THEMILITANT WORKERS **OF THE** WORLD, UNITE Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America VOLUME VII, NO. 31 [WHOLE NO. 235] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 4, 1934 **PRICE 2 CENTS**

STRIKERS DEFY OLSON MILITIA

CLA

Drivers Force Release of 4 Leaders

Minneapolis, Aug. 2. - Defying martial law and the bayonets of Governor Olson's National Guard, the striking truckmen are back on the picket line.

They have stopped scab trucks operating under military permit. They have defied Governor Ol-

son's blustering order: "There will be no picketing by automobiles or otherwise."

Major General Ellard Walsh, military dictator of Minneapolis, tried to break the drivers' strike by raiding headquarters of Local 574, and putting William S. Brown, president of the union, Vincent and Miles Dunne, and 90 other pickets and leaders behind a military stockade.

He failed!

The supposedly leaderless strikers continued their militant antiscab activities with utmost precision and perfect efficiency.

A report from military headquarters here admits that the strikers have stopped 69 trucks during the three hours between 6 and 9 a.m. and that the picket activities continue unabated despite the military reign of terror.

Here is a sample of the radio reports sent out from military headquarters to the radio patrol cars eruising the city:

"Pickets unloading trucks on Tenth ave. bridge. . . . Pickets chasing a meat truck in south Minneapolis. . , . Pickets captured a tion. . . Soldiers too late; pickets gone.'

The military patrols rushed to the scene, to find damaged trucks, and bruised and beaten scabs, ac- third strike conducted by this milicording to reports from their headquarters. But no pickets.

overturned by the strikers were a number of pie trucks, supposedly banned by Governor Olson's "nonpartisan" permit order.



Olsen "Protects" the Strikers

Local 574 Makes Frame-up Against Labor History in League Leaders a are as fine a bunch of grafters as of labor and a victim of this murderous gardy to the sacred cause of labor and a victim of this murderous gardy to brigands. John Belor died in the besited early to neapolis. . . . Pickets captured a truck near Bryant ave. police sta-truck near Bryant ave. police sta-

Minneapolis. --- Symbolic of the Minneapolis, July 31.--The great whole "Red Scare" strategy of the trucking strike of Local 574-the Citizens Alliance for the purpose of smashing the strike and the tant organization within six months union of the truckers, and of the -begins its third week today, and aid rendered them in this job by with unparalieled anrontery, it is admitted that among the trucks in the detail that a critical stage the administration and the miliin the struggle is at hand. Having tary regime of Governor Floyd B. smashed every a tempt of the boss- Olson of Minnesota, was the fact es to break through the iron ring that the first prisoners to be taken of 574's pickets by the aid of po- by the National Guard after the eslice, even when the latter cruise tablishment last Thursday of marthe streets with loaded shotguns, tial law, were the two Communist

Brown, president of the drivers' the strikers now stand face to face League leaders, James P. Cannon active leaders in striking Local break the strike by military force. respectively the Militant and the chances of success, nd could be New International. Brown, president of the drivers with a determined campaign to and Max Shachtman, representing present conditions, have excellent tional Guard is here to help the strikers? and every day since it took effect, protect the citizens of Minneapothe three local daily newspapers ers want. They know that such a lis", is issuing permits on a wholecarried on a systematic anti-Red union could not be kept in the leadsale scale for the operation of scab drive inspired by the Citizens Al- ing strings of the labor lieutenants trucks under military protection. liance. If the Minneapolis Journal of capitalism. The workers in Chi-Martial law, ostensibly invoked to is the staunchest spokesman for cago as in Toledo, the Pacific compel the employers to accept the Coast, Minneapolis, etc., are atthe latter, the Tribune and the once compromise settlement proposed by pro-labor Star are not to be found tempting to fight their way through the federal mediators, is tightening like a noose around the strike and far behind in servility. Half-page the barriers set by the "Leaders of Labor". Will they be successful in scarecrow ads paid for by the "Emthreatens to strangle it. the Chicago Stockyards? That is ployers Advisory Committee", a Martial law has been in effect impossible to say from here. But thin cover for the Citizens Alliance, now for five days. An ordinary one thing is sure, throughout the kept hammering away at the bogey-United States today, the workers man theme-day in, day out. The smashed to bits already. Never in are seeking militant leadership International Communists, were recent times has such an imposing everywhere. The infernal "Trotwith ever greater insistence. skvists" had captured control of Local 574 of the Truck Drivers. Four thousand National Guards Helpers and Inside Workers. Their Protest the Military real purpose was the revolution. -patrol the city, armed to the and the first step was to pull a Terror in Minneapolis teeth and menacing the pickets strike which apparently was to be curbing free assemblage and carvspringboard for the insurrection. State Troops in Minneapolis ing out a right of way for the scab These Communists, moreover wantraided the headquarters of Local trucks. But Local 574 is not an ed to form a new revolutionary 574 of the striking truck drivordinary union and it cannot be party and a Fourth International ers, arrested strike leaders and broken without a real fight. Local -and numerous extracts from varimprisoned them in military 574 has a firm core of militants ious issues of the Militant were restockades, took possession of all tested in three battles within six produced to indicate these sinister union records and files, and formonths. It has a staff of deteraims bade strikers entrance to their mined leaders who know no policy Union Leaders Stand Up own hall. but the policy of struggle. This The whole purpose of this drive, Not content with this outragunion cannot be broken without a eous strike-breaking act, they as is the case with every "Red fight that will set new standards of Scare" thrown up under such cirinvaded the headquarters of the militancy for the American work-Minneapolis Central Labor Uncumstances, was all too obvious. particularly to the men of Local ion, drove its officers into the This was manifested in the ulti-574, and the employers did not street, and took complete conmatum given to Governor Olson by make an inch of headway with it. trol. The strike-breaking martial The leaders of the union, at whom the drive was aimed for the simple law in Minneapolis is a threat to labor throughout the country. reason that they were not the kind hours. It demanded that no permits of labor officials—all too common in When it so pleases the bosses, all be issued henceforth to employers the trade union movement --- who constitutional rights may be who do not comply with the terms violated, strike meetings forbidcould either be intimidated or of the compromise settlement and bought, met the campaign in the den, leaders placed in internget their workers from the union. only way worthy of militant union ment camps. For the first time in recent labor We call upon all workers to men. They made no denials or history a union is meeting the chalforward protests to Governor apologies. They did not leap into ing its right to strike and picket print with whining assurances of Olson. We call upon the trade unions as organizations to liketheir "respectability". They did in the face of it. It is needless to wise forward protests, in denot shout from the housetops that try to predict the outcome. But fense of their own rights. Orthey too were against the Reds. this can be said with assurance: If ganize protest meetings! Sup-Just the contrary. Without devi-Local 574 goes down, it will go port the heroic struggle of the ating for an instant from their down fighting and will leave a rec-Minneapolis workers for the principal task of consolidating all ord and a tradition of heroic strugrights of all workers! Build the the labor forces for the struggle to gle that will inspire the developgain the wage demands of the united front of labor against ment of the militant labor movegovernment strike-breaking! (Continued on Page 4)

A.F.L.Heads Check Strike Local 574 Issues Call for In Stockyards A Protest General Strike

Workers of Chicago entered the long line of strike battles that are raging from coast to coast as 800 stock handlers marched out on a strike that has had the huge Chicago Stockyards tied up for more than a week. Violation of an arbitration award by the Chicago Live Stock Exchange was the final straw stock handlers. The most important

point involved being the guarantee of a minimum wage of \$20 a week to the men engaged in this strenuous and hazardous occupation.

Showing the same class solidarity mass of trade unionists in all other William Collins, organizer of the local, announced that other locals were coming out but the International officers interfered and ordered the men to stay at work.

Press reports tell of the strenuous efforts put in by the misleaders of various A. F. of L. unions to keep the workers from joining the strike. Members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers of America are demanding that they be called out, but as their "leaders" are as fine a bunch of grafters as labor movement, they will leave no

General Johnson, fresh from his strike-breaking role in San Francisco, is quoted as saying "I don't intend to get mixed up in this strike if I can help it." Evidently, he is relying on the labor fakers to defeat the strike. If they fail, action by the Knight of the Blue Buzzard can be expected. The bosses are the suffering of the poor cattle whose executions have been delayed. A general strike o f the Chicago do about it?

stockyard workers would, under

(We publish below the appeal of Local 574 for a general strike in protest against the military tyranny of Governor Olson as published in the Organizer, the union's daily strike bulletin. The proposition for a general strike has been laid before the Central Labor Union. As we go to press we have not yet received news of their answer.---Ed.)

* * * * which broke the patience of the TO THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE WORKING **PEOPLE OF MINNEAPOLIS:**

Military tyranny has reached its peak in Minneapolis. For the first time in decades, a trade union headquarters has been occupied by military forces and trade union leaders have been arrested and imprisoned in a military stockade. Picket cars are that has characterized the great ordered off the street while every scab truck gets a free permit. Not even in Toledo, where troops were strikes throughout the country, the called out by a Democratic Governor, nor in San other unions covering stock yard Francisco, where they were called out by a Republiworkers are voting to come out in can Governor, has such a monstrous violation of the solidarity with the stockhandlers, rights of workingmen been perpetrated. Never before in our time has such a direct and outright act of strike-breaking by military force been witnessed. A dastardly blow has been struck at the very heart of the labor movement by military forces under the command of Floyd B. Olson, Governor of the State of Minnesota.

The Cifizens Alliance is out to break Local Union 574, and with it the entire labor movement in Minneapolis. They want to make Minneapolis an "open shop" town in order to beat us all down to the level of slaves and coolies.

They have already shed the blood of two Union nen. Henry Ness was torn from the bosom of his family a few days ago, a martyr to the sacred cause brigands. John Belor died in the hospital early today, his back riddled with slugs from the shotguns of Johannes' murderers, the second victim of the Union-smashing campaign, the second immortal martyr of labor's cause.

But the Citizens Alliance and the infamous band of assassins commanded by Bloody Johannes sought in vain to break the strike. Our ranks stood like a wall of steel. No scab trucks, loaded for the purpose of taking bread and milk out of the mouths of our men and their families, were allowed to move. And now, what the Alliance and its police force vere unable to do, is being undertaken by Governor issuing heart-rending appeals about Olson and his National Guard. They have set out to break the strike with armed force.

Union men of Minneapolis, what are you going to

Is there one fool who still thinks that Olson's Na-

Is there one scoundrel who will dare to say that used to force organization of the the suppression of picketing, the raiding of our head-

the right to picket has been conquered and defended by the labor movement for a hundred years. We shall never give it up.

They raided our headquarters with a thousand National Guardsmen, equipped with field machine guns, the latest model tear gas bombs, bayonets and pistols, and commanded by the "friend of labor," Floyd B. Olson

They didn't raid the headquarters of the Citizens Alliance. They didn't interfere with the sinister clique which meets in the dark of the moon to conspire against the lives and the working conditions of labor. The officers of the "Employers Advisory Board" are inviolate. The men against whom Governor Olson directs his words, are not touched.

No! Only the headquarters of workingmen fighting for the right to live, is raided by Olson's militlamen. And Olsen, remember, is the Farmer-Labor Governor, the friend of the workingman and the farmer, the friend of labor. Let him run for office now on the platform: "I raided the headquarters of Local 574. I flung their leaders into the military stockade. I broke a strike which Johannes couldn't break. Therefore, workers and farmers, vote for me !

Let him come before the workingmen who put him into office and defend his actions. He will hear the roar of protest that will make the indignant shouts of the 25,000 workingmen who gathered last night at the Parade Grounds, sound like a whisper.

It was the Citizens Alliance and the employers whom he criticized in words-in his statements and over the radio. But the ringleaders of the Alliance walk the stagets scot free, with satisfied smiles wreathing their fat jowls, unhampered and untouched by Governor Olson and his militia.

Our leaders, whose only crime is their unswerving allegiance to the just cause of the truck drivers, helpers and inside men, are taken prisoner at the point of machine guns and bayonets and incarcerated in the stockade. And what a magnificent tribute Olson is thereby paying to Bill Brown and Vincent Dunne and Miles Dunne and the other fearless leaders of our Union who are even now being hunted and tracked like wild beasts! The bosses couldn't buy them off. The bosses couldn't kid them out of the tight for the men. The bosses couldn't scare them or bulldoze them. The riot guns of Johannes the Murderer couldn't make them quit. So it was left to the Labor Governor, Floyd B. Olson, to arrest them out of our ranks and fling them into prison.

But if he thinks that that will break our ranks, he is mistaken. We have learned from our leaders how to hold out, how to fight, how to keep together, how to meet all bluffs and threats and shows of force. Their imprisonment only inspires us to fight all the more resolutely and uncompromisingly in the spirit of those incorruptible and fearless militants whom we are proud of having chosen as our leaders. We are confident that we shall not fight alone. From the very outset, we declared repeatedly that our cause is the cause of the whole labor movement, of every working man. Our defeat will be YOUR defeat. Our victory will be YOUR victory. We know that you all understand this. You have endorsed our struggle on many occasions. You have manifested your sympathy and solidarity in various ways. We know for sure that the heart of every honest worker in Minneapolis beats with ours. They are aiming their murderous, strike-breaking blows at you as well as against us. Now you must understand the necessity of striking back with the whole force of the organized labor movement of Minneapolis.

released from the military stockade in which they have been imprisoned.

Meanwhile, from the employers, backed by the police, the Citizens' Union, the capitalist press, the State militia, Governor Olson, and other strike-breaking agencies, comes the first "peace proposal" to federal mediators today.

The bosses suggest scrapping the May 31 agrement, the terms of which they shamelessly violated, and the drawing up of a new agree- trade union would have been ment.

Their proposal offers a minimum wage scale of 50 cents per hour for display of military force been drivers and 40 cents per hour for brought into play against a strike all other workers, as compared with the federal proposal of a 421 men-almost one for every striker and 521 minimum, which the workers accepted.

They demand the prior calling off of the strike, and offer "the reinstatement of employes except those convicted of violence."

Convicted of violence by the boss courts, which were silent when the police thugs shot down unarmed workers, killing four and wounding scores seriously. Convicted of violence by the courts that have accepted military rule, the raiding of workers' headquarters, destroying of records, violation of ing class. the rights of free speech and assemblage.

This is the peace proposal Governor Olson has been waiting for; the Strike Committee last night. for which he mustered military The union demanded the revocation forces, to "bring both sides to of all permits for a period of 48 terms."

Law and order must be preserved at all costs, in particular at the cost of the striking workers.

"Impartial" Military Rule

An illustration of Olson's impartial military rule was afforded when the Guardsmen swooped down upon strike headquapters, dispersing the pickets in front of the building, and arresting nearly one hundred leaders, among them Brown, and the Dunne brothers. The wounded strikers, being cared for at headquarters, were removed to a military hospital, un-

(Continued on Page 4)

entire yards. Such action is the quarters and the imprisonment of our leaders in a last thing that the A. F. of L. fak- military stockade — is a favor to the workers?

Is there one man so blind as not to see that if 574 is allowed to go down in defeat, under the brutal hammering of military despotism, the whole labor movement of this city will have been dealt a mortal blow?

Union men, brothers, sisters, fellow workers! What are you going to do about it?

We appeal to you for help, for solidarity!

We solemnly call upon every trade union in the city, upon every trade union leader, upon every trade union member, upon every workingman and woman. to meet this challenge of military tyranny with a GENERAL STRIKE OF PROTEST!

Up to now, Local 574 has borne the brunt of the battle. We are still fightng. And as far as we are concerned, our answer to the attempt to suppress our strike and our Union by the military force of the National Guard, is the same reply we made to Bloody Mike Johannes when he shot our pickets in the back: We shall fight for our rights to the bitter end! We have been dealt heavy blows-first by the bosses of the Citizens Alliance, then by their murderous tools in the Police Department.

Now Floyd Olson's National Guard points bayonets and machine guns at us and tells us to give up our fight and go back to work as beaten slaves. They ordered us to quit picketing. Our answer is, We shall not be slaves!

Every trade union in Minneapolis must call an emergency meeting immediately!

A Council of Action representing the entire labor movement of the city must be set up to organize and direct the general strike of protest!

The working class of Minneapolis must form an iron ring of solidarity around Local 574!

Every union man and every union leader must show his colors now!

Resistance to tyranny is the beginning of freedom-Answer Olson's military tyranny with the General Strike of Protest!

> Police Commissioner O'Ryan now admit that the function of the present unit will be the same as that of the old riot squad, to beat lown workers striking for higher wages or demonstrating for higher relief allotments. The latter announced "The regiment which is double the size of the old riot squad, which is succeeds, will be used in any kind of emergency."

> > The class conscious workers understand the new move for what it is. The increasing unemployment, reduced relief, and the strike wave sweeping the country is not leaving America's largest city untouched. The present move of the city administration will help to lay bore the sham character of the liberal La Guardia. Whether under the reactionary Rossi of San Francisco or the liberal La Guardia of New York, we observe that decreased relief appropriations go hand in hand with greater efficiency of the

Sunday Aug, 5, 8 P.M.

Irving Plaza 15st. & Irving Pl.

ment everywhere.

MAX SHACHTMAN The Minneapolis Strike Editor of The New International. Twice Arrested by Police and

National Guard. He is Coming to New York for this Meeting,

- An Eyewitness Account -

More Strikebreakers

Anticipating a winter of violent and sub-machine guns for fighting labor struggles and strikes, the at close quarters.

New York Police Commissioner has announced his plans of coping with construction work in the N. Y. C. parade purposes. Forced by events region.

has already begun training in the ficials have been compelled to admit armories of the city is to consist of 1.200 men. This is double the size and unemployment demonstrations. In addition to the increase in num-

police" against striking workers. Men on parade do not carry ma of the old riot squad which has up to now been the major squad of chine guns or tear gas bombs. The the police in dealing with strike parade formation for a sub-machine

The brazen lie of parade formaber the men are being trained in the tion so completely exposed. Mayor Police department in shooting down use of rifles, tear gas, machine guns La Guardia of New York City and workers,

Seeing a wave of strikes sweep the situation. The police rifle regi- the country, the plans for the rement, which was to have begun cently organized contingent were training during the fall, was called laid down some time ago. At that into being immediately following time, however, Police Commissioner the San Francisco and Minneapolis O'Ryan attempted to disguise the strikes, and the threat of a com- purpose of the group by the claim plete tie-up of all P.W.A. heavy that it was merely for display and

to push ahead the date of commencement of training, the city of-The new "rifle regiment" which their intention of using these "rifle

gun unit has yet to be invented.



Mussolini, the murderer of Mat teoti, becoming righteously indignant over the happy ending of Dollfuss. . .

Friends of Dollfuss, the murder er of the Vienna socialists, weeping at the funeral of the bloody gnome.

German Nazi writers raving over the "outrageous tortures inflicted on the Austrian Nazis in the Heimwehr prisons". . .

And last but not least, the American bourgeoisie who burned the lives out of Sacco and Vanzetti affecting horror over Fascist degeneracy and torture. . . . * * *

The "Cardinal's Mistress" Goes to Mass

Dollfuss in Rome. We wonder it the "Cardinal's Mistress", (black- the unanimous walkout, the capitalied him.

Building Up Socialism and Tearing Down Capitalism

American plutes to drink Vodka, A good exchange. Polo sharpens quately be appraised." the wits. Vodka deadens them. * * *

Smile! Damn You, Smile!

country over.

No Solidarity Green

Further on, in his one big whine issued to the press on July 20th, Green takes occasion to castigate sympathetic strikes for all times: 'It is a dangerous experimentation fraught with grave consequences." Grave consequences for the employers? No, such a thought never entered the mind of this lackey. _"The economic losses which workers sustain when they are compelled to return to work, demoralized and disheartened as a result of a sympathetic strike, cannot be adequately appraised."

If it is the Frisco strike to which Mr. Green refers then we are tempted to ask why it had to be a de-Mussolini attended holy mass for feat? The workers responded to a man to the general strike call, the a copy of his book of other days, city was held firm in the grip of listed by the Vatican) accompan- ists were shouting their panic to the heavens-victory was in sight. It was the Judas kiss of the Greens. the Vandeleurs and the Caseys that turned a possible victory into a cer-While Troyanovsky teaches the tain defeat and "compelled the workers to return to work . . . sus-Bullitt teaches the Red Army Polo. taining losses which cannot ade-

Bosses Unite-O. K. for Green That the bosses are constantly resorting to sympathetic actions, N. Y. Sun, July 5th: "A new pol- supporting each other with finances icy at Boston's Girls High School and moral assistance of every derequires that every graduate must scription, that their network of smile when receiving her diploma." Chambers of Commerce are ready to nite against labor and its unior government follows the advice of at a moment's notice-that troubles the Daily News and drives out all Mr. Green not at all. And why "Reds" it can as a further develop- should it? This is a free country, ment pass a law that all unem- isn't it? What frightens this Bapployed American citizens shall tist president most is that sympagasp out "My Country 'tis of Thee" thetic strikes may come into conflict "When a sympathetic strike occurs, the issues primarily responsible for a strike become subordinated and a new conflict arises between those engaged in the strike and the governmental authorities . . it is compelled to bring all its resources into action . . . the fight is between the city, state and Federal authorities on the one side and the strikers on the other . . . everyone must know and understand that in such a conflict the government must win; it cannot surrender." Profoundly correct, Mr. Green! That is the first part of your statement which says that the government lines up with the bosses. The workers are fast learning this lesson, but they are learning too that the bosses and their govern ment will never surrender so long as they can call upon slimy sympathetic strike as an insurrection.

from the traditional type of craft

unions going along with such coners had their own idea of section cessions as it could wrest from cap-7a of the National Industrial Reitalism through the means of classcovery Act. But they never acceptcollaboration and obtained at the ed the working class interpretation cost of keeping the large masses and they immediately sensed the unorganized and subsisting on a danger to their special privilege of lower standard of living. In the exploitation when the workers beminds of the many new trade union gan to struggle for unions of a mass recruits their organization is concharacter to perform a new role ceived of from the outset as an indistinct from that of the craft unstrument of struggle for better conions as they existed heretofore. By ditions and this is immediately their terrific onslaught they now translated into practical action. To hope to head this off before it is this extent it is a new kind of untoo late.

ionism which stands on the order On the other hand the splendid of the day. Equally as important, spontaneous actions by the working however, in the present situation is



Forward to a Daily!

ended on August first with a total of 574 new subs. During the past week 86 new

Minneapolis (Amigo) Chicago Branch Los Angeles Branch New Haven Branch Buffalo (Reid)

Davenport Branch

Local N. Y. (A. S.)

The second Club Plan sub drive

20

20

14

subs came in as follows:

Bronx Sp. Youth Cl.

class throughout the country testifies to the fact that it senses the great opportunity for organiation and for making new gains which are at hand whenever it avails it self of this opportunity. The working class is set into motion and proceeds to break down the barriers which stand in the way. The

rising curve of struggles give new inspiration and creates new and favorable opportunities for further progress. The grievances and the discontent of the workers is con- called to consider this question at nected directly with the fight for the Stuyvesant High School ended tire program.

organization and it is militant from in unprecedented commotion. the start. In this process the unions have of necessity taken on a broader scope and are becoming more industrial in character.

There is involved in this not curing the endorsement of the mem-law encouraged mob violence going up in expectation of serious merely the pedantic question of bership to the Joint Council deciform, but rather the question of sion. The membership has been Gov. Merriam's toleration of mob substance. The Minneapolis Truck angered to the extreme by Wolin-Drivers Union, for example, found sky's collusion with the bosses. it necessary to organize also the Since the expiration of the last agreement with the bosses, last inside men who are directly connected with their line of commer-| May, there has been no new setcial transportation. It is reported tlement although the membership now that the longshoremen's union outlined some 18 demands as points in the cities along the Gulf is simi- of bargaining. Wolinsky who was larly beginning to organize within in charge of this matter did nothing its ranks the inside men connected but rely upon a fact-finding commiswith the handling of ships' cargo. sion in Washington, which in turn We already know that the unions did nothing, to the great satisfacdeveloping in the automobile and tion of the bosses. The meeting was packed. Turthe steel industry among others, moil set in at the very outset. More could proceed to organize only on an industrial basis, taking in all than an hour was consumed electing a chairman. Kleinman, a former workers to make common cause in the fight. This to a considerable lieutenant of Wolinsky who desertdegree also accounts for the fact ed him when he saw his ship was of the militancy which has been sinking, took the chair and gave displayed by the workers and it the floor to a Wolinsky supporter accounts much more directly for who urged the non-acceptance of the violent opposition and head-on the resignation. The indignant workers rose and voiced their inattacks by the bosses. In San Francisco the strike in- dignation, whereupon the Wolinsky volved almost from the outset, not supporters, led by the aforemen only the longshoremen, but all the tioned Stein, began a Billy Sunday maritime unions. From the point Holy Roller demonstration. This of view of the bosses that progres- bedlam all to the chairman's liking sive combination had to be broken continued for some time until order up and the state forces, the police was finally restored only for the and the troops, were brought onto chairman to make the astounding the scene, not to maintain "law and announcement that Wolinsky was order" but to protect scabs and to report on his "activities" in break the strike. All the union Washington. Then for the first time men of San Francisco sensed in in years this gangster-actor in the this a menace to their organiza- labor movement could not be heard tions. The general strike resulted. above the angry shouts of the work-It became a contest with the state ers: "We want your resignation." powers because of the use of the Unable to steamroller a majority armed forces to attempt to break for Wolinsky, even in this meeting the maritime strike and to attempt | jammed with administration supporters, many of whom had never to crush the unions. In Minneapolis at the very begin- attended a meeting before, the ning of the present strike, police chairman adjourned the gathering were armed, not to maintain "law with Wolinsky's resignation still and order", as is the usual plea hanging in the air.

ly were with the knowledge, appro will bring foward much more distinctly as a working class objective val and cooperation of both the em the new type and new methods of ployers, the police of San Francis co, and the National Guard. unionism and the new type of un-3. The searching of headquar

ion leadership which these new conditions require. This new type of ters of workers' organizations with leadership is developing in the fire out warrants, by police and Nationof the class struggle and it stands al Guard, and the seizure of literout already today in Minneapolis ature, were not only entirely lawas a tower of strength. It is bound less, but in violation of both the federal and California constitutions to emerge elsewhere. But this course, however clearly prohibiting such searches.

indicated in the present situation, 4. The wholesale arrests by podepends upon the attention and lice and military authorities o guidance from the conscious revo- workers were without justification lutionary forces -ARNE SWABECK.

"Resigns"

in law and was an abuse of Cali

New York, July 31 .-- Ossip Wolinsky's resignation from the post of As such it was a denial of freedom turn in increased unemployment, in

ed" here tonight when the meeting and of California.

Pressure from the membership night was for the purpose of se- Rolph's public approval of lynch rate and yet the prices of meat keep

slump for some time, for a large variety of reasons. The drought, fornia's vagrancy law. It consti hitting the entire West so severely, tutes another example of the use of has contributed to the situation although its effects have been additive rather than determining. The Workers and the New Slump

"legal advisor" to the Pocketbook of thought guaranteed to us both increased drives on the frightfully Makers Union remained "unaccept- by the Constitution of the U.S. low standards of living. The prob-

caused Wolinsky to hand in his re- violated their oaths of office. What signation to the Joint Council which is even more ominous, mob violence accepted it. The meeting held to- has recurred in California. Gov.

the criminal law as a strike break Ossip Wolinsky 6. The whole program was de signed to persecute strike leaders and militant workers for their ac tivity in the strike; and to punish them for their political opinions.



Public officials who have sworn to support the Constitution, have

against strikers in Imperial Valley.

The working class will experience the full effects of this new downlem of relief is becoming more acute every day. The government is being forced to expand far more than it intended in the 1934 budget. The threat of worse inflation looms nearer. Meantime prices are beginning to rise faster. Cattle are being slaughtered at an unheard of agement to the vigilante terror that these prices have reached any were near the pre-crisis level but that they are rising sharply when purchasing power is declining. The working class faces a more desperate struggle for its very existence less states of the Union. Once this fall and winter and it becomes more than ever urgent that they combine forces, that a united struggle be conducted for adequate relief, for unemployment insurance, for a shorter work week of thirty hours in all industries at higher wages than the present miserable ones. The employed and the unemployed must close the ranks! The French Parliamentary Crisis The Doumergue government is pursuing its task of preparing the road for fascism. Under the guise of a "truce", a "non-party" government, the bourgeois republican parties, the radical socialists in particular as the largest single one, are betraying the workers and the middle class in their ranks to violent fascist reaction in precisely the same manner as these parties and the socialists betrayed them to the bourgeoisie in the "sacred union" that inaugurated the last imperialist war. Tardieu, whose task it is to precipitate crisis after crisis in order to bring about the coup d'etat, the rule by force and the end of all democracy, for which he, Doumergue, Chiappe, Weygand and the others have prepared for years. Tardieu knows that he can act with impunity so far as the Herriots, the Chautemps and the rest of the betraying crew of radical socialists are concerned. The very fact that they found it possible to enter into the Doumergue government of 'concentration", with its attacks on parliamentery government, shows hat they are mere pawns in the game of reaction. It was a foregone conclusion that Doumergue would not accept the resignation of Fardieu for his violent attack on Chautemps in the attempt to dislodge these dubious allies so as to concentrate the power completely in the hands of the extreme right. It was also a foregone conclusion that the radical socialists would swallow the "insult" since they fear an open break with the right that might precipitate a struggle on the streets between the united workers and sections of the impoverished middle class against the ---JACK WEBER.

Well, that's a step forward. If the as they starve to death in the midst with the government.

of plenty. . . .

Capone Declines

It is reported that in their desire to have a representative in Berlin who understands the Hitler mentality the Washington Administration proposed to release Al Capone from his present position in Atlanta and send him as Ambassador to Naziland. It is also claimed that Scarface indignantly declined the "honor", preferring to be the Bigshot in America to a third-rate piker among the experts of Berlin.

A Reminder

"As a series of irreconcilable antagonisms exist among the Allies, the 'League of Nations'-should it ever be realized, even on paperwill be a kind of Holy Alliance of Capitalists against the workers traitors like Green, who decries a revolution. Propagating the 'League

of Nations' is the best means of confounding the revolutionary feelings of the working class. An international association of sham democracies-to be achieved by a coalition of the laboring and middle classes-is to be substituted for the international alliance of revolutionary proletaran republics. The League of Nations' is the shibboleth to split, in the interests of international capital, the forces of the proletariat and advance the cause of international counter revolution. The revolutionary proletarians of all countries must wage relentless war against the Wilsonian League, a league of spoliation, exploitation and imperialist counter-revolution." -C. I. These on Internatonal Situation from Communist Inter-

-BILL. national.

If the number on your wrapper is

235 or smaller, your subscription to The Militant expired. Do not delay. Send your renewal in at once and so save us unnecessary labor and expense. If you cannot renew at this time let us know how soon you can.

New Headquarters of LOS ANGELES BRANCH Communist League of America. HOUSE WARMING PARTY SATURDAY, AUG. 18, at 8 P.M. Music Hall, 232 So. Hill St. Los Angeles

THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published Weekly by the Communist League of America 144 Second Ave., New York, N. Y. Phone: Gramercy 5-9524

Vol. 7, No. 31, (Whole No. 235) SATURDAY, AUGUST, 4, 1934 EDITORIAL BOARD

Martin Abern James P. Cannon Mar Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck

Bundle rates one cent per copy. Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year \$0.50 per half year - Canada and Foreign: \$1.50 per year; 75c for six months.

Philadelphia Branch Waukegan Branch **Complete Record**

103 Local New York Chicago Branch 72**Cleveland Branch** 66 Minneapolis Branch 40 Minneapolis (Amigo) 20 50 Los Angeles Branch Philadelphia Branch 20 Davenport Branch 16 New Haven Branch 16

12 Pittsburgh Branch San Francisco Branch 12 (Osborn 4) 12 Toronto Youngstown Branch

Boston Branch Chicago Friends of the Militant Club San Francisco Branch

Helen Mason M. N. Stone, Phila. Kogan, Berkeley A. S., N. Y. C. O. P., Ludington, Mich. Ben L. Leeser New Castle Branch Buffalo (Reid) **Newark Branch Oakland Branch** Springfield Branch St. Louis Branch Ross Moran A. L. Rumble

Jefferson Rall

Total in Second Drive 539 Total in First Drive 1014

Grand Total 1553 Our next job is to get every one of these new subs to renew their subscription as their terms expire. The Militant herewith expresses

its deep appreciation to all those hustlers who made it possible to add the 1553 new subs to our mailing list. The securing of subscriptions, as well as the selling of the paper and its general distribution may appear as an ordinary "rank and file" job, but looked at properly it is political work of the most important kind.

The Militant Builders have not only helped to raise \$388 for the Militant through this drive, but they have also enabled 1553 people to read our message. Many of these new subscribers, we are confident, will remain with us.

Together we will continue to build the Militant and march forward to a bi-weekly, then-On to a Daily Militant!

Just Off the Press!

War and the 4th International

Draft Theses Adopted by the International Secretariat of the International Communist League

TEN CENTS

PIONEER PUBLISHERS 84 East 10th Street New York City against workers that is sweeping agricultural and urban California. The state of California continues to take first place among the lawagain California justice is on trial before the bar of public opinion of the entire world.

AN OPEN LETTER TO FRANCES PERKINS Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary

of Labor. Washington, D.C. Dear Miss Perkins:

Your recent telegram to the Governor of California came as a shock to the great liberal section of the American people who had begun to hope that the Department of Labor in this administration was not to be an instrument of hysterical red-baiting, union-destroying activities.

The effect of your telegram, whether intended or not, was to encourage anti-union employers and local and state officials everywhere to continue the drive on labor organiations. The facts of workers' struggle are too wellknown to you for us to stress them in this connection. We ask you to make clear to state and local authorities that your department is not available to them as a strike-breaking agency and that you will not be a party to the persecution of militant workers for their opinions or strike activities.

We ask you further to declare forcefully against official mob rule in California by ordering the immediate release of these workers held for your department for strike activities, and to announce and vigorously carry out a policy to prevent immigration officials in your department from being used by employers against workers, at vigilantes and local officials have been used.

American Civil Liberties Union General Defense Com., I.W.W. International Labor Defense League for Industrial Democracy

National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners The Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense | fascists.

fallen off sharply and far more

han "seasonally" The weekly bus-

iness index has dropped to such an

extent that the New York Post

finds it necessary to comment on

this editorially, showing how its

own business index dropped ten

points in the past week and that of

"Business Week" showed a decline

of seven points under its index of

a week ago and a drop of 20 points

under the average for the years

1929-1933. Economists have been

predicting this more than seasonal

* * *

SATURDAY, AUGUST 4, 1934

THE MILITAN'S

QUESTION BOX

MILTON AURBACH, Brooklyn.-Well! Well! So you are going to give up hope in the radical move- series of magnificent strike strugment if, through this column, you find the Militant gles which match up well with the wanting, particularly if you don't get satisfactory greatest of America's working class answers as to why it is only comrades Cannon, tradition—Detroit, Toledo, Minnea-Shachtman, and Swabeck whom you hear speak at polis, San Francisco, Portland, meetings, and as to why the Communist League has Seattle, Alabama. Examples of not developed new speakers. Your facts are not quite courageous determination and correct as you would have found, had you attended vorking class solidarity, they stand the League's open forums. out as an inspiration to the toiling

If you will take the trouble to attend any of the masses everywhere. The anti-labor forces of the seven or eight street meetings which we conduct every week in greater New York, you will see our country are determined to suppress this rebellious spirit, if possible to other speakers. You will generally find them, weather permitting, at the following locations: Boro prevent the accomplishment of the move toward unionization, and even Park, 13th Ave. and 43rd St.; Williamsburgh, Graham to crush whatever labor organiza-Ave. and Barret St.; Brownsville, Pitkin Ave. and tions already exist. They are play-Bristol St.; Manhattan, 9th St. and 2nd Ave., and 9th St. and Ave. B; Harlem, 125th St. and 5th Ave.; and ing the ancient trick of dragging the old worn-out "red-scare" her-Bronx, 170th St. and Walton Ave. ring across the trail of today's

Does the League of Communist Internationalists still have your adherence? struggles for an improvement in living and working conditions. It

is claimed that the strikes of today BRONX PAINTER.-Here, briefly, is (or was?) have been "fomented" by-reds, radthe official Stalinist position towards the A. F. of L icals, or revolutionaries for the and T.U.U.L. (Thesis and Resolutions for the Seventh purpose of overthrowing the govern-National Convention of the C.P.U.S.A., 1930, published ment, and an attempt is made on by Workers Library Publishers): "... the reformist this basis to arouse all of those organizations and elements, some of which (A. F. of timid souls who believe that every L.) are outright fascist, while others (Socialist radical has a tail tucked into his Party, Muste group) cover their fascist activities pants, cloven hoofs and his shoes with pseudo-radical phrases." (p. 11, notes in brackand horns under his hair into acets in original). tive struggle against workers who

"The party can win the working masses for it are fighting for nothing more than political leadership only by leading them in their a decent living wage. economic struggles; and ONLY on the basis of the Trade Union Unity League will the party be able to The fact that revolutionaries assume the leadership of these economic struggles. those who believe in the establish-

. . All communists must belong to the T.U.U.L." (p. 20, emphasis ours).

Your other question should be addressed to your talism-are active in the organiza-Stalinist friends who claim that we distort their tion of these struggles does not viewpoint, since the burden of explaining what is make the "red-scare" propaganda meant by "rank and file leadership" falls upon the inventors of the expression.

However that may be, the first thing is that the it would be to blame the weatherterm itself is a contradiction. The "rank and file" forecaster for our present heat or a and the "leadership", at the same time that they geologist for a volcanic eruption supplement each other, mutually exclude one another. pecause these men know what The existence of a rank and file implies the existence forces are at work and can predict of a leadership as distinct from it and vice versa, what is about to happen. so that the term "rank and file leadership" has as The strikes of today have their much sense as an expression like "proletarian capiultimate cause in the decay of our talist".

economic system. On the one hand, Because it is such a contradictory and confusing the processes of production have phrase it serves the Stalinists in any and all circumdeveloped at a tremendous rate so stances. Instead of trying to explain what is meant that we not only have a huge bulk by this nonsensical combination of words, it would of commodities produced but new be best, in the interest of clarity, to eliminate it ensocial relationships in production tirely from working class vocabulary. involving the organized participa-

* * *

tion of large masses of workers in SPARTACIST, Boro Park.-The armed state forces highly mechanized plants; on the in this country are made up as follows: Federal other hand, we have the old private army, 133,038; Navy, 141,814; Police, 110,541; Naprofit relationships in the field of tional Guard, 187,386; and Reserve Corps Officers, distribution; and the gulf between 128,003, making a total of 700,782. To this must be the two becomes ever wider as in added state troopers and sheriffs, who are small dustrial development goes on. The numerically. In addition 114,542 men were trained amounts of wages paid to the mass at colleges etc. in the R.O.T.C. and 38,588 attended of workers becomes constantly less the C.M.T.C. and less adequate in the buying of

YIPSEL, Boston.-What basis can there be for asthe fight for increased wages is as inevitable in the course of capitalsuming that in the United States the capitalists may be an exception and yield to a Socialist controlled ist development as the shedding of the skin of a snake is in that anigovernment which aims at expropriating capitalist mal's growth. private property? In the American Civil war the

Labor's Weapon-the Strike southern Bourbons resorted to armed force because Strikes are by no means a new their material interests were jeopardized by the phenomenon in capitalist society. northern industrialists' LEGAL control of the govern-Even the period of capitalist economent. In strikes, where only part of their profits are at stake, the American capitalists break their own laws, where the "legal" use of force and terror most violent labor battles. Not a single improvement in the standard do not suffice. (Note San Francisco.)

of working class life, not a single You might also remind your friends that a party which **really** stood for the expropriation of capital

A COMMUNIST RADIO SPEECH

In the last several months, labor history has been enriched by a

The "Red Scare" Farce

Hammond, Ind., July 26.-On Thursday evening, July 26, comrade Lydia Beidel of the Chicago Branch of the Communist League, broadcast the following statement over station WWAE at Hammond, Indiana. The radio station, located in the heart of the steel area of the middle west, has a registered audience of 80,000 listeners distributed throughout the most important manufacturing towns in the neighborhood of Gary and Chicago. Arrangement fo the broadcast was effected by one of the League's most valuable sympathizers. Salome Howard, A period of 12 minutes was allowed our speaker.

An interesting coincidence occured when it was found that Municipal Judge John H. Lyle, who has been vigorously conducting a private red-baiting campaign, immediately preceded our speaker on the program. He chose the stockyards strike of Chicago for his theme. He denounced the workers for tying up normal business in the yards, but used as his main demagogic appeal the "poor, dumb brutes who are suffering in the yards over a misunderstanding over wages and labor conditions." "That cattle are being shot for want of water and food will not meet with the approval of the citizens," he declared, and praised the action of the California state government and President Green of the A. F. of L. for their work in smashing the general strike in San Francisco.

Five years ago, this same Judge Lyle held comrade Beidel and 26 other prisoners (who had been arrested in a demonstration) without bail for five days. With his knowledge, in the dead heat of summer, eleven women were kept penned up in a cell built for the poor accommodation of two. There was constant nightly harassing of the prisoners by sadistic detectives. Court was called at any hour of the day or night that the judge cared. When another judge issued a writ of habeas copus, Lyle immediately caused a rearrest on a capias. Matrons were encouraged not to give the prisoners blankets and pillows to sleep on. Bail was raised to nearly a quarter of a million dollars for the 27 defendants, and finally the prisoners were rescued from the hands of this friend of the "poor, dumb brutes" only by the intercession of another judge who feared for the reputation of the whole municipal court if this thing went on. Comrade Beidel's speecn was prepared before the broadcast went

on, but it seemed to fit the circumstances pretty well.

ment of a new economic order on nave to be settled much more₁ the courageous fight of workers the basis of the abolition of capispeedily if the tie-up of industry is struggling for organization. complete. And right here is the Anti-lavor organizations are be origin of the "red" bugaboo. For coming daily more prominent in the it is precisely the "reds" or revocountry---the Vigilantes on the west less ridiculous. It is as sensible to lutionaries within a labor organizcoast and the chambers of complame "reds" for these strikes as ation who are the most competent merce with their gangster and colorganizers of such a struggle, for it is they who understand the mevitable outcome of capitalist deforces at work and have profited by years of accumulated world-wide experience in the technique of strike to them-stronger labor organizastrategy. It is they whom the antition.

The Purpose of the Strike labor forces fear and it is by misrepresenting their role and objec-A strike is not a revolution and nooody knows that better than a Communist. The purpose of a strike is to enforce demands under the

One of the most beautifully or- distribution. But the revolutionary ganized strike maneuvers of this knows that it is through these period was the series of truck driv- strikes that the working class will ers' strikes in Minneapolis which learn two things: first, that nothing conclusions of the Communists are can be won without strong and milicupies the center of attention in cant organization; and, second, that working class circles. Members of the state apparatus, the political orthe Communist League of Americal ganization of capitalist society, will active in the strike, like all of the always be used on the side of the workers of Minneapolis, are victims master class, the capitalists. It is of the same oppressive economic con- not the revolutionaries who teach ditions, but they can see more clear- these truisms to the working class ry than the rest what to do about it. they simply put the lessons into products for consumption. Hence It is regrettable that it is the pe- words and weave these experiences culiar fortune of the anti-labor into a theory of action; it is capiforces that they can usually depend talist society itself which provides for reinforcement upon the highly- the object lessons.

paid officials of labor unions, who There is one more truism which do their questionable service by of- is in the process of being taught: CHAINS. YOU HAVE A WORLD remain tasks to be accomplished. ficially disowning and denouncing wherever you have capitalism you TO WIN."

have labor struggles and wherever you have labor struggles you have revolutionaries. The only difference between the revolutionaries and other strikers is that the revolutionary is a conscious part of the social evolutionary process; the the others are unconscious tools of history.

The Great Teachers Speak As far as the general program of the Communist movement is concerned, 1 can do no better in summarizing it than to quote from the Communist Manifesto, written in 1847 by the greatest theoreticians of Communism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

"In what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole? The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties. They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole. They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

"The Communists are distinguished from the other working class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everynovement as a whole.

"The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of rege-boy hirelings. They too are an every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the cay-maggots fattening off a putrid other hand, they have over the oody. There is only one antidote great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of

the proletarian movement. "The immediate aim of the Com munists is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties: formcapitalist system of production and ation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supre macy, conquest of political power by the proletariat. The theoretical in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer. They merely express, in general terms, actual

> eves.' And I close with the principal slogan of Communists everywhere: WORKINGMEN OF ALL COUN

WORLD OF LABOR

DORIOT

A revealing commentary on the sincerity of the Stalinists in the united front recently built between the Socialist party and the Communist party of France is the news that simultaneous with this action Doriot has been expelled from the C.P.F. Jacques Doriot, mayor of the proletarian suburb of Paris. Saint Denis, led the revolt in the French Communist Party for the tactic of united front from organization to organization. More, he violated the discipline of the Stalinist bureaucracy and concluded an anti-Fascist unity pact with the Socialist party of Saint Denis. For this he was accused by the high priests of the French Stalin church of "discrediting Communism . . . and aiding Fascism". The Moscow C. I. moguls condemned him for "following the path of the counter-revolutionist Trotsky."

Now that the pressure of the workers of France forces the Stalinists to make a volte face they expel Doriot in order to preserve the "infallibility" of the bureaucracy just as they expelled comrade Trotsky from the Russian Party in 1927 when they partially accepted his policies on industrialization and collectivization. Doriot is expelled so that the next time the bureaucrats get ready for another zig-zag they can maintain the bluff: "we were right before, during and after . . . there has been no change in our policy.'

Doriot's expulsion is very recent but his actual schism with the bureaucracy dates from several months back. During all this time Doriot's only program has been the united front. He maintained silence on the other burning questions before the revolutionary movement, particularly the need for a new Communist party. Some three weeks ago Doriot broke his unseemly quiet in a speech at a public meeting at Saint Denis and reiterated his centrist stand in the amorphous formula: "For a united party and a united class." Ignoring or unaware of reasons and causes Doriot stigmatized the Comintern which. where represent the interests of the he declared, wants top sergeants and not militants. In the course of his speech Doriot, for the first time replied to our persistent question saying: "The Trotskyist comrades have asked me if I am going to form a new party, a truly Leninist party? I answer categorically no!" The mistaken reasoning for Dorlot's straddle, which is nothing but an emulation of the total failure of the P.U.P. (Party of Proletarian Unity), rests on the assumption that there are sufficient dynamic elements in the C. P. and revolutionary tendencies in the S. P. for the fruition of his program of "a united party and a united class."

Whether the workers in Saint Denis will follow Doriot in his Centrist course remains to be seen. But it is certain that a continuation of this middleof the road policy will destroy the effectiveness of the movement which showed so much promise and lead it into a swamp of opportunism or capitulation.

UNITED FRONT IN THE SAAR

After years of criminal sabotage by the bureaucracies of both social democracy and Stalinism while the Fascist gangs of Hitler made ominous gains, a united front agreement has been concluded in the Saar region for the preservation of the status quo. While the insistent agitation of the International Communists has finally been vindicated in what is no doubt a tremendous step forward, the non-aggresrelations springing from an exist sion pact of the French parties is imitated to the ing class struggle, from a historical letter. Thus the bureaucracies of both Stalinist and movement going on under our very socialist party shield their further actions against any adverse criticism. Although for the first time a truly popular movement against Fascism has come into being into the Saar, practical steps like the or-TRIES, UNITE! YOU HAVE ganization of a workers' militia, alone effective NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR against Hitlerite assaults on workers organizations

UNEMPLOYED REVOLT IN HOLLAND

Peter Schmidt, chairman of the Independent Socialist Party of Holland (one of the signees to the representative of the British New Leader (July 20) Schmidt maintains that the action of the job

Even the period of capitalist econo-mic infancy is characterized by the most violent labor battles. Not a Minneapolis Sidelights -- by an Eye-Witness violent labor battles. Not a

On Thursday, July 19, the Min- driver of the picket truck, a pow- working class solidarity was evi- on the recent unemployed revolt in that country. In t working class life, not a single on introduct, out to, the mini- artver of the picket truck, a pow- working class solutarity was ever spite of braggart claims of the Communist party etterment of labor conditions but neapolis bosses started their first erfully built man, attempted to get denced in the arrival at headquar-Schmidt maintains that the action of the communist party has been purchased at the price of major offensive against Local 574 out of the range of fire, but not ters of thirty-five iron workers purely spontaneous. It was in protest against a rewithout some attempt at vengeance. | each carrying a 4 or 5 ft. iron bar. duction in relief ranging from 20 to 50%. The hero-Word reached strike headquar- As his truck neared the corner his They were there to lend a hand in ism of the jobless was magnificent. Barricades, ters shortly after noon that the powerful left arm reached out and the defense of the headquarters. built out of paving stones, were hastily erected in bosses were planning to move lifted from his feet a police ser- Labor sent other representatives, defense against the attacks of heavily armed troops. trucks. Immediately picket cour- geant who was gleefully firing lead many of them carrying the imple-Six workers were killed in the streets. More than iers sped to all parts of the city into the backs of workers heroical-ments of their trade as weapons. two hundred people were wounded when soldiers and calling all pickets back to strike ly attempting to carry wounded Strange to say, the police did not police fired through windows which were kept open headquarters. The enthusiastic strikers out of reach of the murdermake any raid; in fact they never in defiance of military orders. The revolt spread to and speedy response was yet an- ous barrage. Holding the sergeant go within three blocks of strike twelve of the largest towns. other testimonial to the militancy in a paralyzing grip, he drove him headquarters. and solidarity of the strikers. A a block away, where he stopped his Tuesday, July 24 marked one ful short wait and they were off amid truck, removed gun from cop and week of the strike and in that time deafening cheers from sympathizers then cop from consciousness. not a truck had moved. The union Words are inadequate to describe in the vicinity. was stronger than ever, the leader-Upon approaching the designated the bravery of these workers. Unship as alert and intelligent as any trouble center, the picket captains armed, weaponless they rushed into one could wish for. This day also were quick to recognize that the the merciless fire to help the inbrought forth the mightiest demonheavily armed police convoy sur- jured. It is reported that 55 cops stration Minneapolis had ever seen rounded a hospital supply truck. returned to police headquarters Henry Ness, one of the strikers who Without hesitation they turned where they turned in their badges. had been killed, was buried while Ten minutes after the massacre, around and returned to headquarstrike headquarters was covered ters. that they too would give their lives Now, it is well known throughout with dozens of severely wounded even as he, if the bosses tried to the city that the union permits workers, remarkably unanimous in break their union and take away hospital trucks to operate unmolminimizing their injuries and urgtheir meagre crust of bread. ested. The bosses with the able ing the harassed medical corps to Albert Goldman the union's at cooperation of the police had hoped look after some of the other boys. torney, made a remarkable speech that the convergence of pickets on What magnificent bravery - many in which he pointed out that Henry the scene, would give them the op- of them lying with upward of 15 in any action must necessarily be portunity to play up the incident lead slugs in their bodies insisting Ness had died fighting in the class battle, and that such sacrifices as an attempt on the part of the that others be attended to first. would no longer be necessary when most intellectually advanced and union to interfere with the delivery A Cop Vanishes politically acute; they will always of needed medical supplies The the workers had taken power from When the powerful truck driver be in the forefront of every econo- picket captains' intelligent appraisthe bosses and ran the country who had walloped the cop returned themselves. al of the situation had frustrated to headquarters, the blood flowing this plot. Undeterred by this, the The bosses are frantic-they canfrom a bullet wound in his fore-Minneapolis papers carried a paid not break the spirit or solidarity of head did not prevent him from advertisement of the Employers

cives that capitalist agencies hope to break down the instinctive solidarity of the working class. The Minneapolis Battle

began early this year and still oc-

property probably could never get governmental conbitter and bloody battle on the part with a cunning strategem. trol through legal channels because the American of organized workers. Even the constitution was, at its inception, framed to prevent such an eventuality. Let us quote from a "liberal" slightest of government reforms in the nature of so-called labor protechistorian on the reasons for which the various detion laws have been wrenched from partments of the government were set up: "Madison foresaw a time, not far distant, when the great mass the capitalist class only as the result of violent and unavoidable of the people would be without landed or any other struggle by the working class. kind of property, when in spite of all precautions a Strikes are today necessary to triumphant majority might get possession of the enforce two working class demands political machine and make it an engine of their which will not be granted by cappurposes to the detriment of the public good, that is, ital without a struggle: first, the in the main to the detriment of private property.

right to collective bargaining, that "Frightened by this specter of democracy, some of is trade union organization; second the members of the convention proposed to restrain the masses by putting property qualifications on the increased wages with decreased hours of work (or at least without suffrage and on high federal officers. . . . After tossing about restlessly for several days, the delegates increased hours). The winning of these two objectives, even through gave up the idea of entrenching property in the Constitution by specific restrictions on voting and office the instrumentality of a general strike, does not at present neces holding.

"Finding that course barred, the delegates chose sarily involve the overthrow of the political rule of capitalism; it is a another way of dissolving the energy of the demostep in that direction, but the de cratic majority . . . the Fathers created a system of mands are at this moment econo 'checks and balances', dividing the power of governmic and only remotely political. ment among legislative, executive, and judicial branches with confused and uncertain boundaries.

The Role of Communists

Generally, the number of Com "The legislature as they devised it was of intricate munist workers (and by this I mean structure. Members of the House of Representatives conscious revolutionaries) involved were to be distributed among the states roughly on the basis of population and they were to be elected relatively small, since they are the biennially. . . . But the chamber so directly affiliated with the commonalty was by no means to have a clear track in the making of laws. A strong Senate was thrown across its way. Senators were to be chosen by the state legislatures, one degree removed mic struggle because they understand the basic importance of mass from the multitude; they were to serve for six years instead of two; and only one-third of them were to economic action in historical evoution. But to say that these workgo out at any time, so that after each fresh election, ers can create a strike or any other no matter how tempestuous, a safe majority of the mass activity simply out of their old members were to remain undisturbed in their own revolutionary desire is to talk places. The conservative effect of age was brought without making sense. Workers into play: Senators were to be at least thirty years are forced by capitalism itself to old, five years above the minimum set for the lower strike for betterment of their conhouse.

ditions and unless the whole mass "Opposite the legislature thus divided against it of workers involved consciously self was set the President elected by yet another process—by a special body of electors chosen as the and willingly takes part in the ac state legislatures might determine-perhaps two or tion-whether it be general or is three degrees removed from the passions of the popconfined to one industry-no strike place 24 hours later in the whole rying back to their jobs. The thouulace. Thus firmly planted on his own base, the can even be called, let alone carried sale grocery district. Here a police forward with any success. The convoy of 150, all fully armed, stood powerful denial to this. They President was to enjoy, in addition to his executive charge that masses of workers are ready while a truck with license functions, the power of vetoing acts of Congress. To increase the friction of the machine, his term was fixed at four years, not two or six, and it was provided that he could be removed only by a difficult method of impeachment. makes up excuses for violence truck then took off with its large When a union official told them

"Over against the executive and the legislature against strikers. was placed the Supreme Court composed of judges appointed, not for two, four, or six years, but for life-judges chosen by the President and the Senate. the two federal agencies removed from direct contact with the populace-and in fact, as time proved, endowed with the power of declaring acts of the other departments null and void. . . ." (Beard, "The Rise of American Civilization.")

Pay us a visit while you're in New York.

seeing a cop innocently swinging the workers. Unemployed workers his club a block distant from head- prefer to register as pickets rather quarters. With a few powerful than receive extra pay as scabs. steps he reached the cop and told The work of the Minneapolis Cenhim in well chosen words that he tral Council of Workers deserves a would give him two seconds to get special tribute from all workers out of sight. That cop didn't need for the splendid manner in which they have mustered their forces two seconds, he just vanished.

behind the union. This organiza-The bosses had thought that wholesale murder would break the tion, set up by the League, has lent yeoman service to the strikers a strike and send the strikers scurevidenced in the numbers shot in the Friday affray. 20% of those sands at the mass meeting gave a shot were members of this unem-

ployed organization. cheered deafeningly the militant. "intimidated" into striking is the plates removed picked up three or speeches of their leaders and shoutproduct of a bankrupt mind that four boxes at the loading platform ed in unanimity that they were godoes not want to look at facts and of the Slocum-Bergren Co. The ing to fight until victory was theirs.

police escort. As it moved a half that they had received information Since strikes are inevitable in the block down the street and attempt- that the police planned a raid on struggle of workers against unem- ed to turn the corner a picket truck headquarters that night, they thunployment and for economic security, containing about ten pickets pulled dered, "Let them try, we're ready." it would stand to reason that the up in an attempt to force the scab They were ready too, for several better a strike is organized and the truck to the curb. As it did so, thousand marched to headquarters greater the clarity with which its the police without warning let loose to spend the night in anticipation demands are formulated and mili- a terrific barrage of lead. Dozens of an attack.

tantly pursued the better for soci- of bullets pierced the truck and Workers' Solidarity ety as a whole, since the issue will bodies of the pickets abroad. The A splendid demonstration

Advisory Committee the next day.

The substance of the ad was an ap-

peal to the citizenry of Minneapo-

lis to chase from their midst these

diabolic Communists who made it

necessary to furnish heavy police

guard to move medical supplies to

Second Offensive

The second major offensive took

mothers and babies in dire need.

Official Socialist party leaders played a treacherous game during the revolt. In one instance, members of the Metal Workers Union sent a delegation to their leaders asking them what they proposed to do about the jobless revolt. The leaders telephoned to the police requesting a flying squad to remove the delegation from their offices. The same afternoon one of the members of the deputation was shot dead by police. The Stalinist party aroused the ire of the workers by boasting that it had led the revolt and then when the government threatened action against more than 40,000 workers pledged it rushing out a special edition of their paper disclaiming responsibility for the events and in stoolbigeon manner shifting it on the Independent Socialist party.

PREPARING TO DEFEND THE FATHERLAND IN BRITAIN

On the eve of Stanley Baldwin's bellicose speech in the House of Commons where he called for a huge increase in the aerial force of Britain in preparation for a war which he believes certain, the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, the National Executive of the Labor Party and the Executive of the Parliamentary Labor party met and decided on a program that can give only comfort to the British warlords.

In the statement issued from this meeting a disinction is made between a "war of an aggressive character" and a "war undertaken in defense of the collective peace system." They declare themselves ready to oppose the first type of war by strengthening the League of Nations, non-aggression pacts and the rest of the worthless pacifist tommyrot. But in the second case they say it is the duty of the entire citizenry "unflinchingly to support our government in all the risks and consequences of fulfilling its duty to take action against a peace-breaker."

British imperialism could ask for no better guarantee that their servile lackeys in the labor movement will patriotically support their colonial empire in the next war and drive the workers into slaughter

against any robber power that threatens it. 20 years With such spirit, with such soliafter the bloodbath in which the brigand British capitalists clashed with the "aggressor" German milidarity, with such leadership the fight cannot be lost though all the tarism in a "war to end all wars" the English trade forces of reaction are lined up in unions and Labor party valets of His Majesty are laying the ground for another August Fourth.

solid phalanx against them. One must not forget the Stalinists who And suppose by some stretch of the convenient imaginations of the Hicks and the Henderson they conhelp reaction by distributing leaflets ceive of Britain entering the war for aggressive purattacking he leadership. The strikposes? What do they propose to do then? Absoluteers know the difference between ly nothing. They reject the general strike as being Communist leaders and the Stalin-'impracticable" because workers in countries like ists. The Stalinists they call "bad Communists" while the League Germany, Italy and Japan could not join the general

comrades are designated as "good strike because of the destruction of the trade union of Communists". -JERRY KOTZ. | movements there.

THE MILITANT

SATURDAY, AUGUST 4, 1934

EDITORIAL

A 'Farmer-Labor' Strikebreaker

THE mask is off. The "friend of the worker", the Farmer-Labor Governor of Minnesota has revealed himself to be the bitterest foe of organized labor, the shrewdest supporter of the bosses. Olson has played out his bag of tricks. And every trick has been a boon to the Citizens Alliance, a blow at the embattled drivers.

marvel at his skill in hiding his real intentions. Step by step he of work and wages against which ficers of the National Guard, who regulations which were put into efploughed into the solid ranks of the strikers, sowing confusion and they were rebelling. Instead of had taken over the city under marwinning their confidence at the same time. The job could not have been better executed had it all been premeditated.

Elected on the platform of the Farmer-Labor party, which has even been so radical as to call for the "abolition of the profit system", Olson their own ranks, the union leaders did everything to solicit the backing of the drivers. In the May strike stood like rocks and insisted that he acted as a go-between in the arbitration of issues after 574 had ale every worker-be he Communist or ready won the battle. He called out the National Guards, but kept them Democrat, Republican or Farmerin the barracks. At the conclusion of the conflict he is reputed to have Labor, whatever might be his polimade a personal donation of \$500 to the truckers' union.

Then came the second strike. Here the issue was joined. The union-busting Citizens Alliance was determined to smash the drivers. 574 accepted the challenge and prepared to fight to the last ditch to make Minneapolis a union town. No hedging now! Governor Olson had to tion would be practiced against take a stand-for or against the workers. And he did! But not before he had delivered himself of more honeyed words to convince the strikers made it possible to hold the union that the man in the St. Paul capitol was their friend. The occasion was the fusillade at unarmed pickets by Bloody Johannes' murderers. Olson denounced Johannes not so much for the murder but for breaking sion inspired by the employers. his promise in violating the truce, that no trucks would move. Then Olson made his grand gesture. He summoned the National Guards on ever, the desperate bosses were the streets and proclaimed martial law "to protect the strikers"!

Under the pretext of protecting the strikers Olson's troops have scares failed to move trucks in Minneapolis, Olson brought the troops tion which says that 421 cents an rifles. They were bundled into an in to do the dirty work. Rivalling only his red-baiting colleague in hour for a family man is too much, open military truck, still as heavily California, the St. Paul demagogue called out his army to keep the city they simply did not bother to dein essentials, but in reality moving commercial vehicles of every description. When the strikers saw trucks moving they saw through stead upon baiting of Communists. Olson at the same time. They would battle and beat the troops even as They needed a sensation, and on they had the police. Before the drivers could make their threat effective the troops raided the strike headquarters, drove the workers out and ally burst out with it. arrested the union leaders, William Brown, Vincent and Miles Dunne. 200 drivers were thrown into military barracks and then the Central a trio of Minneapolis detectives Labor Union, set up as a second headquarters, was invaded by soldiers. flanked by a cop in uniform, placed

Under the pretense of helping the strike, Olson has done his level James P. Cannon and Max Shachtbest to crush it. An avowed partisan of civil liberties and democratic man under arrest. Both of them rights for workers, Olson has gone further in destroying them than even had apparently been under surveil reactionary Governor Merriam. Where they deployed troops hesitantly in the Frisco general strike, Olson decared martial law in a struggle with only 7,000 involved. Taking a leaf from Hitler's book this "wolf in sheep's clothing" committed the most despotic action American labor has seen in years when he crashed into strike headquarters and jailed strike leaders. His cunning words of support were only slightly more successful than the raw propaganda of the Citizens Alliance and Dan Tobin. This agent of capitalism, like all the rest, needed the mailed fist to get results for the employers.

If Olson thinks his troops will defeat the strike and drive the workers back in submission then he is sadly mistaken. The drivers in Minneapolis are fighting mad. Reports in the capitalist press tell us that in face of war-time artillery more than fifty trucks were overturned by pickets and scabs given the drubbing of their lives.

Every strategem of the bosses has collapsed. Their rump revolt was turned into a victory for the union. The red-scare was flung back into the teeth of its originators. Tobin was told to keep his filthy hands off the strike. The shooting solidified the ranks and the drivers set their jaws for renewed battle. Olson will fare no better.

Victory or defeat, the curse of the entire labor movement is on Olson. He is forever discredited in the eyes of every worker and honest progressive. The career of Olson as a liberal is over. The curtains that are rung over Olson are rung over the whole gamut of liberalism and Farmer-Laborism.

Away with it ! Clear the road for a revolutionary party of the working class and the overthrow of the rotten system that Olson represents!

Strike at Martial Law!

As we go to press, the latest news from Minneapolis is that Governor Olson is showing his true colors so that even the Farmer-Labor workers on strike there can see them clearly. His militia has marched into their headquarters, arrested the strike leaders, then marched on the Central Labor Union headquarters and raided that too!

tuation of course, our main concern is the safety of

Arrest of Cannon and Shachtman

(Continued from Page 1)

bership that the Red Scare was a

of the Citizens Alliance and start- Cannon and Shachtman under mili- rights to carry on as corresponding an anti-Communist hunt in tary arrest.

tical, economic, religious opinions or affiliations-was a soldier in tody of the prisoners. The sensaduties, and that no discrimina-

anyone. It is this attitude which together instead of letting it fall prey to artificially injected dissen-Having no other arguments, howfend it at all, and concentrated in- were either some invaluable treas-Wednesday evening, the papers fin-

At about 10 p.m. of that evening, lance for days.

Finger Prints Taken Transported to the police headuarters, they were immediately taken to the jail, their finger prints taken, and despite unanswered demands that they be told why they had been arrested, or what the

charges against them were, or that they be permitted to communicate with their attorney they were lodged in a city cell. Meanwhile, a squad of detectives

broke into the hotel rooms of the two prisoners, and without even the formality of a search warrant, proceeded to ransack the personal effects and papers which they found there. Copies of the Militant, of the daily strike paper, the Organ-

izer, personal letters, and Shachtman's whole suitcase, were brought down to police headquarters with the hope that evidence might be found to show that the two Com-munists had been on the verge of Drivers Force the found to show that the two Comblowing up the city, at the very long enough by the police to incapacitate them for the duration of

the strike, in any case. What the police and their masters, the Citizens Alliance, were af- be better cared for. Meanwhile, the ter, was proof that Shachtman and Cannon were directing the truck strikers to take care of their own drivers strike. And although they were destroyed in the clean-up. pored over every single scrap of paper they found and examined the was undertaken was that the strikotebooks of the prisoners with ers had held a microscopic care, all they were able public playground in violation of to find was a number of routine military orders. Later, when Brown letters and telegrams received by and the Dunne brothers were re-Cannon and Shachtman from New leased, it was admitted that they York, addressed to them in care of had obtained the necessary permit. Vincent R. Dunne, one of the in-By that time the damage had fluential strike leaders of Local been done, the strikers had been 574. The whole thing was a flop, driven out of their headquarters, and didn't even have the groundand their leaders locked up in the work material for a good-sized military stockade, on the hope that frame-up. this drastic action would bring the Questioning by the captain of strikers to their knees. The answer detectives, Ohman, failed to elicit of the strikers was renewed picket any more information from the activities, swift and resourceful, prisoners than was available to the against which the military were man in the street. Here again, the powerless. two men demanded the right to In desperation, the military next have their attorney, Albert Goldraided the offices of the Central man of Chicago, present during the Labor Union body, seizing files and cross-examination. Ohman, assistdocuments. ed in his questioning by Police

attorney declared that he had no repeated. They then declared that workers, they did not miss an op- objections to the release of the men they would refuse to leave the city portunity to explain to the mem- on the writ. It immediately became of Minneapolis of their own voliclear why no prosecution was to tion, that they would depart only to be crushed and the men driven er even on a trumped-up charge, law, they had not violated, nor Workers, opening their eyes to the perfidious deeds of Olson, will back to the outrageous conditions Johannes had arranged with the of- could they have, any of the military falling into the cunningly laid trap tial law the day before, to put and they would insist upon their

> the same degree as the representa-Just as the release in civil court was effected, a sergeant of the tives of out-of-town capitalist pa-Guard entered the courtroom-the pers who had, of course, not been first time such a procedure has ever molested. Colonel McDevitt made no at

> > **Telegram to Olson**

der delivered to us at the Nation-

al Guard Armory by Colonel Mc-

Devitt, after being held illegally

under military arrest for six

hours, we are being compelled by

force to leave Minneapolis. We

have been here as correspondents

for the papers which we represent

and at no time violated any law,

civil or martial, nor have we

even been charged with any such

violation. We were released from

city prison after thirty-six hours

illegal detention on writ of ha-

beas corpus. We were then ille-

gally arrested in the courtroom

by a large squad of heavily armed

National Guardsmen and confined

been made against us. It was

violate any provisions of martial

"Under tyrannical military or-

been witnessed in the history of Minnesota-and demanded the cus- tempt to reply to the arguments and demands of the two men and the union with full rights and tion was heightened by the fact contented himself with a repetition that he was armed with a sub-maquitting the Armory, Cannon and party leadership has made no anchine gun and that a dozen Guardsmen, automatics strapped to their Shachtman dispatched a telegram to the commander-in-chief of the be posed: Why is it silent? sides and rifles in their hands, stood outside the courtroom as an escort Minnesota National Guard, Goverfor the dangerous Reds. Completenor Olson, which we quote here in full:

ly surrounded, Cannon and Shachtman were marched down the corri dors, out of the municipal building compelled to harp on the same to the street, where another score string throughout the whole strug- of Guardsmen awaited them with gle. Being unable to defend a posi- another score of automatics and

> ure or an automatic time bomb which might explode at any moment. Flanked front and rear by other cars, the truck drove the prisoners to the Armory-the first military prisoners to be taken after the declaration of martial law-although they could not conceivably have

violated any martial law regulation "Shoot to Kill"

in the Armory without explana-In the National Guard Armory tion or charges, nor have any yet they were seated on a bench prior to being brought to the guardhouse obviously impossible for us to with explicit order's given the armed sentinels to "Shoot to kill if they make a move to escape"! In the guardhouse, with no explana tion given of the reason for the ar rest, the two were held for another six hours.

At the expiration of this period of time, Provost Marshal Colonel Elmer McDevitt entered she detention room and informed the prisoners that they were to be released and ordered to leave the city immediately. Cannon and Shachtman demanded to know what charges had been made against them, what law they were supposed to have violated. No reply was made, and the deportation order was merely

and against our will we are leav-(Continued from Page 1) ing Minneapolis under the force der pretense that there they would and duress of the National Guard painstaking arrangements of the The pretext under which the raid

Stalinist Zig-Zags The United Front Is the united front with the So-|nist League-"Drive the

But in reality it is not.

social take place. Having found it im- if forced to do so by a squad of cialist parties (hitherto the "so- fascists out of the factories, out of ployers behind which the union was possible to hold the men any long- Guardsmen. They had violated no cial-fascists"), for long so vigor- the unemployment bureaus, out of ously denounced by the Stalinist the trade schools." Will he disavow leaders, here and elsewhere, again the old slogan of the German Young to be accepted as a policy of the of- Pioneers-"Beat the smallest Zoerfect during their stay in city jail, ficial Communist parties? Sup rid- giebels out of the schools and playcially that appears to be the case. grounds."

Your own statements condemn The Stalinist, party leadership, you as liars. You canno expect, over the signature of its general gentlemen, that workers shall take secretary, Browder, submitted a your united front proposals seriousproposition to the Socialist party ly unless you are ready to declare convention for a united front strugthat all this was false.

gle for certain specific aims. Later Formally the united front prothat proposition was repeated to posal has now been made to the the S. P. national committee with Socialist party and to its national several requests already made for committee. What is its meaning? an answer. As yet the Socialist Does this represent a political change from the course pursued in wer and the question might well the past? We recall from very recent date, from the eighth conven-There is one basic answer to this tion of the official Communist question and it is well documented party, held in April this year, the by facts from recent history. The thesis declaration: "The Commu-Socialist party leadership, like that nist party must widen its struggle of international social democracy, for the united front with the social of which it is a part, prefers caplemocratic workers, over the heads italism to a workers republic-to a of their treacherous leaders."-Over Soviet Republic. For that we have he heads of the leaders-what holthe best proof in the German So-'ow vapid phrases. They will not cial Democratic party's participahelp in the least to tear the worktion in the Hindenburg "iron front" ers away from social reformism, right up to the fateful hour of Hitund that, after all, is the ultimate ier's seiure of power. We have the objective of the revolutionary party. additional proof of its Austrian Today such hollow phrases reprebrother party clinging to the coat sent only the most stupid disregard tail of Dollfuss right up to the day of the organization of the social when he trained his howitzers on lemccratic workers. Unfortunatethe homes of the Austrian socialist ly these social democratic workers still belong to their party and sup-From this basic proposition flows port their leaders because they are he attitude of the Socialist party socialist workers. Disregard of eaders, of relying on bourgeois dehis fact serves only to provide an nocracy and its rules of the game, excuse for the S. P. leaders to rerather than on the militant strugject the united front offer. It begle of a united working class, of omes only a bureaucratic maneuinding more comfortable company ver at the expense of the working lass unity of action. Nothing and more agreement with the reactionary trade union officials than could suit the social reformist eaders better than this. They can

with the struggles of the left wing law since we were confined to workers. Inevitably, and in time, city prison from the time of its this will tear the workers loose promulgation until the moment of our military arrest. We know of from the Socialist leaders. But that no such outrageous violation of is not yet the case. constitutional rights in any city There is, however, also another in recent times. Even in Califorside to this question. The Stalinist party leaders have not at all nia, under the rule of the most convinced the Socialist workers reactionary Governor, who is an that they mean their united front open agent of employers, such policy seriously, that they propose dastardly deportations had to be a genuine united front. On the executed by paid thugs disguised contrary. They have done everyas Vigilantes and in no case bore the stamp of civil or military thing in their power to divide the

workers.

working class and prevent its unity authority. It remained for the city of Minneapolis and the state of action. of Minnesota, under a Farmer-While it now appears that there Labor Governor, to witness such a procedure which strikes at the of the party and of the Third Invery heart of civil liberties for which the labor movement and ternational, it is not a real political change. To affect a real change the progressive farmers, upon whose support you base yourself, in this respect it would be necessary to throw overboard the ideological have always fought. We wish to inform you that under protest methods. First of all it would be theory of "social-fascism".

which you command. We demand ate Stalin's axiom that, "social de-It would be necessary to repudiof you the immediate revocation ate Stalin's axiom that, "social de-mocracy is objectively the moderate wing of fascism. They do not ne-gate one another. They are not antipodes but twins."—or is this of this despotic order which is obviously aimed at the undersigned alone, as correspondents of the few papers which have antipodes, but twins,"-or is this still to be considered correct? If posal made by the C.P.U.S.A., there so there could not and there should is listed as one of the aims, "buildnot be a united front. No, it is necing a revolutionary trade union has nothing in common with the leadership." Is that possible of achievement jointly with the social Leninist conception of the working democrats? Obviously not. And class and its forces. we might also ask, what role will But it was in following these ri the T.U.U.L. rival unions play in sky reported to the Eleventh Com- this? But there are many more intern plenum that those "in our are obliged to answer before they own ranks who erroneously act can begin to convince a single along the line of a belief in the exworker with the seriousness of istence of a basic contradiction betheir united front proposal and tween bourgeois democracy and even before it can become clear to fascism, between the social demotheir own members and supporters crats and Hitler's party, are harmwhat they mean. ful and fatal to the Communist Are they ready to repudiate their movement." And the American theory of social-fascism and their party at its plenum in 1932 defines declarations of the impermissibility as "American social-fascism (Amof a bloc with the Socialist parties? erican Federation of Labor, Social-Are they ready to repudiate their ist Party, particularly the Muste spurious united front from below renegades)." Is that still to be policy? Are they ready to repudiconsidered correct, or was it pure Square Garden meeting? Are they and unadulterated fakery?

herous role of support of hourgeois democracy. It would be illusory to expect that these formal united front proposals represent a political change of policy of the Comintern and its various parties. Essentially it reflects the pressure of the Communist workers facing an ever more menacing enemy to which the Stalinist leaders are attempting to adjust themselves in a tactical way instead of giving actual leadership. It represents the pressure due to the decline of the official Commumethods of the Stalinist leadership nist parties and an effort of the another periodical zig zag to establish an alibi for the past failures when the genuine united front had in reality become a life and death

continue with impunity their trea-

question. Meanwhile the bureaurepudiate many of its concepts and crats of the Cominern have become so estranged from an actual united necessary to repudiate the spurious front policy that what they propose now is in reality the social democratic "non-aggression pact" which In the formal united front pro-

our comrades in Minneapolis who have worked devotedly in the interest of the striking truchmen, and the rights of the Minneapolis workers to union organization and a leadership of their own choosing.

At the same time we must remember that without a voice which speaks out in unqualified words and reaches the strikers, our duty to the Minneapolis workers is not fulfilled. In this situation we must remember the Militant more than ever.

We must make it possible for our comrades in Minneapolis who are not connected with the strike to get bundles of our Militant for general distribution.

The Militant is the only working class paper which devotes its columns mainly to the Minneapolis situation.

For that reason it is important that the Militant reach every striker.

But the Militant cannot do this effectively without funds. In our eagerness to help the Minneapolis workers we must bear this fact in mind all the time, and continue our support of our agitator, the Militant.

Our financial situation is very critical just at present. The Organization-Press Campaign has not brought sufficient returns to make it possible to print extra thousands of the paper weekly, in Minneapolis and in every other city in the country.

We must help to arouse the workers everywhere to a full realization of the grave dangers confronting the Minneapolis workers. We must spread the Militant everywhere. We must send large quantities to every city where we have connections.

The capitalist press gives only meager information about what is happening to the workers of Minneapolis. Only the Militant tells the full story.

With a proper nation-wide distribution of our paper we can work up sufficient sentiment for the Minneapolis workers to get a nation-wide protest against the fascist tactics used by Governor Olson.

Our duty is clear: PRINT 10,000 copies of the Militant each week and have them distributed throughout the country.

HELP US ACCOMPLISH THIS!

SEND US \$1 TO-DAY!

The Minneapolis strikers are fighting courageously in spite of the presence of the militia. They are giving their all. Two of them have already paid with their lives. A number of others are serious ly sick at the hospital.

OF YOU WE ASK ONLY \$1.00 TO-DAY.

Help us spread the true facts of the Minneapolis heroic battle to every part of the country.

DON'T FAIL THE WORKERS IN MINNEAPOLIS!

HELP US PRINT 10,000 copies weekly as long as the battle rages.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL An Organ of Revolutionary Marxism	
Max Shachtman, Editor Station D - Pos New Yor	
One Year, \$1.50; Seven Issues, \$1.00; Single Copy, 15 Cents; Canada and Foreign Countries—One Year, \$1.75.	
I enclose herewith \$, for which please enter my subscription for the NEW INTERNATIONAL:	
Name	
Address	
City State	

Since the National Guard arrived, Chief Johannes, who has earned the order issuing permits to "eshimself the opprobrious nickname sential" trucks has been more and of Bloody Mike, told Cannon and more generously interpreted -for Shachtman that their demand for a the bosses.

lawyer was not being denied (!) Until now the Guardsmen are but at the same time the lawyer playing an open scab role, guardwas not forthcoming, nor were they ing-as well as they can-scab permitted to telephone him about trucks of all kinds and descriptions. their case. Affidavits from workers report that

pie-trucks, trucks bearing electric A Real "Scoop" signs, toys, and other non-essential The next morning, the local capmaterials passed the National italist press boomed with the news. Guardsmen unchallenged, while the Copies of purloined letters and telpickets were prohibited by steel egrams, skillfully provided with bayonets from interference. terrifying headlines that had little It was the hope of Governor Olor nothing to do with the contents which hopeful editors expected son obviously that his order should their readers not to bother reading, gradually be extended until all truck service was restored to norhad been generously supplied to the

mal under scab operation, while Alliance press and were spread all the workers stood by paralyzed and over the columns. helpless. But if they counted upon a reac-Governor Olson's order read tion in the ranks of the workers, 'Trucks will move only on military and above all in the ranks of 574, permits and picketing by automo they were miserably disappointed. biles or otherwise will be complete-Instead, the union and its newspaly stopped." per took up the issue and demanded The permits were issued at first the release of the prisoners, not only under fake signs and pretenses of when they were held by the police, Interstate Commerce, meat and but also later, when they were

placed under military arrest by the has been abandoned. National Guard. So far as the employers were concerned the arrest otherwise, has not been stopped! proved a dud. **Under Military Arrest**

militancy of the workers that they

Friday morning, thirty-six hours were able to defy first the police after their arrest, and with a vagbullets and now the bayonets of the rancy charge actually booked National Guard. against them, the prisoners were ,The "Red Issue" could not stop

brought into court. Attorneys the strike. Geldman and Mendow of Minnea-The police thugs, the brutal killing of Ness and Belor, who died polis were on hand with a writ of habeas corpus. But before the vag- yesterday from his wounds, could rancy charge could be heard, the not stop the strike.

men were transferred to Judge Martial law could not stop the Guildford's court. There the city strike.

wholeheartedly supported the strike of Local 574 and which is in no way designed to hamper or restrict the activities of correspondents for papers representing the interests of the employers, to say nothing of the Citizens Alliance whom you have publicly branded as a sinister clique conspiring against the people's interests and responsible for the redhanded murder of unarmed men. We intend to make our appeal known to labor and liberal forces of the entire country and will make your direct and personal responsibility known particularly to those who have hitherto regarded you as a progressive and liberal Governor. We await an immediate reply in care of our attorney, Mr. Albert Goldman, Hampshire Arms Hotel, Minnea-

polis. "James P. Cannon, editor, The Militant "Max Shachtman, editor,

The New International." No reply was ever sent to this And let us ask Willi Muenzen-

city.

enjoy them.

message by Governor Olson. But | berg, who is now the celebrated the bluff to get Shachtman and visitor here, was he correct when Cannon to leave the city without he said in Feb., 1931, "A bloc, or protest, did not work. Instead, a | even an alliance, or even a temporreaction set in against the outrag- ary joint operation in individual eous procedure. Officials of 574 en- actions between the Communst tered their protest with the Gover- party and the Socialist party in nor. And the next morning, the Germany against national socialpress carried a statement by Olson ism, would forever discredit the declaring that the correspondents | Communist party among the broad of the "Tory Tribune" as well as masses of the workers, toiling peasthose of the "radical Militant" ants and the middle strata, and should enjoy equal rights in the draw it into decline."

Is he ready to repudiate that And such as they are, we still now? Will he disavow the old slo--M. S. | gan of the German Young Commu-

ready to liquidate their T.U.U.L. policy of rival unions, which splits the labor movement, and adopt a policy of the militants working within the mass unions?

These are minimum requirements to prove the sincerity of the united front policy, to prove that the formal offer made means a genuine united front. However, mere declarations and mere formal proposäls are not sufficient. It is necessary to adopt a policy which in all the practical daily activities of the Stalinist party proves by deeds that its interests are identical with those of the working class, that it has no separate factional motives and that it means the professed

united front proposal seriously. For us this question does not present difficulties. We stand squarely for the Leninist united front policy. We are ready at all times to contribute all in our power towards a genuine united front of Communist and Socialist and also trade union organizations against the attacks upon the workers by the bosses and their government, and against the rise of fascism. In that there must be preserved the right of mutual criticism and independence of organizations. Do not bind your own hands! There must be no common platform, but agreement on practical aims to be respected and to be honored. To keep separate banners, but to strike unitedly must be the objective. -ABNE SWABECK.

