weeks and no new men are to be employed until all strikers have been put back on the job. The arrangements for the reinstatement of the strikers in their jobs are to be made with the hotel management by shop committees consisting of delegates from the shop.

Within two weeks after the men have gone back to work the Regional Labor Board is to open hearings on the question of working conditions, hours, split-watch, etc., with the Hotel Association of New York City and individual hotels. At these hearings the organized hotel workers are to be represented by the union. Such are the terms of the agreement. It can be taken for granted that the Hotel bosses will try in every way to violate and sabotage the agreement. Everything depends now on the firmness and solidarity of the strikers in enforcing the agreement.

While the main objectives of the great struggle—complete recognition of the union and definite wage increases and shortening of hours—have not been attained in the first test of strength, the conditions of the settlement provide a basis for the maintenance and development of the union and the actual achievement of its claims in the next period. The hotels were hard hit by the strike, as the concessions they have agreed to demonstrate, and if the union holds its ranks firmly and presses forward at every point, the establishment of a powerful union in the industry under the banner of the Amalgamated Food Workers will be a certainty.

Here everything of course depends on the strength and militancy of the workers and their reliance on that alone. The agreement negotiated through the NRA can become a trap for the workers, a means of disarming them and of paralyzing their organized struggle, or it can open the path for a further development of this struggle and the accomplishment of higher aims. The agreement in itself ends nothing and settles nothing. The relation of forces will decide. The ending of the strike does not end the struggle against the rapacious exploiters; it only changes its form. If the workers understand that and maintain their solidarity and aggressiveness in the next stage of the struggle, they can establish their union on a permanent foundation and confront the bosses henceforth as an organized power.

The fight of the hotel workers for organization has been conducted against heavy odds from the beginning. The New York hotels represent powerful aggregations of capital. Not since 1918 has any union arisen that was able to challenge them. It is to the glory of the Amalgamated

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Cops Slug Workers In Austria Protest

Demonstrating their solidarity with their heroic Austrian comrades, 5,600 militant workers paraded to the Austrian Consulate at 5 P. M., Wed., Feb. 14, where they were joined by thousands of others. Several hundred police, mounted and on foot, brutally charged into the crowd again and again in an effort to stop one of the most militant demonstrations ever seen in N. Y. C. Carrying red flags and banners, denouncing Fascism and pledging solidarity with their comrades on the barricades in Austria, the workers kept their lines solid and marched around the block where the Consulate is located.

The demonstration which was originally called by the S.P. & YPSL, was supported by all Left wing workers and was a splendid united front action, marred only by the efforts of the Stalinists to disrupt the Socialist marching lines. Members of the Communist League succeeded in getting leaders of the Y. P. S. L. and Y. C. L. together and averted a serious clash between the marchers. Following the demonstration one section of the workers marched down Fifth Avenue and dispersed at Union Square.

Stalinists marched to the Workers' Center. Socialists held a brief meeting at the Rand School and then dispersed.

Strikers Take "Militant"

The special hotel strike numbers of The Militant sold about 1500 copies at the strike halls. Strikers praised its attacks on Stalinist disrupters and Right wing elements. "The Militant was the only paper to give substantial space to the strike, and to defend from the beginning to the present the interests of the rank-and-file. Strikers bought it, pasted clippings from it on the strike hall walls, and quoted from it. The Daily Worker spoke of the strike only to try to disrupt it. Right wing strike leaders spoke only of The Evening Post, because it was the solitary capitalist rag not to knife the strike steadily, and interfered with Militant salesmen.

Show Proletarian Will In War Against Fascism

The eleventh hour has struck in Austria.

With a superb heroism which has evoked the grudging admiration of even the capitalist press abroad, the Austrian proletariat is fighting desperately for its life. And what deathless pages it is writing with its own blood! What a thrilling spirit of selfless sacrifice, fearlessness and determination it is displaying! What militant in the ranks of the working class all over the world does not feel his blood pound furiously, and his pride rise at the thought of being a soldier in that international army whose vanguard battle the Austrian workers are now fighting!

The honor of the proletariat, besmirched by its established leaders in Germany who last year dragged it in the mud of capitulation and needless defeat, is being retrieved by the nameless immortals on Austria's blood-soaked barricades.

Where are they now, those who sneered at the working class for its defeat in Germany, who would not see that it was only a bitter episode in the ceaseless battle that will end only with the emancipation of all the oppressed? The proletariat of Austria is now drawing from them, what immense reservoirs of courage and endurance are theirs to tap, how lofty are the heights of heroism they can scale.

Clad in "old rubber jackets, ragged trousers and broken shoes", the revolutionary proletariat has nevertheless held out till now with only "rusty rifles, some hand grenades and a few score machine guns". Their fortresses are their homes of brick and glass. Their trenches are hastily thrown up barricades. Their auxiliary troops are their women and children.

Arrayed against them are all the forces of reaction. Field pieces, howitzers and even naval ordinance have been moved up to demolish in brief and merciless bombardments the model apartment buildings which the Viennese workers were taught to regard as imperishable

monuments to an unmolested "growing over into socialism." At the Brenner Pass, the artillery of Mussolini's legions points down menacingly upon the civil war in Austria, ready at a moment's notice to fire into the ranks of the proletariat. At the North it is threatened by the Hitler bands. From the West looms the threat of Berenger: an army of the international counter-revolution to occupy any part of Austria over which the red flag will float.

Drunk with the knowledge of the resources upon which he can draw—not so much for his own preservation as for the crushing of the rebels—the repulsive dwarf who is momentarily clothed with the authority of the Chancellorship is seeking to escape obscurity by infamy. To the laurels of a miniature Napoleon he must needs add the reputation of a Gallifet. Blinded by an exaggerated sense of his own permanence he does not realize that when the horrible massacre he has ordered is ended, and if he succeeds in exterminating the party whose leaders' toleration made possible his tenure of office from the outset, the moment will have arrived when the name of Dollfuss will disappear into the same oblivion as that of von Papen and Schleicher who enjoyed a similarly brief notoriety.

Hemmed in though they are by greater numbers, the socialist masses are fighting with an obduracy and defiance which is without equal in recent times. Driven from one position, they appear the next moment in another. In many places their machine guns, rifles and pistols are proving the equal and even the superior of the enemy's artillery because of the limitless courage and solidarity with which they are fighting. Without the superior military equipment of the reaction, Dollfuss and the mercenaries of the Heimwehr, who march much better on a ration of beer than on a ration of bullets, would have proved a sorry match for the serried ranks of Austria's proletariat. And even as matters stand, the outcome of the titanic battle is by no means determined in advance at this writing.

That the embattled workers have stood their ground even for so long a time is still more impressive in consideration of the tremendous handicap under which they launched their revolt.

Austria is not Germany. Here no one need go far afield in seeking the Achilles heel. No need here to spend time in mathematical computations which are to establish the ratio of responsibility respectively borne by social democrats and Stalinists. Here the caricature of Communism represented by the latter reached that limit of absurdity which was equivalent to its total disappearance from the political scene, unaccompanied by the slightest convulsion.

For good or evil, the social democracy was tantamount to the political expression of the working class of Austria. Upon its leaders, and exclusively upon their shoulders, rests the responsibility for the course pursued in the past. They must be judged accordingly.

The international social democracy, which experienced its second catastrophic historical bankruptcy in the capitulation to Hitler which, with the aid of the no less ignoble conduct of the Stalinist leadership, left the German proletariat paralyzed with bewilderment and prostrate,—is now trying to refurbish its arms in the light of the flames of Austria's civil war. The eternally discredited 2nd International, which nineteen years after the first one, inflicted a second 1914 upon the German working class, is now seeking to restore its exploded prestige by a parasitic association with the heroism of the Austrian rebels.

In vain! History will never permit it!

What is there in common between

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French Gov't In War Move

It was the murder of an Austrian Archduke which provided the signal for the world war of 1914-1918. Today France as well as all other capitalist countries is girding its loins for a new imperialist war. Europe will not go to war over Austria, but already the French government is taking steps which indicate that Austria may again provide the signal for war. The formation of a Right cabinet by Doumergue, as a result of the disturbances of last week, has led directly to a new tension in the international political situation.

The Doumergue Cabinet has placed the control of foreign affairs in the hands of a "directorate" of four: Doumergue himself, Barthou, Flandin and Tardieu. Doumergue is a bitter reactionary, a professional Red-baiter and imperialist. Tardieu is the chief political agent of the French steel trust and armament industry, headed by the Comite des Forges. Not Poincare himself is more bellicose than this quartet.

An "Aggressive Tone"

Whereas Paul-Boncour, as Foreign Minister, met Hitler's rearming activities with a flood of talk about legal questions, the new quartet shows a different attitude. In reply to the German note of January 19 asking questions regarding French armament and war plans, the Doumergue Cabinet has taken what the New York Times calls "an aggressive tone, using some phrases that sound almost like an ultimatum." France refuses to disarm and de-

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Priests Bless Fascist Guns

Many Catholic workers were astounded to read in the capitalist press dispatches from Vienna that the Catholic Storm Troopers (of Dollfuss' Patriotic Front) joined the troops in shooting down workers, and that Catholic priests made a house to house canvass to rouse their flocks to volunteer as killers.

What astounded these Catholic workers? The marriage between Fascism and the Catholic Church has long been consummated in Austria; for the only quarrel of the church with Hitler and Mussolini—that the church be given a high enough place in the Fascist state—was clearly settled the very day that Dollfuss announced his Fascist plans.

It was last September, at the celebration of the 25th Anniversary of the siege of Vienna, in the Heldenplatz before the former Imperial Palace, that Dollfuss, flanked by three scarlet-robed Cardinals and their Brother-in-God, the Papal Legate from Rome, announced his program of a Catholic Fascist State. "We will build up," declared Dollfuss, bowing to the churchmen, "A Catholic German State which will be thoroughly Austrian upon a corporative, authoritarian basis." With this guarantee from the head of the new Fascist state, it is no wonder that Catholic priests go from house to house recruiting volunteer killers.

Dollfuss himself has always been a pillar of the Church. It was widely reported in the Catholic papers of Austria that, when he was

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DEBATE
The Crisis in the
Communist International

What is
The Way
Out?

JAMES P. CANNON
Says:
THE 3rd INTERNATIONAL
IS BANKRUPT—
FOR A 4th INTERNATIONAL.

On MONDAY, MARCH 5, 1934
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at IRVING PLAZA HALL
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Chairman: SIDNEY HOOK
ADMISSION 35c

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Austrian Workers Fight Points The Way To World Proletariat

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the machine gunners of the Karl Marx apartments mowed down by Dollfuss' artillery, and the high priests of the social democracy who begged for months to be made partners of the same Dollfuss. What is there in common between the heroes of the socialist Schutzbund who emerged from illegality to smash Dollfuss, and the Bauers and Renners who lamented impotently but raised no finger when the same Dollfuss ordered the dissolution of the Schutzbund? What is there in common between the barricade fighters of Floridsdorf, Linz and Steyr who refuse with bulleted emphasis to tolerate for another day the encroachments upon their lives by the Dollfuss regime, and the Seitzes and Deutsches whose policy of toleration alone made it possible for Dollfuss to bear down, step by step, upon the organized working class? What is there in common between the fighters whose battle song is the "Internationale", and those leaders who not so long ago sat by silently while the Austrian Imperial and Royal Hymn, outlawed by the revolution of 1918, was legally restored? What is there in common between the court-martialed insurrectionary who cried "I shall fight Dollfuss to the end!" as the hang-

man's nose was slipped around his neck, and the whole party leadership which hung pathetically at the coat-tails of Dollfuss until they were contemptuously kicked away?—But nevertheless called the general strike! They are nevertheless leading the masses on the barricades!

Illusions! Illusions!

In its moment of crucial need, the Austrian proletariat was left in the lurch just as disgracefully as it was in Germany!

Where were the leaders upon whom rested such a tremendous responsibility—where were they all this time? What were they doing to prepare the workers for that decisive struggle whose inevitability stood out so glaringly and unmistakably, especially after Hitler's seizure of power? What were they doing to absorb and communicate to the masses the tremendously important lessons of the German tragedy? What were they doing during all the previous, jeweled moments which Dollfuss garnered as they slipped through the shackled hands of the Austrian proletariat in the past year?

NOTHING! Nothing but allowing Dollfuss to grow more arrogant, Starhemberg to grow more peremptory, the Nazis to grow stronger.

True to the worst traditions of Austro-Marxism, whose tinsel verbal radicalism embellishes a deadening passivity, the party leadership which taught the masses that they could not proclaim Austria a socialist republic because the European "balance of power" did not permit it, kept the masses in check to the very last moment. One by one, they allowed the reaction to deprive the masses of their institutions, their class weapons.

Dollfuss was permitted to dissolve the socialist-republican Schutzbund without a tremor. Dollfuss was permitted to suppress the Communist party without the Socialist leadership doing more than mailing him a mild blast of protest. Dollfuss was permitted to censor to discontinue issues of the central daily newspaper of the socialists, to force it to print Dollfuss propaganda, without action being taken. Dollfuss was permitted to abrogate the constitution so dear to every socialist statesman, and to rule by despotic emergency decrees, without action being taken. The Heimwehr leaders were permitted to infiltrate one commanding post after another, without action being taken. Those thousand and one steps taken by all the Bonapartist trail-blazers of Fascism to hamstring and paralyze

the proletariat before the decisive hour—all of them the socialist leadership allowed Dollfuss to take without themselves taking action.

To cap this characteristic record, the party leaders who apparently issued the general strike call chose a moment not only dictated by the enemy, but one when the means of carrying it out effectively were considerably reduced. The call was issued only after the Arbeiterzeitung headquarters had been seized by the Heimwehr and the paper suspended, automatically depriving the party of its direct contact with the masses as a whole. The result? The newspapers report how severely this defeat injured the efficacy of the strike.

—But the leaders are fighting on the barricades!

We permit ourselves, first, to deny the decisive importance of this fact, and second, to express doubts as to the accuracy of the reports and rumors. What is decisive is not the heroic conduct of this or that individual leader, but the policy of the leader which in the fundamental sense determines the course of his party. One has but to recall the tragedy of the recent case of the social democratic police chief of Vienna, who helped the Nazis to victory by permitting the notorious raid on that working class

quarter in 1931 which ended in a massacre. His conduct then did not prevent him from dying a martyr at the hands of the Fascist dogs a few weeks ago. The personal courage of this or that leader of Austro-Marxism in the present civil war will never absolve the leadership of the responsibility for the policy which played the game of the reaction.

The socialist workers in this country who, disgusted with the record of the social democracy, now cling so hopelessly to the reports of Bauer on this barricade and Deutsch on that one, reveal a sentiment which is more comprehensible than commendable. But it is a sentiment which experience will not tolerate. We have no reason to believe that, as a group, the Austrian Loebes and Brauns and Weises (and let us include the Heckerls and Muenzenbergs!) will have proved to rise to a stature even one inch higher than their German predecessors. They are made not of sterner but of identical political stuff.

If the masses were called upon to act, it was only after they could no longer be restrained. The first half-persepicacious correspondent to come along will and has attested this brutal fact. With the night-

mare of Hitlerism, referring to die fighting if necessary, rather than to live as gagged and driven serfs of Nazidom. They could not avoid the battle, they picked up the gage the minute the straitjacket forced upon them by their leaders was relaxed. The working class, they realized, cannot get a passport for a villa in Switzerland. Individual leaders can . . . and do . . .

And it is because the workers must remain and fight to the bitter end that the keenest weapons must be in their hands. In Germany, both the social democracy and the official Communist party proved their bankruptcy to the hilt. In the present events in Austria, the proof is given over again. The Socialist party crumbled away even before it came to the decisive test. The Communist party proved to be a brake on the working class and not an accelerator. It is now in a state of utter collapse, and in falling this once powerful party merely drives the bulk of the 2nd International deeper into the mire.

Austria stands out as the second great sign-post in one year pointing to the imperative need of new revolutionary parties and a new Communist International!

Tomorrow or the day after, the

vanguard of the Austrian proletariat will step forward resolutely on this road.

So it is to these shining champions of the revolutionary proletarian cause, to the barricade fighters of the Austrian working class, that we extend the hand of warmest comradely solidarity. It is before them that we lower our own banner in respect and admiration. It is for them that we cry out to all sections of the working class movement in this country, with all the power at our command:

"Forge a united front, now, instantly, for work of solidarity and aid to the Austrian working class! Others have fought as good a battle, as devoted a fight as they are fighting, but none a better one. Others may have fought a more successful fight, but none a nobler one!"

And each hour that brings new reports of the inspiring bravery and tenacity of the workers, and the jackal's work of their foes, will only deepen the conviction already embedded in our minds that the proletarians of Austria are true sons of the sacred cause that the flash from their firearms lit a flame that will burn in perpetual purity alongside of the beaconlights of the Paris and Russian Communes.

2-1-1934 —M. S.

Priests Bless Fascists

(Continued from page 1)

first called to the Chancellorship in May 1932, he went to his favorite church and spent the night in prayer. The next morning he announced his soul had been called to rule Austria. Each morning before going to his office he prays for half an hour and he calls his speeches directly inspired."

Even before Dollfuss' promise to the Church to make Austria's Fascism a Catholic Fascism, the Church had received sufficient concrete examples of the Catholicism of the new order. The army barracks and banners are a striking example. In accordance with a general order signed by another pious Catholic, Minister of Defense, Karl Vaugoin, a crucifix must be hung in every room of every military barracks, and a picture of the Virgin Mary must be embroidered, painted or printed on all regimental flags, all battalion and company guidons. It was under these Virgin Mary banners that the troops marched against the workers' homes.

The main reason why Catholic workers are astonished at the role of the Catholic Church in Austria is that the American Catholic press suppresses most of these facts, as they do also the facts about the real relations between Fascism and Catholicism in Germany and Italy. The American capitalists are not yet desperate enough to try Fascism, and Fascism is hated by most Americans; therefore, any minor difference between the Church and a Fascist government abroad is hailed in the American Catholic press as proof of the divergence between the two. Thus, a quarrel in Italy over allocation of certain funds last year was so interpreted; but the real relation of the Papacy to Mussolini is revealed by such facts as that, in the Concordat, the Church pledged that every Bishop in Italy would take the oath of allegiance to Mussolini's government—an oath which not only would not have been granted, but was never asked for by previous

Italian regimes.

So, too, the controversies between Nazis and Catholics over theological doctrine, such as Cardinal Faulhaber's criticisms of the Nazi conception of a Nordic Christ, is treated in the American Catholic press as a "break with the Nazis." One need but compare these doctrinal quarrels with what the Catholic hierarchy says about Fascism itself. At a meeting of thousands of Catholic youth of the Berlin bishopric, last August in Neukoellin stadium, Vicar General Steinman, representing Bishop Schreiber, spoke of Hitler and Hitlerism in the following terms:

"Our Chancellor has been appointed by God. There must be no antagonism between the church and the State; the future Reich will embrace both. Catholic youth will help the Fatherland to rise again to greatness and glory." (New York Times, August 8, 1933.)

The Fascism of the Catholic Church in Austria, Italy, Germany, Spain—all Europe—will not be advertised in the American Catholic press, so long as Fascist sentiments remain unripe here. Not that there are no revealing signs of the way which the American Catholic hierarchy will go. At the recent Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems held in Detroit, no less a person than Dr. George Herman Derry, president of Marygrove College, delivered the usual Fascist rant about the causes of the crisis, pointing that "a few international Jews hold a strangle hold on the world supply of gold, thereby enabling them to determine the destinies of nations," etc. Dr. Derry's speech was not quoted in the Catholic reports of the Conference. In the present temper of America, the Catholic hierarchy finds it more expedient to push forward the Fatherly and the Father Cousins. But the Dr. Derrys are the real core of the Church—throughout Europe today, and here, too, when the time comes.

—AQUINAS.

Reactionary French Government in War Moves

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mands an immediate solution of questions surrounding Germany's "right" to arm herself. The Right press in France applauds the new imperialist government for its aggressiveness.

While Hitler talks peace, he prepares for war. The Doumergue government seems determined to interfere with his plans before they mature. At this time such interference can probably be managed merely by military demonstrations within the borders of France and the sending of firm diplomatic notes. Should the Doumergue government find such tactics insufficient, it has a pretext for bolder moves ready-to-hand.

There is civil war in Austria. Writing on its banners a collection of idealistic phrases—preservation of the peace of Europe, preservation of Austrian independence, liberation of Austrian humanity—the French

army can intervene in the Austrian struggle. The transportation of troops from France to Austria must involve either the violation of Swiss "neutrality" or the crossing of German territory. In any case, French intervention in Austria would be not only a means of staving off a rise of revolutionary tides throughout Europe, but a demonstration to German Fascism that French imperialism is still a power to reckon with.

This does not necessarily mean that the Doumergue government is heading for war with Germany. Where there are between two rivals an irreconcilable difference, the stronger does not waste time threatening while the weaker develops his powers. Differences being irreconcilable, he strikes as soon as he can. When, however, there is, despite disagreements and difficulties, a possibility of reconciliation, threats serve a purpose. I will

smash you, says France to Germany, unless you come to terms and join me in attacking our common enemy.

This is the key to French international policy today. The firm tone toward Germany, the aggressive attitude in the Austrian question, are above all an ultimatum to Germany: stop provoking us, join with us, let us settle our differences at the expense of—the Soviet Union. It is the rapid pressing of this policy of making Hitler into the super-Wrangell of Europe that is the chief significance of the coming to power of Doumergue.

Need of United Strike.

Meanwhile, within France there seems to be a temporary lull. The shift to the right in the Cabinet has for the moment taken the wind out of French Fascism's sails. The working class, having demonstrated its opposition to Fascism by a significant one-day general strike, is surveying the aftermath of the bloody riots. It awaits the government's next important move.

How successfully it will be able to answer that next move depends on developments within the working class. Not only Germany, but Austria, too, provides a lesson for the French workers. In Germany Fascism took power without serious resistance. In Austria the workers began their historic and courageous fight under the worst possible conditions.

The French workers will be in no better position to defend themselves unless their present disunity is rapidly overcome. The French Socialist leaders are hopelessly divided against themselves on all points except one: avoiding all serious preparations for the decisive conflict which must soon take place. What is left of the French Communist Party continues the sectarian line of the united front "from below." Thus the action of each section of the working class—both of whom had to protest against one and the same enemy—was a strictly private action. Unity was sacrificed to the private interests of each party. The true Communist has no interests apart from those of the working class. There can be no doubt that it is to the interest of the whole working class of France today to strike together at the reaction initiated by Doumergue.

C. I. Phrasemongering

Where in this situation is the Communist International? Pravda prints windy editorials of congratulations to the French and Austrian workers and speaks of the imminence of world revolution. It ignores the fact that both in France and Austria the current struggles were opened at the will and at the moment chosen by reactionary forces, that the workers are at the moment fighting a clearly defensive struggle. If instead of solemnly jubilant pronouncements, the C. I. would issue a simple statement in favor of a genuine united front it might contribute something to converting that defensive into an offensive fight.

The Communist League of France, like its brother sections throughout the world, has learned not to wait upon the C. I. for such directives. In Germany the call for a united front came from the C. I. after Hitler was firmly entrenched in power, after the realization of the purposes for which a united front should have existed had become a remote possibility. If the C. I. were up to its past, we may expect

Austria Next In Order

(Continued from page 1)

fighting, and who consequently shy away in cowardice and superstition from questions of military resources and methods.

The general strike is only the mobilization of revolutionary forces, but still not war. To utilize the general strike successfully as a demonstration or a threat, i. e., to confine oneself only to the mobilization of forces, without engaging in battle—that is possible only within strictly defined historical conditions; whenever matters touch an important but still a partial task; when the enemy wavers and waits only for a push in order to retreat; when the possessing classes are still left with a wide field for retreat and maneuver. None of this obtains at present, at the time when all the contradictions have reached their highest intensity and when every serious conflict puts on the agenda the question of war and the perspective of civil war.

The general strike could prove to be a sufficient means for repelling the counter-revolutionary overturn only in the event that the enemy is unprepared and lacks sufficient forces and experience (the Kapp putsch). But even in the latter case, after having repelled the adventurist onset, the general strike only restored fundamentally that situation which obtained on the eve of the conflict, and consequently gave the enemy the opportunity to utilize the experience of his own defeat and to prepare better for a new attack. But the general strike turns out to be completely insufficient even for defensive purposes in the event that the enemy is powerful and experienced, all the more so if he leans upon the state apparatus, or even has at his disposal its benevolent "neutrality." No matter what the basic reason for the

conflict may be, under the present conditions general strike will close the ranks of the bourgeois parties, the state apparatus and the Fascist bands, and in this united front of the bourgeoisie, the preponderance will fall inevitably into the hands of the most extreme and determined elements, i. e., the Fascists. When face to face with the general strike, the counter-revolution will be compelled to stake all its forces on one card in order to break the ominous danger with a single blow. In so far as the general strike remains only a strike it inevitably dooms itself under these conditions to defeat. In order to snatch victory the strategy of the strike must grow into the strategy of the revolution, it must elevate itself to the level of resolute actions, replying with a double blow to every blow. In other words, under the present conditions the general strike cannot serve as a self-sufficient means for the defense of an impotent democracy, but only as one of the weapons in the combined struggle of two camps. The strike must be accompanied by and supplemented with the arming of the workers, the disarming of the Fascist bands, the removal of Bonapartists from power, and the seizure of the material apparatus of the state.

Once again we repeat, if the establishment of a Soviet regime cannot be realized without the seizure of power by the Communist party—and we admit that this is altogether excluded by the unfavorable correlation of forces in the immediate future—then the restoration of democracy, even temporarily, is already unthinkable in Austria without the previous seizure of power by the social democracy. If the leading workers' party is not prepared to bring the struggle to its conclusion then the general strike, by sharpening the situation, can only hasten the crushing of the proletariat.

The Austro-Philistine will catch up these words in order immediately to deduce reasons in favor of "moderation" and "cautiousness." For, is it permissible for a party to take upon itself the grandiose "risk" involved in the revolutionary methods of struggle? As if the Austrian proletariat has the freedom of choice! As if millions of workers can depart for their villas in Switzerland like Otto Braun! As if a class can duck mortal danger without incurring any danger! As if the victims of Fascistized Europe, with its perspectives of new imperialist wars, will not surpass one-hundredfold the sacrifices of all revolutions, past and future!

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645 Subs!

The list is still rising. Since we closed our records for last week's issue 76 new subs came in, making the total 645. New York advanced toward its goal of 400. With 40 new subs last week, its total now stands at 358. Chicago made a small beginning with 4 subs. Other branches have not yet notified us of what they have done or intend to do. We think that with their active participation we can push the total up to one thousand new paid subs. Accordingly we set the goal of this drive at one thousand.

The record to date stands as follows:

New York Local	358
Minneapolis Branch	88
Kansas City Branch	48
Pittsburgh Branch	32
L. Brown	20
A Teacher	12
Youngstown Branch	12
D. L.	8
J. Ruby	8
G. Papcun	8
M. Hurwitz	5
H. Sukut	4
S. Hardy	4
Chicago Branch	4
D. O. Dwyer	4
M. Steinbach	4
M. McLeod	4
L. Goodman	4
St. Louis Branch	4
L. Murphy	4
M. Koehler	4
C. Genfan	4
R. Carlson	4
TOTAL	645

HOTEL STRIKE

(Continued from page 1)

ated Food Workers that it led and organized the great struggle of this year. Nobody but a charlatan can condemn the union for the failure to win a complete victory in the first battle. In addition to the powerful forces of the employers they were other factors which worked against the success of the struggle and finally compelled the union to accept the compromise settlement.

Foremost among these factors operating against the strike is to be counted the disruptive splitting activities of the "Food Workers I. U.", the private trade union organization of the so-called Communist Party (Stalinists). The leaders of this clique set their own sectarian interests above the interests of the mass movement, spread slander, sow confusion and disorganization, and did everything they could to undermine the unity and demoralize the fighting power of the workers.

The NRA, in the person of Mrs. Ellmore M. Herrick, acting chairman of the Regional Labor Board, acted from the start like a direct agent of the hotel bosses and overlooked no opportunity to attack and sabotage the strike. Even after the pressure of the strike itself had forced her to negotiate a settlement with the hotel owners she came out with a public attack on the strike as "unjustifiable, unwarranted and improper". The illusions which many of the workers had held in regard to the impartiality, or even the "friendship", of the NRA for the cause of labor lent effectiveness to the direct services which Mrs. Herrick rendered to the hotel bosses. The union leadership, which had as its first duty to put the workers on guard against this deception, failed miserably in this respect.

A further weakness of the strike was the conservative, bureaucratic policy and methods of the official leaders—Fields, Caidis, and Costas. By its clique methods, which separated this leadership from the living movement of the class-conscious, militant workers, by its cowardly and capitulatory attitude before the NRA and bourgeois public opinion, and by its factional maneuvers and intrigues against the most advanced militant elements in the union, the Field-Caidis leadership weakened the morale of the strikers, disorganized the ranks and paved the way for their acceptance of a settlement far less favorable than could have been gained with a better leadership. Their method of negotiating the settlement and their bureaucratic tactics in railroadng it through the membership meeting was in line with their whole course throughout the strike.

The big fight of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union is still ahead and the great task is to preserve the union and build it stronger and on a sounder basis. This requires an unrelenting struggle in the first place against the disruptive activities of the Food Workers Industrial Union elements who seek to complicate the difficulties and exploit them for sectarian purposes. These professional disorganizers of labor, whose path is sown with unjustified splits and tragic defeats for the workers, now seek to complicate the difficulties of the Amalgamated and exploit them for the benefit of the discredited "18th Street Union". A similar struggle must be carried on against every tendency of anarchistic demoralization.

The conservative bureaucratic clique of Field and Co. cannot be an ally in this struggle of the responsible class-conscious workers in the union. On the contrary the fight of the genuine militants must be directed against them with no less emphasis. Most important of all now is the firm organization of a genuine Left wing in the union based on the militant class-conscious workers, which will take up the fight to enforce the agreement in the shops, to build the union, steer it on the path of the class-struggle and provide it with leadership that will be worthy of these tasks.

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"THE COAL STRIKE"
 Its Lessons and Significance
 Speaker: V. R. DUNNE
 FEBRUARY 25th, 1934
 1530 E. Franklin Ave.
 Auspices: Communist League of America (Left Opposition)
 Minneapolis Branch.

a similar call in France sometime in the indefinite future. In the meantime, the Communist League of France proceeds to build the new Internationalist Communist party, section of the Fourth International. As the Party of the Third International decays—that it is losing members daily has been confessed by none less than Platnitsky of the E. C. C. I.—and militants in the French S. P. seek for a party which fulfills their needs and aspirations, the Internationalist Communists will speak ever more loudly in their own voice, compelling the formation of a united front. Under its impetus the French proletariat will be able to move forward to smash the war plans of the French bourgeoisie, to protect by its own strength the Soviet Union, whose borders can hardly be guarded by Litvinov's famous non-aggression pacts, and to initiate the struggle for the French and the world-wide socialist revolution.

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