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Civil War In Austria

GRAFT SCANDAL STIRS FRANCE

by Jeanne Michel

A few yards from the hospital of Chamonix, Stavisky was allow-ed to bleed to death without such medical attention as would have aided him in speaking. Whether he had committed suicide or had been murdered was not so important. But, in the truth wrung from by approaching death, he might have involved too many of the officials who had helped him erect an enormous edifice of lies, swindles, embezzlements and swindles,

In 1906. a penniless Russian Jew. Stavisky served his first jail sentence. He could not have kept out of it afterwards, amassing the millions that he did, without his clear understanding of bourgeois democracy. Judges deputies, high officials, secret police executives ministers, handed him three different passports, lent the dignity of their presence to his dinners, attended his parties, granted state protection to his shady deals, then pooh-bah'd their eminence by ac-centing millions in hush money.

Today. his many friends deny him, to a man His French wife, whom he had always loved, despite the mistresses he flaunted because of his position, is left alone to ween over him. She speaks with dumb amazement of the fact that the very man who now clamors loudest for her incarceration was one often seen at their dinner table. In French prisons the terror system is highly developed.

However, the nation-wide resentment about the Stavisky affair is not directed against the dead man. The Socialist deputy of the North Department said that the crook had merely comprehended that under the present system and "pat-tern of life". the only sin was poverty and had therefore chosen the path of virtue.

The mass indignation, especially of the Lswindled middle classes. cannot be underestimated, but it is directed against the ma complices of Stavisky, the baser scoundrels who grafted in full security behind the screen provided by the ill-fated man directed against those who prostituted the countrys' administration and their high office to their greed.

Dalimier, an ex-Minister of Public Works, who had given his department's full approval to the last swindle connected with the Bavonne pawn-shops, shamefully donied and cursed the dead man. Foreign Minister Paul Boncour, and the Minister of Education, were also implicated. The last Paris appearance of Stavisky was in the opera-box of the very Chiappe who Party. The Garden was soon jamis peculiarly enough, the present med and thousands of workers who martyr of Paris. the iron handed Paris Prefect of Police, a man who knows so much about everybody. that he reigns supreme and undisturbed by any administration, solely hy sheer hiackmail.

These names all connected with

The Meaning of the Austrian Events

1. For five days the Socialist working men and trade unionists of Vienna, arms in hand, waged a heroic battle against the bloody Dollfuss government and its Heimwehr Fascist bands. Their devoted struggle has aroused the admiration and applied the appropriate of the struggle has a struggle the struggle has a struggle the struggle has a struggle has a struggle the struggle has a struggle has a struggle the struggle has a struggle evoked the sympathy of the workers of all countries. It contsituted the first mass resistance that Fascism has met in its onward sweep in recent years. It was the first large-scale revolutionary proletarian outbreak since the post-war wave of revolution. It has already had a deep effect upon the development of the labor movement and upon the relations among the various tendencies within it (Socialism, centrism, Communism). The Austrian events are certain to loom large indeed in the whole course of future politics not only in central Europe but on the continent as a whole, with repercussions thruout the world.

The Roots Of The Austrian Events

2. The entire chain of developments in Austria n recent years has unfolded on the background of the world economic crisis as it hit the Austrian people. The impoverishment of the peasants and the lower middle classes and their consequent discontent provided a fertile soil for the growth of Fascist tendencies. The incredible extent of unemployment (one-third of the Austrian workers have been jobless for nearly two years) as well as the offensive of the capitalists, have had their effect upon the splendidly organized Austrian workers, not to demoralize them as has been the case in many other parts of the world, but rather to radcalize them and to increase their militancy. The whole tendency of events in Austria has been to undermine the traditional social base of bourgeois rule and to prepare the objective ground for a revolutionary situation.

The Political Setup In Austria

3. Reflecting the trend outlined above, the Christian Social Party, the Catholic government party of Dollfuss, with support among the bourgeois elements, among the lower middle classes and among the peasants, has been steadily losing ground, primarily to Fascism. The first Fascist group, the Heimwehr, basing itself primarily upon the peasants of the provinces, claims to be a "native" movement but is actually the servile tool of Mussolini and Italian imperialism. The second, the German Nazis, with big and growing support among the urban middle classes, among the peasants and among backward and declassed workers, is closely linked up with the Hitler regime and obedient to its interests.

4. As against these forces of reaction, stood pri-

marily the Austrian Social-democracy and trade union movement, embracing practically all wage workers of Vienna and the bulk of those outside, with some following also among the lower middle class elements as well. The Communist Party of Austria was practically non-existent, without any

Austria-Focal Point Of Europe

Since the war, but especially in recent years, Austria has been the focal point of European politics. The clash of social forces within the country has been organically tied up with the clash of imperialist forces outside, with the triangular antagonism (France vs. Germany vs. Italy) dominant. With German Fascism driving for some form of Anschly, with Muss dini arrange at "independent" Au tria under Italian patronage, with France manipulating to "save" Austria from Hitler and Mussian and Mussian France Mussian solini in order to bring it under the control of the Paris banks, the interests and intrigues of these powers have had and will continue to have a profound influence on the fate of Austria.

Enter Dollfuss

6. The first link in the chain of recent events in Austria took place more than a year ago when Dollfuss dissolved parliament and initiated his "regime by decree." For months the Chancellor, reflecting the interests of bourgeois strata to which things to drift into chaotic lawlesshe looked, carried thru a policy of balancing the Nais and the Heimwehr against each other and jockeying between them. In this course he had the support of the French Foreign Office in whose in-(Continued on Page 7)

tionist love-feast, we also listened to the representative of the bi-

by Tony Sewell

The thirty-third annual convention was held here in the midst of

a highly patriotic setting. This was capped off the final day by the suspension of a huge portrait of President Roosevelt over John

L. Lewis's chair. The most outstanding events of the convention

was the systematic and organized efforts at bally-hooing the N.R.A. and the officers of the unions. Doz-

ens of resolutions praising the of-

ficials of the union and the N.R.A.

literally swamped the convention. It is significant that the big ma-

jority of these resolutions came from West Virginia, Kentucky and

Alabama.
In line with this class collabora-

Inidanapolis, Ind.

tuminous coal operators, C. B. Huntress. This representative of the well known group of philanthrophists told us: "The operators are on your side. . . . So let's go. Follow together, for in union there is strength and there is victory." is strength and there is victory.

ness which leads to civil war, which means communism."

No Opposition Block

It might be asked where were the progressives to put up a fight against such crass perversions of militant trade union sm upon which our union was founded and which is so badly needed in the present situation? The answer is that there just wasn't any. Whatever progressive voices there were present were not organized. The progressives from the Illinois region were conspicuous by their absence. The C.P. had less than a handful. There were other isolated progressives who spoke up from time to time but there was no coordinated effort. It must be stated that many progressive locals failed to send cial osition. There were a number of issues however on which progressives spoke up quite clearly.

Abolition Of Machinery
A number of delegates from Indiana and Ohio raised the question of curing the ills of unemployment in a peculiar way They proposed the elimination of machinery. Altho this can not be classed as a progressive proposal it did succeed in getting some support from rank and file delegates. It took the hig John L. himself to beat it down by claiming that machinery was progressive and a God-send to humanity. True enough, but what is he doing to help the miners who are being displaced by this God-send?

The Labor Party

An especially effective fight, to instruct the delegates to the A. F. of L. convention to favor the launching of a Labor Party, was made by delegates Gladski and (Continued on Page 2)

500,000 Strike Against **Austrian Fascism**

50,000 Demonstrate at Garden - C. P. Disrupts Meeting - 30,000 to Strike in Philadelphia

New York City on Friday February 16. This political act of solidarity with the Austrian workers battling most heroictory of the labor movement in New

Tens of thousands of workers streamed from the shops and marched to Madison Square Garden where a mass meeting was to be held under the auspices of the Trade Unions and the Socialist could not be admitted kept milling around the hall for hours.

Communist Party In response to a call issued by supporters were called upon to go a large number of trade unions to the Madison Square Garden in here 500,000 quit work at 3 P. M. order to protest against the Fascists Mathew Woll and Mayor La some time making it necessary to Guardia. This was the first indifinally adjourn the meeting withcation that this splendid demonally against Fascism, was one of stration with the Austrian workthe largest turn-outs in the hisers who were then fighting and dying on the barricades was to be far as the masses of workers were marred by the criminally stupid concerned, ended in a manner tactics of the official Communist

> The constantly yelling for a united front with the socialists in the struggle against Fascism, every act of the party members and supporters in the Garden disgusted and enraged the socialist and nonpartisan workers. The organized campaign of obstruction and inter-

members and to grab the platform. This precipitated an already acutely tense situation. Fighting broke out all over the hall and continued for out finishing the program. So, what started out as one of the finest ϵx amples of proletarian solidarity, as which goes far to discredit the Communist Party and make dfficult indeed any common action between Socialists and Communists in the struggle against Fascism.

> A statement issued by the Communist Party (Opposition) says in

Communist Opposition The same afternoon a special ference with speakers was finally sharply denounces the criminal edition of the Daily Worker was climaxed by the deliberate attempt conduct of the official Communist sold on the streets in which the on the part of Clarence Hathaway (Continued on Page 7)

high nosts, give an idea of the magnitude of the scandal. The JAY LOVESTONE "Austria In Revolt" Feb. 23, 8 p.m.—Irving Plaza

ECONOMICS OF THE "NEW DEAL"

RULED BY LEWIS

(Continued from Page 1) Sitko. The resolutions committee calling that such revelations ocdid not commit itself but proposed cur with regularity, have thrown that the matter be left to the dele-gates which of course meant to kill resentful. Behind Stavisky stands gates which of course meant to kill resention. Defining State of Guise suffers the proposal. The fight against a great tradition; the Panama The Duke of Guise suffers the scrape off the walls, the incomplet Kennedy. A large number of nayes the affairs of Oustric, and Andre were heard when the resolutions Tardieu, the would-be dictator, His

and its strike breaking provisions, the word strike was a dangerous em, Pa. said in part:

ganization of the U.M.W.A. support any and all justified strikes The Royalists sensed it o

mental and inherent rights. We a contract. are committed in the principles and by wage agreements to the

Delegates Bohus and Sitko made about a 6 hour 5 day week. so effective a fight for the New Salem resolution that Lewis found it necessary to cross examine some of the speakers in an attempt to ves were of course defeated overweaken the effect of their talks. When Lewis claimed that the right to strike is not abridged delegate Sitko asked: "If under the N.R.A. large number of the delegates are a case is not lived up to by the coal companies. What action do we and locals and are strangers to the role?" To which I could be religious and are strangers to the role." take?" To which Lewis replied: policies and acts of the officials. "You take it up under the machinery provided in the contract, for discouragement. What is needed the grievance. There is no right is patient work in the union to win to strike in violation of a contract." he mass of the miners for a pro-Yet the Frick miners know that ressive policy and a progressive Lewis and Murray as well as the leadership.

U. M. W. A. MEET Graft Scandal Stirs France | RIVERA MURAL |

(Continued from Page 1)

French, hit directly in the pocketbook of the affair, and now re-

under the jurisdiction of the or- course. But in spite of their wild ganization in said states and fight to the bitter end for the repeal of said law (Industrial Court Law) and for the restora-

deprive the workers of funda- and there was even no excuse of taken into account.

present National Industrial Recovery Act and the wage agreements made thereunder. Therefore we hereby approve the present plan of law and agreements as the most enlightened and beneficial for the members of our union."

The "present plan of law" proposed was the strike crushing Board set up under the N.R.A. The miners of Western Pennsylvania have experienced the "here" the political forest. This failing, the convention at the political forest. This failing, Doumergue has set about to create a cabinet of stars, a "strong cabinet." The man of the hour, are still sought in the old forms. But the act of the Rockefellers and characterizes this act as an expression of the decay of capitalist society in the sphere of art and thus hoped to blaze his trail in the political forest. This failing, Doumergue has set about to create a cabinet of stars, a "strong cabinet." The man of the hour, are still sought in the old forms. But the act of the Rockefellers and characterizes this act as an expression of the decay of capitalist society in the sphere of art and thus hoped to blaze his trail in the political forest. This failing, Doumergue has set about to create a cabinet of stars, a "strong cabinet." The man of the hour, are still sought in the old forms. But the act of the Rockefellers and characterizes this act as an expression of the decay of capitalist society in the sphere of art and thus hoped to blaze his trail in the political forest. This failing, Doumergue has set about to create a cabinet of stars, a "strong cabinet." The man of the hour, are still sought in the old forms. But the act of the Rockefellers and characterizes this act as an expression of the decay of capitalist society in the sphere of art and thus hoped to blaze his trail in the political forest. This failing, Doumergue has set about to create a cabinet of stars, a "strong cabinet." The man of the hour, are still sought in the The miners of Western Pennsylvania have experienced the "beneficial" actions of this Board in their struggles against the Frick in the Anthracite, the 8 hour day,

All the proposals of the progres-

ATTENTION!

For technical reasons we were forced to omit the Rivera

Mural from this issue.

remarkably voracious-looking jaw and inhuman teeth won him the nickname of "Pike". Tardieu and irembles accordingly. When inchange of "Pike". Tardieu and irembles accordingly. When administration to the N.R.A. in the Andorra Republic.

But other forces are also on the war path. Everybody knows this and trembles accordingly. When and irembles accordingly. When an angry demands for an official investigation into the Stavisky affair were made of Premier Chautania to the N.R.A. in the Andorra Republic. sin the Andorra Republic.

Such memories linked to the suc one to use. The question did come mud, stirred up daily by the inwere ready to seize power, was to have been held at Radio before the convention, however, quest, to the growing resentment in order to completely cow the City. A delegation was also cent to and in a sharp form at that. The against the equally growing taxresolution of Local 6291, New Sales, the dark outlook for the countries of Local 6291, New Sales, the dark outlook for the countries of Local 6291, New Sales, the dark outlook for the countries of Local 6291, New Sales, the dark outlook for the countries of Local 6291, New Sales, the dark outlook for the countries of Local 6291, New Sales of Local 6291, es, the dark outlook for the country's tangled affairs, caused the Fascism as they are of Communic Radio City. "That the international oranization of the U.M.W.A. sunpeople to become more and more in a manner hardly in keeping with

ganization in said states and fight to the bitter end for the repeal of said law (Industrial Court Law) and for the restoration to the workers of such states of their inherited right, the right to strike."

This was neither the clearest nor the best resolution on the question but the resolutions compute the chose that one as their best battle ground. As against the above they proposed the following:

Tioting, they will not fish their King's crown out of these troubled waters. When the official Pretender came out last year with a professor of philostick of Stavisky; the Deat-Marquet combination of a Bordeaux dentist with a professor of philosophy, pledged to remodel France on the basis of "neo-socialism", has been seized with modesty of late. The "New Order", which, to avoid Fascism and Communism, advocates regional corporative federalism, is decidedly too far from the centralized tradition of France. Furthermore, these schemes are Furthermore, these schemes are Independent Artists. Walter Pach,

* * * ed a government of nonentities, and Bertram D. Wolfe, Director of There were other discussions at and thus hoped to blaze his trail in the New Workers School.

DELICIOUS FOOD? GOOD SERVICE?



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DESTROYED

New York City At last the Rockeffelers mustered sufficient courage, in the con-troversy with Diego R vera, who was painting in Radio City, to agonies of being 300 years behind ed mural which had been covered the times.

But other forces are also on the dalism created a storm of indigna-

A mass meeting to protest in a manner hardly in keeping with the violent tempo of the contemural was sponsored by a commitporary world.
Who could the "men" have been?
Tardieu seems too tarred with the
Biddle, Van Wyck Brooks, Stuart

"That we oppose any state industrial court law seeking to Board helped to break their strike economics of the country are not of the New School of Social Re-In the meantime, Deladier creat-

destroyed mural.

FOR THE BENEFIT OF WORKERS AND ART APPRECIATORS OUTSIDE OF NEW YORK WE WILL REPRODUCE THE DESTROYED MURAL IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF WORK-

JAY LOVESTONE

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The Roosevelt Program-I by Jay Lovestone

Turning from whoopee economics, two questions impress themselves upon us for clarification. First, what is the aim of the New Deal? The New Deal takes 1926 as a good year economically speaking. It aims to restore prices and therefore the conditions of production and exchange to the levels of 1926. Secondly, before analyzing the curative values of the Roosevelt relief measures it is necessary to answer the question: What is a crisis? In the most fundamental sense an economic crisis is a serious rupture in the equilibrium between production and con-Now to the basic problem in a critical examination of

the New Deal which is pregnant with major social and

political consequences of American and international sig-

nificance. One: what are the general characteristics of the New Deal program? Two: what are the economic fallacies and consequences of the New Deal? Three: what are the perspectives of the New Deal economic program? Let us proceed to tackle these questions and formulate replies in the barest outline of skeleton form. The primary features of the New Deal economics can be understood only if one drops certain over-advertised claims for it. It is not true that the New Deal is a major, or for that matter any other, kind of venture into planned economy. Rather it is the most gigantic coordinated attempt yet made at introducing some planfullness of policy in competitive relations of production and exchange. It is an attempt to introduce policy into competitive business relations in order to extend, preserve and perpet-

uate the private, competitive capitalist system. Obviously, it is, therefore, anything but planning in a social sense. Furthermore, the New Deal is not revolutionary even in its pretensions, let alone in its intentions. Of course, we are now speaking of the consequences of the objective logic of the N.R.A. developments. We are only considering the economic foundations of the N.R.A. The N.R.A. does not propose to transfer economic and political power from the present ruling class, the capitalists, to the main ruled class, the workers. In its essence the whole scheme of the N.R.A. is to be found in the "plan" proposed by Henry L. Harriman, Chairman of the Committee on Continuity of Business and Employment of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Mr. Harriman proposed his plan in behalf of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce on October 26th, 1931, before a sub-committee of the United States Committee of Manufactures, then holding hearings on the "Establishment of a National Economic Council.'

FEATURES OF THE PROGRAM Stripped of all this gossip and pretense, the New Deal economic program appears in bold relief as characterized by the following main features:

1). Price-raising, at least in its initial stages thru artificial methods and manipulations, is the cornerstone

2). It drives towards a revival and enlargement of the domestic market thru sundry ways. It recognizes that there is no industry in sight to help achieve this end. Through the repeal of the Volstead Act, through the end of Prohibition, it seeks to realize the enlargement of the domestic market by restoring an old industry. The restriction of imports, the aggressive discouraging of foreign purchasing is part and parcel of the technique here. But the New Deal doesn't stop with these measures. It deliberately and systematically brings a new customer into the market. This customer is the State, the Government, as a heavy purchaser, as a business man engaged in many fields of activities in order to stimulate all other avenues of business and thus hasten the revival and enlargement of the domestic market.

3). An organic phase of the N.R.A. is its vigorous effort to secure for the American capitalists a bigger and

better share of the world market. This implies an aggressive foreign trade policy thru quota arrangements and flexible, as well as reciprocal, tariff scales and treaties. It includes mass dumping of commodities. It inevitably leads to the dumping of credit, what is commonly called currency devaluation in the international exchange markets.

4). Inherent in New Deal economics is the provision for the restriction of production. This is the basis of the government's campaign for plowing under wheat, for plowing in cotton, for destroying pigs, for spilling milk, for the whole allotment plan of agricultural relief. This is a primary purpose of the licensing feature of the N.R.A. Here is the why and wherefore of the decision of the New Dealers to check and limit the introduction of new machinery in industry, for example in the textile industry.

5). The restriction of competition is part and parcel of the New Deal economics. The N.R.A. has suspended the anti-trust laws. The N.R.A. is founded on the encouragement and incorporation of trade organizations for the control of prices and business practices. It fosters monopoly. It has encouraged trustification to such an extent that such spakesmen of the small producers and business men as Senators Borah and Nye have raised wails to the heavens as well as to the White House in behalf of the small business people. The latter can veritably be called the Doomed Men of American business. And the N.R.A. is hastening their Doomsday!

6). The merging of the apparatus of Big Business with the machinery of government goes on apace under

7). In an effort to counteract the decline of the productive process and the decay of production the New Deal economics push forward the State as producer, the State as investor. This is the meaning of the much-vaunted Tennessee Valley Administration. This is the economic substance of the vast public works program. It is State Capitalism on a gigantic scale, on an American mass

8). A headlong drive towards Autarchy or national self-sufficiency is the Alpha and Omega of the Roosevelt Recovery Program. The New Dealers seek to achieve this thru better agricultural and industrial balance.

9). Inflation of currency and credit expansion are to serve as the lubricants for stimulating, easing and reviving the process of production and exchange.

10). Fabulous sums, threatening to border on astronomical figures, are constantly and systematically being handed out as subsidies, as gifts to banks, railroads and the biggest industrial corporations. The Germans have a word for this sort of economics. For the bourgeoisie this word is sweet, though long. It is Liebesgabenwirt-schaft. In dollars it means, to broken-down bankers and dividend-hungry industrialists, even more than its syllables or letters would indicate.

11). The purging of impurities is an essential plank of the New Deal economic program. The N.R.A. strives to remove certain impurities of American capitalism and thus to invigorate it. Hence, the Securities Act. Therefore, the entire Blue Eagle psychology. Without question, certain surface, superficial, crudities of capitalist practice can be regulated and, in part, even eliminated. All of which means merely that the skin of the committee of the co All of which means merely that the skin of the economic organism may appear better on its surface for a short time. It does not in the least indicate a revitalizing in

12). Creating jobs is the euphonious name for worksharing which is an integral feature of the N.R.A. program to meet the unemployment crisis.

13). Finally, the quintessence and consumation of the entire New Deal economics "system" come to the following point: The coordination of the country's productive capacities, resources, and machinery so that it can be at a moment's notice, transformed into a perfectly clicking war machine. In every sense of the word, the New Deal at war.

TRADE UNION NOTES

This is the first article, by Jay Lovestone, in the series

"The Economics of the Roosevelt Program." In the

next issue we will print the second article on the "Eco-

nomic Consequences and Fallacies of the NRA."-Editor.

* * *

ever aroused more confusion than the one now parading as the New Deal, with the Blue Eagle at its head.

The source of this confusion is to be found in the nature

of the Roosevelt program as well as in the general chaos

now gripping the minds of large sections of the American

people. In a debate, with the writer, on the New Deal, Mr. Charles W. Taussig, President of the American Mo-

lasses Company and one of the closest advisers of Roose-

velt, evaluated the New Deal in these words: "The New

Deal, so it seems to me, is a mobile and fluid transitory

mechanism by means of which we hope to develop an es-

sentially American social and economic system that will

enable all our people amply to share in the spiritual and

material bounties that our country so abundantly affords"

tentions and the most sweeping pretentions. It has enough holes in it to allow teams of horses to trot through in

comfort. It is fluid and sweet enough even for a Presi-

dent of a Molasses Company. But developing his ideas,

Mr. Taussig did not hesitate to concretize a bit by frankly

sayinv that: "there is sufficient economic similarity be-

tween the idea of the Fascist corporate state with their

trade corporations, confederations and guilds and our Na-

tional Recovery Administration with its Trade Associa-tions and codes. . ." Furthermore, Mr. Tauss g stressed that "There is no disposition among the leaders of the

New Deal to abandon capitalism, for the government to

take over business in general nor to scuttle the profit sys-

tem. The American people are still wedded to the profit system and it is doubtful whether the communist idea

However, not all the European critics have been able

to see eye to eye with the American "Brain-Trusters."

So solid a big bourgeois paper as "Le Temps" condemns

the Roosevelt program root and branch by declaring: "it

is not too much to say that the financial and economic

policy now being pursued in the United States has done

more to undermine and ruin the capitalist order, which

is our civilization, than all the open revolutionary attacks

COCKTAIL ECONOMICS

out of the German academic world by Hitler, give us

another and far more accurate interpretation. To Prof.

"Its distinctive American features are not the measures

themselves, most of which are well-known to rather con-

servative countries, but the methods by which they are

applied: the complete disregard of established tradition, the sudden change of fronts, the utter unconcern over more

remote consequences, the mixing of contradictory econ-

omics which might almost be described as the encroachment of the cocktail habit on social legislation. It is the

most gigantic 'sunshine campaign' in the U. S. A. have

ever entered upon". Now we can understand how it came about that George

Cohan, the successful side-walk song writer, composed

the following poem on the occasion or Roosevelt's 52nd

"What a man! What a m-a-n! What a man!

What a heart! What a mind! What a plan!

What a blessing to the nation! What a man!"

What a man! How he leads the way!

What a lucky day for the U. S. A.!

Let Professor M. J. Bonn, who has recently been yanked

made by the avowed enemies of our order of society."

would be tolerated in the United States.'

Bonn the New Deal appears in this light:

·This definition is broad enough to include the best in-

No legislative program or set of economic proposals has

by G. F. M.

What a lucky day
Was his first birthday!

What a birthday celebration!

Uhat a day of inspiration!

strike was over.

The New York taxi strike is over. Broken just as thoroughly as that of the Philadelphia drivers by Tobin of the Brotherhood of Teamsters when he ordered back to work six teamsters locals which struck in symnathy with the taximen.

Here the strike was sold out by LaGuardia and his mediators as well as by the racketeers who have infested this particular industry for some time. Originally called to retrieve the 5c which the fleet owners had been holding out for many months, the strike, it is certainly amazing into of the union, the determination of definite wage scales and the abolition of numerous grieven.

The noted workers strike led by off the settlement) that it was disjourned that all the agreement strike policy gone that differences by the workers of the terms that was disjourned to the settlement) that it was disjourned to the settlement that it was disjourned to the strike policy gone that differences by the well deadership of the settlement) that it was disjourned to the settlement) that it was disjourned to the settlement that it was disjourned that all the agreement strike policy gone that differences that differences that the dispourned that all the agreement that it was disjourned that all the agreement that it was disjourned that all the agreement strike policy gone that differences that the the deadership of the terms of the settlement) that it was disjourned that the these that when the leadership of the Amalgamated Food Workstow with the result of this strike policy gone that differences that the the deadership of the date which the leadership you have the deadership of a union constitution. The strike policy gone that differences that the the the that within the leadership you have the town that the within the leadership you have the di

The Manhattan taxi men put up splendid resistance against this betrayal, but after pressure of Mayor LaGuardia had forced the drivers in Brooklyn, Queens and Bronx to capitulate, they also fell

SIDNEY HOOK "Communism Without Dogma" FEB. 25, 8 P.M., 51 W. 14 ST.

a pure fabrication. It was not until the strike was almost a week old and a number of small hotels of the strike organs of the union had been signed up (without informing the workers of the terms of the settlement) that it was dis-

demands. This, it turned out, was attend some function at the Wald-I such as the agreement, the strike

among sections of the Industrial Union membership to such an amalgamation which would leave the united union in the hands of

(Continued on Page 8)

A Party Without Idea Or Principle?

economic and political situation develops, there is also need of a new political instrumentality. A tool made to do one job canmentally different one. Whether the U.S. or developments withthe U. S. or developments within the labor movement in the structing Socialism. U. S. and elsewhere in particular, we are forced to the same conclusion, viz that revolution ary changes have taken place in question how that situation is to be met." (Muste in the January issue of Modern Monthly).

Why A New Party With this statement A. J. Muste. Chairman of the C.P.L.A., presents the political justification for the launching of the American Workers Party, a new American "Revolutionary" party—the consumma-tion of which is to take place in July 1934. Tho the reason given for the new party is "a radically new economic and political situa-tion" and "that revolutionary changes have taken place in recent months" the fact remains that the move was planned by A. J. Muste and the C.P.L.A. at the National Convention in the summer

The Background Of The A.W.P. The new party proposed, the it speak in revolutionary phrases, is not a revolutionary party but a centrist party, a "left" reformist party. In 1931 when the foundation was laid for the present move the National Council of the C.P. L.A. failed to mention once, in its very long document, that it was for a revolutionary party, for the revolutionary overthrow of capi-talism, for the use of forcible and illegal methods by the working class for the conquest of political power. It stated then that it was for the working class gaining con-trol of the government by what-ever means would be found neces-of the American League Against War sary. It was of the opinion that and Fascism.—Editor. the problem could be solved when the critical moment arrived.

This "objectivity", "lack of dog- the last war who has been in the matism" and essentially empiric and reformist approach is shown again today in the speech of J. B. something of the war preparations S. Hardman, vice-chairman of the now going on in my field. I have, Provisional Organization Committee therefore, been far from impressed tee of the new party, at the C.P. L.A. convention in Pittsburgh. He said: "Now, we will not come out of here with a set of principles and formulated policies for which we claim perfection and infallibility. We mean to evolve our procedure as we go along." (Labor Action, Dec. 20, 1933).

Information Wanted

can not hope to lead the working class toward the revolutionary instance, have reinforced decks goal. The liberal attitude, that of fore and aft for gun mounts, re-

lemonstrated by the event." many others, for the government subsidies are irresistible to the proment of the C.I. was a mistake, fit-makers. Some time ago it came was not politically justified. There out in an official investigation that was something "essentially tempo- one ship carrying 80 cents worth rary", "artificial", and "inade- of mail received a mail subsidy of quate" about its set-up. This is the \$14,000 for the voyage from the evaluation of the International of government. This is supposed to

What Is The American Workers Party?

not be altered to do a funda- ment that held aloft the banner of Marxism during the World War.

Muste Steals From Trotsky head, has taken over bag and bag- will not win workers for the de- than that, it shows that these peorecent months, that we face a gage, the vicious anti-Soviet sland- fense of the Soviet Union. It will ple are politically illiterate. new situation, and that we must ers of Trotsky. Again the ideolo- tend to arouse antagonism against make a fresh approach to the gy of Trotskyism can be seen incorporated in the new centrism. Says Muste in the article referred

As a seaman who went through

something of the war preparations

ments about this government's de

Building The Naval Auxiliary

Under the Jones-White Act of

1928, new passenger ships, if they

are to get any of the fat govern-

ment subsidies and mail contracts

must be built under the supervision of the Naval Board. They must

The new Export Line ships, for

have no other use than as munitions magazines. Finally, the en-

gine rooms are of such construction

The Subsidies Racket

Other lines which I personally

of a "battle-wagon."

sire for peace.

by D. Benjamin

lution and is successfully con- ordinates international proletarian and economic situation were to interests to the needs of its own change six months from now? foreign office.

Such an evaluation, completely lieutenants not only as being shal-The A.W.P., with Muste at its unwarranted in fact, does not and low and opportunist but even more

A New "Instrumentality", Please Muste realizes that he must give C.P.S.U. but at the same time he fice of the U.S.S.R., waxing and lutionary party. So there is de-waning, following this line and veloped the brand new theory that "Leadership in the international" The Soviet Union is not a revopolitical situation. On such a basis
lutionary factor strengthening the
international working class moveinternational working class moveinternational working class move
was there into a new contonic and
political situation. On such a basis
of the U.S.S.R. can exercise hegemony over the "movement in oriennot be that effectively.

** **

stand by our Monroe Doctrine and er serve. Applying this same theory to the A.W.P. will Muste propose the liquidation of this new tion by saying: "When an effecmentally different one. Whether that also the movewe consider general economic ment that led the Russian Revoand political developments in little and is successfully conordinates international proletarian and economic situation were to tionably be the leading factor at least in the American-European This theory exposes Muste and his labor world." Nationalizing Internationalism

The C.P.L.A. leaders make a fetish of Americanism and have developed a fundamentally wrong at-titude toward the question of in-Monroe Doctrine-A La Mus e Muste criticizes the C. I. for the dominant role played in it by the above:

"The International became an appendage of the foreign ofgive of the U.S.P. representation of the foreign oflaunching of a new so called revolike of the U.S.P. representation of the foreign oflike of the U.S.P. representation of the foreign oflaunching of a new so called revofiles eystem of leadership prevailtion, various theories and explanations of historical events have been

> The C.P.L.A. or A.W.P. claims to be a revolutionary party that fights the trade union burocracy and rejects sectarian tactics. How then can it explain the fact that one of its outstanding leaders, J. B. S. Hardman is an apologist and paid official of the reactionary, class collaborationist and corrupt Hillman machine of the A.C.W. of Textile Workers Union in the re-As a member of the crew of one roads and left till now in Canada. Chicago and shares responsibility This is important, for the Russian for the destruction of that move-Soviet rails are four and half inchment. If the A.W.P. is against es wider than standard gauge, and Japan can only be intending to use them on conquered Soviet roads.
>
> | Soviet rails are four and name ment. If the A.W.P. is against dual unionism why was the C.P. L.A. an active partner in the Partny's Cleveland (T.U.U.L.) Confer-Japanese ships leave American ence called under joint aspices of ports every day loaded with war T.U.U.L. and C.P.L.A. If the A. materials. Munson Line ships ply regularly between the Hopewell, Va., nitrates plant and the Dupont ed at its Pittsburgh Conference its powder plant on the West Coast, unemployed organizations, which rom which munitions go to the ostensibly are non partisan organization. If its wrong and destructive when the C.P. does such things (never so openly by the way) what makes it the acme of wisdom when The final proof of the govern- A. J. and J. B. S. decree that it

they refused to come out, in 1931, of these ships are so built that East; scrap iron, steel rails, cotton requires that 60% of the officers for a revolutionary struggle, why light armor may easily be attached (for gun cotton), bombing planes, and engineers in subsidized ships to them. There are also special nitrates and other cargoes the nather than the subsidized ships and engineers in subsidized ships be members of the Naval Reserve. antries and at certain times such compartments in the holds which ture of which is kept secret. Also With jobs now so scarce and with division will the revolutionary preference going to the Naval Re-serve, these men have no choice working class movement be ad-vanced. Nor will the revolutionary but to join up. And now comes movements be strengthened by de-Andrew Furuseth, president of the stroying the Communist Party for International Seamen's Union, with the suggestion that all seamen take a short-term enlistment in the Nav-formist party upon an anti-Soviet al Reserve, and that such seamen and anti-Communist basis solve

be given preference to jobs on merchant ships. Which is bound to
make Furuseth as popular with the
militarists as William Green.

And anti-Communist basis solve
the problem.
What is needed now as before
is the reform of the Communist
militarists as William Green. What with all this personal ex- restoration to vitality, health and perience of the government's real growth thru the return to sound attitude, and a public works pro- realistic, Leninist tactics. What gram that allots millions to the need is a Communist Party navy for new battleships, warplanes, submarines and naval bases, es for the principles of proletar-I, as a seaman, have a right to ian revolt and a Communist Inmy suspicions of President Roose-ternational able to tackle the same velt's love of peace. Evidently, problem on an international scale. he is in favor of perpetuating The accomplishment of this is the world peace until the United States way out for the working class and is ready to declare war.

ternationalism. In order to justify the formation of an American waning, following this line and that according to the desires of that office rather than the needs and developments of the revolutionary movements in countries where capitalism still prevailed...

"It is certain that the C.P.-U.S.S.R. will not directly or indirectly promote revolutionary activity in the U.S."

"It is certain that the C.P.-U.S.S.R. will not directly or indirectly promote revolutionary activity in the U.S."

Here we have the theory of Thermidor applied to the Soviet

I weloped the brand new theory that veloped the brand new theory that the desires of that office rather than the strumentality". We were always of the opinion that the Marxian position, that a party is based upon a class and represents definite class interests was correct. Muste would have us believe that particular every changed economic and political situation requires "a new instrumentality". We were always of the opinion that the Marxian position, that a party is based upon the idea or the functionary of the country which is relatively advanced and powerful." (Emphasis mine—D.B.) What Muste objects to then, is not the lack of a collective leadership of such an international movement, in the ordinary course of events, will come from the revolutionary and the revolutionary and the c.I. today. He says:

"Leadership in the C.I. today. He says:

"Leadership in the international movement, in the ordinary course of events, will come from the revolutionary and the revolutionary and the cult was a loose federation, but was not that it was a loose federation, but was not or the lack of a collective leadership in the c.I. today. He says:

"Leadership in the C.I. today. He says:

"Leadership in the cil. toda made. "Limitations" must be Thermidor applied to the Soviet on the basis of a particular econ- Union and the Communist International. The one political concluction of this theory the Bolshev- cording to this theory the Bolshev- the substitution. According to this theory the Bolshev- the Bolshev- the substitution of the capitalist Father- all movement in the hands of an interests of the capitalist Father- land had no relationship to the presume. However, Muste, always question of "loose federation". sion that can be drawn from this ik Party may have been all right the gentleman, does not care to What is objectionable is not that analysis, made alike by the Trot- in the days of reaction after the appear in too grasping a role. He the C.I. considers itself as the genskyltes and the A.W.P., is that the C.P. S.U. have betrayed and must be destroyed. Was there not a new economic and the contraction of 1905 but not during is therefore quite agreeable to cere the 1917 revolutionary days for the trayed and must be destroyed. Was there not a new economic and the contraction of 1905 but not during is therefore quite agreeable to cere the 1917 revolutionary days for the trayed and must be destroyed. Was there not a new economic and the contraction of 1905 but not during is therefore quite agreeable to cere the contraction of 1905 but not during is therefore quite agreeable to cere the contraction of 1905 but not during is therefore quite agreeable to cere the contraction of 1905 but not during is therefore quite agreeable to cere the contraction of 1905 but not during is therefore quite agreeable to cere the contraction of 1905 but not during is therefore quite agreeable to cere the contraction of 1905 but not during is therefore quite agreeable to cere the contraction of 1905 but not during is therefore quite agreeable to cere the contraction of 1905 but not during is therefore quite agreeable to cere the contraction of 1905 but not during is therefore quite agreeable to cere the contraction of 1905 but not during is therefore quite agreeable to cere the contraction of 1905 but not during is therefore quite agreeable to cere the contraction of 1905 but not during is therefore quite agreeable to cere the contraction of 1905 but not during is therefore quite agreeable to cere the contraction of 1905 but not during is therefore quite agreeable to cere the contraction of 1905 but not during is therefore quite agreeable to cere the contraction of 1905 but not during is the contraction of 1905 but not during it is the contraction of 1905 but not during it is the contraction of 1905 but not during it is the contraction of

Some Home Problems

a number of tankers carrying high-test gas, naptha and fuel oil in quantities big enough to mean only that they are being stored for a coming war.

A. How does it explain its partici-pation in such union splitting and dual union movements as that of the Progressive Miners of Ameri-ca and its support of the National As a member of the crew of one of these tankers, which discharged close to the naval base in Kobe, Japan, I saw some old ships (some of them bought in the U. S.) being dismantled and new war equipment being installed. I notice, too, that Japan has bought up the old rolling stock built for the Czar's railroads and left till now in Canada. I chicago and shares responsibility

Probing The Depths Of C. I. Sectarianism After examining the thesis of The Thirteenth Comintern Plenum

fess that it is indeed a matter for dispute whether the 15 months of silence of the Comintern leadership might not have been preferable. of the situation. Ultra-left errors The world-shaking events in the have disappeared for the time interval, the terrible blows suffer- being, from the very vocabulary whose ultra-left perspective reed by the Communist Parties, and of the Comintern. Only the "right sembled that of the Comintern tothe long deliberation of the C. I. opportunist error" presents itself, day. After the victory of react.on United Front of the Internationals, dependent Labor Party by the Preresulted in not the slightest sign declares the theses, in falling "to improvement in understanding see now the objective tendencies among the Bolsheviks such as Bog- and the other organizations of laor policy compared with the theses of the accelerated maturing of the danov, Lunacharsky, and others, bor against capitalist reaction. discovered Neither does the Comof the 10th, 11th and 12th Plen-revolutionary crisis in the capital- retused to see the recession of the Again the Comintern advocates intern leadership attempt to exums. The 13th Plenum accomplishes the feat of out-diving all other Plenums of the Comintern, and establishing a record for low theout opportunism in all its forms, ist world.

leadership is unable to analyze the ists in other countries in their esaspects of the ultra-left sectarian- it will come to an end even more ism of the 10th Plenum "eve of swiftly than the previous govern-

"Soviet Power", and we are told that the "question of (Soviet) power must be raised in the mass work of the Communist Parties." All sections of the Communist In ternational are instructed to prepare "for the impending decisive battles for power." How soon the slogan of Soviet Power will be

Fascism Accelerates Revolution

raised by Comrade Amter in the

next Brooklyn car strike remains

ing brazeness, attempts to revive the 10th Plenum theory that fascism is a stage toward the proletarian revolution. The Theses

"Revolutionary development is simultaneously hindered and accelerated by the fascist fury of the bourgeoisie

The Pravda editorial on the 13th Plenum is equally emphatic:

not only this: At the same time it accelerates the revolutionary

in Italy, regardless of the efforts of the sectarian policy pursued by direct contact and organizational west. Not until the American midwest farmer clearly understands the Communist Parties. The thesis methods can be developed later.

from the end of capitalist stab- of propaganda. There is

It is criminal self-deception to Nazis, struggles in Spain, China claim that the Communist Party and Cuba. which was impotent to strike a blow against Fascism before it took power, can more easily strike Fascism to earth after it has state lets published by the communists power in its hands.

The New Right Danger No one can overestimate, it wheat and hog belt. There are even by B. Herman

retical level.

The thesis shows that the C. I. (Remmele, Neumann, the defeatsignificance of, or understand the timates of the prospects of the for the Comintern leadership which Communist Party." Five years of leadership make any attempt to significance of, or understand the timates of the prospects of the reasons for the German defeat. It is therefore unable to draw any lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Germa lessons from the German events, in a speech in the Reichstag "We and that the barricades were all social democratic workers" has and strives to continue the worst do not fear a Fascist government; ready being erected (10th Plenum). taught the Comintern leadership International and which offered to

Sectarianism Endorsed

revolution" days.

The theory of social-fascism runs rampant thru the document. The method of solving difficulties by bluffing prevails, without any attempt to face soberly the real plight of the Communist movement. For the 13th Plenum there is no crisis in the Communist International, altho its eyes are sharp enough to see the crisis in Social Democracy as a result of the Germanny as a "reylation of the Germanny solvential Democracy as a result of the Germann catastrophe. After five years of ultra-left sickness and war upon the "Right Danger", the "main sologan for the lemes of the Comintern leaders of the Comintern leadership. The main sologan for the left of the ultra-left sickness and war upon the "Right Danger", the main sologan for the left of the ultra-left of the ultra-left sickness and war upon the "Right Danger", the main sologan for the left of the ultra-left of the ultra-left sickness and war upon the crest of a revolutionary wave.

The entire theoretical structure and the evrolutional plants tructure of revolutionary phrase-mongering and pooh-poohing of Fascism by the 13th Plenum is for the purpose of white-washing the false political such as to prevent even the possibility of a united front of labor from being consumated. After the destructive attack of fascism upon the communist in a revelution has been and pooh-poohing of Fascism by the 13th Plenum is for the purpose of white-washing the false political course of the Comintern leadership. For if, as a result of this sectarion in Germany, Social Democracy is still Social Fascism — a wing of fascism. Altho Social Democracy is still Social Fascism — a wing of fascism. Altho Social Democracy is still Social Fascism — a wing of fascism. Altho Social Democracy is still Social Fascism — a wing of fascism. Altho Social Democracy is still Social Fascism — a wing of fascism. Altho Social Democracy is still Social Fascism — a wing of fascism. Altho Social Democracy is still Social Fascism — a wing of fascism. Altho Social Democracy is still Social Fascism the "Right Danger", the "main alle so confused that they are undiagrated that they are undiagrated that they are undiagrated that they are undiagrated unions are to be built with silence, presumably, for not a solution and the political line pursued by the crest of a revolutionary wave. The main slogan for the Communist Parties the world over of 1848 Mary fought bitterly and the Central Committee of the Communist Parties and the theses of the 19th and the political line pursued by from this that the united front of Communist Parties and the theses of the 19th and the political line pursued by follows from this that the united front of Communist Parties and must read the theses of the 19th and the political line pursued by follows from the countries with silence, presumably, for not a word about them is to be found in the countries with silence, presumably, for not a solution in Germany and the political line pursued by follows from this that the united front of Communist Parties and the theses of the 19th and the political line pursued by follows from the countries with silence, presumably, for not a word about them is to be found in the countries with silence, presumably, for not a solution in Germany and the political line pursued by follows from this that the united front of Communist Parties and the these of the 19th and the political line pursued by follows from the countries with silence, presumably, for not a word about them is to be found in the countries with silence, presumably, for not a word about them is to be found in the countries. of 1848 Marx fought bitterly munist Party of Germany, headed Socialist Parties against Fascism against the phrase monger Willich, by Comrade Thaelmann, before is impossible. How can one unite

and at the time of the fascist

For United Front From Below revolutionary wave and heaped the the slogan, "Against Social De-plain that the first united front without a revolutionary uprising against fascism only "under the preceding it, so much the worse revolutionary leadership of the low." Neither does the Comintern nothing.

in establishing state and collective

farms in the Soviet America that

is to come. A large majority of the

this crisis is only temporary. Their

various programs and demands

farms do not, at present, interest

What kind of subject matter

should make the best kind of propaganda for the midwest farmer

of society and economics is through

the midwest farmers.

with the main prop of the bour-geoisie against the lesser prop-fascism?

For United Front From Above At the same time, the 13th Plenım endorses the appeal for a united front that had been issued to Again the Comintern rejects the the leadership of the British In-The whole analysis of Social enter into such united action with The entire theoretical structure Democracy by the 13th Plenum is a guarantee to refrain from criti-

> 11th and 12th Plenums of the E.C. C.I., in which the question of creating and building the Red Trade Unions is the central feature of the instructions to the parties. In fact the 11th Plenum considered the formation of an independent revolutionary trade union movement in Germany as the "principle achievement of the Comintern" Manuilsky said at the 11th Plen um: "The decision of a number of Communist parties in favor of organizing an independent revoluionary trade union movement is decision of truly historical im

Why the chill silence of the 13th Plenum on matter of such great significance to the workers o entire world? The truth of the matter is, that in the house of the hanged man one does not mention ropes. The dual red unions have suffered an unmourned collapse in Communist papers dealing with every country in which they have with valor prefers not to discuss the results of the splitting of the mass

necessity of working within the reformist, the fascist and the Christian mass trade unions, it gives its formal endorsement simultaneous ly to the trade union directives of the 12th Plenum. The 12th Plenum is a victim of political misunderred trade unions, and working
standing. This is due to the fact within the reformist unions for

Other problems "difficult" for his propaganda. The farmer has the Comintern leadership to anafakers who pretending for strategical reasons, to be "enemies of "social-fascist" and other choice capitalism", are allowed the use appellations in the previous Plenof these mediums. John Simpson um theses, are not mentioned. The and Milo Reno are good examples Communist Party of America, once and Milo keno are good examples of that type. Their job is to create the apple of the eye of the Comconfusion amongst the farmers in intern, is now treated in the thesis as if it didn't exist. Typical of the methods of the Comintern leadership, the American party is not Therefore the subject matter of discussed or even mentioned in all propaganda should be of an the thesis, yet so serious is the sit-(Continued on Page 7)

The Farm Revolt And The Labor Movement

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA AND THE FARMER

The past fifteen months have opened the eyes of those dogmatists who stubbornly insisted that The intoxication of revolution- the American farmers problem was ary phrases can make one moment- just the same old peasant problem, arily forget the destruction caused and that the whole thing could be be sectarian policies, just as to the easily handled by just taking Euroopium smoker, dreams seem more pean precedents and following real than the actual world. The them to the letter. Nothing has chief purpose of the 13th Plenum been so embarrassing to these self

The current questions now are: Should the communists immediatedevelopment."

| leadership of the communists? | ganda in the midwest. A writer in Concomitant with the theory of There is reason to believe that "The Communist" says, "We must Concomitant with the theory of the proletarian the acceleration of the proletarian revolution by Fascism, the 13th understanding and respect if the Plenum revives the theory that communists confine their present communists. The communists confine their present communists confine their present communists confine their present communists. The communists confine their present communists confine their present communists confine their present communists. Plenum revives the theory that communists confine their present writer's suggestion exposes his activities, amongst the farmers, to a widespread campaign of element-cism today has no possibility of a widespread campaign of element-misunderstanding of the poor and middle class farmers of the mid-that his only source of knowledge that his only source of knowledge that purpose. as long a lease of life as it has had ary Marxian-Leninist instruction, middle class farmers of the mid-

first wave of fascization of spreading anything and everything capitalist states which took that is published by the commuplace at the time of the transi- nist groups amongst the farmers. tion from a revolutionary crisis to partial stabilization, the capitalist world is now passing and distribution of the right kind ilization to a revolutionary value in one little pamphlet of crisis, which determines other good propaganda than there is in perspectives of development of a thousand communist newspapers fascism and the world revolu- full of matter about needle worktionary movement of the toil- ers, silk workers, textile workers, coal miners and long theses on

> Today there are very few pamphon the farm question. And fewer of these hardly more than mention the farmers of the great corn,

by E. B. more pamphlets dealing with agriculture in the U.S.S.R. in circula-

midwest farmers still feel that tion in this country but strange as it may seem few of the poor and middle class farmers of the midmiddle class farmers of the mid-west are the least bit interested in prove that they all have a view-point along that line. So it should be obvious to any intelligent comstate and collective farms in the thesis is to deny the defeat in styled "vanguards of the American Soviet Union. Circulating pamph-Germany. It, therefore, with amaz- working class" as the Farm Revolt. munist that state and collective lets about agriculture in the Soviet Union is an upside down method of bringing the midwest farmer to communism. The midwest farmer news of evictions, sheriffs sales, been set up. The 13th Plenum ly set about to subordinate the is militant, very militant, but he etc., have certain values but there blessed neither with wisdom nor Farm Revolt leadership and try to is totally lacking in Marxist-Lenput themselves above this leadership or should the communists take farmer is fighting, but he is fighttire matter in the papers. The ship or should the communists take a much less omniscient stand and devote their efforts to helping develop, from the farm masses, a true Marxian-Leninist farm lead-true Marxian-Leninist far "Fascism is a dangerous enemy of the revolution, but it is

my of the revolution is not a second to the revolution in the revolution is not a second to the revolution in the revolution is not a second to the revolution in the revolution is not a second to the revolution in the revolution is not a second to the revolution in the revolution is not a second to the revolution in the revolution is not a second to the revolution in the revolution is not a second to the revolution in the revolution is not a second to the revolution in the revolution is not a second to the revolution in the revolution is not a second to the revolution in the revolution is no farm masses to subordinate their "The Ferry," "Kolkhozniki," etc. courageous fighting groups to the are almost 100% useless as propa-

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the very mediums that the capital

ist uses to flood the country with methods can be developed later.

Now the question of correct program as is not solved by just wave of fascization of correct program anything and everything solved by just brought back, by any known force, radio and movie reels. There are wave of fascization of correct program anything and everything solved by just brought back, by any known force, radio and movie reels. There are who have been at the mercy of the capital state of the capital sta

> elementary nature. Clear and un- uation that the leadership of the derstandable pamphlets on Marx- Party is changed behind the scenes, ian economics and also pamphlets with Foster replacing Browder, the and articles analyzing the midwest farmers position in relation to the capitalist class should furnish the central Committee being declared in receivership, with a C.I. reprecapitalist class should furnish the bulk of the propaganda that should decisions. The membership of the be circulated amongst the poor and middle class farmers of the mid- absolutely no more to do with the west today.

portance.'

"Silent Theory"

The first prerequisites of a revolutionary party must be clarity in
lutionary party must be clarity in
How many people know what these
aims and principles. Otherwise it
specifications are like? methods might not be necessary. The Comintern—A Mistake

True to its role of a centrist partath that one engineer (an ex-Navy ty the C.P.L.A. or A.W.P. attacks man) on first seeing them remarkwith equal vigor both the C. P. and ed that they were the engine rooms the S.P. It is not merely the present tactics and methods of work of the Comintern that are attacked but the Communist International as such. In his article Muste as such. In his article Muste know to have been building pas-writes: "The essentially temporary sengers ships according to these and artificial character of the specifications are the Grace Line Third International has been fully and the Ward Line. But there are demonstrated by the event."

Lenin by the "flaming revolution-be charged to the expense of the ary" Muste. This is the evalua-postal service, but put it down as

Headlong Towards Another World Slaughter

PREPARING FOR WAR ON THE SEA

ing all these new passenger ships on war-time models is also a government handout. Under the Jones-White Act, the government lends this money to the shipping lines at as low as one-quarter of one per cent interest and gives them twenty years to pay it back, besides guaranteeing huge profits with its mail subsidies. So anxious

is the U.S. Government to pre-

Can they be waiting to fill their former roles as troop carriers?

Freight ships are even more acevolving procedure "as we go inforcements between davits on along" cannot be the means of the revolutionary education of the working class. Why do not Muste and the rest of the C.P.L.A. lead-The ventilators are square, so as has chartered ships of other lines ment's real attitude to war is the ers explain to the workers why to make hoists easier. The sides to carry war materials to the Far section of the subsidy law which

The New Workers School

REGISTER NOW

WRITE FOR CATALOGUE 51 West 14 Street New York City

by Frank Robb

running to China and Japan are

Compulsory Enlistment

coming war.

Far East.

part of the cost of preparations for War.

Then, too, the money for build-

pare for war! It is also extremely curious that the Leviathan, the George Washington and the America, which were supposed to have been broker up for scrap, are now lying practi-cally intact at Solomon's Island.

Freighters Of Death

Courses in Marxist theory, hist ory and problems of the labor movement, etc.

To The National Administrative Council Of The Independent Labor Party,
A. Fenner Brockway, Secretary.

Dear Comrades:-For some time we have been observing with keen interest and great hope the events in your party, the I.L.P. We have noted with gratification the development of your struggles against reformism, especially since the Derby conference. Our opinion has been and remains that a complete break with social-reformism by the decisive majority of the Independent Labor Party would go a long way to-ward laying a sound and broad foundation for a vigorous communist movement in Great Britain. A realistic revolutionary movement rooted in the soil of the objective conditions and class relations in Great Britain. This conviction of ours is all the more fortified by the tragic weakness of the C.P.G.B. As you know we attribute th weakness, which is even more tragic politically than numerically, to the ultra-left, sectarian tactical line which the Communist International and its British section have

been pursuing for some years, particularly since 1928.

It is in this spirit and approach that we have considered your last communication (January 8) to the Secretariat of the Comintern. We especially greet the fact that in your approach to the Comintern you emphasize the fact that your "decision will not be taken with reference solely to the interests of the Independent Labor Party. Association must be considered from the viewpoint of the world revolutionary movement in general and the revolutionary movement within the sphere of British imperial ism in particular." Therefore, we are certain that you will realize that our statement to your National Administrative Council and your forthcoming Easter conference is not a case of our interfering in your affairs, is not an attempt to dictate to you, is not an attempt to advise you from on high. The suggestions and proposals we are making to you are animated solely by our desire to hasten the reconstruction and unification of the world revolutionary movement which we believe cannot be achieved with-

out the Comintern dropping its present sectarian course and returning to the Leninist tactical path.

The encouragement you are giving to a discussion of the fundamental problems confronting the world proletariat is welcome, especially because, for some years, objective discussion has been impossible in the official world. jective discussion has been impossible in the official ranks of the Comintern.

A Critical Examination

We desire to consider critically a number of questions raised by you in your communication to the Comintern.
The position we take and the conclusions we have arrived at in reference to these questions are based not on factional animus but on ten years of experience inside the Communist International, and nearly five years of struggle outside the Communist International, fighting for a healthier International, struggling for a Comintern which will be able to fulfill its historic mission as the world party of the revolutionary proletariat. We agree with you in your conclusion "that the rigid and detailed control of the policy of national sections by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union thru the ECCI is bad." You are aware of the fact that the International Communist Opposition to which we, the Communist Party of the United States. (Opposition) are affiliated has, from the very moment of its inception, advocated what you now demand: "the replacement of the actual monopoly of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the leadership of the Comintern by a real collective international leadership based upon party representatives who are in a position to pass their own judgment upon the class relations in their countries.'

But in your communication to the ECCI there are number of conclusions which we consider either misleading in implication or false in substance. For example, you state: "In 1920 the Communist International's economic and political analysis led it to develop its organizational form on the assumption of the imminence of the world proletarian revolution and the actuality of civil war in the chief capitalist countries." This statement gives the impression that you are of the opinion that the organizational structure of the Comintern was set up only to meet an imminent revolutionary struggle. This is not so. No doubt, at the time of the organization of the Comintern, an actual revolutionary situation prevailed in a number of countries; to wit Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, etc. Furthermore, at that time the trend of the world revolutionary movement was upward. However when the revolutionary wave receded the Comintern then under the leadership of Lenin, quickly recognized it and adjusted its tactics of struggle accordingly. The theses and resolutions of the Third World Congress bears this out. Yet, the organizational structure and the 21 points of the Comintern were not dropped. The Comintern continued to make headway, precisely on the basis of its organizational structure and the 21 points. The 21 points proved of great service to the Comintern in preventing an influx of centrist, or hidden reformist elements, like MacDonald at that time.

The Crisis In The Comintern

The crisis in the Comintern is not in any way due to the organizational structure and the 21 points or any of the basic tactical positions taken by the Communist Interna-tional in its first four World Congresses. In fact, the very opposite is the case. Really, it is the dropping in recent years of democratic centralism, as provided for in Point 12, that is in no small measure responsible for the chaos in the Comintern. The Comintern structure provides that "all parties belonging to the Communist International should be formed on the basis of the principle of democratic centralization," and that every party center "enjoy the confidence of the members of the Party who are to endow this center with complete power, authority, and ample rights". Certainly, this is adequate provision for Party democracy. Unfortunately, Point 12 has been dead in the Committeen relationships for some time.

The International Communist Opposition has repeatedly sized that "the organizational foundation of the Communist International as well as of its sections, must

be democratic centralism. Revolutionary discipline based upon democratic centralism. Revolutionary discipline based upon democratic centralism, is the indispensible binding force of the Communist Parties." We have never forgotten the lesson emphasized so often by Lenin that "if discipline stands in the service of a false policy, then it becomes mere grotesque foolishness". In recent years the ECCI, under the sole leadership of the Communist Party of the Servict Union has made a malkery out of derivative of the communist party. of the Soviet Union, has made a mockery out of demo-cratic centralism, and has foisted on the various sections of the Communist international a false and ultra-left

Relationships With The C. I.

May we suggest that a more adequate approach to the question of your organizational relationships with the Communist International than the one you have proposed on January 8th, is outlined in the platform of the International Communist Opposition. We propose that your N.A.C. and your National Conference should seriously

consider the following:

"The Communist Opposition fights the present inner Party regime in the Communist International and its sections. It fights against the replacement of democratic centralism by burocratic centralism The Communist Opposition demands of the Communist Inter-

tional:

1. The extension of the right (existing in the statutes but not

1. The extension of the right (existing in the statutes but not in fact) of criticism—which today exists only for the leadership of the Communist International.

2. The preparation of important decisions of the Communist International thru international discussions.

3. The abandonment of the mechanical transference of the points of view and inner-party differences in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to other sections and of the consideration of the questions of the individual sections primarily from the point of view of the differences in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The questions of the individual sections must be examined, estimated and decided from the viewpoint of the special conditions of the class struggle in the individual countries.

4. The replacement of the actual monopoly of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the leadership of the Comintern by a real collective, and at the same time, united and centralized international leadership based upon the Party representatives who are in a position to pass their own judgment upon the class reations in their own country and who are not merely officials of the international leadership but actually trusted representatives of their sections.

sections.

5. The legal sections of the Comintern must raise their own

5. The legal sections of the Comintern must raise their own means for regular party work. International financial support shall be given: a) to illegal parties; b) to legal parties for special campaigns and for the production and distribution of international propaganda literature.

6. The international leadership shall have as its tasks: a) the leading of international actions; b) the working-out of general tactical lines; c) the supervision and control of the carrying through of the fundamental principles as well as of the general tactical line by the individual sections. The international leadership cannot replace the leadership of the sections. The international leadership should lead but not hold in apron strings.

7. The withdrawal of all expulsions against the opponents of the ultra-left course."

The Source Of The Crisis

What is the source of the crisis in the Communist International? At the conference of the International Com-

ternational? At the conference of the International Communist Opposition held in July 1932, we declared:

"The real basic source of the ultra-left course is the false transference of the methods and forms of struggle, corresponding to a country in which the working class has already triumphed and in which Socialism is being built, to the Communist Parties of those countries in which the majority of the working class has still to be won and the prerequisites for taking up the struggle for power have still to be created."

Inseparable from this condition is the monoraly of the

Inseparable from this condition is the monopoly of the leadership of the Russian Communist Party. This factor has proved especially aggravating since the Russian leadership has become narrower and its international experences have, with the passing of the years, been constantly receding further and further into the background. Besides, in view of the fundamentally different international situation today from that which prevailed before the war, it is all the more necessary to have a genuine international collective leadership in order to enable the Comintern to arrive at a correct tactical and strategical course.

The C. I. Impedes I. L. P. Approach

It is most unfortunate that the leadership of the Communist International has put obstacles in the path of the membership of the Independent Labor Party travelling toward Communism. However, the failure of the ECCI to lend a helping hand to you comrades, should not discourage you and should not swerve you from your course of helping to build a sound foundation for a mass Commutation. This help is not at the expense of the world revolution. Were it not for the great victories scored by the Soviet proletariat in socialist construction, the sectorion are a tremendous help to the world revolution. nist party which will be able to overthrow the British ruling class, set up a proletarian dictatorship and begin the construction of Socialism in Great Britain. The abuse and filth showered on you by the ECCI, the sundry stupidities and crudities of the leadership of the Communist Party of Great Britain in its dealings with you, should not provoke you to embark upon roads that can only lead you to a break with the fundamental principles of Communism, or to an association with Trotskyism which is becoming evermore anti-Soviet in character and evermore the uintessence of international centrism, of hidden reformism today. Believe us, comrades, we have had even more provocations than you have. We have been subjected to the vilest slander. We have even had to face the physical violence of our comrades with whom we have no difference in principle but with whom we differ seriously on major actical questions.

Yet, we have persistently clung to our objectives and energetically fought for the achievement of our aim: "the international consolidation of the Communist parties and movement in the individual countries into a united Communist World Party, into the Communist International, on the basis of the tactical teachings of Lenin.'

Trotskyist Influence In I.L.P. Position On U.S.S.R. That is why we do hope you will break completely with the erroneous point of view you express in your document, a point of view which indicates the influence of Trotskyism on your approach to the question of world revolu-tionary unity. Concretely, we think that you are wrong when you conceive as the source of the crisis in the Communist International, the following: "The deliberate policy

This letter of the Communist Opposition is a critical of temporarily sacrificing the revolutionary movement in estimate of the I.L.P. letter to the Communist Interna- one country in order to strengthen the world revolutionary movement by safeguarding the U.S.S.R. by a net-

work of trading agreements, non-aggression pacts, and treaties of friendship."

This conception is rooted in Trotsky's slanderous attack against the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in his entire theory of "National Bolshevism", in his whole anti-Leninist attitude towards the problem of Socialist construction in one country, specifically in the U.S.S.R.

You further state: "This question is of acute urgency owing to the present foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. government. . The U.S.S.R. in its efforts to guard against military attack from imperialist and fascist powers has relied decreasingly on the workers in capitalist countries and increasingly on treaties with governments which are capitalist, imperialist and even Fascist."

We cannot emphasize too strongly our conviction that you are wrong in your conclusion: "that the Communist International is being driven to the position of holding back militants in some countries . . . and of promising to repudiate the essential activities of its own section

Approach To U.S.S,R. A Basic Problem

Allow us to go somewhat at length into this basic problem of the relationship between the victorious proletariat in Russia and the proletariat in Western Europe and America where we have yet to win power. We hold that the interests of the victorious proletariat in Russia, led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, do not conflict with the interests of the proletariat in the capital ist countries and with the interests of the oppressed colonial masses. We do stress that though there is a uniformity of interests there cannot be a uniformity of tactics in the two sectors of the world revolutionary movement. It is obvious that a Communist party which has already led the working class to power and victory must necessarily use different tactics from those pursued by the Communist parties which have yet to achieve this task. It is equally obvious that Communist parties which are still fighting to win a majority of the working class in their respective countries cannot use the same tactics as those pursued by a Communist party which has already led the masses to the establishment of the Proletarian Dictatorship. More than that. While the principles of Communism are international, the tactics for the achievement of these principles are conditioned in every country by the specific peculiarities and objective situations prevailing

What is the actual relationship between the construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the efforts to enhance the proletarian revolution outside of the Soviet Union? First of all, we underscore the fact that the problems of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., are not merely the concern of the Russian proletariat but of the entire world proletariat. Just as we can make mistakes outside the Soviet Union, so can the Russian comrades make mistakes inside of the Soviet Union. Therefore, it is the duty of all revolutionists to manifest the most virile interest in Russian problems which are in essence of great international significance. We should not have the attitude that Russian problems are only the concern of the Russians, and that we outside of the U.S.S.R. can have nothing to say about them. We hold that Russian problems should also be subject to consideration and action by the collective leadership of the international Communist movement. It so happens that we are in agreement with the general line of the Communist party of the Soviet Union in socialist construction but we have arrived at this agreement not thru formal approval or fear of touching the question because it is of the "sacred province" of Russian communists. Rather, our conclusions are based upon a critical examination of Russian conditions and tasks today.

U.S.S.R. Inspires Proletarian Struggle

The U.S.S.R. the land of the proletarian dictatorship, is the base, the center of inspiration of the international social revolution. The successes in Socialist construction in the Soviet Union are a tremendous help to the world capitalist and colonial countries would, by this time, have reduced the Communist International to a mere memory Again, the Soviet Union has been a life saver for the international proletariat.

Obviously, it is folly to separate the interests of the Soviet Union, the interests of the First or the Second Five-Year Plan, from the interests of the world revolution. These interests are inseparable. They supplement and complete each other. There is no such thing as "Soviet nationalism". This is a pure fabrication of the worst enemies of the international communist movement. the Soviet Union and the entire world proletariat. Lenin foresaw the difficulties of the international social revolution and the hardships arising for the U.S.S.R. as a re-

sult of such difficulties and delay. Lenin placed this question very well when he underlined that:

"Ten to twenty years of proper relations with the peasantry and victory is guaranteed on a world sca'e (even if proletarian revolutions, which are growing, are delayed); otherwise, we shall have twenty to forty years of the torture of White Guard terror."

It is clear, Lenin was right. A victory in the U.S.S.R. is necessarily and automatically a victory for the working class on a world scale. The success of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. is of unlimited international import and is bound to serve as the mightiest stimulus for the development of a victorious proletarian movement throughout the capitalist countries. Of course, the more the proletarian mass movement is developed in a particular capitalist country, the more powerful a role does the Soviet Union's existence and achievements play in the speeding up of the process of communist victory in that country.

(Continued in next issue)

NEEDS NEW BASE (Continued from Page 1) terests it was. Meanwhile he proceeded energetically

New York City.

out for the meeting, in a man seeing ing well over 5,000. This meeting in foreign politics.

The Dollfuss-Heimwehr alliance was sealed 7. The Dollfuss-Heimwehr alliance provocation

Communist Party which is the connist League, in which the main events.

question was that of the struggle 9. What was the course of Austrian Social-de-

arations now going on and to the ravages of Fascism. Especially now, when the groundwork for the new imperialist carnage is being feverishly prepared; when the question of a Spring offensive against the Soviet Union by Japan is being onenly discussed even in being openly discussed even in

broad united front organization, Austro-Marxist theoreticians. inclusive of the trade unions, to make possible the mobilization of the toiling masses for the struggle against war and the defense of t

New York City templated mass lay-offs.

Employees, Marcel Sherer of the formism become that it led the Federation of Architects, Michael their own revolutionary action! Davidov of the Relief Workers League, Richard Sullivan of the Unemployed Councils, Jack Walsh of the Workers Committee on Un-Unemployed League.

ANTIWAR LEAGUE | Civil War in Austria

to disarm the working class, materially and politi-cally. The Schutzbund was dissolved; civil liberties That the American League were abrogated; the powers of the Socialist munici-Against War and Fascism is in a bad state of affairs must have recently become evident to every one participating in League activity. political turn: He came out for a semi-Fascist The most glaring example of this corporative state"; he practically broke situation was shown at the mass with his own party, the Christian Socials; entered meeting called by the League for Monday, January 29th at St. Nich-las Arena nants of democracy that could still be found in Less than 300 workers turned out for the meeting, in a hall seat-

tional campaign simultaneous with and blessed with a drive of deliberate provocation the appearance before President Roosevelt of a delegation to place its organizations and to destroy what remained of demands against war appropriations and the war plans of the this drive that precipitated the five-day struggle.

This fiasco comes after a num- The Social-Democracy And The Austrian Events ber of other indications that the 8. Neither the mass heroism of the Social-democratic workers nor the individual courage of the trolling hand in the League appears | Social-democratic leaders can obscure the fact that to be sabotaging the activities of the fundamental errors in the characteristic Austrian Social-democratic theoretical outlook and poliknecht-Luxemburg memorial meettical principles (Austro-Marxism) have become ing called by the Young Commu- strikingly obvious in the light of the Austrian

against war, the American League mocracy in the crisis? Its claims to radicalism and was not even mentioned by a sinto orthodox Marxism were belied at every point by gle speaker. Nor was there to be seen a single copy of "Fight", the organ of the League. The National Committee of the League has not Marxism." Months after the dissolution of the Marxism." Months after the dissolution of the been called together because Com- Schutzbund and the vicious attacks on Vienna, the rade Browder considers "certain Austrian Social-democratic leaders abjectly imelements" on that body as unre-liable—unreliable from the stand-point of the C.P. fraction in the greatest concesions that a democratic and socialistic National Committee.

These facts and the gradual squeezing out of the "non-commusqueezing out of the "non-commu
18, 1934). "We let Dollfuss know that if he would nist" representatives from the only pass a bill thru parliament, we would accept leading committees of the Borough a measure authorizing the government to govern organizations of the League have well nigh wrecked the League.

Such a state of affairs carnet. Such a state of affairs cannot be permitted by any organization genuinely opposed to the war preparations now going on and to the arations now going on and to the arations now going on Engagella (Property of Service). The such as the

10. The effects of such a course upon the morale the bourgeois press, at such a time it becomes a crime against the workers and against the Soviet Union to play the shabby game of Union to play the shabby game of the workers against the conservative policy of th Union to play the shabby game of faction politics that the C.P. is engaged in now.

What the situation calls for is the deepening and broadening of the enti-war movement for the content of the content the anti-war movement, for the ers were a thousand times correct and saw things conversion of the League into a far more clearly than the experienced and educated

The Revolt Begins 11. An examination of how the revolt broke out

will show how the Social-democratic policy operated in the most critical period. The movement of resistance exploded spontaneously both in Linz and Vienna and immediately met with the resistance of the CWA WORKERS party leaders, who were interested in nothing so much as in heading off an open revolt. "Last Sunday night," Bauer recounts, "a comrade coming from Linz warned me that the workers of Linz warned warne DEMONSTRATE from Linz warned me that the workers of Linz were highly indignant and alarmed over the Heimwell action and had declared that if any further well action and had declared that if any further well action and had declared that if any further well actions and had declared that if any further well actions are the second actions the second action and had declared that if any further well actions are the second actions and the second action and had declared that if any further well actions are the second actions and the second action and the second action are the second action and the second action and the second action are the second action and the second action and the second action are the second action and the second action and the second action and the second action are the second action and the second action and the second action action and the second action action and the second action a 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 this spirit and, A demonstration of 8,000 after discussion with my informant, we both de-C.W.A. workers took place here on cided that urgent messages must be sent to the Thursday February 15, at Union workers to keep cool. . . Apparently the message Square. This demonstration was arrived too late." With such fear and distrust did unique in that practically all organizations of unemployed parti-struggle that "when the news reached Vienna that cipated. The demonstration put there had been shooting between the police and the forward two main demands: The continuation of the C.W.A. on a members of the Social-democratic committee got in living wage and against the con- touch with the government to prevent an outbreak" (Dr. Julius Deutsch). Even when the general strike The following were among the speakers: Edward Welsh of the Workers Committee on Handle and Welsh of the went when many nexts leaders at the control of the even when many nexts leaders at the control of the even when many nexts leaders at the control of the even when many nexts leaders at the control of the even when many nexts leaders at the control of the even when many nexts leaders at the control of the even when many nexts leaders at the control of the even when many nexts leaders at the control of the even when many nexts leaders at the control of the even when the general strike movement in Linz and Vienna passed over into a speakers. workers Committee on Unemployment as chairman, David Lasser of the Association of Civil Works Employees, Marcel Sherer of the Federation of Architects, Michael

12. The contrast between the demoralizing pasof the Workers Committee on Un-employment, Joe Glass of the sivity of German official Communism in the face of the Nazi victory and the heroic struggle of the Austrian Social-democrats against the Heimwehr-David Lasser headed the com- Dollfuss provocations, is a blasting condemnation mittee which placed the demands of the paralyzing course the Communist Interna-before Frederick Daniels of the tional has followed in recent years. It will take Civil Workers Administration. | many years of hard effort for the Communist move-

ment to win back what it has lost in prestige and standing among the workers of the world in the last

period of time. 13. In the first revolutionary outbreak in many years, the Communist Party of Austria, as such, played no role at all, whatever part individual Com-munists may have taken. Furthermore, the whole Communist International, including the C.P.S.U., was taken aback by the events, could neither underwas taken aback by the events, could neither understand them nor explain them nor, above all, play the Party had more to do with the any role whatever in them.

Theory of "Social Fascism"—Bankrupt

14. The Austrian events have placed the final seal of refutation upon the notorious doctrines of "social-fascism" and "Social-democracy as the main prop of Fascism", doctrines which have served as the foundation stones of official Communication stones of offic the foundation stones of official Communist tactics um were adopted unanimously. While in the days of Lenin, large

entire system of policy and practise, the official tions were common occurrences, Communist movement adopted a mad and suicidal without resulting in any lynch course in the face of the Austrian events. Crude spirit, and without any organizabluff, shameless slander and irresponsible abuse, tional persecution against a Radek reckless hooliganism, were piled mountain-high, cul-minating in the outrageous Madison Square Garden in the Communist International is candal.

16. While it is the fundamental principles of re
No revolutionary Party can

16. While it is the fundamental principles of reformist Socialism that have again been refuted by the Austrian events, it is not the principles of Communism that have failed to stand the test, but the utterly false sectarian policies and tactics of the official Communist movement. The basic principles of Communism have again been confirmed by what has happened in Austria has happened in Austria.

Significance And Lessons Of The Austrian Events 17. What now in Austria? The end of the Dollfuss regime is at hand. The struggle between the Heimwehr and the Nazis, with all its international gress of the Comintern is finally complications, will continue in an even more acute to be held (after 6 years of "revoform, with the odds strongly in favor of the Nazis. lutionary upsurge" without a Con-The labor movement, the materially weakened by the revolt and the Dollfuss massacres, will emerge to be struggle movelly and reliable to be a point of the struggle movelly and reliable to be a point of the struggle movelly and reliable to be a point of the struggle movelly and reliable to be a point of the struggle movelly and reliable to be a point of the struggle movelly and reliable to be a point of the struggle movelly and reliable to be a point of the struggle movelly and reliable to the struggle movelly and the struggle move from the struggle morally and politically strength-ened. One thing is clear: The Austrian labor movement will not be so easily or so completely suppressed by victorious Fascism as was the German!

Austria And World War

18. All of the many antagonisms among the European powers cross in Austria today. This country has become one of the chief focal points in the many antagonisms among the European powers cross in Austria today. This country and changing of the tactics and policies that have brought min generation of a new world imperialist war. The policies that have brought ruin new political situation in Austria has accentuated and repeated defeats to the Comthis danger of a war to the highest pitch.

Struggle Against Fascism Strengthened

19. The heroic struggle of the Austrian workers has brought the anti-Fascist movement to a new and higher level. What has happened in Austria will serve as a tremendous source of inspiration and political courage to the workers of the rest of the world. Fascism will not have the same easy road York for the first time at a meetin the future as it has had in the past!

a tremendous wave of sympathy and solidarity among the workers of all countries. Backward strata were awakened to political thought. Huge protest movements, taking the form of general strikes and demonstrations, have been organized in many cities, even in the United States. In general, the political development of the labor movement has been greatly stimulated by the inspiring fight of Austrian labor.

Juseph Collar, U.T.W. in New York and representative of the Skein Dyers Local was chosen organizer of Council, and B. Herman, of the Broadsilk Local, secretary. It was decided that the Council should cover the metropolitan district and

21. The struggle of the Austrian proletariat was entire metropolitan district and objectively a workers revolution, even tho the workers did not realize it and the Social-democratic locals in Hudson County and in leaders took special pains to deny it. Had it won Connecticut. military success, it could only have culminated in the establishment of a workers government. It is a sign of the essential reformism of the Austrian Social-democracy that it placed as the ultimate aim of the armed revolt the restoration of the bankrupt system of parliamentary democracy.

Surrender Or Proletarian Dictatorship

22. The Austrian events confirm the fundamental principles of Communism. Again has his tory testified to the fact that, when the class strugreaches a certain level of acuteness, it inevi-powerful labor demonstration of tably breaks out into armed civil war. Again has international solidarity. Such conthe bankrupt theory of the peaceful achievement of duct is a crime against the work-socialism been refuted. Before the Austrian prole-ing class and against the Comtariat stood the clear alternative: Either surrender munist movement to the bourgeoisie by reestablishing the outlived bourgeois democratic system or the setting up of ty members! Do not judge Coma workers government operating as an iron dictator- munism by the shameful actions ship against the forces of reaction and counter- of the official Communist party.

23. The political lessons of the last few years of Misrepresenting and discrediting Austrian development culminating in the five-day Communism. We appeal to you to revolt will not be lost upon the Austrian prole- judge Communism by the policies tariat. Out of the ranks of the Social-democracy and tactics of the Communist Opwill emerge a really revolutionary Socialist movement, a Communist movement, which will be in a holds the great traditions of Composition to lead the Austrian workers to their eman-munism, of Leninism." cipation from the yoke of capitalism.

For World Unity Against Fascism 24. Now, at a time when the labor movement of the world has been aroused against Fascism by the Austrian events, is it necessary to make a gigantic effort for world labor unity. Let a preliminary conference of representatives of all international at 3 P, M. on Wednesday February labor organizations be called to consider ways and means of setting up a real world labor congress against Fascism to unite the masses of the workers are upon the masses of the workers are against Fascism to unite the masses of the workers are applied to the masses of the workers are upon the masses are upon the masses of the workers are upon the masses are upon the masses are upon the masses are upon the ma Now is the time when such a united anti-Fascist front can be set up. Soon it may be too late!

THE PLENUM OF THE E.C.C.I.

(Continued from Page 5) selection of their leaders than they have with selecting the Ambassa-dor to China. It is the irony of fate, that the members of the Comdemotion of Browder by their struggle against the stupid policy of the

Driven to desperation by the collapse of its opposition votes on many ques-

proof of it.

The Seventh Congress

According to the decision of the members of the Communist Party must raise their voices demanding an extended discussion before the Congress, the end of the terror-remunist Party.

U. T. W. Establishes District Council

A Textile Metropolitan District Council was organized in New n the future as it has had in the past! ing of representatives of 7 local 20. The revolt of the Austrian workers evoked tremendous wave of sympothy and a local whole was a meeting of representatives of 7 local unions affiliated to the United Textermendous wave of sympothy and a local wave of sympothy and January 25, 1934.

(Continued from Page 1) party leaders in disrupting a

"Trade Unionists! Socialist Par-These people are capable only of

Philadelphia, Pa. At a conference called by the expected to respond to this call for

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March 1, 1934

BARRICADES IN PARIS

T last France is on the map of drama in politics. To the superficial observer it had appeared the French people had made a revolution a hundred years ago and had been so busy ce'ebrating it since then that they have had no time for, or weren't concerned with, mass struggles. Recent events in Paris and in a number of other cities should certainly put a quietus on these smart-alec observers and their superficial observations. What happened in Paris, the barricades on the streets, the hundreds of wounded, the many killed are only proof that France is beginning to suffer acutely from the consequences of the world crisis.

These dire consequences and backwash of the economic crisis have been coming to the fore for some months. Witness the mounting army of no-occupation, an increasingly disadvantageous position for French commodities in the world market, due especially to the "strength" of the franc and in the rising prices, the stormy tax protests, the degeneracy of parliamentary democracy, the putrid corruption cases, the Oustric scandal, and the all-inclusive and all-tarring, almost all-devastating scandal in true French Style—the Stavisky pawn shop bankruptcy fraud. Shining ministers, glittering army officers, "invincible" police chiefs have all been drawn into the net of

the Stavisky fraud,—into the deadly enmeshment.

French class alignments are going to sharpen, are going to harden at a much greater tempo from now on. The moment of maturing, of the processes at work for decades, is arriving. The center parties in French politics, but yesterday the buttress of French political stability and class contentment will become weaker and weaker and at its expense the forces of the revolutionary proletariat on the left and counter-revolutionary heavy industrial interests and biggest financial magnates on the right (under the banner of Fascism—appearing in specifically peculiar French form) will grow in strength. The appointment of smiling, doddering ex-presidents will prove no solution to the French crisis. The strengthening of the executive power of the French Government will not solve the basic contradiction of French economy. The organization of "salvation cabinets" can, at best, only serve as a lid on the tempest, a lid that will be blown off with only greater force and violence, the longer the attempt will be made to keep it on. The squeezing out of pus from the French body-politic, here and there, cannot be taken as a sign of health in French political relations or stability of French class relations, but rather must be taken only as proof of the very opposite being the case. The basic, organic unsoundness in the French bodypolitic is now rooted more than ever before in a decaying economic

Lots depend on the French proletariat; about as much depends on the French Communist Party. If the French working class and French Communist and Social-democratic workers have learned the necessary lesson from the Hitler tragedy, then, better days are ahead for the French and international working class. If not, the Francisti as the French Fascists call themselves, will triumph. Only a united front, honestly conceived and genuinely practiced by both the Communist Party and the Socialist Party of France, can block the road to the victory of the Tardieus, the Renaudels, the Marins, the Petains

and other fascist and near-fascists of their kidney.

Eyes on France in the coming months. The storm over France is far from blown over. It is yet to develop hurricane proportions.

THE SEVENTH PARTY CONVENTION

FTER three years, the Communist party is calling another convention. The arrangements for the discussion insure its being pathetically anaemic, despite the fact that there hasn't been anything like a discussion of the party line or the situation in the Comintern for about five years.

A prominent and active party functionary writes us that, though he is not yet prepared to join the C.P.O., he is anxious to know what we would say to the party membership if we were permitted to join in the discussion. We can definitely reply to this comrade and to other comrades who are beginning to question matters inside the party that we indict the present official Communist Party tactical line and inner situation on the following basis:

1. The inner party life, through the denial of party democracy or democratic centralism, has brought about an atmosphere of sterility in official Communist ranks. There is a terrific turnover of membership and a constantly narrowing base of leadership as a result. The failure to develop new oustanding forces in these years of unequalled opportunity for revolutionary struggle affords a most damning indictment of the puppet regime now serving as the leader-ship in the Communist Party today. An expulsion mania grips every district organization from coast to coast. Hooliganism manifests it-self with all too great frequency in the ranks of the party, especially on "holidays" like November 7th etc. Apropos of this, we can record the gangster methods employed by a crew of tin-foil self-styled "shock-troopers" at the last Lenin Memorial meeting in New York. The shameful rough handling of Comrade Lifshitz on this occasion is a victory which does the very opposite of credit to every party member who has the interest of Communist unity and strength at heart.

Bureaucratism and incompetency also dominate the party approach to the masses. The game of bluff and bombast is being played with fastness and fury. Things start with a bang and the spectacular and sensational. But they soon evaporate. Opportunity after opportunity has been squandered. See what has happened to the Mooney movement. Where are the members of what was once the Unemployed Council movement in Chicago? Where did the reported and alleged forty thousand striking miners of Western Pennsylvania go? Could anyone be so obliging as to provide us with the address of the National Miners Union—as a living trade union organization? What is reported to us in the Daily Worker as a victory one day, is reported a year or so later as a defeat. For example, on the eve of the Seventh National Convention, the Daily Worker, The Rote Fahne, and L'Humanite told the world that the American Communist Party had over 15,000 members. For questioning this figure we were denounced in the "red-hot manner" of which only the Daily Worker is today capable. However, as the years roll by, the truth rolls out. In the Daily Worker of January 27 we find the call for the Eighth National Convention admitting that "at the seventh convention our party had seven thousand members loosely organized".

Interesting indeed! Still the game goes on. The call for the

Alsatian Opposition Greets American C.P.O.

Dear Comrades:

The C.P.O. of Alsace-Lorraine sends its fraternal greetings to the conference of the American section.

We are following your reports on the planned, successful work of the C.P.O. of the U.S.A. with a great deal of joy and satisfaction. We are gratified at your complete co-ordination of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory and revolutionary practice. The political work of the C.P.O.-U.S.A. combines the complete rejection of and opposition to all reformists and centrist illusions and speculations, an untiring struggle for the clarity and sharpness of communist The C.P.O. of Alsace-Lorraine is, principles, for Leninist strategy and tactics with the application of these principles. The educational work done by the C.P.O. in the United States thru its papers, pamphlets, and its New Workers School, its successes on the trade union field and in the correct application of the Leninist united front tactics prove to us that our American section possesses the necessary revolutionary militancy in order to solve its problems in the difficult class struggles now being waged in the United States, or to be waged by the American working class in the future.

C.P.O. Resists Attacks On Workers

Standards
The C.P.O. of Alsace-Lorraine, engaged in a most difficult struggle against the rule of French imperialism, also faces serious prob-The French bourgeoisie is conducting an extensive attack on salaries, wages and social relief, wishing to shift the burdens of the crisis to the workers by the most The first act of brutal means. robbery, a considerable reduction of salaries of officials and pensions, has already been put into effect. A political attack on the democratic rights of the workers and for elimination of parliament is being prepared at the same time. The bourgeoisie demands a dictator, and is organizing and financing fascism-which is becoming stronger and stronger from week to week—appearing at first in the form of various fascist organizations. Fascism is expected to create that internal peace so neces sary to the warlike aims of French imperialism, towards the attainment of which it is preparing by arming feverishly.

The Struggle Against War And Fascism

Tremendous tasks are facing the C.P.O. of Alsace-Lorraine, engaged of capitalism, of fascism, and the ent when one remembers imperialist war danger. The great pressure was brought to French social-democracy is preparing the way for these criminal aims. It is first among the war propagandists. It supports the attacks of capitalism and it sabotages the proletarian united front. announced.

The C. P. of France has completely isolated itself from the masses thru its ultra-left course. without any influence whatsoever and persists despite constant failures in its sectarian policy, which makes any real united front impossible.

C.P.O. For National Emancipation The creation of a broad mass front against the attacks of capitalism, against the menace of fascism, against the imperialist war danger, therefore, depends primarily on the ideological work of en-lightenment and practical organizational activities of the C.P.O. at the same time, the champion of all Alsatian workers, petty bour-geois people, and peasants culturally oppressed in their fight for national emancipation against policies of French imperialism which suppresses nationalities.

The C.P.O. of Alsace-Lorraine is in control of the municipal government of Strasbourg. It is utilizing its parliamentary position as much as possible for the protection of the working masses against the attacks of capitalism. At the same time it combines these tasks with its efforts for the creation of a proletarian defense front, for the establishment of trade union unity and the defeat of the ultra-left course of the C.P.F. The success-ful work of the C.P.O.-U.S.A. has been a constant spur to us and will continue to be so in the future.

We wish your conference suc cess. We hope and believe that the work of this present conference will be the basis for further successful work for communism and for the proletarian revolution.

With revolutionary, communist greetings.

> CHARLES HUEBER For the Party leadership C.P.O. Alsace-Lorraine

Trade Union Notes

(Continued from Page 3)

the same leadership as the present Industrial.

It is with this condition as background that the Labor Board rushed thru its referendum (one day's notice) in a number of Board of Trade shops. The results, tho a foregone conclusion to all acquainted with the situation, was nevertheless surprising. Out of over 20 shops polled the Boot and Shoe carried only 10 and of these several went by very narrow margins. in the struggle against the attacks | The significance becomes apparthat great pressure was brought to bear by the employers to bring in the Boot and Shoe. The United Shoe carried 9 shops. Three or four voted for the open shop. The total vote cast for each union was not

country; "the richest in the world," yet men starve and actually die of starvation in its gutters; monuments to capitalism! There is much to be said for the contention, that this tale is nearest to an American Gorki's. While "Disinherited" is built upon a more restricted canvas, keeping out of sight that section of mankind, its exploiters, the few thousand who waste, and dissipate the wealth of the country, it still reveals enough of these vultures, to show how they exploit the working class and how

they force it to live and work, or fail to live. It is a story so vividly told as to appear brutal at times, as it cuts and smites like the cold wintry west wind. Without exposing completely all the cross sections of American life and only by depicting faithfully the struggle for existence of the

THE DISINHERITED, by Conroy, Covici-Friede Publishers.

In the experiences of Larry Don-

avan, the main figure in the story,

we view the summed up experi-

ences of the laboring masses since

the world war, through the last

crisis, and up to the present time.

It is the story of moving events in

the lives of workers all over this

toiling sections of humanity, Conroy succeeds in stirring us to anger and hatred of the Favoured Few; to pity and tolerance for the enslaved masses, who are forced into ever greater hardships and deprivations; and to understanding for these toilers who are the energy of the soil and its very future, but who in the main, unfortunately are still unaware of this truth. "Disinherited" is the story of

these simple lives, the tragedies of their unemployed, the brutal existence of miners, the hardships of the migratory worker. It is the story of workers in factories, and on the land; it is the story of those driven from the land, and those driven from the cities, for lack of employment. It is the story of the white collar slaves and the Negro workers. It is indeed, the story of the dispossessed and disinherited, portrayed with such realism as to smite terror into the heart of the

Only one who has been a part of this vast and varied industrial and agricultural scene, one who has lived and studied it, can write so knowingly, so revealingly of the misery in the lowest depths as well as of those human values which make the struggle worth while. Etching as he does, these lives, in all their misery and ignorance and most often in passive resistence, Conroy has not overlooked, as some sentimentalists might, those workers among them slowly rising to consciousness of their class as well as the more articulate workers who know their places in the class struggle. Yet this is not a propaganda story; it is experience and ehe existence of the bodies and souls of the millions, who have it in their power to bring out paradise of an imaginary heaven to us on earth; it is life itself revealed to us by a man us these men's lives and their slow awakening to the injustices they have to suffer.

eighth party convention now claims twenty-three thousand members with a heart and a head of an in the party. In Moscow, Browder recently claimed about twenty thousand members. We are whispering no secrets or tips into the knows how to write. He has shown ears of our leaders when we tell them that a year or so from now the Daily Worker will boast of more progress and at the same time confess that in 1934 there were only 10,000 or so members in good standing in the party. Of course, to accept even this latter figure is also to substitute charity for accuracy. 3. The dual-unionist policy continues to sprout, though the variety of weeds is more colorful. The united front from below tac-

tics continues to sink the party into ever-deeper isolation from the great mass of American workers who still have to learn even most elementary conceptions of class consciousness.

The why and wherefore of the above conditions and this se tactical line deserve the most critical examination of every member regardless of what such examination may momentar tail for him or her as official party members. This is our c

COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION) 51 West 14th Street New York, N. Y. Please send me information in reference to the policies and activity of the C. P. O.
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IMPORTANT EVENTS Saturday Feb. 24, 8 P. M. Bertram D. Wolfe speaks on era As Storm Center Feb. 25, 8 P. M. Sidney Hook

speaks on nism Without Dogmas March 2, 8 P. M. Jay Lovestone

speaks on ither The American Socialist Party March 4, 2.30 P. M. Jennie Lee M. P. speaks on ne of English Liberty

> All lectures at ew Workers School West 14th Street New York City