

STRIKERS DEFY OLSON MILITIA

Drivers Force Release of 4 Leaders

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

They have stopped scab trucks operating under military permit.

They have defied Governor Olson's blustering order: "There will be no picketing by automobiles or otherwise."

Major General Ellard Walsh, military dictator of Minneapolis, tried to break the drivers' strike by raiding headquarters of Local 574, and putting William S. Brown, president of the union, Vincent and Miles Dunne, and 30 other pickets and leaders behind a military stockade.

He failed! The supposedly leaderless strikers continued their militant anti-scab activities with utmost precision and perfect efficiency.

A report from military headquarters here admits that the strikers have stopped 69 trucks during the three hours between 8 and 9 a.m. and that the picket activities continue unabated despite the military reign of terror.

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

"Pickets unloading trucks on Tenth ave. bridge. . . Pickets chasing a meat truck in south Minneapolis. . . Pickets captured a truck near Bryant ave. police station. . . Soldiers too late; pickets gone."

The military patrols rushed to the scene, to find damaged trucks, and bruised and beaten scabs, according to reports from their headquarters. But no pickets.

With unparalleled effrontery, it is admitted that among the trucks overturned by the strikers were a number of pie trucks, supposedly banned by Governor Olson's "non-partisan" permit order.

Minneapolis, Aug. 2.—William S. Brown, president of the drivers' union, Vincent and Miles Dunne, active leaders in striking Local 574, were ordered unconditionally released from the military stockade in which they have been imprisoned.

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

The bosses suggest scrapping the May 31 agreement, the terms of which they shamelessly violated, and the drawing up of a new agreement.

Their proposal offers a minimum wage scale of 50 cents per hour for drivers and 40 cents per hour for all other workers, as compared with the federal proposal of a 42½ and 52½ minimum, which the workers accepted.

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

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

This is the peace proposal Governor Olson has been waiting for; for which he mustered military forces, to "bring both sides to terms."

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

"Impartial" Military Rule

An illustration of Olson's impartial military rule was afforded when the Guardsmen swooped down upon strike headquarters, dispersing the pickets in front of the building, and arresting nearly one hundred leaders, among them Brown, and the Dunne brothers.

The wounded strikers, being cared for at headquarters, were removed to a military hospital, un-

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Olsen "Protects" the Strikers

Local 574 Makes Frame-up Against Labor History in Great Struggle League Leaders a Complete Collapse

Minneapolis, July 31.—The great trucking strike of Local 574—the third strike conducted by this militant organization within six months—begins its third week today, and it is clear to all that a critical stage in the struggle is at hand. Having smashed every attempt of the bosses to break through the iron ring of 574's pickets by the aid of police, even when the latter cruise the streets with loaded shotguns, the strikers now stand face to face with a determined campaign to break the strike by military force.

The National Guard, called out by the Farmer-Labor Governor, "to protect the citizens of Minneapolis," is issuing permits on a wholesale scale for the operation of scab trucks under military protection. Martial law, ostensibly invoked to compel the employers to accept the compromise settlement proposed by the federal mediators, is tightening like a noose around the strike and threatens to strangle it.

Martial law has been in effect now for five days. An ordinary trade union would have been smashed to bits already. Never in recent times has such an imposing display of military force been brought into play against a strike. Four thousand National Guardsmen—almost one for every striker—patrol the city, armed to the teeth and menacing the pickets, curbing free assembly and carrying out a right of way for the scab trucks. But Local 574 is not an ordinary union and it cannot be broken without a real fight. Local 574 has a firm core of militants tested in three battles within six months. It has a staff of determined leaders who know no policy but the policy of struggle. This union cannot be broken without a fight that will set new standards of militancy for the American working class.

This was manifested in the ultimatum given to Governor Olson by the Strike Committee last night. The union demanded the revocation of all permits for a period of 48 hours. It demanded that no permits be issued henceforth to employers who do not comply with the terms of the compromise settlement and get their workers from the union. For the first time in recent labor history a union is meeting the challenge of military force and asserting its right to strike and picket in the face of it. It is needless to try to predict the outcome. But this can be said with assurance: If Local 574 goes down, it will go down fighting and will leave a record and a tradition of heroic struggle that will inspire the development of the militant labor movement everywhere.

Union Leaders Stand Up

The whole purpose of this drive, as is the case with every "Red Scare" thrown up under such circumstances, was all too obvious, particularly to the men of Local 574, and the employers did not make an inch of headway with it. The leaders of the union, at whom the drive was aimed for the simple reason that they were not the kind of labor officials—all too common in the trade union movement—who could either be intimidated or bought, met the campaign in the only way worthy of militant union men. They made no denials or apologies. They did not leap into print with whining assurances of their "respectability." They did not shout from the housetops that they too were against the Reds. Just the contrary. Without deviating for an instant from their principal task of consolidating all the labor forces for the struggle to gain the wage demands of the

Minneapolis.—Symbolic of the whole "Red Scare" strategy of the Citizens Alliance for the purpose of smashing the strike and the union of the truckers, and of the aid rendered them in this job by the administration and the military regime of Governor Floyd B. Olson of Minnesota, was the fact that the first prisoners to be taken by the National Guard after the establishment last Thursday of martial law, were the two Communist League leaders, James P. Cannon and Max Shachtman, representing respectively the Militant and the New International.

Even before the strike broke out, and every day since it took effect, the three local daily newspapers carried on a systematic anti-Red drive inspired by the Citizens Alliance. If the Minneapolis Journal is the staunchest spokesman for the latter, the Tribune and the once pro-labor Star are not to be found far behind in servility. Half-page scarecrow ads paid for by the "Employers' Advisory Committee," a thin cover for the Citizens Alliance, kept hammering away at the bogeyman theme—day in, day out. The International Communists, were everywhere. The infernal "Trotskyists" had captured control of Local 574 of the Truck Drivers, Helpers and Inside Workers. Their real purpose was the revolution, and the first step was to pull a strike which apparently was to be a springboard for the insurrection. These Communists, moreover wanted to form a new revolutionary party and a Fourth International—and numerous extracts from various issues of the Militant were reproduced to indicate these sinister aims!

Not content with this outrageous strike-breaking act, they invaded the headquarters of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, drove its officers into the street, and took complete control. The strike-breaking martial law in Minneapolis is a threat to labor throughout the country. When it so pleases the bosses, all constitutional rights may be violated, strike meetings forbidden, leaders placed in internment camps.

We call upon all workers to forward protests to Governor Olson. We call upon the trade unions as organizations to likewise forward protests, in defense of their own rights. Organize protest meetings! Support the heroic struggle of the Minneapolis workers for the rights of all workers! Build the united front of labor against government strike-breaking!

(Continued on Page 4)

A.F.L. Heads Check Strike In Stockyards

Workers of Chicago entered the long line of strike battles that are raging from coast to coast as 800 stock handlers marched out on a strike that has had the huge Chicago Stockyards tied up for more than a week. Violation of an arbitration award by the Chicago Live Stock Exchange was the final straw which broke the patience of the stock handlers. The most important point involved being the guarantee of a minimum wage of \$20 a week to the men engaged in this strenuous and hazardous occupation.

Showing the same class solidarity that has characterized the great mass of trade unionists in all other strikes throughout the country, the other unions covering stock yard workers are voting to come out in solidarity with the stockhandlers. William Collins, organizer of the local, announced that other locals were coming out but the International officers interfered and ordered the men to stay at work.

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

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

A general strike of the Chicago stockyard workers would, under present conditions, have excellent chances of success, and could be used to force organization of the entire yards. Such action is the last thing that the A. F. of L. fakers want. They know that such a union could not be kept in the leading strings of the labor lieutenants of capitalism. The workers in Chicago as in Toledo, the Pacific Coast, Minneapolis, etc., are attempting to fight their way through the barriers set by the "Leaders of Labor." Will they be successful in the Chicago Stockyards? That is impossible to say from here. But one thing is sure, throughout the United States today, the workers are seeking militant leadership with ever greater insistence.

Protest the Military Terror in Minneapolis

State Troops in Minneapolis raided the headquarters of Local 574 of the striking truck drivers, arrested strike leaders and imprisoned them in military stockades, took possession of all union records and files, and forbade strikers entrance to their own hall.

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Local 574 Issues Call for A Protest General Strike

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

TO THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE WORKING PEOPLE OF MINNEAPOLIS:

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

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

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

But the Citizens Alliance and the infamous band of assassins commanded by Bloody Johannes sought in vain to break the strike. Our ranks stood like a wall of steel. No scab trucks, loaded for the purpose of taking bread and milk out of the mouths of our men and their families, were allowed to move.

And now, what the Alliance and its police force were unable to do, is being undertaken by Governor Olson and his National Guard. They have set out to break the strike with armed force.

Union men of Minneapolis, what are you going to do about it?

Is there one fool who still thinks that Olson's National Guard is here to help the strikers?

Is there one scoundrel who will dare to say that the suppression of picketing, the raiding of our headquarters and the imprisonment of our leaders in a military stockade—is a favor to the workers?

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

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

We appeal to you for help, for solidarity!

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

Up to now, Local 574 has borne the brunt of the battle. We are still fighting. And as far as we are concerned, our answer to the attempt to suppress our strike and our Union by the military force of the National Guard, is the same reply we made to Bloody Mike Johannes when he shot our pickets in the back:

We shall fight for our rights to the bitter end!

We have been dealt heavy blows—first by the bosses of the Citizens Alliance, then by their murderous tools in the Police Department.

Now Floyd Olson's National Guard points bayonets and machine guns at us and tells us to give up our fight and go back to work as beaten slaves.

They ordered us to quit picketing. Our answer is,

We shall fight for our rights to the bitter end!

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

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

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

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

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

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Every union man and every union leader

REVIEWING THE NEWS

The Minneapolis "Organizer"

The **Organizer**, issued by the striking truck drivers of Minneapolis, is the best strike paper that I have ever read. A militant, well-written sheet, brimful of life brings the very spirit of Local 574 to its readers. Many a striker is gaining clearer insight into the class struggle from the clever and humorous letters "to dere emily" from Mike.

A Tough Break for 200,000 Natives

The New York Times reports a promised land of grassy, fertile country inhabited by 200,000 natives was discovered by Australian government officers. "Physically they are fine healthy blacks, not unlike those found on other parts of the island but much stronger and sturdier." Gold has been discovered and "law and order" is being set up under the British flag. "It is a pretty big responsibility," says Mr. Chinnery who reports the discovery, "to add 200,000 natives to the British Empire and make sure they won't be exploited." We'll say it's bloody well impossible. And if one can conceive of British "law and order" lasting it won't take long before the new "studier and stronger blacks" will be down to the same physical level which Christianity and capitalism has brought their fellows in the rest of the far-flung Empire.

Laughs from the News

Mussolini, the murderer of Matteotti, becoming righteously indignant over the happy ending of Dollfuss. . . . Friends of Dollfuss, the murderer of the Vienna socialists, weeping at the funeral of the bloody gnome. . . .

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

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

The "Cardinal's Mistress" Goes to Mass

Mussolini attended holy mass for Dollfuss in Rome. We wonder if a copy of his book of other days, the "Cardinal's Mistress", (blacklisted by the Vatican) accompanied him. . . .

Building Up Socialism and Tearing Down Capitalism

While Trotsky teaches the American plutes to drink vodka, Bullitt teaches the Red Army Polo. A good exchange. Polo sharpens the wits. Vodka deadens them.

Smile! Damn You, Smile!

N. Y. Sun, July 5th: "A new policy at Boston's Girls High School requires that every graduate must smile when receiving her diploma." Well, that's a step forward. If the government follows the advice of the **Daily News** and drives out all "Reds" it can as a further development pass a law that all unemployed American citizens shall gasp out "My Country 'tis of Thee" as they starve to death in the midst of plenty.

Capone Declines

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

A Reminder

"As a series of irreconcilable antagonisms exist among the Allies, the League of Nations—should it ever be realized, even on paper—will be a kind of Holy Alliance of Capitalists against the workers revolution. Propagating the League of Nations is the best means of confounding the revolutionary feelings of the working class. An international association of sham democracies—to be achieved by a coalition of the laboring and middle classes—is to be substituted for the international alliance of revolutionary proletarian republics. The League of Nations is the shibboleth to split, in the interests of international capital, the forces of the proletariat and advance the cause of international counter-revolution. The revolutionary proletarians of all countries must wage relentless war against the Wilsonian League, a league of spoliation, exploitation and imperialist counter-revolution."

—C. I. These on International Situation from Communist International. —BILL.

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

Green Strikes at Labor in Blow at Sympathy Strike

Like a vulture who waits till the last breath of life has oozed out of a dying body, William Green has seized upon the corpse of the Frisco General Strike to issue a statement to the press which reads in substance: "They should not have fought."

First an ominous silence, then a treacherous interview to the capitalist press when the strike was under attack from all sides and now a miserable, cringing "I told you so" has marked the role of the staunchest defender of capitalism within the ranks of labor.

"A Grave Mistake" "The sound and sober judgment of the organized workers in Frisco has finally asserted itself. They made a grave mistake when they engaged in a sympathetic strike, but they acted wisely when they ordered it officially terminated. They are to be heartily commended for the action taken."

So it was a "grave mistake" for the workers of Frisco to rise up in indignation at the murder of two of their fellow workers. It was a "grave mistake" to have united their forces against the united forces of the union-busting Frisco capitalists, to deal a blow for the striking longshoremen who were victims of murderous raids of police and national guardsmen. So you think, Mr. Green. And so do the bosses and their friends the country over.

No Solidarity Green

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

If it is the Frisco strike to which Mr. Green refers then we are tempted to ask why it had to be a defeat? The workers responded to a man to the general strike call, the city was held firm in the grip of the unanimous walkout, the capitalists were shouting their panic to the heavens—victory was in sight. It was the Judas kiss of the Greens, the Vandoules and the Casays that turned a possible victory into a certain defeat and "compelled the workers to return to work . . . sustaining losses which cannot adequately be appraised."

Bosses Unite—O. K. for Green That the bosses are constantly resorting to sympathetic actions, supporting each other with finances and moral assistance of every description, that their network of Chambers of Commerce are ready to unite against labor and its unions at a moment's notice—that troubles Mr. Green not at all. And why should it? This is a free country, isn't it? What frightens this Baptist president most is that sympathetic strikes may come into conflict with the government.

"When a sympathetic strike occurs, the issues primarily responsible for a strike become subordinated and a new conflict arises between those engaged in the strike and the governmental authorities . . . It is compelled to bring all its resources into action . . . the fight is between the city, state and Federal authorities on the one side and the strikers on the other . . . everyone must know and understand that in such a conflict the government must win; it cannot surrender." Profoundly correct, Mr. Green! That is the first part of your statement which says that the government lines up with the bosses. The workers are fast learning this lesson, but they are learning too that the bosses and their government will never surrender so long as they can call upon slimy traitors like Green, who decries a sympathetic strike as an insurrection.

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

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Sharper Struggles in Strike Wave

In the gigantic strikes, rolling on like an avalanche from coast to coast some trends are apparent which will be of the greatest importance in future developments of these labor struggles. The main issue is union organization. That stands out clearly and unequivocally and it is pursued consciously. But by the very nature of these struggles there is already implied in them the trends toward a new type of union, new in character and broader in scope than heretofore. Simultaneously with this there is expressed also, although still unconsciously as far as the mass of the workers are concerned, the efforts toward bringing forward a new type of union leadership.

Throughout the country the effects of the crisis upon the workers drives them forward. Their grievances multiply and come to a head. A seething discontent is manifest. The need for union organization grows as it meets the open ruthless attacks of the master class. All along the line there is a sharpening of the class struggle. The powerful strikes for union organization become ever broader in scope. Ever more political in character, and they will tend to advance the American working class rapidly to higher levels—toward class consciousness.

Deeper Meaning in Struggles

On this general background the fight for union organization begins to assume a deeper significance than before. The unions that are emerging represent something new in the sense that they are distinct from the traditional type of craft unions going along with such concessions as it could wrest from capitalism through the means of collaboration and obtained at the cost of keeping the large masses unorganized and subsisting on a lower standard of living. In the minds of the many new trade union recruits their organization is conceived of from the outset as an instrument of struggle for better conditions and this is immediately translated into practical action. To this extent it is a new kind of unionism which stands on the order of the day. Equally as important, however, in the present situation is

the beginning of the struggle for a new type of union leadership. While it is not yet a conscious object, nevertheless, it grows directly out of the needs of the working class and the conditions under which it exists. The old time reactionary trade union leadership now stands out more clearly as an obstacle in the path. By its whole outlook, its actions as agents of capitalism, this leadership serves as an instrument not only to prevent further working class advance but also to betray the struggle for the aims of today.

The issue of union organization and union recognition cannot be arbitrated. That will mean only a postponement of the struggle. In the automobile industry an arbitration procedure was accepted. It became a blow to the unions which were emerging and the grievances of the workers remained. In the steel industry the acceptance of Wm. Green's proposal means that the struggle for union recognition is given up for the time being. In Minneapolis and Toledo, in the strikes of last May, the issue was fought out. Union recognition was gained, though only partly in Toledo, and in Minneapolis the recognition in order to also include the inside men, organized by the truck drivers union, has to be fought out again.

The Bosses' Offensive

On a nation-wide scale the employers are now determined to put a stop to the union organization developments. The forces of the state power stands at their disposal because they are the forces of the capitalist state. The employers had their own idea of section 7a of the National Industrial Recovery Act. But they never accepted the working class interpretation and they immediately sensed the danger to their special privilege of exploitation when the workers began to struggle for unions of a mass character to perform a new role distinct from that of the craft unions as they existed heretofore. By their terrific onslaught they now hope to head this off before it is too late.

On the other hand the splendid spontaneous actions by the working class throughout the country testify to the fact that it senses the great opportunity for organization and for making new gains which are at hand whenever it avails itself of this opportunity. The working class is set into motion and proceeds to break down the barriers which stand in the way. The rising curve of struggles give new inspiration and creates new and favorable opportunities for further progress. The grievances and the discontent of the workers is connected directly with the fight for organization and it is militant from the start. In this process the unions have of necessity taken on a broader scope and are becoming more industrial in character.

Breaking the Craft Lines

There is involved in this not merely the pedantic question of form, but rather the question of substance. The Minneapolis Truck Drivers Union, for example, found it necessary to organize also the inside men who are directly connected with their line of commercial transportation. It is reported now that the longshoremen's union in the cities along the Gulf is similarly beginning to organize within its ranks the inside men connected with the handling of ships' cargo. We already know that the unions developing in the automobile and the steel industry among others, could proceed to organize only on an industrial basis, taking in all workers to make common cause in the fight. This to a considerable degree also accounts for the fact of the militancy which has been displayed by the workers and it accounts much more directly for the violent opposition and head-on attacks by the bosses.

In San Francisco the strike involved almost from the outset, not only the longshoremen, but all the maritime unions. From the point of view of the bosses that progressive combination had to be broken up and the state forces, the police and the troops, were brought onto the scene, not to maintain "law and order" but to protect scabs and break the strike. All the union men of San Francisco sensed in this a menace to their organizations. The general strike resulted. It became a contest with the state powers because of the use of the armed forces to attempt to break the maritime strike and to attempt to crush the unions.

In Minneapolis at the very beginning of the present strike, police were armed, not to maintain "law and order", as is the usual plea

made for public consumption, but to convey the moving of trucks manned by scabs and moving in defiance of the strike. Following this brazen provocation, the farmer-labor governor brought the national guard to the city as a further threat to the strike and to the truck drivers union. On a whole it is the terrific attacks made by the employers and their government which will give the exceptionally intense political character to the present strikes. But this is also the point at which the capitalist lieutenants, the reactionary labor leaders, swept on by the force of the movement, head it in order to head it as they did in San Francisco.

That is the contradiction today—a general strike, challenging the government strike-breaking, but headed by leaders who are the agents of capitalism. These leaders do not want a conflict with the system of exploitation no matter how much the life of the unions are threatened. They play at all times the role of a brake upon the movement, even when appearing to lead it forward, and their purpose is to keep the working class in subjection.

Unions—A Life and Death Issue

Union organization is today the main working class issue. By the head-on attack it meets from the employers and their government the struggle for its realization intensifies. Bigger battles can therefore be expected to follow Minneapolis, Toledo and San Francisco. Bearing in mind the general background already created, it is safe to say that these coming battles will bring forward much more distinctly as a working class objective the new type and new methods of unionism and the new type of union leadership which these new conditions require. This new type of leadership is developing in the fire of the class struggle and it stands out already today in Minneapolis as a tower of strength. It is bound to emerge elsewhere.

But this course, however clearly indicated in the present situation, depends upon the attention and guidance from the conscious revolutionary forces.

—ARNE SWABECK.

Ossip Wolinsky "Resigns"

New York, July 31.—Ossip Wolinsky's resignation from the post of "legal advisor" to the Pocketbook Makers Union remained "unaccepted" here tonight when the meeting called to consider this question at the Stuyvesant High School ended in unprecedented commotion.

Pressure from the membership caused Wolinsky to hand in his resignation to the Joint Council which accepted it. The meeting held tonight was for the purpose of securing the endorsement of the membership to the Joint Council decision. The membership has been angered to the extreme by Wolinsky's collusion with the bosses. Since the expiration of the last agreement with the bosses, last May, there has been no new settlement although the membership outlined some 18 demands as points of bargaining. Wolinsky who was in charge of this matter did nothing but rely upon a fact-finding commission in Washington, which in turn did nothing, to the great satisfaction of the bosses.

The meeting was packed. Turmoil set in at the very outset. More than an hour was consumed electing a chairman. Kleiman, a former lieutenant of Wolinsky who deserted him when he saw his ship was sinking, took the chair and gave the floor to a Wolinsky supporter who urged the non-acceptance of the resignation. The indignant workers rose and voiced their indignation, whereupon the Wolinsky supporters, led by the aforementioned Stein, began a Billy Sunday-Holy Roller demonstration. This bedlam all to the chairman's liking continued for some time until order was finally restored only for the chairman to make the astounding announcement that Wolinsky was to report on his "activities" in Washington. Then for the first time in years this gangster-actor in the labor movement could not be heard above the angry shouts of the workers: "We want your resignation." Unable to steamroller a majority for Wolinsky, even in this meeting jammed with administration supporters, many of whom had never attended a meeting before, the chairman adjourned the gathering with Wolinsky's resignation still hanging in the air.

Just Off the Press!

War and the 4th International

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

TEN CENTS

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

84 East 10th Street New York City

Statement of the New Group For Workers Rights

July 21, 1934

Not since the days of the post war hysteria against liberals, radicals and workers alike has there been so flagrant a trampling upon workers' constitutional and civil rights as has followed in the wake of San Francisco's general strike. Fifteen years ago, liberals and friends of labor unqualifiedly condemned official lawlessness in the days of A. Mitchell Palmer. Liberals and workers throughout the land must now protest with equal unanimity San Francisco's persecution of workers for their opinions brought about by the reign of vigilante terror, and denials of fundamental American rights to the workers of San Francisco by public officials.

With the propriety of the general strike and with the merits of the issues in the strike we are not here concerned. We deal solely with infringement of constitutional and civil rights.

We make these charges:

1. The program of the ship-owners to break the strike by engineering anti-red hysteria was joined in by the Governor of the state of California, by the Mayor of the city of San Francisco and by the federal government.
2. The reign of vigilante terror and vandalism resulting in raids upon and destruction of Communist and I.W.W. headquarters apparently were with the knowledge, approval and cooperation of both the employers, the police of San Francisco, and the National Guard.
3. The searching of headquarters of workers' organizations without warrants, by police and National Guard, and the seizure of literature, were not only entirely lawful, but in violation of both the federal and California constitutions prohibiting such searches.
4. The wholesale arrests by police and military authorities of workers were without justification in law and was an abuse of California's vagrancy law. It constitutes another example of the use of the criminal law as a strike breaking weapon against workers.
5. The whole program was designed to persecute strike leaders and militant workers for their activity in the strike; and to punish them for their political opinions. As such it was a denial of freedom of thought guaranteed to us both by the Constitution of the U. S. and of California.
6. We unqualifiedly condemn the entire program.

Public officials who have sworn to support the Constitution, have violated their oaths of office. What is even more ominous, mob violence has occurred in California. Gov. Rolph's public approval of lynch law encouraged mob violence against strikers in Imperial Valley. Gov. Merriam's toleration of mob law will serve as a direct encouragement to the vigilante terror against workers that is sweeping agricultural and urban California.

The state of California continues to take first place among the lawless states of the Union. Once again California justice is on trial before the bar of public opinion of the entire world.

AN OPEN LETTER TO FRANCES PERKINS
Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor,
Washington, D.C.

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

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

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

American Civil Liberties Union
General Defense Com., I.W.W.
International Labor Defense
League for Industrial Democracy
National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners
The Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense

MARCH OF EVENTS

A Turn In the Business Trend

The overbearing confidence experienced by the American capitalists with the upturn in business of recent months is rapidly evaporating as the index takes a new and serious turn downwards. The New Dealers relied upon the vast stream of government funds pumped into the pockets of finance capital to tide over the worst stages of the crisis and they hoped that business would then show such increasing signs of real demand for commodities and capital goods that the government would be able to stop further outlays and return to normal functioning. That hope has now given way to acute anxiety. The international crisis has brought new and deepening problems that cannot be solved by capitalism. Foreign trade has not recovered to any appreciable extent in terms of gold prices and values and in fact the debt situation and the currency difficulties keep the world market in a state of unremitting uncertainty.

Slump More Than Seasonal

The hired optimists of capitalist economy try to present the turn of business downwards as merely a seasonal manifestation, but statistics belie their hollow emissions. Stocks are taking a slow but steady slump. Steel ingot production for the week ending July 21st was at the rate of 28% of capacity as compared with 56% a year ago. Iron and steel production generally has fallen off sharply and far more than "seasonally." The weekly business index has dropped to such an extent that the New York Post finds it necessary to comment on this editorially, showing how its own business index dropped ten points in the past week and that of "Business Week" showed a decline of seven points under its index of a week ago and a drop of 20 points under the average for the years 1929-1933. Economists have been predicting this more than seasonal slump for some time, for a large variety of reasons. The drought, hitting the entire West so severely, has contributed to the situation although its effects have been additive rather than determining.

The Workers and the New Slump

The working class will experience the full effects of this new downturn in increased unemployment, in increased drives on the frightfully low standards of living. The problem of relief is becoming more acute every day. The government is being forced to expand far more than it intended in the 1934 budget. The threat of worse inflation looms nearer. Meantime prices are beginning to rise faster. Cattle are being slaughtered at an unheard of rate and yet the prices of meat keep going up in expectation of serious shortages later. Wholesale prices are the highest in three years, led of course by those of foods. Not that these prices have reached anywhere near the pre-crisis level but that they are rising sharply when purchasing power is declining. The working class faces a more desperate struggle for its very existence this fall and winter and it becomes more than ever urgent that they combine forces, that a united struggle be conducted for adequate relief, for unemployment insurance, for a shorter work week of thirty hours in all industries at higher wages than the present miserable ones. The employed and the unemployed must close the ranks!

The French Parliamentary Crisis

The Doumergue government is pursuing its task of preparing the road for fascism. Under the guise of a "truce", a "non-party" government, the bourgeois republican parties, the radical socialists in particular as the largest single one, are betraying the workers and the middle class in their ranks to violent fascist reaction in precisely the same manner as these parties and the socialists betrayed them to the bourgeoisie in the "sacred union" that inaugurated the last imperialist war. Tardieu, whose task it is to precipitate crisis after crisis in order to bring about the coup d'etat, the rule by force and the end of all democracy, for which he, Doumergue, Chippie, Weygand and the others have prepared for years. Tardieu knows that he can act with impunity so far as the Herriots, the Chantemps and the rest of the betraying crew of radical socialists are concerned. The very fact that they found it possible to enter into the Doumergue government, shows that they are mere pawns in the game of reaction. It was a foregone conclusion that Doumergue would not accept the resignation of Tardieu for his violent attack on Chantemps in the attempt to dislodge these dubious allies so as to concentrate the power completely in the hands of the extreme right. It was also a foregone conclusion that the radical socialists would swallow the "insult" since they fear an open break with the right that might precipitate a struggle on the streets between the united workers and sections of the impoverished middle class against the fascists.

—JACK WEBER.

QUESTION BOX

MILTON AURBACH, Brooklyn.—Well! Well! So you are going to give up hope in the radical movement if, through this column, you find the *Militant* wanting, particularly if you don't get satisfactory answers as to why it is only comrades Cannon, Shachtman, and Swaback whom you hear speak at meetings, and as to why the Communist League has not developed new speakers. Your facts are not quite correct as you would have found, had you attended the League's open forums.

If you will take the trouble to attend any of the seven or eight street meetings which we conduct every week in greater New York, you will see our other speakers. You will generally find them, weather permitting, at the following locations: Boro Park, 13th Ave. and 43rd St.; Williamsburgh, Graham Ave. and Barret St.; Brownsville, Pitkin Ave. and Bristol St.; Manhattan, 9th St. and 2nd Ave., and 9th St. and Ave. B; Harlem, 125th St. and 5th Ave.; and Bronx, 170th St. and Walton Ave.

Does the League of Communist Internationalists still have your adherence?

BRONX PAINTER.—Here, briefly, is (or was?) the official Stalinist position towards the A. F. of L. and T.U.U.L. (Thesis and Resolutions for the Seventh National Convention of the C.P.U.S.A., 1930, published by Workers Library Publishers): "... the reformist organizations and elements, some of which (A. F. of L.) are outright fascist, while others (Socialist Party, Muste group) cover their fascist activities with pseudo-radical phrases." (p. 11, notes in brackets in original).

"The party can win the working masses for its political leadership only by leading them in their economic struggles; and ONLY on the basis of the Trade Union Unity League will the party be able to assume the leadership of these economic struggles. . . . All communists must belong to the T.U.U.L." (p. 20, emphasis ours).

Your other question should be addressed to your Stalinist friends who claim that we distort their viewpoint, since the burden of explaining what is meant by "rank and file leadership" falls upon the inventors of the expression.

However that may be, the first thing is that the term itself is a contradiction. The "rank and file" and the "leadership", at the same time that they supplement each other, mutually exclude one another. The existence of a rank and file implies the existence of a leadership as distinct from it and vice versa, so that the term "rank and file leadership" has as much sense as an expression like "proletarian capitalist".

Because it is such a contradictory and confusing phrase it serves the Stalinists in any and all circumstances. Instead of trying to explain what is meant by this nonsensical combination of words, it would be best, in the interest of clarity, to eliminate it entirely from working class vocabulary.

SPARTACIST, Boro Park.—The armed state forces in this country are made up as follows: Federal army, 133,038; Navy, 141,814; Police, 110,541; National Guard, 187,386; and Reserve Corps Officers, 128,003, making a total of 700,782. To this must be added state troopers and sheriffs, who are small numerically. In addition 114,542 men were trained at colleges etc. in the R.O.T.C. and 38,588 attended the C.M.T.C.

YIPSEL, Boston.—What basis can there be for assuming that in the United States the capitalists may be an exception and yield to a Socialist controlled government which aims at expropriating capitalist private property? In the American Civil war the southern Bourbons resorted to armed force because their material interests were jeopardized by the northern industrialists' LEGAL control of the government. In strikes, where only part of their profits are at stake, the American capitalists break their own laws, where the "legal" use of force and terror do not suffice. (Note San Francisco.)

You might also remind your friends that a party which really stood for the expropriation of capitalist property probably could never get governmental control through legal channels because the American constitution was, at its inception, framed to prevent such an eventuality. Let us quote from a "liberal" historian on the reasons for which the various departments of the government were set up: "Madison foresaw a time, not far distant, when the great mass of the people would be without landed or any other kind of property, when in spite of all precautions a triumphant majority might get possession of the political machine and make it an engine of their purposes to the detriment of the public good, that is, in the main to the detriment of private property."

"Frightened by this specter of democracy, some of the members of the convention proposed to restrain the masses by putting property qualifications on the suffrage and on high federal officers. . . . After tossing about restlessly for several days, the delegates gave up the idea of entrenching property in the Constitution by specific restrictions on voting and office holding."

"Finding that course barred, the delegates chose another way of dissolving the energy of the democratic majority. . . . The Fathers created a system of 'checks and balances', dividing the power of government among legislative, executive, and judicial branches with confused and uncertain boundaries. . . ."

"The legislature as they devised it was of intricate structure. Members of the House of Representatives were to be distributed among the states roughly on the basis of population and they were to be elected biennially. . . . But the chamber so directly affiliated with the commonality was by no means to have a clear track in the making of laws. A strong Senate was thrown across its way. Senators were to be chosen by the state legislatures, one degree removed from the multitude; they were to serve for six years instead of two; and only one-third of them were to go out at any time, so that after each fresh election, no matter how tempestuous, a safe majority of the old members were to remain undisturbed in their places. The conservative effect of age was brought into play: Senators were to be at least thirty years old, five years above the minimum set for the lower house."

"Opposite the legislature thus divided against itself was set the President elected by yet another process—by a special body of electors chosen as the state legislatures might determine—perhaps two or three degrees removed from the passions of the populace. Thus firmly planted on his own base, the President was to enjoy, in addition to his executive functions, the power of vetoing acts of Congress. To increase the friction of the machine, his term was fixed at four years, not two or six, and it was provided that he could be removed only by a difficult method of impeachment."

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

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

A COMMUNIST RADIO SPEECH

In the last several months, labor history has been enriched by a series of magnificent strike struggles which match up well with the greatest of America's working class tradition—Detroit, Toledo, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Portland, Seattle, Alabama. Examples of courageous determination and working class solidarity, they stand out as an inspiration to the toiling masses everywhere.

The anti-labor forces of the country are determined to suppress this rebellious spirit, if possible to prevent the accomplishment of the move toward unionization, and even to crush whatever labor organizations already exist. They are playing the ancient trick of dragging the old worn-out "red-scare" herding across the trail of today's struggles for an improvement in living and working conditions. It is claimed that the strikes of today have been "fomented" by reds, radicals, or revolutionaries for the purpose of overthrowing the government, and an attempt is made on this basis to arouse all of those timid souls who believe that every radical has a tail tucked into his pants, cloven hoofs and his shoes and horns under his hair into active struggle against workers who are fighting for nothing more than a decent living wage.

The "Red Scare" Farce
The fact that revolutionaries—those who believe in the establishment of a new economic order on the basis of the abolition of capitalism—are active in the organization of these struggles does not make the "red-scare" propaganda more ridiculous. It is as sensible to blame "reds" for these strikes as it would be to blame the weather-forecaster for our present heat or a geologist for a volcanic eruption because these men know what forces are at work and can predict what is about to happen.

The strikes of today have their ultimate cause in the decay of our economic system. On the one hand, the processes of production have developed at a tremendous rate so that we not only have a huge bulk of commodities produced but new social relationships in production involving the organized participation of large masses of workers in highly mechanized plants; on the other hand, we have the old private profit relationships in the field of distribution; and the gulf between the two becomes ever wider as industrial development goes on. The amounts of wages paid to the mass of workers becomes constantly less and less adequate in the buying of products for consumption. Hence the fight for increased wages is as inevitable in the course of capitalist development as the shedding of the skin of a snake is in that animal's growth.

Labor's Weapon—the Strike
Strikes are by no means a new phenomenon in capitalist society. Even the period of capitalist economic infancy is characterized by the most violent labor battles. Not a single improvement in the standard of working class life, not a single betterment of labor conditions but has been purchased at the price of bitter and bloody battle on the part of organized workers. Even the slightest of government reforms in the nature of so-called labor protection laws have been wrenched from the capitalist class only as the result of violent and unavoidable struggle by the working class.

Strikes are today necessary to enforce two working class demands, which will not be granted by capital without a struggle: first, the right to collective bargaining, that is trade union organization; second, increased wages with decreased hours of work (or at least without increased hours). The winning of these two objectives, even through the instrumentality of a general strike, does not at present necessarily involve the overthrow of the political rule of capitalism; it is a step in that direction, but the demands are at this moment economic and only remotely political.

The Role of Communists
Generally, the number of Communist workers (and by this I mean conscious revolutionaries) involved in any action must necessarily be relatively small, since they are the most intellectually advanced and politically acute; they will always be in the forefront of every economic struggle because they understand the basic importance of mass economic action in historical evolution. But to say that these workers can create a strike or any other mass activity simply out of their own revolutionary desire is to talk without making sense. Workers are forced by capitalism itself to strike for betterment of their conditions and unless the whole mass of workers involved consciously and willingly takes part in the action—whether it be general or is confined to one industry—no strike can even be called, let alone carried forward with any success. The charge that masses of workers are "intimidated" into striking is the product of a bankrupt mind that does not want to look at facts and makes up excuses for violence against strikers.

Since strikes are inevitable in the struggle of workers against unemployment and for economic security, it would stand to reason that the better a strike is organized and the greater the clarity with which its demands are formulated and militantly pursued the better for society as a whole, since the issue will

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

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

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

have to be settled much more speedily if the tie-up of industry is complete. And right here is the origin of the "red" bugaboo. For it is precisely the "reds" or revolutionaries within a labor organization who are the most competent organizers of such a struggle, for it is they who understand the forces at work and have profited by years of accumulated world-wide experience in the technique of strike strategy. It is they whom the anti-labor forces fear and it is by misrepresenting their role and objectives that capitalist agencies hope to break down the instinctive solidarity of the working class.

The Minneapolis Battle
One of the most beautifully organized strike maneuvers of this period was the series of truck drivers' strikes in Minneapolis which began early this year and still occupies the center of attention in working class circles. Members of the Communist League of America active in the strike, like all of the workers of Minneapolis, are victims of the same oppressive economic conditions, but they can see more clearly than the rest what to do about it. It is regrettable that it is the peculiar fortune of the anti-labor forces that they can usually depend for reinforcement upon the highly-paid officials of labor unions, who do their questionable service by officially disowning and denouncing

the courageous fight of workers struggling for organization. Anti-labor organizations are becoming daily more prominent in the country—the Vigilantes on the west coast and the chambers of commerce with their gangster and college-boy hirelings. They too are an inevitable outcome of capitalist decay—maggots fattening off a putrid body. There is only one antidote to them—stronger labor organization.

The Purpose of the Strike
A strike is not a revolution and nobody knows that better than a Communist. The purpose of a strike is to enforce demands under the capitalist system of production and distribution. But the revolutionary knows that it is through these strikes that the working class will learn two things: first, that nothing can be won without strong and militant organization; and, second, that the state apparatus, the political organization of capitalist society, will always be used on the side of the master class, the capitalists. It is not the revolutionaries who teach these truisms to the working class; they simply put the lessons into words and weave these experiences into a theory of action; it is capitalist society itself which provides the object lessons.

There is one more truism which is in the process of being taught: wherever you have capitalism you

driver of the picket truck, a powerfully built man, attempted to get out of the range of fire, but not without some attempt at vengeance. As his truck neared the corner his powerful left arm reached out and lifted from his feet a police sergeant who was gleefully firing lead into the backs of workers heroically attempting to carry wounded strikers out of reach of the murderous barrage. Holding the sergeant in a paralyzing grip, he drove him a block away, where he stopped his truck, removed gun from cop and then cop from consciousness.

Words are inadequate to describe the bravery of these workers. Unarmed, weaponless they rushed into the merciless fire to help the injured. It is reported that 53 cops returned to police headquarters where they turned in their badges. Ten minutes after the massacre, strike headquarters was covered with dozens of severely wounded workers, remarkably unanimous in minimizing their injuries and urging the harassed medical corps to look after some of the other boys. What magnificent bravery—many of them lying with upward of 15 lead slugs in their bodies insisting that others be attended to first.

A Cop Vanishes
When the powerful truck driver who had walloped the cop returned to headquarters, the blood flowing from a bullet wound in his forehead did not prevent him from seeing a cop innocently swinging his club a block distant from headquarters. With a few powerful steps he reached the cop and told him in well chosen words that he would give him two seconds to get out of sight. That cop didn't need two seconds, he just vanished.

The bosses had thought that wholesale murder would break the strike and send the strikers scurrying back to their jobs. The thousands at the mass meeting gave a powerful denial to this. They cheered defiantly the militant speeches of their leaders and shouted in unanimity that they were going to fight until victory was theirs. When a union official told them that they had received information that the police planned a raid on headquarters that night, they thundered, "Let them try, we're ready." They were ready too, for several thousand marched to headquarters to spend the night in anticipation of an attack.

Workers' Solidarity
A splendid demonstration of

the courageous fight of workers struggling for organization.

Anti-labor organizations are becoming daily more prominent in the country—the Vigilantes on the west coast and the chambers of commerce with their gangster and college-boy hirelings. They too are an inevitable outcome of capitalist decay—maggots fattening off a putrid body. There is only one antidote to them—stronger labor organization.

The Purpose of the Strike
A strike is not a revolution and nobody knows that better than a Communist. The purpose of a strike is to enforce demands under the capitalist system of production and distribution. But the revolutionary knows that it is through these strikes that the working class will learn two things: first, that nothing can be won without strong and militant organization; and, second, that the state apparatus, the political organization of capitalist society, will always be used on the side of the master class, the capitalists. It is not the revolutionaries who teach these truisms to the working class; they simply put the lessons into words and weave these experiences into a theory of action; it is capitalist society itself which provides the object lessons.

There is one more truism which is in the process of being taught: wherever you have capitalism you

driver of the picket truck, a powerfully built man, attempted to get out of the range of fire, but not without some attempt at vengeance. As his truck neared the corner his powerful left arm reached out and lifted from his feet a police sergeant who was gleefully firing lead into the backs of workers heroically attempting to carry wounded strikers out of reach of the murderous barrage. Holding the sergeant in a paralyzing grip, he drove him a block away, where he stopped his truck, removed gun from cop and then cop from consciousness.

Words are inadequate to describe the bravery of these workers. Unarmed, weaponless they rushed into the merciless fire to help the injured. It is reported that 53 cops returned to police headquarters where they turned in their badges. Ten minutes after the massacre, strike headquarters was covered with dozens of severely wounded workers, remarkably unanimous in minimizing their injuries and urging the harassed medical corps to look after some of the other boys. What magnificent bravery—many of them lying with upward of 15 lead slugs in their bodies insisting that others be attended to first.

A Cop Vanishes
When the powerful truck driver who had walloped the cop returned to headquarters, the blood flowing from a bullet wound in his forehead did not prevent him from seeing a cop innocently swinging his club a block distant from headquarters. With a few powerful steps he reached the cop and told him in well chosen words that he would give him two seconds to get out of sight. That cop didn't need two seconds, he just vanished.

The bosses had thought that wholesale murder would break the strike and send the strikers scurrying back to their jobs. The thousands at the mass meeting gave a powerful denial to this. They cheered defiantly the militant speeches of their leaders and shouted in unanimity that they were going to fight until victory was theirs. When a union official told them that they had received information that the police planned a raid on headquarters that night, they thundered, "Let them try, we're ready." They were ready too, for several thousand marched to headquarters to spend the night in anticipation of an attack.

Workers' Solidarity
A splendid demonstration of

the courageous fight of workers struggling for organization.

Anti-labor organizations are becoming daily more prominent in the country—the Vigilantes on the west coast and the chambers of commerce with their gangster and college-boy hirelings. They too are an inevitable outcome of capitalist decay—maggots fattening off a putrid body. There is only one antidote to them—stronger labor organization.

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

The Great Teachers Speak
As far as the general program of the Communist movement is concerned, I can do no better in summarizing it than to quote from the Communist Manifesto, written in 1847 by the greatest theoreticians of Communism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: "In what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole? The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties. They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole. They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement."

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

"The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement."

"The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties: formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat. The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer. They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes."

And I close with the principal slogan of Communists everywhere: "WORKINGMEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE! YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS. YOU HAVE A WORLD TO WIN."

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working class solidarity was evidenced in the arrival at headquarters of thirty-five iron workers, each carrying a 4 or 5 ft. iron bar. They were there to lend a hand in the defense of the headquarters. Labor sent other representatives, many of them carrying the implements of their trade as weapons. Strange to say, the police did not make any raid; in fact they never go within three blocks of strike headquarters.

Tuesday, July 24 marked one full week of the strike and in that time not a truck had moved. The union was stronger than ever, the leadership as alert and intelligent as any one could wish for. This day also brought forth the mightiest demonstration Minneapolis had ever seen. Henry Ness, one of the strikers who had been killed, was buried while more than 40,000 workers pledged that they would give their lives even as he, if the bosses tried to break their union and take away their meagre crust of bread.

Albert Goldman the union's attorney, made a remarkable speech in which he pointed out that Henry Ness had died fighting in the class battle, and that such sacrifices would no longer be necessary when the workers had taken power from the bosses and ran the country themselves.

The bosses are frantic—they cannot break the spirit or solidarity of the workers. Unemployed workers prefer to register as pickets rather than receive extra pay as scabs. The work of the Minneapolis Central Council of Workers deserves a special tribute from all workers for the splendid manner in which they have mustered their forces behind the union. This organization, set up by the League, has lent yeoman service to the strikers as evidenced in the numbers shot in the Friday affray. 20% of those shot were members of this unemployed organization.

With such spirit, with such solidarity, with such leadership the fight cannot be lost though all the forces of reaction are lined up in solid phalanx against them. One must not forget the Stalinists who help reaction by distributing leaflets attacking the leadership. The strikers know the difference between Communist leaders and the Stalinists. The Stalinists they call "bad Communists" while the League comrades are designated as "good Communists". —JERRY KOTZ.

WORLD OF LABOR

DORIOT

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

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

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

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

UNEMPLOYED REVOLT IN HOLLAND

Peter Schmidt, chairman of the Independent Socialist Party of Holland (one of the signees to the pact of the four) gave an interesting interview to a representative of the British *New Leader* (July 20) on the recent unemployed revolt in that country. In spite of braggy claims of the Communist party Schmidt maintains that the action of the jobless was purely spontaneous. It was in protest against a reduction in relief ranging from 20 to 50%. The heroism of the jobless was magnificent. Barricades, built out of paving stones, were hastily erected in defense against the attacks of heavily armed troops. Six workers were killed in the streets. More than two hundred people were wounded when soldiers and police fired through windows which were kept open in defiance of military orders. The revolt spread to twelve of the largest towns.

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

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

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

British imperialism could ask for no better guarantee that their servile lackeys in the labor movement will patriotically support their colonial empire in the next war and drive the workers into slaughter against any robber power that threatens it. 20 years after the bloodbath in which the brigand British capitalists clashed with the "aggressor" German militarism in a "war to end all wars" the English trade unions and Labor party valets of His Majesty are laying the ground for another August Fourth.

And suppose by some stretch of the convenient imaginations of the Hicks and the Henderson they conceive of Britain entering the war for aggressive purposes? What do they propose to do then? Absolutely nothing. They reject the general strike as being "impracticable" because workers in countries like Germany, Italy and Japan could not join the general strike because of the destruction of the trade union movements there.

EDITORIAL

A 'Farmer-Labor' Strikebreaker

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

Workers, opening their eyes to the perfidious deeds of Olson, will marvel at his skill in hiding his real intentions. Step by step he ploughed into the solid ranks of the strikers, sowing confusion and winning their confidence at the same time. The job could not have been better executed had it all been premeditated.

Elected on the platform of the Farmer-Labor party, which has even been so radical as to call for the "abolition of the profit system", Olson did everything to solicit the backing of the drivers. In the May strike he acted as a go-between in the arbitration of issues after 574 had already won the battle. He called out the National Guards, but kept them in the barracks. At the conclusion of the conflict he is reputed to have made a personal donation of \$500 to the truckers' union.

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

Under the pretext of protecting the strikers Olson's troops have protected scabs and scab trucks. Where cops, thugs, preachers and red scabs failed to move trucks in Minneapolis, Olson brought the troops in to do the dirty work. Rivaling only his red-baiting colleague in California, the St. Paul demagogue called out his army to keep the city in essentials, but in reality moving commercial vehicles of every description. When the strikers saw trucks moving they saw through Olson at the same time. They would battle and beat the troops even as they had the police. Before the drivers could make their threat effective the troops raided the strike headquarters, drove the workers out and arrested the union leaders, William Brown, Vincent and Miles Dunne. 200 drivers were thrown into military barracks and then the Central Labor Union, set up as a second headquarters, was invaded by soldiers.

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

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

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

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

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

Strike at Martial Law!

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

In such a situation, of course, our main concern is the safety of our comrades in Minneapolis who have worked devotedly in the interest of the striking truckmen, and the rights of the Minneapolis workers to union organization and a leadership of their own choosing.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HELP US ACCOMPLISH THIS!

SEND US \$1 TO-DAY!

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

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

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

DON'T FAIL THE WORKERS IN MINNEAPOLIS!

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

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Arrest of Cannon and Shachtman

(Continued from Page 1)

workers, they did not miss an opportunity to explain to the membership that the Red Scare was a barrage being laid down by the employers behind which the union was to be crushed and the men driven back to the outrageous conditions of work and wages against which they were rebelling. Instead of falling into the cunningly laid trap of the Citizens Alliance and starting an anti-Communist hunt in their own ranks, the union leaders stood like rocks and insisted that every worker—be he Communist or Democrat, Republican or Farmer-Labor, whatever might be his political, economic, religious opinions or affiliations—was a soldier in the union with full rights and duties, and that no discrimination would be practiced against anyone. It is this attitude which made it possible to hold the union together instead of letting it fall prey to artificially injected dissension inspired by the employers.

Having no other arguments, however, the desperate bosses were compelled to harp on the same string throughout the whole struggle. Being unable to defend a position which says that 42¢ cents an hour for a family man is too much, they simply did not bother to defend it at all, and concentrated instead upon baiting of Communists. They needed a sensation, and on Wednesday evening, the papers finally burst out with it.

At about 10 p.m. of that evening, a trio of Minneapolis detectives, flanked by a cop in uniform, placed James P. Cannon and Max Shachtman under arrest. Both of them had apparently been under surveillance for days.

Finger Prints Taken

Transported to the police headquarters, they were immediately taken to the jail, their finger prints taken, and despite unanswered demands that they be told why they had been arrested, or what the charges against them were, or that they be permitted to communicate with their attorney they were lodged in a cell.

Meanwhile, a squad of detectives broke into the hotel rooms of the two prisoners, and without even the formality of a search warrant, proceeded to ransack the personal effects and papers which they found there. Copies of the Militant, of the daily strike paper, the Organizer, personal letters, and Shachtman's whole suitcase, were brought down to police headquarters with the hope that evidence might be found to show that the two Communists had been on the verge of blowing up the city, at the very least, so that they might be held long enough by the police to incapacitate them for the duration of the strike, in any case.

What the police and their masters, the Citizens Alliance, were after, was proof that Shachtman and Cannon were directing the truck drivers strike. And although they pored over every single scrap of paper they found and examined the notebooks of the prisoners with microscopic care, all they were able to find was a number of routine letters and telegrams received by Cannon and Shachtman from New York, addressed to them in care of Vincent R. Dunne, one of the influential strike leaders of Local 574. The whole thing was a flop, and didn't even have the ground-work material for a good-sized frame-up.

Questioning by the captain of detectives, Ohman, failed to elicit any more information from the prisoners than was available to the man in the street. Here again, the two men demanded the right to have their attorney, Albert Goldman of Chicago, present during the cross-examination. Ohman, assisted in his questioning by Police Chief Johannes, who has earned himself the opprobrious nickname of Bloody Mike, told Cannon and Shachtman that their demand for a lawyer was not being denied (!) but at the same time the lawyer was not forthcoming, nor were they permitted to telephone him about their case.

A Real "Scoop"

The next morning, the local capitalist press boomed with the news. Copies of purloined letters and telegrams, skillfully provided with terrifying headlines that had little or nothing to do with the contents which hopeful editors expected their readers not to bother reading, had been generously supplied to the Alliance press and were spread all over the columns.

But if they counted upon a reaction in the ranks of the workers, and above all in the ranks of 574, they were miserably disappointed. Instead, the union and its newspaper took up the issue and demanded the release of the prisoners, not only when they were held by the police, but also later, when they were placed under military arrest by the National Guard. So far as the employers were concerned the arrest proved a dud.

Under Military Arrest

Friday morning, thirty-six hours after their arrest, and with a vagrancy charge actually booked against them, the prisoners were brought into court. Attorneys Goldman and Mendow of Minneapolis were on hand with a writ of habeas corpus. But before the vagrancy charge could be heard, the men were transferred to Judge Guldorf's court. There the city

attorney declared that he had no objections to the release of the men on the writ. It immediately became clear why no prosecution was to take place. Having found it impossible to hold the men any longer even on a trumped-up charge, Johannes had arranged with the officers of the National Guard, who had taken over the city under martial law the day before, to put Cannon and Shachtman under military arrest.

Just as the release in civil court was effected, a sergeant of the Guard entered the courtroom—the first time such a procedure has ever been witnessed in the history of Minnesota—and demanded the custody of the prisoners. The sensation was heightened by the fact that he was armed with a sub-machine gun and that a dozen Guardsmen, automatics strapped to their sides and rifles in their hands, stood outside the courtroom as an escort for the dangerous Reds. Completely surrounded, Cannon and Shachtman were marched down the corridors, out of the municipal building to the street, where another score of Guardsmen awaited them with another score of automatics and rifles. They were bundled into an open military truck, still as heavily and nervously guarded as if they were either some invaluable treasure or an automatic time bomb which might explode at any moment.

Flanked front and rear by other cars, the truck drove the prisoners to the Army—the first military prisoners to be taken after the declaration of martial law—although they could not conceivably have violated any martial law regulation "Shoot to Kill".

In the National Guard Armory they were seated on a bench prior to being brought to the guardhouse, with explicit orders given the armed sentinels to "Shoot to kill if they make a move to escape!" In the guardhouse, with no explanation given of the reason for the arrest, the two were held for another six hours.

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

Drivers Force the Release of Leaders

(Continued from Page 1)

der pretense that there they would be better cared for. Meanwhile, the painstaking arrangements of the strikers to take care of their own were destroyed in the clean-up.

The pretext under which the raid was undertaken was that the strikers had held a mass meeting on a public playground in violation of military orders. Later, when Brown and the Dunne brothers were released, it was admitted that they had obtained the necessary permit.

By that time the damage had been done, the strikers had been driven out of their headquarters, and their leaders looked up in the military stockade, on the hope that this drastic action would bring the strikers to their knees. The answer of the strikers was renewed picket activities, swift and resourceful, against which the military were powerless.

In desperation, the military next raided the offices of the Central Labor Union body, seizing files and documents.

Since the National Guard arrived, the order issuing permits to "essential" trucks has been more and more generously interpreted—for the bosses.

Until now the Guardsmen are playing an open scab role, guarding—as well as they can—scab trucks of all kinds and descriptions. Affidavits from workers report that pie-trucks, trucks bearing electric signs, toys, and other non-essential materials passed the National Guardsmen unchallenged, while the pickets were prohibited by steel bayonets from interference.

It was the hope of Governor Olson obviously that his order should gradually be extended until all truck service was restored to normal under scab operation, while the workers stood by paralyzed and helpless.

Governor Olson's order read: "Trucks will move only on military permits and picketing by automobiles or otherwise will be completely stopped."

The permits were issued at first under fake signs and pretenses of Interstate Commerce, meat and bread, etc. Until even this pretense has been abandoned.

But picketing by automobiles or otherwise, has not been stopped! It is the greatest tribute to the militancy of the workers that they were able to defy first the police bullets and now the bayonets of the National Guard.

The "Red Issue" could not stop the strike. The police thugs, the brutal killing of Ness and Belor, who died yesterday from his wounds, could not stop the strike.

Martial law could not stop the strike.

repeated. They then declared that they would refuse to leave the city of Minneapolis of their own volition, that they would depart only if forced to do so by a squad of Guardsmen. They had violated no law, they had not violated, nor could they have, any of the military regulations which were put into effect during their stay in city jail, and they would insist upon their rights to carry on as correspondents for their periodicals to exactly the same degree as the representatives of out-of-town capitalist papers who had, of course, not been molested.

Colonel McDevitt made no attempt to reply to the arguments and demands of the two men and contented himself with a repetition of his order. Immediately upon quitting the Armory, Cannon and Shachtman dispatched a telegram to the commander-in-chief of the Minnesota National Guard, Governor Olson, which we quote here in full:

Telegram to Olson

"Under tyrannical military order delivered to us at the National Guard Armory by Colonel McDevitt, after being held illegally under military arrest for six hours, we are being compelled by force to leave Minneapolis. We have been here as correspondents for the papers which we represent and at no time violated any law, civil or martial, nor have we even been charged with any such violation. We were released from city prison after thirty-six hours illegal detention on writ of habeas corpus. We were then illegally arrested in the courtroom by a large squad of heavily armed National Guardsmen and confined in the Armory without explanation or charges, nor have any yet been made against us. It was obviously impossible for us to violate any provisions of martial law since we were confined to city prison from the time of its promulgation until the moment of our military arrest. We know of no such outrageous violation of constitutional rights in any city in recent times. Even in California, under the rule of the most reactionary Governor, who is an open agent of employers, such dastardly deportations had to be executed by paid thugs disguised as Vigilantes and in no case bore the stamp of civil or military authority. It remained for the city of Minneapolis and the state of Minnesota, under a Farmer-Labor Governor, to witness such a procedure which strikes at the very heart of civil liberties for which the labor movement and the progressive farmers, upon whose support you base yourself, have always fought. We wish to inform you that under protest and against our will we are leaving Minneapolis under the force and duress of the National Guard which you command. We demand of you the immediate revocation of this despotic order which is obviously aimed at the undersigned alone, as correspondents of the few papers which have wholeheartedly supported the strike of Local 574 and which is in no way designed to hamper or restrict the activities of correspondents for papers representing the interests of the employers, to say nothing of the Citizens Alliance whom you have publicly branded as a sinister clique conspiring against the people's interests and responsible for the red-handed murder of unarmed men. We intend to make our appeal known to labor and liberal forces of the entire country and will make your direct and personal responsibility known particularly to those who have hitherto regarded you as a progressive and liberal Governor. We await an immediate reply in care of our attorney, Mr. Albert Goldman, Hampshire Arms Hotel, Minneapolis.

"James P. Cannon, editor, The Militant
"Max Shachtman, editor, The New Internationalist."

No reply was ever sent to this message by Governor Olson. But the bluff to get Shachtman and Cannon to leave the city without protest, did not work. Instead, a reaction set in against the outrageous procedure. Officials of 574 entered their protest with the Governor. And the next morning, the press carried a statement by Olson declaring that the correspondents of the "Tory Tribune" as well as those of the "radical Militant" should enjoy equal rights in the city.

And such as they are, we still enjoy them.

—M. S.

Stalinist Zig-Zags

The United Front

Is the united front with the Socialist parties (hitherto the "social-fascists"), for long so vigorously denounced by the Stalinist leaders, here and elsewhere, again to be accepted as a policy of the official Communist parties? Supposedly, that appears to be the case. But in reality it is not.

The Stalinist party leadership, over the signature of its general secretary, Browder, submitted a proposition to the Socialist party convention for a united front struggle for certain specific aims. Later that proposition was repeated to the S. P. national committee with several requests already made for an answer. As yet the Socialist party leadership has made no answer and the question might well be posed: Why is it silent?

There is one basic answer to this question and it is well documented by facts from recent history. The Socialist party leadership, like that of international social democracy, of which it is a part, prefers capitalism to a workers republic—to a Soviet Republic. For that we have the best proof in the German Social Democratic party's participation in the Hindenburg "iron front", right up to the fateful hour of Hitler's seizure of power. We have the additional proof of its Austrian brother party clinging to the coat tail of Dollfuss right up to the day when he trained his howitzers on the homes of the Austrian socialist workers.

From this basic proposition flows the attitude of the Socialist party leaders, of relying on bourgeois democracy and its rules of the game, rather than on the militant struggle of a united working class, of finding more comfortable company and more agreement with the reactionary trade union officials than with the struggles of the left wing workers. Inevitably, and in time, this will tear the workers loose from the Socialist leaders. But that is not yet the case.

There is, however, also another side to this question. The Stalinist party leaders have not at all convinced the Socialist workers that they mean their united front policy seriously, that they propose a genuine united front. On the contrary. They have done everything in their power to divide the working class and prevent its unity of action.

While it now appears that there is a change in orientation, and methods of the Stalinist leadership of the party and of the Third International, it is not a real political change. To affect a real change in this respect it would be necessary to throw overboard the ideological baggage of the recent past and to repudiate many of its concepts and methods. First of all it would be necessary to repudiate the spurious theory of "social-fascism".

It would be necessary to repudiate Stalin's axiom that, "social democracy is objectively the moderate wing of fascism. They do not negate one another. They are not antipodes, but twins,"—or is this still to be considered correct? If so there could not and there should not be a united front. No, it is necessary to repudiate it because it has nothing in common with the Leninist conception of the working class and its forces.

But it was in following these ridiculously false ideas that Manuilsky reported to the Eleventh Comintern plenum that those "in our own ranks who erroneously act along the line of a belief in the existence of a basic contradiction between bourgeois democracy and fascism, between the social democrats and Hitler's party, are harmful and fatal to the Communist movement." And the American party at its plenum in 1932 defines as "American social-fascism (American Federation of Labor, Socialist Party, particularly the Muste wing with the Lovestone-Cannon renegades)." Is that still to be considered correct, or was it pure and unadulterated fakery?

And let us ask Willi Muenzenberg, who is now the celebrated visitor here, was he correct when he said in Feb., 1931, "A bloc, or even an alliance, or even a temporary joint operation in individual actions between the Communist party and the Socialist party in Germany against national socialism, would forever discredit the Communist party among the broad masses of the workers, toiling peasants and the middle strata, and draw it into decline."

Is he ready to repudiate that now? Will he disavow the old slogan of the German Young Commu-

nist League—"Drive the social fascists out of the factories, out of the unemployment bureaus, out of the trade schools." Will he disavow the old slogan of the German Young Pioneers—"Beat the smallest Zorogebels out of the schools and playgrounds."

Your own statements condemn you as liars. You cannot expect, gentlemen, that workers shall take your united front proposals seriously unless you are ready to declare that all this was false.

Formally the united front proposal has now been made to the Socialist party and to its national committee. What is its meaning? Does this represent a political change from the course pursued in the past? We recall from very recent date, from the eighth convention of the official Communist party, held in April this year, the thesis declaration: "The Communist party must widen its struggle for the united front with the social democratic workers, over the heads of their treacherous leaders."—Over the heads of the leaders—what hollow rapid phrases. They will not help in the least to tear the workers away from social reformism, and that, after all, is the ultimate objective of the revolutionary party. Today such hollow phrases represent only the most stupid disregard of the organization of the social democratic workers. Unfortunately these social democratic workers still belong to their party and support their leaders because they are socialist workers. Disregard of his fact serves only to provide an excuse for the S. P. leaders to reject the united front offer. It becomes only a bureaucratic maneuver at the expense of the working class unity of action. Nothing could suit the social reformist leaders better than this. They can continue with impunity their treacherous role of support of bourgeois democracy.

It would be illusory to expect that these formal united front proposals represent a political change of policy of the Comintern and its various parties. Essentially it reflects the pressure of the Communist workers facing an ever more menacing enemy to which the Stalinist leaders are attempting to adjust themselves in a tactical way instead of giving actual leadership. It represents the pressure due to the decline of the official Communist parties and an effort of the Stalinist bureaucrats by means of another periodical zig zag to establish an alibi for the past failures when the genuine united front had in reality become a life and death question. Meanwhile the bureaucrats of the Comintern have become so estranged from an actual united front policy that what they propose now is in reality the social democratic "non-aggression pact" which suspends criticism. That, of course, is false to the core. One of the first essentials of a genuine united front is the freedom of mutual criticism of all participants.

In the formal united front proposal made by the C.P.U.S.A., there is listed as one of the aims, "building a revolutionary trade union leadership." Is that possible of achievement jointly with the social democrats? Obviously not. And we might also ask, what role will the T.U.U.L. rival unions play in this? But there are many more questions that the Stalinist leaders are obliged to answer before they can begin to convince a single worker with the seriousness of their united front proposal and even before it can become clear to their own members and supporters what they mean.

Are they ready to repudiate their theory of social-fascism and their declarations of the impermissibility of a bloc with the Socialist parties? Are they ready to repudiate their spurious united front from below policy? Are they ready to repudiate their actions at the Madison Square Garden meeting? Are they ready to liquidate their T.U.U.L. policy of rival unions, which splits the labor movement, and adopt a policy of the militants working within the mass unions?

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

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

—ARNE SWABECK.

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