

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

VOLUME VII NO. 9 [WHOLE NO. 213]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1934

PRICE 2 CENTS

Heading Straight For Another World War

Horrible Spectre of a New Imperialist Holocaust Menaces the Whole World

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Collapse of Austro-Marxism In the Vienna Struggle

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

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

A Fatal Policy

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

iat's ranks were being demoralized and enfeebled.

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

But while they talked about a general strike, they did not take a single step to prepare for it.

That is why we charge the leaders of the Austrian social democracy with treachery to the proletariat!

A dozen articles would not be half so effective in revealing the depths to which Austro-Marxism has sunk, as are the simple words of its leader, Otto Bauer. Let every militant, the socialist workers above all, engrave in his mind the revelations made to the press in Bratislava, whence Bauer fled after the crushing of the workers. We print them here, extracted from the interview he granted to Mr. G. E. R. Gedyre, correspondent in Czechoslovakia of the New York Times (February 18, 1934):

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

Banking on Dollfuss

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

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

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

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

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

Coal Yard Workers Win Strike in Minneapolis

Militant Battle Brings a Speedy Victory To Drivers

Vandalism!

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

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

Shachtman Tour New Haven MASS MEETING
"DO WE NEED A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY IN AMERICA" at
WORKMAN'S CIRCLE CENTER
72 LEDGIAN AVENUE, NEW HAVEN
THURSDAY, MARCH 1st, 8 P. M.
ADMISSION 10 CENTS
Auspsices: New Haven Br. C. L. A.

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

The Minneapolis Labor Review of February 16 says:

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

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

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

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

Minneapolis.—With united forces and fighting determination the Coal Yard Workers gave a decisive answer to the coal bosses who had ignored their demands, claiming that the Union did not represent the workers in the yards.

From Wednesday morning until Friday evening, Feb. 7th, 8th, and 9th, the Strike Committee had complete command of the machinery of coal distribution in the City. So effective was the tie-up, that coal orders for hospitals, Orphans homes, etc., could have only upon written permission of the Strike Committee, the union furnishing driver and picket guard who were paid Union wages by the delivering company.

The Coal Drivers and Yard Workers Local 574 of the Int. T. C. S. M., organized into General Drivers' Union, displayed a well organized, mobile, fighting picket line that stormed over all opposition, closed 65 truck yards, 150 coal omces and swept the streets clear of scabs in the first three hours of the strike. What proved to be decisive factors in the struggle, long foreseen by those active workers who took the lead in the organization of the Coal Yard Drivers and Yardmen, was the careful preparation for action and the militant mass picket line.

The careful work of preparing the patient day to day organization and sections of the industry, the devotion of a number of militant workers to the idea of the Union—this must be given FIRST place in any consideration of this or any other strike.

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

The Cruising Picket Squad

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

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

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

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

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

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

A Critical Situation

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

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

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

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

Quick Action Needed

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

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

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

Mahan's Waterloo

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

Shoe Union Forges Ahead Amalgamation Rolls over Reactionary Opposition

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

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

The Fight at Lowell.

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

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

of the most overwhelling vote in support of the principles of the new constitution that the shoe workers have ever known!

The Fight at Lowell.

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

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

The Collapse Of «Austro-Marxism»

A Lecture By
MAX SHACHTMAN
IRVING PLAZA HALL
(GRAND BALLROOM)
15th Street and Irving Place

Wednesday, Feb. 28, at 8 p.m.

QUESTIONS ADMISSION 15c DISCUSSION

DEBATE The Crisis in the Communist International

What Is
The Way
Out?

JAMES P. CANNON
On MONDAY, MARCH 5, 1934
8 P. M.
at IRVING PLAZA HALL
15th Street and Irving Place
Chairman: SIDNEY HOOK
ADMISSION 35c

JAY LOVESTONE
For
THE REFORM AND
UNIFICATION
of the
COMMUNIST (THIRD)
INTERNATIONAL

Auspsices:
Communist League of America
(Left Opposition)
Communist Party U. S. A.
(Opposition)

TICKETS FOR SALE AT:
Communist League of America
126 East 16th Street, N. Y. C.
154 Watkins Street, B'klyn.
313-53rd St., B'klyn, N. Y.
Pioneer Publishers
84 East 10th Street, N. Y. C.