



TROOPS RULE MINNEAPOLIS

Police Arrest Cannon and Shachtman

WAR LOOMS AS POWERS CLASH OVER AUSTRIA

Central Europe was charged with the dynamite of a new world war when the Nazis assassinated Dollfuss in an unsuccessful move to extend the boundaries of Hitlerism into Austria.

Not since 1914 have the explosives of international conflagration been nearer to ignition. Italy has mobilized 40,000 troops on the Austrian border, holding them in readiness for any eventualities. Yugoslavia has brought its army to the frontier where shots are reported to have been fired. France and England make ominous pledges to guarantee Austrian "independence".

Whether the powder keg which Europe is will now go up in explosion and thrust humanity into a bloody slaughter is still unclear from reports in the press. But certain it is that the latest events in Austria have the makings of another Sarajevo.

IMPERIALIST CONFLICTS UNDERLIE AUSTRIAN SITUATION

There the tense situation which grips the world in a state of uncertainty expresses the congealing of imperialist rivalries which are rapidly approaching the one remaining issue—war. The struggle for markets, the trade wars, the conflict over colonies and fields for expansion which have given way to the mad race for armaments underlie the earthquake that is rocking Austria.

Whatever credence one can place in the denials of Nazi officials that the Putsch of their brother murderers in the South is a purely Austrian affair and that they are pursuing a "hands-off policy", the indubitable fact remains that the Austrian Nazi movement is a creature of Hitler. Financed from Berlin and Munich, furnished with tons of propaganda from Goebbels' headquarters and given courage and inspiration by bellicose radio broadcasts against Austrian officials and government, the Austrian Nazis pressed forward with the conviction that German Fascism stood solidly behind them.

HITLER'S DESIRE FOR THE "ANSCHLUSS"

But it was not for fraternal sympathy alone that the Nazis in Austria counted on help from Germany. The irresistible push of German imperialism to break out of the boundaries of Versailles to find new markets and to retrieve her lost colonies drove towards the "Anschluss" as the first point of attack.

Recent events in Germany lend confirmation to the belief that the hand of Hitler has helped to engineer the Vienna putsch. The stripping of Hitler's regime of its main social support in the decapitation of storm troop leaders and the elimination of over a million and a half S.A.s on the one hand and the shattering economic crisis on the other has driven Hitler to a point of desperation where he knows that a foreign embargo is the only solution for his troubles.

The news that Hitler has proceeded to the Austrian frontier and there ordered all roads on the border closed to prevent a mass invasion of Austrian Nazis anxious to come to the assistance of their friends indicates only that Hitlerites in Austria got out of control and broke the leading strings of their Berlin masters. Or Hitler is retreating in fear before the international frankenstein that he has called into being, and for which he is not prepared.

MUSSOLINI OPPOSES NAZI EXPANSION

Reports that Mussolini is massing troops on the Italian side ready to march into Austria bear witness to the deep-going antagonism between German and Italian imperialism. Italian capitalism will have no truck with the proposition for an "anschluss". Their irredentist aims and desire for Balkan expansion and markets bring Italy into violent opposition to any German designs on Austria. More than that, Mussolini is ready for war should the Nazis seize power in Austria.

France and England, while not making such belligerent moves as Italy, according to United Press dispatches are considering a warning to Germany to respect Austrian "independence". These imperialist brigands who have cut Austria into a fantastically impossible economic unit have their own axe to grind in the recent developments. Neither France nor England want to see either Germany or Italy too strong in central Europe. They are interested in maintaining the distribution of the booty—the balance of power or the status quo—as it was handed out in Versailles in 1919.

WAR AGAINST SOVIET RUSSIA

The sinister cloud that hangs over the international complications caused by the Austrian events is the danger that the plunder gangs now at each others' throats may bury their differences for the time being and agree on Hitler's "drang nach Osten"—an assault on Soviet Russia. The sudden leap of Italy out of the lap of the Triple Alliance at the outbreak of the last world war teaches us not to be too cock-sure of alignments that seem most obvious.

The Nazis' thrust for power and the ensuing international situation raises the struggle against the war danger in the boldest relief. The decimation of the Austrian and German working class removes the strongest bulwark against another world slaughter. The difficulties are great and the tasks greater, but the struggle of the working class against war is the most crucial issue of the present moment.

Leon Trotsky in Danger

Gringolre, the police paper of the newspapers, publishes the following note in its issue of June 15:

"M. Sarruat not only protects the murderer of Bonnetoy-Sibour. He also protects Trotsky.

"One bright morning we read in the newspapers that the revolutionary agitator had crossed the border into Switzerland. This report was incorrect. He lives in a little house where he continues to dream of (Continued on Page 4)

VICTIM DENOUNCES POLICE LIES

Simon Barach, badly wounded by police thugs yesterday, is now in General Hospital, where he issued the following statement:

"The outright lie published in last night's *Star*, that I told the police that Communist party leaders said I would get a good job if I joined the strike, I wish to refute absolutely. I made no statement to the press or to police stenographers beyond giving my name and address. I have talked to no Communist party leaders.

"I was not paid a red cent to picket for 574, nor do I expect to receive anything. I am a member of the Minneapolis Central Council of Workers, organization of employed and unemployed. Realizing that 574's battle is the battle of all Minneapolis workers against their common oppressors, I was more than glad to do my part on the picket line. I will always hold myself in readiness to fight for the working class—anywhere." (Signed) Simon Barach.

Frisco League is Firm in Wave of Boss Terror

San Francisco.—July 22.—Although the police and police-backed "vigilante" committees have opened a new and sudden attack on radicals throughout the San Francisco Bay District, new members have been gained and new activities undertaken by the Communist League here. The morale of the Bay District organizations has been unshaken, in spite of attacks on every radical group in the district. Three new members joined the Oakland unit and one the San Francisco unit. Final work is being done, preparatory to publication of the first issue of the *Western Militant*, which will appear in the immediate future through the combined efforts of the Oakland, Richmond and San Francisco units. The League branches and the Spartacus Youth League of S. F. have stiffened up their organizations without loss of membership.

The terror campaign here has been no mild one. Police, backed up by two truckloads of National Guardsmen, armed with machine guns, raided the Marine Workers' Industrial Union headquarters and arrested everyone there, more than 100 workers. "Vigilante" committees, consisting of plain clothes men and hired thugs raided and wrecked every Communist party hall, I.W.O., I.L.D., and workers club in the region, wrecking them in the worst hoodlum style, smashing everything in the rooms, tearing books to pieces, smashing typewriters, mimeographs and furniture. After raiding the halls of the C.P. the headquarters of the I.W.W. were completely destroyed. Proletarian Party and Socialist Party halls were attacked.

Home of League Organizer Wrecked

The Triangle Press, where the *Western Worker*, C. P. organ and other radical papers and leaflets are published was "mysteriously" burned to the ground. Halls that Communists rented were either wrecked or the owners terrorized. In Richmond the home of Comrade Hesser, organizer of the League branch, was visited by five vigilantes whom the comrades drove off. The next day fifty came and completely wrecked his home and auto, smashing every piece of furniture in the house. They wrecked his car and placed a sign on the ruins—"This Was a Red's Car".

Bricks, wrapped with warning notes were thrown through the windows of homes of known Communists and Socialists in Berkeley and Oakland, signed by the "Berkeley Nationals", and individuals were (Continued on Page 4)

40,000 Join Mass Funeral for Harry Ness

(Reprinted from *The Organizer*, July 25, 1934)

One of the most solemn and impressive gatherings ever witnessed in the city of Minneapolis, was seen when 40,000 workingmen and women assembled to pay tribute to the first martyr of Local 574, Henry B. Ness.

Men and their families, from every trade and industry, Union men and unorganized, employed and unemployed, came from all parts of the city to honor the first man to give his life so that others might live, the fearless warrior who was shot down in cold blood by Johannes, the Murderer, shot in the back by cowards who dared not face him.

Not a policeman was in sight as the grim thousands gathered at the call of 574. Starting from the funeral parlor, they marched to the strike headquarters at the old Suttorfs Garage, packing the streets until not a person could squeeze through. In front of the headquarters, a temporary stand had been erected and a broadcasting apparatus set up, from which last tributes were paid the heroic martyr.

William S. Brown, president of Local 574, spoke about the fighter whom he had known so well and who was so beloved by all the men. He was so overcome with emotion as he spoke about the man by whose side he had fought many good battles, that he was unable to say more than a few brief words.

Albert Goldman, the noted labor attorney from Chicago who is now attached to the Union's legal staff, followed him on the tribune. In solemn, well-chosen words, he exonerated the murderers of the dead man, not only those who shot him down, but those higher up who had given the orders for his assassination.

The last speaker was Chaplain Nelson of the Post of the National Veterans' Association to which Henry Ness had belonged. His invocation was a touching tribute to the intrepid soldier who had so fearlessly fought for himself, his family, and for his brothers—for his Union.

The echo of the last address having died down, the massed thousands wheeled into marching columns behind the coffin of the dead. Following them was a cavalcade of hundreds upon hundreds of automobiles filled with workingmen who swung into line.

So magnificent and startling a demonstration has not been seen in Minneapolis in years. By the tens of thousands, the workers of Minneapolis displayed a solidarity with 574 and its martyr which flung into the teeth of their detractors the lie that the labor movement of the city is not behind the truckers and inside men on strike. By the tens of thousands, the workers of Minneapolis showed their hatred and horror of the murderous attacks of the police and the masters from whom they take their orders. By the tens of thousands, the Minneapolis workers bowed their heads at the grave of a hero and soldier of the labor movement.

Farewell, body of Henry Ness! Hail, your immortal fighting spirit!

Goldman's Speech

In my years of experience defending workers caught in the clutches of capitalist class justice, I have come to know well the brutality of police officers against pickets and workers' demonstrations. Now, from an examination of the available evidence, I am convinced that if ever anyone was guilty of malicious, premeditated murder and attempt to murder, it was the police who fired at the pickets last (Continued on Page 4)

Rush Funds for Cannon-Shachtman Defense

Comrades Shachtman and Cannon have been arrested by the Minneapolis police, the first victims of the terrific "red" baiting campaign unleashed by the bosses. In this we witness once more the celebrated frame-up methods of American capitalism hitting directly at the Communist League. But in its essence it is a part of the general efforts to break the truck drivers' strike and if possible to crush their splendid fighting union.

The strike is solid. No trucks move. But the bosses bring into play their most deadly weapons: the frame-up, armed police attacks and martial law.

Help is needed to defend our comrades against this dastardly frame-up. Rush funds immediately to the *Militant* office.

Local 574 on Martial Law

(Reprinted from *The Organizer*, July 25, 1934)

There is increasing talk about establishing martial law in Minneapolis. Some reports even indicate the possibility of martial law being established by the time this issue of *The Organizer* is on the press. The thousands of National Guardsmen encamped in the city are to take control in the present strike situation and regulate all activity by force of their military authority and arms.

The establishment of martial law means a recognition that a state of war exists which cannot be dealt with by the ordinary police authorities. And, in a certain sense, it cannot be denied that a state of war does exist in Minneapolis. It is a war in which thousands of workingmen are fighting for something more than a hard crust of bread for themselves and their families, fighting for a right to live like human beings. It is a war of cruelly exploited workingmen against a predatory band of business barons who still think they can rule over labor like the feudal lords ruled over the serfs—barons of commerce and finance who are set up on bringing to their knees the slaves who are determined to stand up like men.

In this war of poverty against wealth, of labor against capital, there is no room for a "No Man's Land" of neutrality. You are either on the side of the men and their families who refuse any longer to live on fourteen, or twelve, or ten dollars a week, or you are on the side of the men who refuse to grant them a higher wage. You are either on the side of the men who strike, or you are on the side of those who want to smash the strike. You are either for the right to peaceful picketing, or you are for the "right" of the police to massacre the pickets. You are either for the right of the workers to organize their own Union to defend themselves, or you are for the "right" of the employers to crush the Union.

Whom and what will they protect? We never asked for protection from the Guard. We have no "property" to protect. The employers have. It is their properties and their profits extorted from our labor that they want protected. It is their scabs, and their scab trucks, sent out to rob us of our bread, that they want protected. We never called for the troops. The employers did. We call for their withdrawal.

The employers are desperate, and whatever noise you hear from them is whistling in the dark to keep up courage. We have sewed them up and they know it. Their proudest boast is that they have been able to make 22 trips in one day, under the heaviest police convoys. That means less than one-fourth of one per cent of the number of trips made per normal day in Minneapolis, based on the conservative figure of 3,000 trucks involved in the strike, which usually make a minimum of 3 trips a day! We don't need the Guard to stop scab trucks. But the employers need it to convey them through.

Is it "riots" that the Guard will prevent? Scabs and scab truck movements—these cause riots. Police shooting down unarmed workers—this cause riots. Where there is no scab or police interference—there is quiet. Look at the imposing demonstration of 40,000 workers at Henry Ness' funeral yesterday where, without a policeman in sight, the workers themselves maintained perfect order during the ceremony and all along the line of march.

Another illusion that prevails among employers is that if the Guard is sent into action, that means the defeat of the strike. Fighting 574 has no such idea! The only ones who can defeat this strike are the strikers themselves. Their cause is lost if they weaken, if they break ranks, if they lose their fighting spirit. And this is just what they will not do.

We know from rich experience: Clumsy, cowardly scabs cannot move trucks. Policemen's clubs cannot move trucks. Deputies' badges cannot move trucks. Guardsmen's bayonets, tear-gas guns or trench helmets cannot move trucks. Yes, not even field artillery has even been known to move trucks.

You need truck drivers and helpers and platform men and inside men to move trucks.

And they are all in the ranks of 574.

And that's where they are going to stay.

And under its banner they are going to win.

No force has yet been produced that can rob them of victory unless they voluntarily submit to the tyranny of the employers, unless they surrender.

Only towards surrender—but Union men fight! And the men of 574 are Union men!

Farm Workers Strike in Ohio Shows Militancy

Bryan, Ohio, July 19.—Workers in the world's largest onion fields, in southern Ohio, have been fighting a tenacious and unyielding struggle for over a month.

The strike has been met with the most savage brutality by the bosses. An army of strike-breakers and deputies with guns, gas bombs, and clubs have been mobilized against the strikers. Two pickets have been shot and a great many gassed and clubbed. The jails are filled with strikers. In a recent flare-up in militancy, fifteen more pickets were arrested after a courageous fight against deputies and strike-breakers who fired on them from trucks.

The workers who formerly worked for eight to twelve cents an hour, are demanding \$2.80 for an eight-hour day.

Drivers Ranks Solid Despite Provocation

(By Wire)

MINNEAPOLIS, July 26.—With the declaration of martial law, Minneapolis police began a howling red-scare and arrested Comrade James P. Cannon, editor of the *Militant* and Comrade Max Shachtman, editor of the *New Internationalist* today.

The arrest of these leaders of the Communist League of America, in Minneapolis covering the strike situation for the *Militant* and the *New Internationalist*, took on a sinister aspect when it became known that they were held by authorities without charges.

All the earmarks of a frame-up were present in the case in the announcement by police that "they had seized a large quantity of radical literature in a room occupied by one of the men."

The New York branch of the Communist League of America has arranged a mass meeting to protest the arrest of comrades Cannon and Shachtman. Large numbers of revolutionary workers will jam Irving Plaza hall, where the meeting will be held on Sunday, July 29th at 8 P.M. Reports have arrived here that similar protest meetings are to be held in several other cities.

(By Wire)

Minneapolis, July 28.—Martial law was proclaimed here today by Farmer-Labor Governor, Floyd B. Olson, in an effort to break the general strike of drivers and helpers which is now rounding out its second week, undaunted by police murders and bosses' provocations.

4,000 National Guardsmen were placed in the streets, which means that Governor Olson considers this battle of workingmen for better conditions and recognition of their union to be a "State of Insurrection."

"Bodies of men", said Governor Olson, "together by force have attempted to break and resist the laws of this state, imperilling the lives, health and property and general welfare of the citizens of Minneapolis and Hennepin County, and the civil authorities thereof are wholly unable to cope with the situation or to preserve and maintain law and order."

Protect Whose Lives?

While the meaning of this motivation for the declaration of martial law remains unclear for the moment, interpretation was widespread here that the statement regarding the imperilling of the health and property of Minneapolis could be construed to mean the moving of trucks with troop convoys to protect them against the strikers. There is likewise some uncertainty here as to whether the remark on the protection of lives is a bit of demagoguery, at which Olson is so adept, in order to deceive the drivers that the troops have been called out to protect them, or whether it is a sly hint to the employers that scab trucks will move without the casualties caused by the "indiscreet" police force.

Olson did not say what he meant by "law and order" but strikers and large sections of the population here have come to understand this term in the light of the premeditated attack on defenseless workers by murderous thugs in blue coats last Friday.

Martial law was declared here after the bosses had turned down the proposals of Federal mediators to arbitrate the strike. These proposals, including an election to determine whether the union shall be entitled to represent the men in collective bargaining, that the strike be called off and all workers on the payroll as of July 17 be re- (Continued on Page 3)

PROTEST MEETING

Against the Murder of Minneapolis Strikers and the Arrest of James P. Cannon and Max Shachtman

IRVING PLAZA HALL,
15th St. and Irving Place
Sunday July 29, 1934 at 8 p.m.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

"Democratic" Law and Order

From the Pacific Coast the capitalist press reported armed vigilantes (Boss term for strikebreakers) smashing up workers' halls and homes, beating up men and women, destroying property with the full approval and armed support of the capitalist state. From Seattle comes the story of 3,400 National Guards armed with machine guns, rifles, tear-gas, vomit-gas and light howitzers moving on to attack picketing strikers. After listing the strength of the armed forces of the bosses the report concludes: "a striking seaman was arrested and found to be carrying a knife." Here is the content of capitalist democracy. Howitzers, gas and machine guns to defend the profits of the boss—arrest for the striking worker who carried a knife.

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"And the Ass Spoke"

Since the time when "God opened the mouth of Balaam's ass and the ass spoke" other asses with collars turned backward have had their mouths opened or shut as the occasion required by their God and master, Big Business. Despite the general moronic qualities of "gentlemen of the cloth" I really believe that the Rev. James J. Henry, discussing the general strike, has reached a depth of assinity that it will be hard to beat. This particular servant of Christ is doing his "soul-saving" at the Park Ave. Episcopal Methodist Church. Listen to the Times report of the Reverend "driving the money changers from the temple". Radicals who attack the government while enjoying its protection were condemned. "We even give people permission to stand on our streets, besmirch our laws and pour contempt upon our institutions while our own officers of the law protect them." (I'd like to give the Reverend Parasite a little of that protection.) Mr. Henry related a story of an American manufacturer who, finding his plant picketed by strikers, invited them to go fishing with him. Many did so and the next day the men returned to work. "But," says the Reverend Longears, "you can't treat radicals and reds that way. They have no loyalty to our institutions. Their boast is that they are citizens of the world." After this brawny he went on to show that the world was an economic unit with each nation depending on others for food, raw materials and manufactured goods. In other words he showed the economic basis for being "citizens of the world". His final word was to advise listeners who were leaving New York to attend some other "hop joint" even if it didn't belong to the Methodist syndicate. What strange, crawling creatures fatten under decaying capitalism!

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"It is Reported"

"Hitler a prisoner," screamed the Daily Worker. The source of their news, according to themselves, is from General Motors in Berlin by cable to J. P. Morgan, and from Morgan by "authentic word" to the Daily Worker. I suppose that as soon as Morgan got the cable he said: "By George! I must call up Hathaway about this." However, as the Freiheit says, "if it wasn't true yesterday it will be tomorrow." And so like the American correspondent in the movie "Viva Villa", the Daily Worker scored a scoop even if the action is somewhat delayed.

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War and Oil

Some years ago when American marines were killed at Socony Hill in China some American liberals asked why should United States soldiers die defending the robber wealth of Standard Oil Co. of New York. Standard Oil Co. doesn't insist on using only U. S. soldiers to do its dirty work. Paraguay has placed a memorial before the League of Nations charging that the Standard Oil Co. is paying the Bolivian army to hold its Chaco oil fields. The memorial states that the Bolivian oil concessions to Standard Oil have increased from 288,000 to 2,708,000 square miles since the war began. We don't know what oil company is financing the Paraguayan army but we do know that the "patriots" and "heroes" who are dying in the Chaco swamps are tools of the same or similar interests to those who sent the National Guards to shoot down striking workers in America.

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Roosevelt? No, Lovestone

"In addition to our economic interest we have a very vital political interest in Cuba. . . . We snatched Cuba from Spain because it fitted into our dream of empire." (My emphasis—B) Workers Age, July 15. "As an American speaking to Americans, I do not feel it appropriate to make suggestions to those South of the Rio Grande. I want rather to say a few words about what we Americans should do as a people, if we wish to promote better relations with our neighbors to the south." Bert Wolfe, Workers Age, July 15.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT.

Civil Liberties Under The New Deal

Liberty Under the New Deal—The Record for 1933-34. Published by the Civil Liberties Union.

This pamphlet, issued by the Civil Liberties Union in June, 1934, suffers obviously from the fact that it could not include in its report the red-baiting and labor hating terror that is now going on in San Francisco and other cities of the West Coast. A very definite shortcoming, however, of the pamphlet—Liberty Under the New Deal—is that overbearing evidence is adduced from cases in which the C. L. U. was directly involved. Matters being so, the review, of necessity, suffers from an all too one-sided approach to the general question of liberty or repression under the New Deal.

Militant Tone

All in all the pamphlet strikes a fairly militant tone. Despite section 7a of the NRA and despite all the blabbering of the various shades of pink in the labor movement as to labor, at last, coming into its own, it is clearly pointed out that the government in so far as it has interfered in recent strike struggles, has done so exclusively on the side of the bosses.

The pamphlet is summarized under various headings such as: Courts, Laws, Strikes, Labor Unions, Aliens, etc., etc. The findings under some of these headings is that a larger share of liberal opinion has prevailed in this last year than heretofore. The Civil Liberties Union is particularly happy over the Administration's activity with regard to the American Indians. The bill restoring Indian tribal lands and tribal autonomy, etc., is described in the report as a "milestone on the road to the Indians" recovering their lost independence. Also, the report comments favorably on the Administration's attitude towards the American colonies.

Roosevelt's Terror

Lynchings in the past year have jumped from ten the previous year to twenty-eight. Troops have been called out in 5 states against strikers. Over forty injunctions have been issued by state courts restricting or suspending the right to organize, strike or to picket. More than 15 strikers have been killed and over 200 wounded on picket lines or in demonstrations. Several hundred have been arrested. (It must again be borne in mind that the publication date of the report is June, 1934). Strikes or threatened strikes have marked all the great unorganized industries. The

police, it is found, have been the most active agents of interference with the rights to meet, speak, distribute literature and to picket in strikes. A bill intended to permit political refugees asylum in the United States was so changed as to confine its provisions solely to reactionary Russians—Czarists and enemies of the Soviet Union. The C. L. U. fought for the veto of the bill but it was signed.

A significant item under the heading, Aliens, is that where the report points out that the Labor Department's policy has been "somewhat modified by the disaffiliation of the Trade Union Unity League from the Red International of Labor Unions." The price paid for American recognition of Soviet Russia has, at least, "helped" Frank Borah, secretary of the National Miners Union who had deportation proceedings cancelled as a direct result of the disaffiliation.

Why the Omissions?

And here permit us a few criticisms of the Civil Liberties Union which proclaims to be non-partisan but goes out of its way in its efforts to achieve a rapprochement with the Stalinists. Under that same heading, Aliens, one expected to find a review—may—a mere mention of the Helussi case with which the C. L. U. was involved. Not a word. In Los Angeles A. L. Wirin, Beardsley and other lawyers connected with the Union were instrumental in getting a reverse decision on appeal in an anti-picketing case where one of our comrades, Elsie Meyers, was involved—no mention. In San Francisco where our comrades were arrested and defended by Austin Lewis—no mention. But if some paper victory—by now entirely in the limbo of memory only—by the National Miners Union in Gallup, N. M., it is hailed as "notable among the gains of unionism." The winning of a fighting union by the Minneapolis truck drivers, the heroic battles of the Toledo workers—no mention! There were no Stalinists there.

The sins of the pamphlet are in the main sins of omission. It would serve little purpose here to debate with the C. L. U. its "ideal" conception of government, its fighting for the rights of all—Nazis included. One can, however, hope that in the future such reviews, as the present, will begin to picture events in the United States through their own reflection and not from the distorted reflections of the crazy mirrors of Stalinism.

—GLEE.

Militant Org Press Campaign Builders

Second Drive Ends

Local New York in the Lead. The second Club Plan Sub drive which ends August 1st has brought in a total of 453 new subscribers up to the present writing. A few more are expected before the final date, if George Truhar's letter is an indication. He writes, asking, "Can I send in another 20 subs by midnight of July 31st?"

New Subs Last Week

Bronx Spartacus Youth Club	4
Bob Green (Bronx Br.)	15
Cleveland Br. (Truhar)	28
Chicago Branch	8
M. V. Stone, Phila.	4
O. P., Mich.	4
Total	63

Complete Record

Local New York	95
Cleveland Branch	96
Chicago Branch	52
Minneapolis Branch	40
Los Angeles Branch	36
Philadelphia Branch	16
Davenport Branch	12
Pittsburgh Branch	12
Youngstown Branch	8
Boston Branch	8
Chicago Friends of the Militant Club	8
San Francisco Branch	8
Constance N.	8
New Haven Branch	8
Toronto	4
M. N. Stone, Phila.	4
Berkeley (Kogan)	4
A. S., N. Y. C.	4
O. P., Ludington, Mich.	4
Ben. L. and I. Porter	4
Leeser	4
New Castle Branch	4
New Castle Branch	4
Newark Branch	4
Oakland Branch	4
Springfield Branch	4
St. Louis Branch	4
Oshorn, Frisco	4
Toronto Branch	4
Toronto Youth Club	4
Waukegan Branch	4
Ross Moran	4
A. L. Rumble	4
Jefferson Hall	4
Second Drive Total	453
First Drive Total	1014
Total for both drives	1467

new subs.

That the capitalists are determined to break the resoluteness of the workers in the present strike wave was clearly evidenced during the past week in California and in Minneapolis.

Wholesale arrests, unwarranted attacks on workers' halls, meeting places and offices; surprise raids on the homes of individuals active in the struggle. This is the record of California "democracy" during the past few days.

The workers' only response in this situation is Organization. Organization is no abstraction. A living matter, its importance is in the ideas it fosters and sponsors. In the Communist League of America these ideas are the ideas of Marxism and when you build the Communist League you strike a blow for the present and the future of the revolutionary movement. Our Organization-Press campaign has been conceived of as the weapon for this task. When you support us in this drive you strike a blow at the white terror of the bosses.

Receipts

Total reported thus far	\$360.58
Total since last report	53.60

R. Hermann, Chicago	\$1.00
Podell, Brooklyn	1.00
M. Meisel	1.00
Manhattan Branch, N. Y.	1.55
M. M., N.Y.C.	5.00
(From B. Bass \$1.50)	
Stylus, Bronx Br.	1.00
Local New York	31.25
Sterling	5.00
Manne	10.00
E. R.	5.00
J. W. party	11.25
Collin, Brooklyn	1.00
Anonymous, N.Y.C.	1.00
Cleveland (Abrams)	.80
Boston Branch (Bolton)	1.00
Anonymous, N.Y.C.	1.00
Cleveland Branch	4.00
M. R., Los A.	1.00
Boston Branch (Bolton)	1.50
A. Friend, N.Y.C.	.50

Special Note:

All those who have received coupon books and have not yet responded or returned the book, will kindly do so and so avoid the necessity of sending them a follow up. In the last issue, an error was made in reporting the returns from New York Local. The total was \$57.25 for all the branches. Not as it appeared, \$57.25 in addition to what the branches turned in. Another error was the contribution from A. Konikow of Boston. It should have been \$5, not \$15.

QUESTION BOX

COMRADE B. d, Newark. —The proletariat in this country is made up as follows: (1929 figures, wage and salary earners—in thousands.)

Agricultural	2,027
Electric light and power, gas	336
Mining	1,054
Manufacturing	9,890
Construction	1,360
Transportation	2,905
Communication	533
Trade	5,502
Finance	1,422
Government	3,003
Service	4,858
Miscellaneous	2,255
Total	35,205

There are about 6 million owners and tenant farmers, and 1,050,000 owners of retail stores. This latter figure having been 1,510,000 in 1929.

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SARA W., N. Y. —Where did you hear that the Stalinists had three positions on the Saar plebiscite? You must have reference to the Appeal to the Saar Workers by the I. S. where it states: "At first they (the Stalinists—ed.) stood unconditionally for return to Germany, then they spouted hollow phrases about a Soviet Germany and finally in the last hour came out for the status quo."

Apparently, the first two are but two faces of the same coin. If (Resolution of the Presidium of the Communist International, adopted April 1, 1933) "the establishment of an open fascist dictatorship . . . accelerates the rate of Germany's development towards proletarian revolution," then the best thing for the Saar workers would be a return to "revolutionary" Germany. This is the logic of the first position held by the Stalinists, and talk of a Soviet Germany is merely a part of it.

It is, of course, impossible for us to give you any official reason for the change because the Stalinists simply don't give any. In an article entitled "The Communist Position in the Saar Question" (Daily Worker, July 19, 1934) a certain W. Mueller condemns the "Back to Germany" slogans as follows: "To advocate union with Hitler Germany would mean to betray the workers, would mean to advocate their being placed under the heel of Hitler fascism"; and then he fails to explain the change in position as follows: "They (the C. P.—ed.) declare most emphatically . . . that the Communists are making a 'volte face', that the tactics pursued by the Communists in the Saar were and are correct. They could not make the tactical decision they are now making six months or a year ago, because the development of the class forces and the sudden or unexpected turns in events before the holding of the plebiscite might have rendered it necessary to adopt another attitude in the Saar question." (Can you make head or tail of this hodge-podge?)

Why the change, still remains unanswered. The turn cannot be attributed to a change in the Stalinist position concerning the present situation in Germany. The same W. Mueller states: "With the tactics they are adopting, the Communists deliberately turn the attention of the proletarians in the Saar District and of all countries to the revolutionary upsurge which is taking place under the leadership of the C.P.G."

Can the change be attributed to pressure from the workers. This may be a factor.

However, the most likely of reasons, in harmony with the entire Stalinist nationalistic approach, is the fact that the Soviet Union stands ready to join the League of Nations which now nominally rules the Saar.

Goethals - Strikebreaker

An elaborate military plan for breaking the proposed general strike of the railroad unions thirteen years ago was revealed to the press this week by Major Elihu Church, who assisted Major Gen. George W. Goethals, engineer in charge of Panama Canal, in preparing the plan.

Had the strike taken place, it was planned to institute martial law in all strategic areas, requisition all trucks, and set aside roads for the sole use of the strikebreaking military.

Goethals and Church were then members of the Port of New York Authority. Among the steps carried out was a census, worked out with motor vehicle authorities in New York and New Jersey, "of every motor truck in the city and their capacities in terms of ton-miles on a twenty-four hour basis." "Military authorities of both states, as well as of the regular army," said Church, "were consulted and a plan worked out for the strategic use of available troops to act as convoys for the food trucks." Like the San Francisco and Minneapolis authorities, General Goethals planned to break the strike under the guise of transporting food.

New Castle Unemployed Organize

New Castle, Pa., July 23.—Originality and versatility are two of the many qualities which the progressive workers of New Castle possess, if one is to judge by their record over many years. This town years ago had what was known as one of the Reddest locals of the Socialist Party in the country. It elected a Socialist administration in 1909. In the early days, a local workers' press was published here, the name of which is still well remembered by the old timers. During the World War, a large local of the Industrial Workers of the World flourished here and defied police repressions in their anti-war activity. The local workers have likewise distinguished themselves by the great battles which they waged against the Steel Trust, especially in 1909 and 1919. They took an awful beating in both strikes; the unions were successfully broken up by a combination of the strategy employed by the Trust and the traitorous maneuvers of the A. F. of L. skates in the Amalgamated Association. In educational activity, the vanguard workers here have sponsored many forums and lectures which may well have become models for the workingclass everywhere. And now, as if to crown their forty-year labor record, they have organized their own unemployed organization, the Co-Operative Workers of America.

Movement Under Way

The C. W. of A. organized at a mass meeting held early in the spring of this year. The workers' committees picked Easter Sunday as

Stalin Keeps His Promises

No one who has read the N. Y. Times for July 20, will say that Stalin does not live up to the commitments which his right hand man Litvinoff made to President Roosevelt in return for recognition of Soviet Russia. In an article by the New York Times, July 21, correspondent for Russia, Harold Denny, discussing the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, which it is stated will be held in the Fall, the following comments are made:

"An interesting feature is that most of the data on the coming meeting published in Soviet press are translations from Communist publications in other countries. This is probably motivated by a desire to make Moscow appear less the center of the world revolution."

We had always been given to understand that the Communist party of the U.S.S.R. was the leading party of the Communist International and that its voice was most influential in shaping world policies. This fact quoted in the Times does not lead us to change our position to the effect that some other party of the Comintern has taken the place of the C.P.S.U.—it wouldn't make much difference to exchange one corpse for another—but that the World Congress, postponed for five years will merely be a rubber-stamp for all the crimes of Stalinism.

Further down the correspondent says "it is interesting and perhaps significant to note that not only the Soviet publications, but Communist party utterances, including statements in behalf of the Comintern do not mention the United States."

The interests of the national policy of the ruling clique in the Soviet Union have developed to such a point where it has become possible for the theoreticians of the Stalin regime to "analyze" the world situation and omit the United States the economic and political pivot of international events today, from their calculations.

But it is not always that the United States is left out of consideration, sometimes says Denny, "since recognition the tone of the government and party has been extremely friendly (1) towards us. . . . News of strikes in San Francisco and other American cities is being published in the press here, but without comment."

Communists, are arrested, jailed and beaten, headquarters are smashed, a general strike such as America has not seen for years shocks the bourgeoisie of the country and then is betrayed. And the Soviet press has nothing to say but publish the news. What a let-down since the days of Lenin.

an appropriate time, showing their contempt for "days and seasons." Since that date, the C. W. of A. has been representing the interests of the C.W.A. and the R.W.D. workers. Now that the Trust's Tin Plate mills here have shut down to one-half capacity, the C. W. of A. shall represent the interests of every unemployed worker in New Castle. This developed at a mass meeting held Monday, July 23, at Dean Park. After hearing a fine report from their chairman, and a stirring address from one of their militant organizers, the meeting got down to the business of organizing every ward in the city and the county districts as well. Ward and township committees were named by the workers volunteering their services.

It is now in order to estimate this organization's prospects and to prescribe or describe certain conditions under which it can become outstanding in the labor movement. Provided that the C. W. of A. can fulfill certain conditions, its future is bright, as it appears that the United States is entering a new epoch of class struggles. The Government is daily revealing the actual content of the new deal. The public debt grows at the expense of the workingclass. The economic index falls. And the workingclass is becoming organization-conscious; all these and more form a background against which the C. W. of A. may stand out. There are at least two conditions with which the C. W. of A. must comply if it would play its role well: First, it must recognize the Federal, State, County and Municipal governments and all their agencies (especially the relief agencies), as parts of a machine all under the control of the capitalists; second, it must logically conduct all its activity in consonance with the recognition of point one.

Forward to New Positions

So far the leadership of the C. W. of A. has been characterized by much dependence on the Federal and State relief agencies, the R.W. D. administration, etc. Now with the personal record of the leaders of the C. W. of A. we have no quarrel; they are conscientious in their performance of their duties as they understand them, but this is insufficient. To lead the unemployed effectively, they must recognize the role of the New Deal and its agencies. This, we grant, comes by experience in the case of the wide masses. In the case of the leaders, it means that if they cannot aid the unemployed to understand the experiences through which they pass, the leaders must give way to others who can by their policies and leadership, give expression to the successive stages of mass conscious development and also aid its evolution. The tendency so far of the present leadership has been to repose faith in the New Deal. They must expose it, while exhausting all possible agencies of relief. The leaders of the C. W. of A. do have a militant policy against evictions. This is good. Apply this militant attitude in its dealings with the New Deal agencies and great victories shall result. Take up the cases of workers refused relief, who have recently lost work. Rely only on mass pressure. Forward to new positions!

—A. L. L.

Jean Tomasini Dead

Comrade Jean Tomasini, a young, promising member of the Bronx Branch of the Communist League of America, died Thursday, July 19 after a protracted illness. All the comrades who knew and worked with her are deeply grieved by her passing from our midst when her work in the Communist movement had but begun.

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League Branches are requested to place their orders for the second issue of the NEW INTERNATIONAL at once, in case they wish to increase their bundle order. Orders not placed in advance cannot be guaranteed shipment. The first issue was sold out completely.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

Towards a Western European Congress of Workers

At present, beginnings of broad united front movements have already been commenced in France, Spain, Belgium, Holland, and England, and while the whole movement is still only in its initial stage, it is already evident that this offers not only the best but the only way of checking the development of Fascism and turning the tide in favor of the working class.

In Spain where the first permanent united front organization, the Workers Alliance against Reaction and Fascism was formed, the movement continues to make great headway. In spite of the sabotage of the socialist and anarcho-syndicalist leaders, the most important sectors of the labor movement are adhering to the Workers Alliance under pressure of the evolutionary minorities within their ranks. The Stalinists and the Anarchists continue to betray the general interests of the working class for those of their own particular group. Fortunately both sectarian tendencies are becoming ever more isolated from the proletarian masses. The experiences thus far in Spain demonstrates the possibility of developing broad united front movements in the present period, in spite of all the sabotage and betrayals of reformists and sectarians. It demonstrates the inherent ability of the proletariat to overcome the divisions existing within its ranks.

The western European Workers Alliances have before them the task of smashing Fascism and laying the basis for the Soviet United States of Europe.

The last number of the International Bulletin of the Internationalist-Communist, poses the question of an international conference of the Workers Alliances of France, Spain, Belgium, Holland, England.

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Towards the New Party in Chile

Recently, the Communist Left of Chile, Section of the League of Internationalist Communists and, which has broad influence among the workers, signed a pact with the Communist Youth Opposition, agreeing for joint action in building the Fourth International. The Communist Youth Opposition is an autonomous organization, spontaneously revolting against the Stalinist bureaucracy, which split away from the official Y.C.L. several months ago.

Of all the South American countries, it is in Chile that the movement for the new party is most advanced. The steady, consistent work of the Bolshevik Leninists in the industries and in the unions is laying the basis for a real Communist Party. Although lacking relatively great resources that the Stalinists have at their disposal, our comrades are making themselves felt in every field. A new fortnightly newspaper has been launched under the name "Izquierda" (Left) which is a great improvement over the bulletin published previously.

One indication of the fear of the ruling classes for the Communist Left, is indicated by the recent attack on our parliamentary representative, Comrade Emilio Zapata by the carabinieri. Comrade Zapata was shot in the head and seriously injured in what appears to have been an attempt to assassinate him.

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Regional Conference of the Catalan Workers Alliance

The Workers' Alliance of Catalonia united front organization of the workers of all the main political tendencies of that region, held its First Regional Conference on June 17th. This was during the height of the agitation over the Catalan land law, when the relations between the central and regional governments were very strained. The Conference adopted a resolution stating that in the event of the establishment of an independent Catalan Republic, the Workers Alliance would defend Catalonia against any attack of the central government and would rally the proletariat of all Spain to its defense. At the same time an effort should be made to transform the Catalan Republic into a Socialist republic.

The following immediate demands were formulated by the Regional Conference in which delegates from Syndicalist, Socialist, trade union and independent Communist organizations represented the majority of the proletariat of Catalonia: The arming of the workers, complete liberty of organization and propaganda for all workers' organization, expropriation of the estates of the most active leaders of the Regionalist "LLIGA", the closing of all Fascist centers, arrest of the Fascist leaders, and the forty-four hour week in all branches of industry.

Steps were also taken at the Conference for the coordination of the activities of the Workers Alliances throughout the country.

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ROBBER BARONS RAVE AT CRIME

I. Capitalism Breeds Crime

There is practically not a large industrial city where some kidnapping has not occurred during the last few months. All along the newspapers have been carrying sensational reports of the kidnapping of this or that scion of wealth. The paid press, which remains curiously indifferent to the poverty and degradation of ten million American working men and women, and which always retains a sober "impartiality" when it reports the beating or even the shooting of a striking dock worker, miner, etc., managed to work itself up into a veritable frenzy against this danger to the life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness (of the millionaires) and hysterically demanded the death penalty for all offenders. The corrupt legislatures—these mighty, these just, these disinterested "public servants" forgot about the gas trust and power corporations for a whole day and passed still more vicious laws to combat the "crime wave".

Catching Suckers

What was disquieting about the "crime wave", from our point of view, was the pitch of indignation to which the press succeeded in arousing many working men against the criminals. (We mean those that were caught, as distinguished from the catchers.) The press, the radio and the news services put on the high pressure valve and hysterical letters poured into the offices of the city editors demanding that something be done about it, while armed posses were reported to have been organized around Arizona and California.

Doesn't that really sound preposterous?

Here we are in the year of our lord 1934, where thousands, literally thousands of young men are being butchered off every day in South America and China and right here in the U.S.A.—four workers shot to death at the San Francisco Embarcadero, fifty-five wounded and one killed in Minneapolis, another worker electrocuted to death the other week in Milwaukee during the car strike, unemployed workers committing suicide every day; still nobody seems to get excited. But have one hair hurt of the head of a millionaire, or any other parasite and then the press begins to carry reports of loud voiced young attorneys who tell us of the sanctity of the law and the fire-works begin in real earnest!

Who Pays the Press?

That shows just about as clearly as anything else what interests our press serves and what is very important, with what infinite ease they can stir up millions of people to an hysterical pitch, and divert their thoughts from their own misery. (Remember 1914?) Such events give up again a sharp warning that we must reexamine with a fine toothed comb everything we read in their press.

About this thing of kidnappings and crime in general, we workers have no reason to become indignant at this or that sensational murder which the press reports, or join in with the Chambers of Commerce and the lawyers of the American Bar Association in demanding more brutal punishments against offenders. What judges and lawyers call "crime" is nothing but an outgrowth of the system in which we live, with its exploitation and discrimination and poverty and hunger. And as long as this system of exploitation is allowed to remain, so long will crime exist no matter how vicious the laws that are passed.

Only One Way Out

The only way that crime can be abolished is to give people a decent chance to live; is to abolish all private property, all monopoly and exploitation and then no man will go out to commit burglary when his house is well stocked with food and necessary clothing and no woman will walk the streets when she has a comfortable home of her own. Learned professors may write books about the criminal mind and how some people are naturally bad just as the rest of us are naturally good—law-abiding citizens—but that is all nonsense! There is no such thing as a natural criminal. You can examine any set of statistics, of any of our larger cities and you will find that invariably 90% of all crimes committed are crimes against property and are due solely to unemployment, to poverty and to want.

Why is it that so many of our young men must embark upon a career of "crime"? Why must so many of young working boys violate the "law"?

The Biggest Grab of All

Simply because 90% of all our wealth lies in the hands of 10% of the people. Solely because a pack of robber barons have monopolized the earth to themselves, have stolen all the forests, the oil lands, the coal, the copper and iron ore and have passed laws to compel the rest of us to pay tribute to them.

When you go out and try to find a plot of land to cultivate you find that everything has been fenced off long before you came, and a large sign planted in front, "Private Property—Keep Out."

When you go into a city and want to ride on the subway or the street

cars, you find that you are compelled to pay five or ten cents for something that is not worth more than 23, simply because the bankers who own the transportation companies have bribed the state legislatures and have passed laws compelling all of us to pay tribute to them.

When you go home and want to cook something on your stove, you find that you are being held up by the great Consolidated, who can generally furnish enough light so that the state legislature can see it, as was revealed at the recent investigation at Albany.

And when you go out and want to find some work, there is no job to be gotten, simply because of the greed and the grasping of a small circle of bankers, industrialists and landowners who have stolen so much of our wealth, that the rest of us can hardly buy back anything of what we have produced.

When you do find work, three-quarters of what you produce is stolen by the owner and the boss. And so we workers find wherever we may turn, we are surrounded by a hungry pack of wolves, who have fenced everything off for themselves, robbed everything, and then turned around and passed laws compelling us to keep our hands off.

Under conditions of that sort, facing the choice of slow extinction or "crime", of course, many of the more daring young boys take the latter choice and when they strike out and attempt to grab a morsel of all that has been stolen by the Astors and Vanderbilts and Morgans and Mellons they are clapped into jail for violating "law" while the jackals of the yellow press cry for their blood.

The big criminals, who have stolen more than all the petty thieves in the county jails put together never violate the law.

They are the respectable citizens, who make speeches and build churches and jails.

They have made the laws and therefore have no need of breaking them.

And the more these robber barons steal and plunder, the more many of the poor sons of the working class must go out and commit "crime" in order to live.

Some of us may not realize it at the time, but it is always hard economic need which drives them towards it. When young women prostitute their bodies, we know it is not because they don't go to church often enough, but because the lawyers and giant corporations have appropriated all the wealth and have deprived some girls of a chance of life and we know that the Morgans and the Rockefellers are responsible and not the girl who walks the streets.

Here and there, some person with a peculiar formation of the brain, may commit some senseless, weird crime, for no apparent reason, and receive great notoriety in our press, but these crimes are so rare as to be practically insignificant. By and large it is the poor who are forced to crime and it is they who fill our prisons and jails and who furnish the victims of the law. Such crimes can never be abolished by revengeful laws. They will only disappear when workers get a chance to live and get in on some of the good things of life. Only when all monopoly and exploitation is abolished and when the workers will receive

back in some form the wealth that they have produced, only when the bankers and capitalists and landlords are overthrown and the workers will become partners in production under a collective Socialist Society.

II. How Capitalism Reforms Itself.

Last summer, at about this time, all the liberals were walking around with broad, contented smiles on their faces, saying "I told you so." That was the time, as we remember, Ferdinand Pecora, as counsel for the Senate Banking Committee, was investigating the bankers and stock market brokers, and even enough important phases of the investigation were suppressed, enough dirt and filth was revealed to satisfy the most blood-thirsty muckraker. We all remember the juicy details: the "interesting" inside list, the strange workings of the income tax law so that J. P. Morgan did not have to pay a cent in income taxes for five years, etc., etc.

Now this is just what we've been talking about, the liberals explained to us. "Public Opinion forces an investigation, the scoundrels and wrong doers are punished, a law is passed preventing such abuses in the future."

"Status Quo Ante Bellum"

It is months now that the investigation has ended. Congress has adjourned. It is fitting that we sum up the results gained, if any, have we gained anything? Have the workers gained anything, as a result of the protracted investigations? Have Morgan or his pals been deprived of their wealth? No one in Congress even dared suggest as much! (John J. Astor, brother-in-law of Roosevelt's pal, can still spend two million dollars on his bribe and have it smeared arrogantly across the headlines for the unemployed to read.) Is there any less cheating or larceny now than last year? Is the stock market perhaps run more honestly?

(Trying to run a stock market honestly is something like fighting a war without hurting anybody.) Why, just a few months ago, Arthur Cullen, the grain speculator, raised the price of wheat and kept it up, while thousands of workers did not have the price of a loaf of bread etc., etc.

Our liberal friends reply to us, "True, the results of the Pecora investigation have been disappointing, but at least now we will have the stock exchange regulated."

"The Right Man for the Right Job"

Yes, out of that whole investigation, nothing has remained but a bill to "regulate" the stock exchange. (Just as our gas and electric companies are "regulated") and even that is nothing but a cheap farce to throw dust into the eyes of the gullible. After months of haggling and bargaining at Washington a stock-exchange bill was passed by Congress which was so meaningless that even the million dollar Corporation lawyer, Samuel Untermyer, raised his voice in protest! But the corporations were not satisfied even with that. These shrewd men realized that about 90% of the importance of a law depends upon the people who are enforcing it, and so they saw to it that the President appointed Jos. P. Kennedy to the chairmanship of the Stock Exchange Commission. "The right man for the right job", as the business men say. Had the President combed the country from New York to Frisco he could not have found a more fitting candidate to regulate the exchanges.

Last winter, right in the midst of the Pecora investigations, Jos. P. Kennedy carried on a wild manipulation with Harry Sinclair and his partner Mason Day, both of whom served prison sentences, in the so-called repeal-stocks.

In a few months, they made a profit of \$395,000 by buying and selling a million shares of the Libby-Owen-Ford Glass Co. stock. Of this sum Mr. Kennedy received the modest sum of \$80,000 without having to put up a cent.

Pontius Investigates Pilate

And this Jos. P. Kennedy, the worst kind of Wall St. speculator, is going to watch over Wall St. to see that it goes "straight"; and just to show the confidence they have in the man, Pecora (another member of the commission) who viciously attacked this very same pool in the Senate Banking Report, has just turned over his proxy to Kennedy, permitting the latter to vote for him at meetings. This is just to show how seriously they take the whole investigation.

Thus the net results—after an investigation costing hundreds of thousands of dollars—money finding its existence from the blood and brawn and muscle of the American working man and woman we are going to have a Wall St. speculator, regulating Wall St. The President's gratuitous insult to the intelligence of the workers, by this appointment, will not be forgotten by us. This glaring contrast between the words and deeds of the President will help thousands of workers to realize more than anything else, that capitalism can never reform itself, and can live only by exploitation and robbery. And only a workers' government working for Socialism can provide real justice to the working class and humanity as a whole.

The Significance of the United Front Between the C.P. and S.P. in France

The turn of the Communist party and the pressure from the left in the Socialist party has finally led to the organization of unity of action between these two parties. Thus the theory of social-fascism crumbles to dust, thus it becomes clear that by our intransigent struggle for the united front from organization to organization we have correctly interpreted the undeniable will of the toiling masses.

We must say very clearly. A new stage is opened before us now. We have not before us a chance zig-zag, or a maneuver for a day. It is a question of a whole policy, whose development will be replete in results. For the present we will limit ourselves to the principal features of this policy.

Firstly, what we have here is a victory of the workers themselves. Since February 6, unity of action has been the fundamental demand of the workers who see in it the first prerequisite for the success of their struggle. In every form and in the various centrist and democratic parties and organizations a pressure in this direction has been exercised from the very heart of the popular masses. The German experience has not been in vain.

The movement towards the left grew in the Socialist party drawing its main force in the Seine and in a number of provincial federations. The struggle of Doriot in the Communist party reflected the same state of things. Similarly in the trade unions a movement towards organic unity grew and deepened. On the other hand numerous Vigilance Committees and Workers Alliance dotted the country. In thousands of localities they maintained the connection between divers organizations which found themselves literally thrown upon

each other on February 12th. Even the Amsterdam movement was forced to consider a change in its form.

For weeks and months (particularly in April and May) the action of the leading bureaucrats was exercised against the realization of the united front of organizations, that is against the masses. But action from below continued to bring the fighters of different tendencies and social groups together against Fascism. In June, these demonstrations were more extensive, more solid, more frequent. The hour was approaching when the bureaucrats would have to surrender.

From this point of view and in the degree that it reflects a pressure, a rising of the proletarian masses, vast perspectives are opened for a united front movement. As we said months ago and repeated hundreds of times in the struggle against Hitler in Germany, the constitution of a massed proletarian group can develop courage, hope and militancy, can push the struggle to a higher stage, in a word can create pre-revolutionary conditions.

In this sense we hopefully greet the realization of an action which embodies the profound correctness of our previous proposals and prepares a broader arena of struggle for the working class.

But it is essential to have complete clarity on the new situation facing us and therefore to develop our analysis further.

Consideration should be given to the form of exclusiveness the entente between the S. P. and the C. P. has taken. While at the present time it includes the most important sections of the working class, the apparatuses of these parties appear to have consorted not

only to organize common action but to mutually guarantee themselves against any intrusion of any current outside their control. The fact that *Populaire* (organ of the S. P. F.) has ceased to make any reference to Doriot, while *l'Humanite* refrains from supporting Just (leader of the left wing in the S. P. F.) against Blum, is very indicative. The fact that neither the C. P. nor the S. P. have even dreamed of enlarging the first manifestations of the united front to other political and trade union organizations of the proletariat, and do not speak of realizing it in the local committees suffices to dispel all doubts.

We place our finger on this danger because it is serious. The S.F. I. O. (Socialist Party of France) and the Stalinist leaderships represent two varieties of centrism; there is no principle difference between them. It is therefore necessary that the real Marxist-Leninist vanguard cuts out its own path at the expense of these two centrist currents. Consequently it will be no surprise if after consummating their fusion these two centrist bureaucracies function together against the incipient new party. History has seen similar examples as in 1917 at the time when the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries monopolized almost the totality of the working masses in the united front of the Soviets.

Great events and unparalleled audacity were necessary in order for the Bolsheviks to win the leadership, thanks to the experience acquired by the masses.

On the other hand the turn of the C. P. has an international scope which must be emphasized. It is not only a question of the adaptation of centrism to the will of the workers for united struggle. For the apparatus it is a question of a policy which makes the agreement of the U.S.S.R. with "democratic" France the pivot of the international struggle of the C. I.

The evolution of the Stalinist policy in the Saar bears evidence to this fact. Several months ago the C. P. abandoned its initial slogan and declared itself ready to vote for the status quo in 1935. In the meantime Cachin denounced Doriot for proposing an agreement with Max Braun, social democratic leader in the Saar and was received with loud applause. But on July 3rd it was announced that the C.P. and the S. P. had arrived at an agreement to constitute a common front "against any link with Hitlerite Germany!" We are also informed that the same proposals are to be made in other European countries.

The C. P. has tacitly liquidated its theory of "social-fascism". Its national conference adopted a new policy although it carried no resolution on this subject. Thorez (leader of the French C. P.) uncovered the very bottom of this policy.

Firstly, at one blow, Thorez declared for the defense of democratic rights. That is a step forward. But at the same time he makes two steps backward. He limits democracy to the freedom of assembly and press, and to proportional elections in the Chamber of Deputies, that is, he conceives of it in the most opportunist manner.

Secondly, he makes a profession of patriotic faith. A typographical error had made Thorez say "nous aimons notre patrie" (we love our fatherland) whereas he had wanted to say "notre pays" (our country). Here! These subtleties will not serve to hide the basic fact. Thorez and Cachin have contrived to give a chauvinist tone to their new position in defense of democracy. It is necessary to call that danger by its right name for it constitutes the first link in a well-known chain; the one that ties the hands of the proletariat the moment war breaks out!

No one can doubt that the socialist center and left leadership have found a guarantee in this new orientation. There is no wonder that they feel a kinship with Thorez. They can say that this slipping in the position of the C. P. constitutes the most important element in the constitution of the united front.

Finally it is necessary to emphasize this extraordinary phenomenon: the bureaucracy of the C. P. accomplishes a 180 degrees turn without even thinking of opening a discussion or of informing the party! In the black of night with all lights extinguished the turn is accomplished. It is not in this manner that Communist cadres are educated.

And what will be the program of the united front?

Up till now it has limited itself to the defense against Fascism. That is an important task, but it can only serve as the arena for a more direct struggle to overthrow Domergue. We will not insist on this essential question today. For our part we consider that ideas enunciated in our program of action in the last issue of *Verite* (we will publish a resume of this program of action in the next issue of the *Militant*—Ed), constitutes the only program by means of which the united proletariat will be able to fulfill its historic tasks.

—P. NAVILLE, writing in *La Verite*, July 6, 1934

DAILY WORKER TELLS ALL

Many have been and are the boasts of the Stalinists; of their numbers and influence over greater numbers; of the organizations they have built—trade unions, unemployed councils, fraternal societies, a whole catalogue of them; of the strikes and demonstrations they have led; of the gains they have won for the workers. For the most part their vauntings were like the wind. The small gains they won, now here, now there, have been lost or eclipsed in the greater offensive of the second strike wave of the "recovery era." The organizations they built have crumbled to dust or are paper shells. Over the Stalinists, history has marked the cross of death.

The *Daily Worker* itself offers continuous evidence of the isolation of the Stalinists from the American working class. In its columns there is a continuous bleating and whining about the failure of the party membership to carry out the always-correct line and root itself in the trade unions; become a factor in the great strike struggles; get subs; all those activities for which a revolutionary party is created.

Circulation Figures

Perhaps most damning of all are the figures of the circulation of the *Daily Worker* published on June 19 in connection with the drive for twenty thousand new readers, itself part of the drive to double the *Daily's* circulation by January 1, 1935. Fifteen years after the launching of the Communist Party, in the fifth year of an unprecedented crisis, with more than ten million unemployed, in the midst of a great offensive by labor, with no daily working class papers with which to compete, the circulation of the *Daily Worker*, the main organizer of the Stalinist Communist party is only thirty-one thousand a day! Is this not a confession of failure and isolation?

The *Daily's* figures apply nationally to twenty-six districts. In only five—New York exclusive of the Buffalo area, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago has the daily a circulation of more than one thousand! More than forty percent of the total circulation comes from New York, presumably New York City and vicinity. In Detroit, center of the great automobile industry, the Stalinists admit their failure with a circulation of only 1,595. In Pittsburgh, center of the steel industry, it is even worse with 481. In Birmingham where their work in the Scottsboro case gave them a base for work and influence they have a circulation of only 301. In the important cities of St. Louis and Buffalo they have respectively 226 and 529. So it is with other cities and districts—nothing to bear out their boasting.

Readers and Members

Let us take another look at the figures. They will tell us more. The circulation of the revolutionary press has always been considerably larger than the party membership. The reasons are obvious. The Stalinists generally exaggerate the difference. Thus in Germany today where the Lovestonites accord them twenty thousand members in the underground they claim a weekly circulation for the illegal *Rote Fahne* of a million and a half! But here in the U. S. where they claim twenty-four thousand members they admit to only thirty-one thousand readers of their daily press. So little is their influence. And what of the hundred and twenty-five thousand members they say they

have in the T.U.U.L. unions? Don't these revolutionary workers read the *Daily Worker*? Evidently they don't. Or to put it as it is, the circulation figures prove they haven't got a hundred and twenty-five thousand workers in the sectarian and impotent T.U.U.L. "unions." And it demonstrates, lie as they will, on the basis of the party membership, that the influence of the party press does not extend far beyond the membership.

The figures are a balance sheet to date of the Stalinist's disruption in the revolutionary and labor movements. No "explanation" by them can explain away the dismal failure their own figures reveal.

Look at the quotas for the twenty-six districts in the drive for twenty thousand of the thirty-one thousand new readers in two months! Half of this twenty thousand is assigned to New York! For the rest of the country, for the Minneapolis, Toledo, Milwaukee and West Coasts to come—ten thousand new readers!

The other quotas are equally revealing. The same issue which gives all these revealing figures intimates that the S.M.I.U. was "preparing strikes despite betrayal" by Tighe and the Committee of Ten. If that were the case they must have had it in mind to raise the pitiable circulation in the Pittsburgh district from 481. Their real perspective in this situation is to be found not in the "news" columns, nor the editorials, nor anywhere save in the circulation quotas for the district. There are more than four hundred thousand steel workers. The quota is 300! The strike talk is for the reader and to fool the gullible.

Less than 4,000 for Steel

It is true that not more than all of the four hundred thousand steel workers are in and around Pittsburgh. There are some in Buffalo; the quota there is 320. Birmingham—200; Cleveland—300; Chicago—2,000; total less than four thousand.

The Pittsburgh figures must also apply to the thousands of miners in the district as well as the steel workers. Similar "perspectives" obtain for the other industries. In the figures, not the "news" and "editorials" are to be found the real perspectives of the Stalinists. It is a confession of bankruptcy.

Were we to take the Stalinists at their word and accept them and their party as the representatives of the Bolshevik October and the bearers of the traditions of Marx and Lenin, as the Lovestonites do, we should have to conclude that there is no hope for Marxism in the United States. But we need not accept the Stalinists at their word. They are no longer the representatives of the Bolshevik October. It is true they try to cloak themselves with its glorious traditions, but they have betrayed it. No longer a revolutionary party, they are a reactionary force. Their blatant claims makes an even less serious impression on the working class which turns from them with repugnance and bitterness.

There is a great future for Marxism in the United States as all over the world. That future lies with the Fourth International and its American section. Encouraged by the self-confessed bankruptcy of the Stalinists, let us put new energy into the work of rooting the Fourth International in the U. S.! Let us build the new revolutionary Communist Party! —T. STAMM.

A NON-AGGRESSION PACT

1. The theory of "social fascism" which has become a mockery continues to remain an obstacle to the revolutionary policy. If reformists are the same as fascists, how can the Stalinists address Pontius with the proposal to struggle against Pilate? This patent absurdity greatly facilitates the maneuvers of the reformists.

2. The socialist congress at Toulouse declared in its resolution that it is necessary to set up defense groups against fascism but that these groups must not be used as an instrument for the seizure of power. This clear declaration completely confirms our estimate of the Socialist party as a party of bourgeois democracy. It does not want to give up its position to fascism without a struggle but it is not at all disposed to overthrow the rule of capital. Thus, the united front can pursue only definite, immediate, practical tasks: above all the struggle against fascism. This realistic manner of posing the question presupposes, in any case, the abandonment of the idiotic theory of social fascism.

3. Blum—S. P. leader—states: "We are ready to make a united front, but you must cease attacking us". In other words, Blum is ready to accept collaboration in the defense against fascism only if his collaborator changes his opinion of Blum, or desists from saying what he thinks of him. But is not this absurd? When passengers of a stage coach are held up they defend themselves without inquiring into the opinions that they have about each other.

4. Blum only increases the absurdity and the erroneousness of his position by writing: "The workers will not understand how we can attack each other and at the same time make a united front." It is quite obvious that Blum understands well the psychology of ministers, of parliaments, of salons and editorial offices; but he understands absolutely nothing of the psychology of the proletariat. Every worker will say: "If the Communists and the Socialists make a bloc despite their irreconcilable differences, it means that the danger is really mortal; it means that we must redouble our efforts, it means that we must arm ourselves."

Messrs. leaders, you must not take the workers for babes in the woods. You need not color and mask reality. You must tell the workers the truth.

5. The Stalinists reply to Blum: "We will not criticize you within the limits of the tasks of the united front, but we reserve the right of criticizing you in other questions. One absurdity is piled upon another."

or, in reality, the differences remain their force also in what concerns the tasks and methods of the united front. One cannot renounce the right to criticize in the most important field and at the most critical moment, in the field of struggle against fascism. But criticism of indecision, of semi-measures and parliamentary illusions of reformism should not and does not have to prevent the taking of practical steps in common.

6. Leon Blum is too experienced a politician not to know that no party, under no circumstances can renounce the struggle for the spreading of its ideas and the growth of its influence except at great cost to itself. Blum has always acted in this way with regard to bourgeois radicals, his allies in the parliamentary bloc. If Leon Blum and Paul Faure put false, artificial conditions above everything else it is because they fear the united front with the left. They still hope that everything will pass over by pacifist, parliamentary means; they try to stall for time and lose it in reality. This means that the pressure of the workers is not yet strong enough. It must be doubled.

7. But Cachin and Thorez (French C. P. leaders) also fear the united front which is the condemnation of their whole past policy. Precisely because of this the Stalinists befuddle the issue, juggle with it, play the hypocrite instead of telling the truth. The pressure of the workers has already forced the bureaucrats to engage in the policy of the united front, at least in words, but it did not force them as yet to carry on this policy in a Marxian manner.

8. But what can one say of two bureaucratic apparatuses that in a most critical period in history, confuse things, diplomate, play hide-and-seek, disorient the workers and lose precious time. These apparatuses have become a terrific break upon the proletarian revolution. Our epoch is in need of a new party which can see, which can understand and which can act. To prepare such a party is the most important task of the advanced workers!

—Verite, July 6, 1934

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THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

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Max Shachtman, Editor

Martin Abern, Bus. Mgr.

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EDITORIAL

Democracy—American Style

DOUBLE murder was committed in Minneapolis when the sawed-off shot guns of police barked death at striking drivers. Firstly the workers who lost their lives so that their union might live and secondly the myth of democratic America that has become so current of recent times.

Liberal politicians and capitalist sycophants of every shade and hire have inundated the press of the country with their vauntings that America was the one remaining outpost of democracy. They shuddered with horror at the ghastly terror that rules Germany in the grip of Hitler. They boasted with pride that dictatorship and the rule of the mailed fist were not indigenous to the American soil. They rallied at radicals and Communists for their dissatisfaction and discontent. "Look at Austria, at Germany, at Italy they shouted, and contrast conditions there with this land of liberty where the right of free speech and free press are inviolable, are guaranteed by the Constitution. Why Roosevelt has even incorporated the right to organize into the nation's statutes". The gunfire in Minneapolis delivered a withering blast at this thin shell of hypocrisy.

Local 574 is a trade union. Through its sincerity and devotion it has won the confidence of the overwhelming majority of the truck drivers and the inside men. The battle it is so heroically waging is for better conditions and for the recognition of all the workers they represent.

From the boasts of the representatives of capitalism one would assume that these elementary rights are taken for granted. Yet for organizing the Minneapolis drivers are called Communists, for striking they are accused of sedition, and for endeavoring to make their strike effective they are shot down like dogs in the worst provocation American labor has seen for years.

There seems to be a contradiction here.

From all signs and comparisons this is a democratic country. We have no Hitlers or Mussolinis here. The right to franchise is widely given and a legislature ostensibly elected and serving the people rules the country. How does it happen then that such wanton slaughter can take place on the streets of America?

The truth of the matter is that democracy here is but a sham. The curtain that hides the bayonets and tear gas, the bullets and the clubs hangs loose over an idyllic scene that pictures the United States a nation free for all, workingman and capitalist, rich and poor. Democracy is but the holiday dress worn by capitalism to dupe the workers into believing that under its rule they are free to improve their conditions of life and to keep them contented that they have those rights enabling them to alter any laws or strictures that stand in the way.

Democratic capitalism has for its background a violent class struggle which rages with varying intensity. Wealth and the means of production rest in the hands of the minority. So long as the workers do not infringe on their property rights, so long as they may harvest their profits unchallenged by the producers, so long as class war remains hidden under the apathy and passivity of the proletariat, just that long do the hypocrites have their field-day, contending that America is the land of equality and opportunity.

Let the struggle break through the dead-weight of indifference, let the workers organize for a few more coins and for the very democratic rights they hear so much about on the Fourth of July, and the Minneapolis and the Toledo and the Friscos rise up to give the lie to the "unimpeachable" rights that the workers are supposed to enjoy.

Power and wealth rest in the same hands. To challenge wealth is to challenge power. Democracy is but the holster for the gun which is drawn when trickery is no longer effective against the workers. That is the power of capitalism, that is why they can afford the leisure of democracy.

The power of the workers is not yet in guns and tear gas. It is in organization and in militancy. When organization can shut a metropolis like Frisco as tight as a clam by means of a general strike, when the workers can have a fighting leadership as in Minneapolis then it will not be long when even the real democracy of capitalism—guns and tear gas—will be brushed aside. Forward to that day!

Red-Baiting on the Coast

THE San Francisco general strike uncovered with one stroke the whole depth and width of the class struggle boiling and seething underneath the surface of the American industrial scene. Starting out with a strike to bring about the abolition of the abominable hiring methods of the shipping trust, the workers of the Golden Gate area became involved in a struggle which necessitated their taking a few things in their own hands: They tied up industry and made a serious effort to keep it so until the longshoremen and sailors were in a position to get a square deal from the bosses through hiring halls of their own.

Immediately the bosses took up the cry of revolution. Immediately the civil authorities howled about the usurpation of constitutional rights. Immediately the "labor loving" N.R.A.—which in ever so many words statements declared itself for the inviolability of the right to strike—joined the chorus with General Johnson's miserable shout of: insurrection.

The bosses did not stop with the cry of revolution. They declared their intention to go ahead with a drive to wipe out the power of organized labor in this mighty union town of the West Coast. They proceeded with the organization of "Vigilantes" and started the drive against the radical element in the strike, the Communists.

Howling about the incursion into rights of the property monopolists which for two days impeded the march of profit extortion on the backs of enslaved and exploited toilers, the "Vigilantes" have gone ahead with the barbarous destruction of property accumulated from the hard earned pennies of militant workmen by radical labor organizations. The vandals wrecked meeting halls, threw typewriters and mimeographs into the streets from second story windows, burned down printing plants. The police and the national guard—the defenders of law and order, the guardians of the "people's life and property"—did they interfere in this holocaust of the bosses' men?

—They "mopped up" after them, the papers tell us. They followed in the trail of the wrecking crews and they arrested—not the wreckers, but the "Reds".

In arresting the victims and not the attackers, the police and the National Guard proved that they were indeed defenders of "life and property", but that all depends upon whose "life and property" is involved. Certainly not when it is the "people's".

The police and the National Guard were mobilized to break the strike. The strike was called by all of organized labor. In starting out with a "clean up" of the "Reds" in the strike, the state forces are merely making a beginning in conformity with the bosses' threat to crush the entire labor movement.

In this wave of terror on the coast, every worker must realize that a blow against one section of the labor movement means a blow against all of labor. It is a matter of self-preservation for a class-conscious militant, for every good union man to rally to the defense of the West Coast Communists and to protest through his organization against the terror which the bosses have unleashed.

NOTICE!

All letters, subscriptions, bundle orders, donations and any inquiries concerning or intended for the NEW INTERNATIONAL magazine, are to be addressed to: THE NEW INTERNATIONAL STATION D, P.O. BOX 119 NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Militant mailing department is badly in need of an addressograph. The lists are too large for the method used at present. Anyone who knows how to procure such a machine cheaply or wants to give

a donation for this special purpose will please write to the Militant. —City Organizer.

We have just received from the binders a number of Bound Volumes of the Militant, Series No. 3 which includes all issues of the Militant from January 7, 1933 to December 30, 1933 inclusive. Copies can be obtained from Pioneer Publishers, 84 E. 10th Street, at the phenomenally low price of \$1.50 plus twenty-five cents for postage. Regular price is \$2.50. Order your copy immediately before our supply is exhausted.

Leon Trotsky in Danger

(Continued from Page 1)

civil war.

"What is the ministry of interior waiting for? Why doesn't it carry out the expulsion order?"

"Or do we have to call on the war veterans to conduct Trotsky to the border?"

Needless to say, this note is not published in Gringoire without a definite purpose in view, but because of certain circumstances to which we shall return later. Evidently we are faced again with the unleashing of the chauvinist, counter-revolutionary campaign let loose against Trotsky in May.

Our comrades, our readers must be informed that the position of comrade Trotsky is far from being settled. The expulsion order remains in force. If Trotsky was not expelled it is simply because no other country would have him, because it was actually impossible to "conduct him to the border". He is still facing a planet without a visa.

The government has placed Trotsky under surveillance as a real prisoner, in an assigned place, under constant watch from the police. He is actually considered a prisoner and is not in a position "normal" to a foreigner.

But will this situation last? Obviously not. And the Gringoire indicates as much.

The French government and the reactionary circles acting as agents of world reaction are preparing a more drastic solution. THEY WANT TO INCARCERATE TROTSKY IN A DISTANT COLONY ON ONE OF THE AFRICAN ISLANDS. There Trotsky, on some Saint Helene, will be a prisoner of world reaction. By grace of Doumergue, Stalin and Hitler will be satisfied.

This solution was already under consideration after the "discovery" at Barbizon. But they did not execute this plan because public opinion was not prepared for it. That is why they are now preparing a new campaign.

We have positive information at hand proving that several newspapers are ready to support this campaign. By means of intimidation, threat of physical attack—see Gringoire—by means of terror they are trying to force the government to carry out its plan immediately, in July, before the Chamber of Deputies reconvenes.

Despite slanders and lies the name of Trotsky, towering over those of his defamers, remains that of the comrade of Lenin, the leader of the October Revolution, the real continuator of Marx. His name is bound up with the struggles of the proletarian vanguard for the building of the Fourth International.

That is why the infuriated French reaction is preparing to provoke an attack upon him. Fascism and military and police reaction wants to sidetrack attention from the new conspiracy they are concocting against the toiling masses. The kept press hasn't changed its aims. It is a campaign of the same press, in similar circumstances which led to the assassination of Jaures in 1914.

This is a warning to ourselves and our friends. The campaign for the defense of Trotsky must be immediately broadened. We have received testimonials of solidarity from all over the globe. The task now is to make this solidarity effective.

Goldman's Funeral Oration

(Continued From Page 1)

Friday and Killed Henry B. Ness and wounded about fifty other workers. . . .

When a dumb cop shoots unarmed pickets, the pickets have a right to defend themselves, but the ones to blame are those who instructed the police: Johannes, M. A. J. Bainbridge, and the bosses behind them. All are equally guilty of murdering Henry B. Ness. . . .

When the police are instructed to shoot workers they are not told to make distinctions between races, nationalities, colors, creeds or political persuasions. They are told to shoot militant workers of any nationality, workers whether Democrats, Farmer-Laborites, Socialists or Communists. Thus the bosses, who try to create division in the ranks of the workers, make no distinctions when they want their police to shoot workers. . . .

The life of our murdered Brother typifies the lives of all workers. The social system gave him no chance. At an early age he was forced to work to earn a living and to make profits for his employer. Together with other workers, he was sent to kill and to be killed in the world war. What for? For freedom? No. For the sake of profits and imperialist markets for the bosses. Mark these words! There is only one war, one struggle in which a worker has a real interest. That is the struggle of Labor against Capital. . . .

In 1929 came the terrible depression and Henry B. Ness learned what freedom the War had won. For him and millions of others, the freedom to starve and to be shot down while exercising the right of peaceful picketing. . . .

How long will the working mass-

Drivers Ranks Solid Despite Provocation

(Continued from Page 1)

instated, that no arbitration award in wages shall be less than 42½ cents an hour for inside men and 52½ cents an hour for drivers, were unanimously accepted by a meeting of the drivers, thus placing the onus for the continuance of the strike directly upon the shoulders of the bosses.

Now that the troops are out on the streets, the employers want them used to smash the picket lines and the Employers Committee demands to know of Governor Olson "whether you will support the local authorities with military aid in the discharge of their duties, or support the efforts of the few to lawlessly obstruct the flow of normal traffic in this city."

Union Gains Daily

Despite all provocations, murders, red baiting and martial law, the strike of drivers still remains as solid as granite, gaining new strength with every new day.

In a smashing reply to the criminals who thought that the lead they emptied into the backs of the drivers would dampen the fervor of the men, 15,000 workers met here last Friday and vowed to hold their ranks unbroken. And then, far surpassing the Friday demonstration, 40,000 workers attended the mass funeral the next day of Harry Ness, shot in the back by order of Chief of Police Johannes.

A delegate conference of Emergency Relief Administration workers, called by the Minneapolis Central Council of Workers, representing the unemployed, met here and voted enthusiastically to support the strike, to volunteer for picket duty, and to set up committees effectively to aid the strike of Local 574. More than 800 new members have been signed up by the M.C.C.W. in the last few days. A Stalinist came to the conference with no credentials at all. His claim to represent workers from districts was immediately belied by workers who were employed there, and after several delegates expressed dissatisfaction with lying and misleading articles and editorials in the Daily Worker, a motion was unanimously adopted that the Stalinist should not be seated. The editorials in the Daily Worker that this was splitting the unity of the workers was met with rounds of laughter by unemployed workers here.

The Ladies Auxiliary, which rendered such signal services during the strike of last May, is continuing its good work. More than 50 new members have been admitted to the Auxiliary. Many applications for membership had to be turned down because they came from good friends who were not eligible for membership because they are not strikers' wives or relatives. They maintain a commissary which serves 5,000 meals a day and a hospital. They have played a leading role in distributing the Organizer throughout the city, making collections for it that run into hundreds of dollars.

Portland, Ore., July 21.—The red raids here have gotten to the point where twenty men, including Dirk de Jonge one-time Communist candidate for Mayor here, are being held on charges of criminal syndicalism.

Frisco League Is Firm

(Continued from Page 1)

beaten by mobs. In one case the "vigilantes" even stopped a meeting in a church and warned the speaker to be careful what he said!

To date more than three hundred radicals are in jail in San Francisco. Steps toward deportation are being taken towards non-citizens. All are held on vagrancy charges. No members of the League have yet been arrested, all are moving carefully, but still meeting and carrying on work. Five members of the District Committee of the C. P. are in jail, as well as Caroline Decker and Pat Chambers, organizers of the Agricultural workers. Under the present hysteria the Criminal Syndicalism law may be enforced and some convictions gained.

C.P. Taken Completely Off Guard

The C. P. apparatus is completely unprepared to meet the change in situation. Terrorized, its membership is dropping out fast, its many workers clubs, the real backbone of the Stalinist movement, are here almost dissolved. The I.L.D. is not functioning, and George Anderson, the I.L.D. lawyer, refuses to defend the members in jail due to "threats". Neither the District Committee of the C. P. or the Y. C. L. has met since the attack. Although the attack had been expected for several weeks it seems that no adequate preparations had been made to meet the situation.

The attack came on the second day of the general strike, and was organized by the police department and the Citizens Committee. As the strike began to weaken and more concessions were made by the General Strike Committee, the authorities became more confident, the attack against reds began under the slogan that the real "American elements in the unions did not want a general strike and that it was all due to the "reds" and that if the "reds" were run out everything would be peaceful again. The slogan was helped by the dishonest and indiscreet statement of Browder that "1200 Communists in San Francisco were directing the General Strike"—it gave them "proof" to back their attack. Hearst and the American Legion played up the statement and aroused a tremendous amount of hysteria in favor of an attack on the "reds". The Stalinists locally further provoked the hysteria by claiming credit for the strike while it was still on.

Mayor Rossi Leads the Vigilantes

Mayor Rossi of S. F. has announced that "This (the anti-Red campaign) will be the continuing policy of the administration." Captain O'Meara, head of the newly created red squad, announced "any one found in the wrecked red headquarters will be arrested. Communism is through in San Francisco. We have wrecked every red nest in San Francisco, and we intend to keep them wrecked!"

—S. F. LEAGUE MEMBER.

LOS ANGELES BR. ACTIVITIES OPEN FORUMS

"The San Francisco Strike" An Eye-Witness Report Speaker: BILL MONROE "Lessons of the General Strike" Speaker: SAM MEYERS Wednesday, August 1st, 8 P.M. "Doctrinairism, Reformism and the Struggle for Immediate Demands" Speaker: EVERETT BERGSTROM Wednesday, August 8th, 8 P.M. These forums will be held at MUSIC HALL 232 South Hall Street Aus: International Workers School Admission Free — Questions and Discussion

Law and Order

The workers have numbers and the fighting spirit of Henry B. Ness. Labor is on the march, a new militant spirit in its breast. If we have to die, it shall not be with heads bowed and knees bent, but fighting for freedom and a new world. We shall die, if we must, as did our beloved brother, Henry B. Ness.

If the workers will be filled with such a spirit, they will not have to die. They will live and conquer the forces of exploitation, of reaction, of murder.

Brothers, Sisters, as we leave this demonstration we must bear in our hearts a fierce resolve to carry on Brother Ness's struggle. We must not fail him! We must avenge his murder. This we shall do if we struggle to win this strike, if we struggle to throw the exploiters from off our backs and to establish a new social order in which the worker may enjoy the fruits of his toil.

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WORKERS' BLOOD IS SHED!

(Reprinted from The Organizer, July 21, 1934)

The blood of workers ran freely in the streets of Minneapolis yesterday.

They were shot down and wounded by the uniformed thugs commanded by Police Chief Michael Johannes, by Johannes the Murderer, in the name of the city administration and at the behest of its master, the Citizens Alliance.

Forty-eight sons of the working class were mowed down by shot guns in the hands of police.

They were shot down though they were defenseless and unarmed, like animals in a trap.

They were shot in the back by base cowards who dared not look them in the face.

It was no battle that took place on Third Street North yesterday. It was a massacre. A cunningly conceived, diabolically planned and cold-bloodedly executed massacre.

A COLD BLOODED PROVOCATION

On Thursday, the Citizens Alliance met at the Radisson Hotel. The thorough manner in which the striking members of Local 574 had closed down the market, had driven the employers desperate. It was decided to lay a trap and provoke a blood-bath. It was from that source that Johannes received his orders.

On the same day, at 2 P. M., Johannes ordered a turnout of his police. That day's Tribune reported him as saying:

"We're going to start moving goods. Don't take a beating. You have shotguns and you know how to use them. When we are finished with this convoy there will be other goods to move."

Twenty-four hours later the wholesale district echoed the clatter of shotguns, rifles and automatic pistols fired by dozens of police who had caught a group of workers in a trap.

A trap—that's what it was! Look at the photographs reproduced in this morning's edition of the Minneapolis Tribune. In the scab truck which was being escorted by the heavy police convoy, can be seen only a half-dozen small cartons. There was no serious effort being made to move large loads of goods. The truck was only a decoy to draw picketing workers into a murderers' trap.

Look again at the photographs. In one of them, a handful of pickets is to be seen in their cruising truck. From all sides, the police are rushing down upon them. Police car doors are opening up to emit a devil's spawn armed with shotguns. Their murderous weapons are aimed at the strikers from every angle, and the next moment the muzzles belch a fusillade of shot.

The workers are completely unarmed and helpless. They do not have a rifle among them; not a gun; not a club; not a stick.

But oh, these lions of men, these heroes of the working class! They do not falter for an instant. Not for a second do they hesitate, even in face of the overwhelmingly superior force that confronts them, that shoots into their ranks without a word of warning. Their stout hearts beating with a magnificent courage, they face the enemy unflinchingly and seek to stop the scab truck sent out to rob them, to rob their wives and children, of the miserable crust of bread which are their lot.

They never had a chance.

But these are men! These are lion-hearted! The first detachment quivers and falls under the withering fire of the police. Then, to the aid of their fallen brothers, from the ranks of other strikers and workers sympathetic with their cause, comes a second wave rolling right into the jaws of the shotguns. But they too must give way before the murderous fire.

How proud the police must be of their triumph! And haven't they cause to be? Was it not with ease that they mowed down the strikers—these dozens of police, armed with dozens of shotguns and pistols? Didn't they do a better job than ever before in the history of Minneapolis? Haven't they made the name of their chief ring throughout the land? Didn't they crush the criminals who were armed only with bare fists?

THE CRIME OF THE STRIKERS

For criminals they are, these strikers. They have committed the greatest crime known to our modern society. They have stood up, these impudent slaves, and demanded wages that will enable them to live like human beings. They have demanded hours of labor that will permit them a little rest and recreation, a few more years of life. They have demanded recognition of their elementary organizations of defense against cruel exploitation: the workman's union.

Is this not a crime? And for this crime, which has already produced thousands of heroes and martyrs throughout the world, many famous and many nameless, the workers must be punished. They must be taught their lesson. The vipers' nest of the Citizens Alliance, of the Law and Order League, has commanded it. The command has been obeyed with powder and shot.

Yes, butchers and assassins, the workers have learned a lesson, but not the one you thought to teach them. They have learned only to tighten their ranks, to link their powerful arms together more firmly, to clench their teeth and march more resolutely towards their goal.

The shot you fired into their defenseless bodies has not broken them, as you thought it would. It has only toughened them, steeled them—not for tomorrow's massacres, but for tomorrow's battles. They will not permit themselves to be massacred.

You thought you would shoot Local 574 into oblivion. But you only succeeded in making 574 a battery on the lips of every self-respecting workingman and workingwoman in Minneapolis.

You thought you would separate the rank and file from their leaders. You only succeeded in cementing the bond that holds them together in an efficient fighting army.

You thought you would alienate the labor movement from 574. You only succeeded in rallying every section of the labor movement to our cause, in bringing one Union endorsement of our fight after another, in having one Union after another put its men and resources at our disposal.

You thought you would create an antagonism between 574 and the rest of the workmen of Minneapolis, that you would frighten them away with your despicable "red scare." But last night 15,000 men and women roared their condemnation of your dastardly attack, roared their endorsement of 574's militant fight. Their voices will echo and re-echo throughout the city.

You thought you would cut us to pieces with your shotguns. But you only succeeded in having the whole labor movement forge an iron shield of protection around us.

You thought to intimidate us with your bullets. But you only aroused the anger and indignation of every honest workingman. You showed him more clearly than ever that this is not merely the fight of 574, but the fight of the whole labor movement.

WORKERS! SPEAK OUT IN PROTEST

And now the stalwart battalions of Minneapolis labor will speak out as they have never spoken before.

Every unorganized worker will immediately join the Union of his craft, trade or industry, because—

Now is the time to make Minneapolis a 100 per cent Union town!

The workers will not let the Citizens Alliance smash 574. Instead, they will smash the reactionary, open-shop conspiracy of the Alliance.

Bowing their heads in admiration for the bravery of the dozens who now lie on hospital cots, they will be inspired by the words of one hero who, fully aware that his death is at hand, has said: "Tell the boys not to give up, to stick it out till they're won."

Local 574 has received its baptism in fire and blood. It emerges from it firmer and more resolute. And now—

It will man the picket lines with workers from every trade in Minneapolis.

It will permit no trucks to be moved—by nobody!

It will not capitulate and surrender. It will fight doggedly till it wins.

It will help make Minneapolis a Union town, a fitter place for workmen to live in.

The blood of its heroes will only nourish the roots of 574 and make it a mighty oak.

Woe to him who tries to cut it down! Woe to the murderers and assassins! For the oak will grow and flourish and triumph over all obstacles!

Union men, fight on!