Vital Questions of the New Party

The Program of the A.W.P.

mediate need of the working class the parties already operating in the tral' in the conflict", why does it does not establish the bankruptcy everywhere is a new revolutionar; field are fundamenally outlived or follow a "policy of siding with the and perfidy of the Second Interna-International and a new revolution- injurious to the interests of the conservative as against the progres- tional in the imperialist war and ary larty in every country, is be- working class. ing accepted by ever wider sections | Following the classic example of how has it "invariably remained (and it must), might at least reof the radical labor movement. The the "Communist Manifesto" a revolu- 'neutral' while progressives and cord the fact (and the why of it) accision of the Pittsburgh conventionary party must make its pro-militants fought" the reactionaries of the second terrific collapse and tion of the Conference for Progres- grammatic debut with a criticism of when it has "always wholehearted- treachery of the Second Internasive Labor Action to launch the society in which it lives and which ly supported the 'official' labor lead- tional in Germany in 1933, and the "American Workers Party" on July it aims to overthrow, and conclude ership", i. e., the same reactionar-irreconcilability of the revolution-4, 1934, is additional proof of the with a criticism of all the parties les? irresistible power of this idea.

munists are for a new party which us make clear, a criticism of every and cannot be neutral in the trade so potent an instrument for the deunites the maximum possible forces little sect with ten members, but unions, either with or without quo- vastation of the world labor moveon a revolutionary program and for of every distinct current in the tation marks, any more than can ment, cannot be so off-handishly revolutionary action, we have com- labor movement. presentatives of the American we will in this article confine our the trade unions, like its cousin "No national aspect of the proletarian Workers Party, with the aim of comments to the third chapter of politics in the unions", has always struggle for freedom is to be releestablishing the extent to which the A. W. P. statement: "The In- been a pleasant mask behind which gated to second, or third, or tenth agreement exists, and consequently, adequacies of Existing Parties as reaction fought against awakening place, or into an obscurity from united action and eventual fusion instruments of Revolutionary class consciousness and against a which it is to be hauled out on is possible.

parrow or sectional interests. Our ies. fight for the fundamental princiover five years in this country and problem cannot be approached from ary, bureaucratic, class collabora- fatal. The true revolutionist of toten years internationally) excludes the angle of one country. The such a conception. What is decisive pankruptcy or social democracy and unions in its struggle against the which has intoxicated and poisoned for us in our attitude towards any staininsm in this or any other coun-progressive and revolutionary whole sections of the labor moveother group is not this or that in- try derives from the fatal explosion dividual in it, or this or that iso- caused in both instances when their stigmatized. lated action in which it has en- rundamental conceptions, universally gaged. Our first question is: What neld, were tested against decisive is your program?-mere is ours. events. It is only from this angle Only when, by open confrontation, that the criticism of them can be sharp if comradely mutual critic- generalized; for the United States ism, an agreement has been arrived only the specific manifestations at on the programmatic questions, can be established. (Thus, social is it possible to talk seriously and democracy is equivalent to coalifruit:ully about unity and fusion.

judged-essentially by program and world, has not yet had the occasion not by action, because it is the former that determines and guides the action.

And it is precisely in the domain of the program that the founders of the new revolutionary party have a tremendous advantage over those who preceded them. The Third International, when founded in 1919, was able to take all the events, the actions, the isolated phenomena, the ideas, the men and the ject them to the pitiless fire of characteristic of present-day social-Marxian criticism and strain the ism: its renunciation of the class residue through the screen of gen. struggle and, consequently, accepteranzation. The distilled result ance of class collaboration. was condensed into the basic programmatic documents of the new of class struggle and revolution, the International and the forming Communist parties. This not only gave them political justification for exgnomy, but immediately invested dation and operating within the istence and an unmistakable physicthem with a vast superiority over all the old organizations which sought to continue as if nothing- is small and weak today, that does neither the war, the collapse of not signify that a social basis does the Second International, the Rus- not exist for it (or its successor, or

munist International, much the same task has to be performed. Even less than in 1919 we are handicapped this time by the need of deal has been lost in the painful it is true that we hold to the view starting out with nothing. A great defeats suffered by the working that the American working class victories teach us, generally speak so protracted a reformist stage as class. That is true. But just as ing, what to do, defeats should did the English or German. Grounds teach us what not to do, what to exist for the belief that, given a

Settled Questions

were sufficient to settle in the mind of every genuine revolutionistdispute between reform and revolution, social democracy and Communism. In the new movement, there was no longer any need to debate a whole series of problems and questions which had agitated democracy, its alliance with the personal courage or political intelthe pre-war parties. They had be-trade union bureaucracy lies in the ligence. But the Bauer interview come settled questions for Marx-

Not being a political Hamlet, who is worthless just because no questrue revolutionist engaged in buildup a balance of the past period, take tral' in the conflict of ideas, objecthat he might cut down an unpremind, and what is more important which these struggles so abundantsettle publicly in his own program, ly express or reflect. No large deepest sense of the term, left its. gle itself has settled beyond further argument. No dispute over questions of principle and strategy can be ignored in this reckoning. An unambiguous and positive stand must be taken on all of them.

It is here that the document issued several weeks ago. "Toward an American Revolutionary Labor Movement, Statement of Programmatic Orientation by the American fluence or control. It has always wholeheartedly supported the 'ofof defects which, we think, require ficial' labor leadership and invarificial' labor leadership and invari-

gain important strength—without stalwart and pure and simple reall the others: justifying its existence. It cannot actionaries." organization, at least not in the This passage is either wrong and of the proletariat strove to save hurrah." organization, at least not recent actually speak SPARTACUS YOUTH OLUB publishers.

The idea that the greatest im- without showing conclusively that If the S. P. "seeks to remain 'neu-

The International Approach

tion governments with the bour-Program is of fundamental im- geoisie; the American social demportance because by it the party is ocracy, with all the will in the co join a coalition.)

By failing to deal with the two principal labor parties from this angle, the A. W. P. statement not only presents an inadequate and partly fulse-criticism of them, but one which characterizes its danger- that if the government imposed a ous approach to the problem of in- Fascist constitution on the conternationalism.

not a party of revolution, but of in party or the trade unions were dis-

In departing from the program socialist parties have degenerated mto capitalist parties of labor, or more accurately, petty bourgeois labor parties, standing on the founnamework of capitalist democracy. If the American Socialist party

sian revolution, nor the post-war surrogate tomorrow, in the form, revolutionary movements-had oc- say, of a "Labor" or "Farmer-Labor" party) to serve as the main On the eve of the lifteenth anni- pillar of bourgeois democracy. It versary of the founding of the Com- is the sheerest self-delusion to im-P. is small in numbers now, the ideology of social reformism in this country can either be ignored or passed off with an occasional sally. competent revolutionary party, the period of social reformist influence in the working class can be comthe Third International was formed pressed into a comparatively brief pared the Austrian proletariat, over

> wherever it takes root. tives and organizing principles pared working class. political purposes will ever be

as against the progressive forces assassinating the Austrian Prime about Stalin." in every contest in a union for in- Minister Stuerghk as a protest A new revolutionary party cannot be formed—certainly it cannot stalwart and pure and simple re
ably remained 'neutral' while propenitent secretary of the Second Inpenitent secretary of the Second International, the responsibility of ed many minutes."

Tich Adier who today shares, as the 'Stalin concludes. Applause honorpenitent secretary of the Second International, the responsibility of ed many minutes."

Where the most drastic revision.

of any importance, and above all, The fact is that by its whole in- its foundations and ideas. An or-Because we Internationalist-Com- of their basic conceptions. Not, let corrigible nature, the S. P. is not ganization which has proved to be the other political groups in the dismissed by the program of a rev-For purposes of concentration, labor movement. "Neutrality" in olutionary party, unless the inter-Change. The parties referred to class struggle policy and leadership, annual holiday celebrations are of course the socialist and the The Socialist party is just about There is, unfortunately, a great In this discussion, we pursue no official Communst (Stalinist) part- as neutral in the trade unions as deal in the A. W. P. statement In the case of both parties, the prop and an ally of every reaction- the results would be little less than

> Why is no mention made of the internationalist, international connections of the Socurt parentheses, as one of the article.

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

A revolutionary program which sive forces in every contest"? Or in the post-war revolutionary storms ary party with that International.

are the Communists. Directly and which lends itself too easily to such indirectly, the Socialist party is a a conception. If it should prevail, of yesterday: first and foremost an

If this truism is stated so emcialist party? Even for a party phatically here, it is because it is whose absorbing concern is with all but emphatically (and far from were proclaimed heroes in their the problems in this country, the correctly) stated in the document Second International is worth of the A. W. P. The deficiencies something more than one casual of the program in this respect, as and one accidental reference. After shown by the stand taken towards all, it does live, and breathe, and the Stalinist party and the problem poison the atmosphere. The fourth of the International, require comchapter of the statement cites, in ment which must be left to another -MAX SHACHTMAN

Collapse of Austro-Marxism

(Continued from page 1)

try, if a government commissar The Socialist party, it says, is were appointed in Vienna, or if our The Dissatisfied Masses

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

"Last Sunday night in Vienna comrade coming from Linz warned me that the workers of Linz were the Heimwehr action and had declared that if any further action arms they would defend themselves for the sake of the Republic.

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

It is by these methods and with this spirit that the Bauers prespan. But one of the main pre-con- whom they wielded an undivided ditions for a successful achievement and undisputed influence, for the of this desirable aim lies in a clear- decisive battle which they fought social reormism and a readiness to unlike so many of their German prodeal it vigorous and effective blows totype, a few Bauers or Deutsches did engage in the actual fighting? As the party of petty bourgeois The fact may be a credit to their very nature of things. "The Social- lays bare what was never successist party," says the statement, fully concealed: the leaders of the "takes cognizance of the workers' Austrian social democracy wanted industrial struggles only to the ex- anything but a struggle; they left tent of rendering auxiliary relief no stone unused as an obstacle in other way seeks to remain 'neu-lifted Dollfuss into the saddle so

The Austro-Marxist school, in the proletariat in the lurch at the this most powerful base, the in-trian Samson of all his strength so dustrial struggle, will be left to that when his strength was tested drift or go in circles, or move intel- the pillars of reaction could fall lectually backward. The party's upon him and crush him to earth. record in this most important field So we solemnly repeat today the is further marred (marred? Not at terrific indictment of Austro-Marx-

small benefits for the workers dur- brake on their revolutionary strug- munists. They built apartment ing the war, it is true. I should be the last to refuse to recognize effectual reformism. Yes. But no solved we would strike. Our party what was accomplished to protect reference is made to the essential stuck to the last to these four the working class from many a threatening wrong. But they have sold their birthright for a mess of pottage.....

"I came into conflict with the Party Executive Committee particularly because it ahs become more upon me that a revolution in Austria can come only against the will of the Executive Committee which revolutionary movement....

that only over the heads and against the bosses. highly indignant and alarmed over the will of the Party authorities in In the course of preparation, and Austria can a real revolutionary up-during the fight, many obstacles, heaval in Austria come, that only hitherto unsuspected by the averwere taken to deprive them of their by disregarding them will it be pos- age rank and file worker, came to sible to use the force that must be light. A careful study of these used to overthrow the rule of force weak points, with a view to correct-

> apostate to his own words, they can be only as strong as an alert rise from their pages again today and determined membership chose to nail to the pillory of eternal to make it. shame the perfidious leaders of the Austrian working class.—S.

AD NAUSEAM

FROM THE DAILY WORKER REPORTS OF THE 17th CON-GRESS OF THE C.P.S.U.

with the cry 'Long live the world in advance that the gains made in C. P.! Long live Stalin, great lead-the Coal Strike will not be partially er of the world proletariat'!"

"Zinoviev hailed Stalin as the true Leninist and preserver of the

eads to greater tasks."

olution, thought and action." the party of Lenin."

"The inspirer and organizer of test.

our victories, the steel giant of the revolution, Stalin enjoys the limitless love of our party."

who fulfilled Lenin's bequest."

leader." "Long live Stalin!"

"The hall is hushed as Molotov bosses to deal with the Union. Durall. Characterized !-- S.) by its pol- ism uttered in court by Friedrick speaks about the party's successes, ing the most advantageous time of icy of siding with the conservative Adler, on trial during the war for about the Five Year Plan-and the winter season this Board to-

The Waterloo of Pseudo-Radicalism

ienna:the Socialist'Millenium

has been universal. A casual read- (Yesterday he was hailed as a become strongholds of socialism." er of the newsappers is led to be "modern David") The New York And further "Under Socialist rule lieve that die-hard conservatives Times makes no bones as to its mo- in Vienna utilities were taken over have made common cause with rev- tives. Shepherd Stone says in a fea- and in general income from taxaolutionaries in tribute to the im- ture article on February 18th. mortal Austrian working class. Bourgeois Praise of Austro-Marxism provements and social welfare. So-Many have he doubt been confused by the sympathetic treatment accorded to the Austrian workers by American capitalist journals. That society is no more than skin-deep this "united front" of extremes in will soon be proved.

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

The Capitalist Press

The capitalist press was the civilian field marshall and recruiting Marxism (sic!)." sergeant for the imperalist mass murder of fifteen years ago. They revelled in the sadistic White Teror of the post-war years.

The Wrangels and the Kolchaks

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

The Austrian workers were not fighting an offensive battle. They

collapsed in 1918 and Austria became the ball instead of the bat geois Catholics) cooperated to salvage the ruins of the Empire. The despised Marxists who barricaded

to the democratic and liberal capi- revolution. talist class in Europe and America. in the guise of a gradual peaceful munism and social democracy! The out of danger.

Vienna The Symbol

"Red Vienna" was the symbol for were defending their institutons Austro-Marxism. It was bailed and organizations. While we have by its supporters as living proof nothing but praise for this superb that it was possible to attain a they have betrayed their real class fight against the Fascist monster great maximum of socialism withinterests, they have betrayed the yet it must be said that both the out violence, without depriving the International, and the idea of the party and the institutions defend- capitalist class of its wealth or prisocial revolution. They have won ed by these workers had become a vileges-without acting as Com- its everlasting shame!

Except for the Fascist blood-, gle for socialism. It is only because houses which the Times says "behounds, who glory is the extermin- the capitalist press appreciates the came models for city planners ation of the militant proletariat, services of Austro-Marxism in throughout the world. Rents were acclaim for the unbounded heroism maintaining bourgeois civilization astonishingly low, and it was only of the Austrian social democracy that they now reproach Dollfuss. natural that these blocks should

tion was employed for public im-"When the Hapsburg monarchy cialist legislation provided for the citizen from a few months before his birth until bis burial. Health, housing, wages, unemployment dole, and Christian Socialists (the bour- all came within the scope of muni-

Reformist Utopia

Thus the utopia of reform socialthemselves in their tenement houses ism reached its piunacle in Vienna last week saved Austria from Com- and here too it ended in a horrible munism in 1919. At that time pro- debacle. The achilles heel of the pagandists from Moscow and from Austrian workers was the lack of Budapest, which was temporarily state power. The treachery of its under Communist rule, preached the leadership lay in their harnessing new faith in the streets of Vienna. the struggle for state power when But the activities of the Socialist the time was ripe and the proleleaders prevented a bloody conflict tariat ready. Between the Combetween proletariat and bourgeoisie. mune which lasted but two months, Last week some of the men who and "Red Vienna", the socialist had rescued the country from Com- milennium there was this differmunism were dying because of their ence: state power. That is all the difference in the world. The capi-Need we explain further that the talist press is thankful to Bauer destruction of Austro-Marxism and Co., because they did not folmeant the loss of a steadfast ally low the sure road of the proletarian

How clear is the difference in Under the cloak of democracy and tactics and results between Comevolution from capitalism to social- bombarded tenement houses in ism the Bauer's, the Adler's, and Vienna stand as demonstration of the Renner's stayed the tide of the the futility of trying to reform proletarian revolution long enough capitalism out of existence. The for the Heimwehr to thrust it far thousands of proletarian corpses are dumb witnesses to the fact that the gradualism of the Vienna lackeys meant the gradual arming of the counter-revolution and the notso-gradual annihilation of the flower of the working class.

"Red Vienna" is now red only in worker's blood. The pride of "in-

Victory In Minneapolis Coal Strike

(Continued from page 1) Inspiration and Example For Union Workers

The methods used and the manner in which the organization work was carried out, stands as a model and more a counter-revolutenary for the benefit of those who will insitution. The conviction has grown take up the vast work that lies just ahead. The coal workers section of the transportation industry, has gained its first objective. These will always be a hindrance to the workers have tested their organized strength, almost alone, in a sharp "What I wished to prove was and successful engagement with

upon which our government rests." ing them, will be of extreme im-Though he has since turned portance for the future. The union

First of all: No barrier must be membership to full strength. THE FUEL OIL AND GASOLINE DRIV-ERS AND HELPERS are the next a responsible and powerful position be hunted for. It is right in the section to be organized, here there must be no delay. This approach connects up the campaign which leads from section to section and "He (the speaker) concludes gives what assurances can be given

sacrificed. The Open Shop bosses have learned a bitter lesson. That they are far from idle is well known to every "Giant of the revolution, Stalin wide-awake worker. The example of the whole police force ranged "The great Stalin, giant of rev- on the side of the bosses in the futile effort to break through the "Joseph Stalin, great leader of picket lines with scab coal, has only one meaning for the Union and "Stalin given thunderous ovation." each member of the Union. Be "Stalin's irreconcilability-con-prepared! Be prepared! BE MUCH BETTER PREPARED! for the next

Every member of the Union as well as those workers who will be members in the coming period, should be vigilantly watching the world who is listened to as Stalin." Regional Labor Board. What ex-"Millions of fighters-conquerors actly has been its role? It is well impatiently wait to hear the man to note the fact that in all the efforts made by the Union Committee "Burning with enthusiasm the to present the coal workers de-Congress rises to greet the great mands to the bosses, the Board was only an agency to transmit an insolent reply and a flat refusal of the gether with several Labor officials

es and to all who wished to see that of America.

drivers—then the Board, with little delay, came forward with a deciwas ordered. This played directly shout for it and FIGHT for it. into the hands of the coal yard owners who had LOST the Strike.

Here is one of the most important lessons of the strike. It must be discussed again and again in the Union. There must be no misunderstandings. The way to avoid the busy corners, in the subways them is through full and free dis- and at workers meetings and gathcussion by the membership.

ture. When it is considered that union organization has come to the Minneapolis, the workers in the The very nature of the work in which they are engaged gives them force to collect it doesn't need to

in the trade union movement. These workers have demonstrated ership organize it. their power. They have forced retheir place with the forces of re- There is no other way.

one stroke, no responsible and ex- ing before the Labor Board and its perienced worker will contend, but chairman, Mrs. Herrick. Answer any undue delay in advancing along the insults of this strike breaker in this road will be costly for the a manner worthy of the leaders of whole movement. To follow up the striking workers. Let the world advantage and achieve the greatest know that the hotel workers are good, means for the membership to fighting for their rights, not begready for further devoted work, to ging for them. Above all try to stand ready for further develop convince the strikers by deeds that ments. Ready at all times to 'crack you conceive of the strike as a class down' if danger threatens the battle and lead it accordingly. Stop

-V. R. D.

AGAINST HOOLGANISM

(Brownsville) unsuimously con- ocratic union, not a reactionary, demns the actions of the disrupters bureaucratic one; it is the A. F. W. "Stalin takes the floor-the Con- were instrumental in postponing of the mass meeting in Madison not the A. F. of L. Therefore try action under one pretext and an Square Garden called by the So- to act like progressive and militant other, which gravely weakend and cialist Party and A. F L. trade labor leaders, not like bulldozing "Stalin concludes. Applause honor- endangered the coal workers' post- unions. We feel that the blame labor fakers. falls squarely on the shoulders of When in spite of these obstruct the Stalinist misleaders who are Buy a PIONEER PUBLISHERS-"Our Congress will mobilize- tive tactics, the justly angered and doubly to be blamed because they CERTIFICATE. It's only \$5 and around the leader, comrade Stalin." aroused workers STRUCK the are prejudicing the cause of Com- entitle you to 40% discount on our justifying its existence. It cannot justifying its existence as a separate justify its existence as a separate separate justify its existence as a separate of control of the boss-munism among the working class publications and to a 20% reduction of the property of the p

Hotel Strike

er of pollyanna optimism. We repeat: heroic action and a sharp sion that actually saved the face of turn of policy are absolutely necthe bosses. And not only their essary. The genuine militants in faces. A vote in the separate yards the union must understand this, In our opinion concentration is necessary especially on two practi-

cal tasks: Relief. Mobilize the strikers to collect funds. Organize a tag day. Put five hundred strikers on ering places with collection boxes The next phase of the fight for to raise money quickly. Organize better conditions in the coal indus- a big squad of strikers to canvas try will open up in the near fu-union meetings. Open a real kitchen and really feed the strikers. Send squads out to collect food supplies coal yards for the first time in from stores, sympathizers and workers' neighborhoods. Circularyards and on the trucks have no ize every workers' organization with reason to take second place in mat- an appeal for funds, get out collecters of organization and militant tion lists-raise funds at once by action. They have already conduct- every practical means and utilize ed one of the best struggles that the latent energies of the strikers placed in the way of recruiting the the city has seen in its labor history. themselves for the task. The strike depends relief now. The

> 2. Picketing. Connect the discognition of the union while ON pensation of relief directly with STRIKE, a victory of no mean pro- service on the picket line. Real portions, in the present state of the and systematic picketing combined local Drivers' Unions. They have, with mass demonstrations can force while in struggle, won the loyal a settlement, and nothing else can. support of the rank and file of the Instead of subordinating the actions Ice Wagon Drivers Union. This of the strikers to the negotiations, and other advantages must be or-subordinate the negotiations to the ganizationally consolidated, by actions of the strikers. On his line welding the drivers' unions into a the situation can be changed in 24 more solid unit. Those who oppose hours, morale can be restored and progress in this direction must take the strike can take on new life.

union headquarters. Let the lead-

3. To the Leaders. Quit chasing That this can be accomplished at after "respectability". Stop crawlyour treacherous maneuvers and intrigues against the militant elements in the union and give up the idea that you can silence them with strong arm methods. Remem-The Spartacus Youth Club ber this is a progressive and dem-