

# Austrian Workers Fight Points The Way To World Proletariat

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

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

Illusions! Illusions!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—But the leaders are fighting on the barricades!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tomorrow or the day after, the

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

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

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

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

2-1-1934 —M. S.

## Priests Bless Fascists

(Continued from page 1)

Italian regimes.

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

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

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

—AQUINAS.

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

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

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

## Reactionary French Government in War Moves

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

**Need of United Struggle.**

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

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

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

**C. I. Phrasemongering.**

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

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

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

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

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

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## 645 Subs!

The list is still rising. Since we closed our records for last week's issue 76 new subs came in, making the total 645. New York advanced toward its goal of 400. With 40 new subs last week, its total now stands at 356. Chicago made a small beginning with 4 subs. Other branches have not yet notified us of what they have done or intend to do. We think that with their active participation we can push the total up to one thousand new paid subs. Accordingly we set the goal of this drive at one thousand.

The record to date stands as follows:

New York Local	356
Minneapolis Branch	88
Kansas City Branch	48
Pittsburgh Branch	32
L. Brown	20
A. Teacher	12
Youngstown Branch	12
D. L.	8
J. Ruby	8
G. Papcun	8
M. Hurwitz	5
H. Sukut	4
S. Hardy	4
Chicago Branch	4
D. O. Dwyer	4
M. Steinbach	4
M. McLeod	4
L. Goodman	4
St. Louis Branch	4
L. Murphy	4
M. Koehler	4
C. Genfan	4
R. Carlson	4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>645</b>

## HOTEL STRIKE

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Swabeck** Does the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Still Exist? Is the Soviet Union still a Workers State?  
National Secretary  
Communist League of America

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 18—8 P. M.  
International Workers School  
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