

**COPS FIRE ON UNARMED PICKETS** 

A.F.L.Misleaders Betray Frisco General Strike Textile Industry Entire Nation Commercial Vehicles

Terror Used CAPITALISTS JUBILANT; LONGSHOREMENSTILL OUT by Bosses to

cracy carrying the bosses' colors break the strike. into the ranks of labor, the bosses nnleashed a new strikebreaking raids on Communist and other workingclass centres, workers' lantes", dressed as workers, backed jailing them. up by the National Guard and the police, began an unprecedented reign of terror on the night of July 17, which is still going on.

Over three hundred militant workers and strikers were arrested and held on high bail, and a half dozen wokers' headquarters were sacked and destroyed, including those of the Communist Party, the I. W. W. and the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

"lawless vigilantes", and most of the capitalist press reported accordingly, some even attempting to say that workers made the raids, two or three liberal reporters let the real story through. Contradictions newspaper carried both the fake and true story.

A special dispatch to the New York Times of July 17 is typical of stabled the coast workers in the the lying stories carried by the capitalist press:

The San Francisco Chronicle asserts that the "vigilantes" who raided the radicals' readquarters were organized by conservative labor leaders. The newspaper said that these union men were aroused by evidence that Reds had been masquerading as union

San Francisco, July 19.-Never have labor fakers so clearly "headed strike in order to behead it" as have the reactionaries of the Labor

Crush Strike a strike in order to behead it" as have the read Conneil led the general strike to disintegration. Bitterly opposed to the strike, only to be over-ridden by the over-

With the general strike at its whelming majority of the local unions, Vandeleur, Kidwell, Casey, and crisis, and the reactionary bureau- their clique rode along just long enough to find the first opportunity to

After two days during which the strike was completely victorious, with the bosses on the run, with no sign of any weakening of labor's weapon: a whirlwind series of ranks, Vandeleur's gang suddenly sprang a resolution for arbitration on the general strike committee, Tuesday, simultaneously with the beginmeetings, picket groups and soup ning of raids by troops, police and vigilantes, who began weeding out closed down six plants that continlines. Thirty-five squads of "vigi- militant workers from picket groups, soup lines and other places, and ued operations and threats to de-

#### **A Phony Vote**

The resolution introduced by Vandeleur was claimed to have been passed by the narrow vote of 207 to 180, but the vote was by a show of hands, which Kidwell counted, and the demand by Harry Bridges and being the first to initiate the battle others for a roll call was denied by Vandeleur. Bridges later accused for the thirty-hour week. Among

Kidwell of miscounting, and declared many unauthorized individuals their other demands are: a twelve voted. Kidwell's only answer was a formal denial.

The resolution is directed against the longshoremen and the ten striktime, by democratic votes, the waterfront unions have voted against arbitration of the hiring halls control, and in addition, the longshoremen have repeatedly voted to refuse arbitration of the other issues unless the bosses agree to also arbitrate their differences with

there would not be a vote taken of

Shrewdly timed to coincide with the other marine unions. In direct Roosevelt call on the waterfront workers and bosses to submit all issues to the National Longshoremen's Board.

ful career. This statement was is-A few hours after the "adoption" sand strikers sorely needed the deliberately set up, in accordance San Francisco is local in charac- the longshoremen. And its seven ter, possessing no national signifi- points represent exactly the viewcance . . . the American Federa- point of the bosses as stated before tion of Labor neither ordered the the beginning of the strike. Like strike nor authorized it." the bosses, the Board demands that, instead of the ten marine unions Knowing that the American working class would react with other than the longshoremen being recognized by the bosses for negohorror at this traitorous act. Green finished his damnable statement to tiations, there be "collective barthe press with a formula which gaining with the elected represenmingles a disavowal of a desire to tatives of their respective employcriticize-after the rest of the es" This is identical with the statement !- with crocodile tears. bosses' refusal to recognize the He said: "When working people are marine unions as representing the engaged in an economic life or strikers, and the bosses' demand death struggle, it does not seem ap- | that each individual employer's propriate for their friends to en- workers should hold an election to gage in comment which might be determine their representatives. used against them by their ene-The "Election" Fake mies. The meaning of the proposition of the Board and the bosses is that

strike tide that it has inundated the very heart of the Bourbon South. 20,000 new fists were clenched in the statewide textile strike that has brought every loom to a standstill in Alabama.

The haven of lynchers and the home of the attempted legal murder of the Scottsboro Boys for the first time in years felt the might of or-

ganized and aroused labor when the United Textile Workers issued their call for a general strike of all cotton workers.

#### **Bosses Fear to Open Mills**

Militant action in Huntsville where a strong group of strikers feat similar moves has caused the

bosses to refrain so far from any attempts to open their mills. The Alabama strikers are pointing the way to American labor in dollar weekly minimum wage, eli-

mination of the "stretch-out" system, reinstatement of workers fired for union activities and collective bargaining.

NRA has already issued statements denouncing the strikers in three demands: for the closed shop, the first opening wedge of the bosses' battle to defeat the workers' attempt to win tolerable living conditions for themselves and their families.

\* \* \* The walkout of the 20,000 textile operatives in Alabama becomes a signal now for labor in the entire cotton and silk fabric industry to galvanize their forces and to make the general strike in San Francisco. good proposals adopted by the United Textile Workers, the Hosiery Workers in convention a few

months back and the National Com-Reliable reports have it that offi-

were reenforced by 1,500 smelter cials of the U.T.W. have been conwith the embattled miners. The hia mon erishly to break the strike but dreds of thousands of textile, silk without success. The miners deand hosiery workers has now passed mand a wage increase of 65c an beyond the talking stage. Labor hour and a thirty-hour week. scates like MacMahon, who con-Publication of all newspapers in veniently allowed himself to be this city ceased when the Typogratalked out of a general strike a couple of months back by vapid phical Union went on strike for a 30% wage increase on May 16th. NRA promises, and statements like Since then, the city has been withthat made by the National Commitout newspapers. tee of the A.F.S.W. to call a general strike "if necessary" can only stem Danielson. Conn.- Five hundred the tide and let the favorable moworkers at the Dayville plant of ment pass. the Assawaga Woolen Co. have gone

As we go to press news has arrived that National Guardsmen have been mobilized to smash the longshoremen's strike in Portland, Oregon which has been in progress since May 9th. The labor unions in this city are taking a vote tonight on the proposition for a general strike. \* \* \*

SEATLE, Wash., July 20. -Armed with long range tear gas guns, Seattle police attacked striking longshoremen in an effort to smash picket lines. Many were injured by gas.

Baltimore, Md.-Taking their cue from Minneapolis, 574, 1000 members of the Tcamsters, Chauffeurs and Helpers Union went on strike following the bosses 'refusal to recognize the union. Picket lines will be augmented by 800 more drivers who are expected out in a day or

New York, N. Y .--- At a member ship meeting of the Knit Goods Workers Union branch of the I.L. G.W.U., 18,000 workers ratified a strike proposal and prepared to take immediate action to enforce a thirty hour week, and a thirty per cent wage increase. 2.000 mem bers of the San Francisco branch of the I.L.G.W.U. have joined the general strike there.

Philadelphia, Pa.—Five thousand members of the Longshoremens Union here declared themselves in readiness to walk out in support of were under orders from Chief of ? The union is awaiting instructions from the 'Frisco strike committee.

Helena, Mont.--Attempts by the bosses to put scabs to work met with firm resistance on the part of swaddled around by police cars, a 3,600 copper miners who have been truckload of pickets drew alongon strike since May 8. Picket lines side.

Without warning, according to workers who struck in sympathy witnesses and newspapermen, the Truck Drivers Union, gave the

# Militant Pickets Tide of Strikes 33ShotInMinneapolis Ciose Alabama Sweeps Over the As Strikers Stop All

## UNIONS MEET TO CONSIDER CALL FOR GENERAL STRIKE

Minneapolis, July 20. (By wire) .--- Thirty-three pickets were shot with sawed-off shotguns by police who, at the same moment, in two

different places, began firing volleys of slugs into groups of pickets. The authorities apparently had planned the double provocation as the opportunity for bringing in the National Guard, for within a few minutes of the shootings the first truckload of machine gunners arrived on the blood-splotched sidewalks, established military lines, and cleared the district.

Within twenty minutes of the shootings the rest of the battalion of guardsmen, held in readiness at the armory here since the strike

#### Olsen Threatens Martial Law BULLETIN

One dead and fifty wounded is the toll taken so far by the murderous authorities of Minnea; olis.

Governor Olson backed up the onslaught by the local police with an announcement that he is prepared to declare martial haw.

As we go to press no word has yet come from the vast gathering of all trade union members of Minneapolis.

started on Monday, were widening the area enclosed by military lines. Thirty-five hundred additional National Guardsmen were ordered here at once by Adjutant General E. A. Walsh.

Farmer-Labor Governor Olson is, according to the law, supreme commander of the National Guard. The Adjutant General's authority to order the additional guardsmen must have been previously arranged for with the Governor, which means that the whole manoeuvre was prearranged.

One attack took place on Third Street and Sixth Avenue North, in front of the Slocum Bergen Grocery Company, from which convoys of police cars were preparing to move a merchandise truck. The police

> Strike Headquarters in Command of District

were armed with the murderous The strikers picked up their sawed-off shot-gun, favorite deadly wounded and took them to the hospital previously set up in strike As the scab truck began to move, headquarters, to prevent maltreatment and arrest of wounded strikers.

William Brown, President of the police fired volley after volley into answer of the workers to the bosses National Labor Board is trying fev- the tightly-packed strikers. While and their hireling government: "The trucks will not move. There may be an occasional truck get through under escort, but there will be no general movement of trucks.





piled up, as the same issue of a the boss terror against the left contravention of the democratic dewing, and the reactionary drive cisions of the striking unions, the within the union ranks, William resolutions would have President Green, president of the A. F. of L., back with the most damaging antilabor statement of Green's shame-

sued from Chicago, with Green en of the resolution, the National mittee of the American Federation route to the Wisconsin Federation Longshoremen's Board issued a of Silk workers to call a general of Labor, on Wednesday, July 18, seven-point program for the arbi- strike for the thirty hour week. a day on which the hundred thou- tration settlement. This Board was backing of the nation's organized with the wishes of the bosses, to ferring for some time now over the workers. Green, in language identi- separate the longshoremen's fight question of a national stoppage. cal with that of any bourbon reac- from the fight of the other marine tionary, claimed that "the strike in | unions who came out in support of

strikers and flaunting banners and placards at variance with the aims of the strike.

Thirty-five squads of "vigilantes." said to have been composed chiefly of striking teamsters, according to this version, were sent out in automobiles to make the raids.

The identity of the "vigilantes" has not been officially revealed. At first general opinion was that they were connected with the Committee of 500 organized by prominent citizens yesterday at the behest of Mayor Angelo J. Rossi.

This gag was contradicted in the same issue in a dispatch from the Associated Press, which incidentally gives the bosses' prediction of the raids:

#### Gives Word of Raids.

By The Associated Press. SAN FRANCISCO, July 17 .-- A series of raids on known Communist "hot spots" were under way here late today. The police are determined to smash the radical element n San Francisco. Youthful civic Vigilantes aided them. The first indication of the concerted drive against radicals came from Charles Wheeler, vice president of the McCormick Steamship Line, who said in a talk at the Rotary Club here today that the raids would start soon. He intimated government consent had been obtained for the raids.

Armed with clubs, thirty youthful vigilantes rushed the communistic quarters in the Ruthenberg House at 121 Haight Street. smashing windows and upsetting furniture. The few occupants of the building fled screaming down the street. By the time police arrived the youths had gone. The Ruthenberg House, which also was wrecked, quartered the Workers Theatre, Film Photo League, sports club, school, book shop and library and offices of the International Labor Defense League.

Signs advocating revolution and literature were seized.

Dolores Park. at Eighteenth and Dolores Streets, was the scene of another civilian demonstration against radicalism. Hardly had speakers mounted soap boxes to exhort their cause when (Continued on Page 4)

Press Understood Green

The capitalist press gorged them-|all the strikers. Instead, each em-

selves with Green's words. Head ployer would have an "election" by lines ran, "Green Disavows Strike his employes, including employes on for A. F. of L." (World Telegram); the Atlantic coast and elsewhere, "Green Disavows Responsibility for and including scabs now on the Dock Strike" (Herald Tribune); high seas. This is a perfect lay-"Green Says A. F. of L. Is Not On out for a crooked election. More Strike, Puts Onus on Local Union" over, no date is even set for the AN. Y. Times). election, and the Board also re-The bosses are fighting tooth and quires the immediate calling off of nail with the weapons of terror and all strikes. For the marine workdemoralization. Police, thugs, vigi- ers, this would mean that, with the lantes, National Guard, gas, pistols, resumption of shipping, the shiprifles, machine guns-and not least ping bosses could at their leisure the labor fakers, the yellow \$20,000 weed out all leading elements a year labor fakers who make unity among the strikers, "clean up" all with the bosses and government their crews, and then, when they against the workers. are good and ready, hold an elec-

Green's anti-labor statement was tion which would be a joke. only the most prominent of a whole The silence of the labor fakers series issued by A. F. of L. officials. since the issuance by the Board of its seven-point program indicates Other declarations of No Solidarity that they are consenting. were:

John Possehl, president of the In-The resolution was a serious ternational Union of Operating En- blow to the morale of the general gineers, issued the least swinish strike. However, there was hope statement: "We have always tried that, once the meaning of the resoto carry out our contracts, but if | lution became clear, and especially your friends are shot down, what with the interpretation of it by the can you do? Our West Coast or- Longshoremen's Board, the local ganization is one of the best, and unions, pressed by the workers, who it is a conservative outfit. There didn't come out for a general strike are no Communists in it." He add- in order to get a resolution which ed---that he would not say what he makes the general strike meaningless, would rally and have the rewould do if the bosses protested the broken contracts. solution rescinded. If the general

strike remained intact this would William Hushings, legislative undoubtedly have happened. agent of the A. F. of L. said he was

not acquainted with the terms of Steps to Break the Strike labor contracts on the coast, but Precisely for this reason, Vandeadded: "Personally, I think conleur, Kidwell & Co. proceeded to liquidate the strike. They issued tracts should be kept. (Continued on page 4) (Continued on Page 4)

#### Strike Now

on strike in answer to the bosses The time for the cotton and texrefusal to grant a 25% wage intile workers to strike is now! Now, crease. Mass picket lines forced when working men throughout the the shutting down of the plant. country are joining hands in a for-

midable move to conquer those Kohler, Wis .- The tranquility of rights denied them for years and this "ideal village", founded by the impossible to obtain by isolated robber baron W. J. Kohler, was sporadic actions, the iron is hot for considerably disturbed when more textile workers to take that step than a thousand workers went on which labor fakers, procrastinators, strike to enforce their demands for and timid progressives have been a thirty-hour week and a minimum delaying for months-the general wage of 65c an hour. Mass picketstrike of all textile, hosiery and ing continues despite the police silk workers. terror.

#### **ATTENTION!**

All unemployed members and sympathizers of the Communist League are to report at the city headquarters Monday, July 23, before noon for important work. -City Organizer.

## **LECTURE**

The General Strike Its Role in the Class Struggle ARNE SWABECK Sunday, July 22, 8 P.M. at Our New and Spacious Home 144 Second Avenue

Admission 10 cents Questions and Discussion

men fell like flies, the rest courageously advanced on the scab truck.

Police Michael Johannes to shoot

their way through picket lines and

weapon of American gangsters.

Their defiant advance probably saved the lives of many, for in You can depend on that. We will hand-to-hand fighting with the put 5,000 men into the field." bloodthirsty police, they prevented them from continuing their gunfire. Despite the number wounded and the truck drivers fighting with their bare hands, they sent two of their attackers to the hospital. Another, a sergeant, was shot by his berserk subordinates when he accidentally

got into the line of fire. The other police attack occurred at the same moment, a block away. ions, to back up the strikers. Witnesses in between heard the shooting break out on both sides simultaneously, as if at a signal, The signal arranged for may have

been the moment of arrival of the picket truck.

A block away, where earlier in the afternoon police lines had been established in preparation for the attempt to move trucks, crowds of strikers and sympathizers were lined up, when suddenly the police fired into the crowd. Four of the wounded fell here. The militant answer of the labor

movement of Minneapolis came immediately. Union-driven taxicabs, ice, beer

and gasoline trucks which had so far continued to operate by arrangement with the union, immediately went on strike. The district surrounding strike headquarters was immediately cleared of police by the strikers, including traffic cops. Strike headstrikers took over the directing of raffic. of workers.

Vincent Dunne, strike leader, declared that Minneapolis labor will stand solidly in back of the truck drivers and smash the strikebreaking attacks of the authorities. The sfrike was endorsed last week by the Central Labor Union and its constituent unions. Tonight there is scheduled to take place a gigantic mass meeting of all trade un-

The farmers are backing the strikers one hundred percent.

#### Farmers Rally to 574

Agreement was arrived at between the Farm Holiday Association and the union to permit the delivery of produce directly to consumers and small stores in return for which the farmers will picket country roads against commercial trucks and to supply food to the strikers. This solidarity shown by the farmers is said by strike leaders here to be one of the most inspiring and decisive steps in the battle to win the demands of the

drivers. The unemployed workers of

Minneapolis are also solidly behind the strike. The Minneapolis Central Council of Workers (unemployed) has voted full support of the strike and is supplying pickets. This vast combination of organized labor, unemployed and farmers quarters took over the district and can and will drive back this latest onslaught on the elementary rights

#### LOCAL 574 APPEALS FOR FUNDS

The Truck Drivers Union published the following appeal in "The Daily Strike Bulletin", organ of the strike:

Local 574 is fighting a battle which is the battle of every working man and woman. Our victory will be yours. Our defeat will be your defeat. Against us are arrayed powerful forces of reaction. We know that the battle will not be an easy one to win. It will require all the resources at our command. We feel justified in calling upon every man and woman in the organized labor movement, upon every friend of the working man, to grant us assistance.

To win a battle of the kind we have engaged in, means MONEY! Local 574 is calling upon YOU to help financially. Every contribution will be a blow struck in our behalf. Send in your donation immediately. Money given generously and promptly is doubly effective. Contributions should be sent to the General Headquarters of the Strike Committee of 100, 215 Eighth Street South, Minneapolis.

York, Pa.-Four thousand mem bers of the Cigarmakers Union of America went on strike here, following the bosses' refusal to grant the demand for a closed shop. The industry is paralyzed. The pressure of mass picketing has forced most of the cigar manufacturers to shut down their plants.

\* \* \*

#### THE MILTIANT

#### SATURDAY, JULY 21, 1984

Strike Ends in Philadelphia The Crisis in the New York MARCH OF QUESTION REVIEWING Painters Union S.K.F. Works **EVENTS** BOX THE NEWS

#### The Capitalist Press and San Francisco

In tearful articles about the suffering of women and children, in threatening stories about the power of the National Guard and the Army, in hair-raising reports of leadership on Americans the capitalist press does its bit to discredit the greatest forward step taken by American labor in years-the Pacipage and the headlines, we find the to work under this condition: to World Telegram's correspondent saying: "The strike, strong and dramatic, has seemed amazingly popular with the general public."

Over the protests and barriers set up by the traitorous and yellow labor leaders, many of them bought with enemy gold, the working class of California, "the great American working man" has surged forward in splendid class solidarity. That They proposed that 250 workers surging enthusiastic militancy has carried with it not only a "conservative" organized labor and sections of the unorganized but also thousands of the white collar workers, professionals and small business men who make up "the general public". Here we have a mental, spiritual and moral awakening of the workers of California-in a word a rising class consciousness which shows that the grave-diggers of decaying American capitalism are reaching for their spades. No wonder the capitalist press becomes hysterical.

#### . . .

#### Green-"The Lost Leader"

William Green who is so much in evidence when chains of arbitration are being fastened on labor has nothing to say. This buzzard stands to one side hoping that working class defeat will furnish him rich pickings in bringing labor back to "sanity". Whatever the settlement of the California strike may be, one thing is sure, that the handwriting is on the wall for the blustering Baptist betrayer Bill Green and his kind.

### . . .

#### "Lost" General Strikes

The capitalist press with great gusto tells of the lost general strikes of the past and reckons among them the Winnipeg general strike. And it is true that the Winnipeg strike was called off without winning recognition of the metal workers union, the point for which the strike was called. However, during and after the strike wage increases were won by practically all sections of Winnipeg labor. Thousands of workers were brought into the labor movement who had no previous contact with it. Literally thousands broke their church, lodge and other ideological ties doubtedly sell those too. with their masters and never restored them again. So great was I Glade the support of the strike that Leonard Lewis

Philadelphia .-- The heroic strug- eting around the plant during the gle of the SKF Anti-Friction Bear- | beginning and end of the work-day ings strikers ended on July 9, after a four month battle.

The strike broke out when the bosses refused to renew the agreement for a closed shop (which had been in effect for six months) and fed in the plant's cafeteria. Many "Russian Reds" imposing their in its place tried to force an agreement embodying all the earmarks of a company union.

The Philadelphia Regional Labor Board's pretensions to "impartiali- public strike-breaking agency, the ty" were exposed. This bosses' inhidden away, far from the front strument tried to get the men back tool in smashing the strike. arrange negotiations between the about 150 workers went back to men and the bosses for a period of 10 days during which the men were to remain at work, and after that to arbitrate all disputed points and render a binding decision in 30 to all abor organizations.

#### **A Vicious Decision**

days.

Union.

The decision of the National Labor Board was even more vicious. were to be taken back (900 had gone on strike), the others were to be placed on a preferntial hiring list for one year. In this time the company was not to hire any outside help. The Regional Labor Board was to act as arbitrator in all cases of violence.

The strikers correctly rejected both of the proposals. The workers received a lesson which helped to maintain their morale for a timethat the only defense against the iobs

bosses was their own organiation, the Anti-Friction Bearing Workers officially ended.

For 10 weeks the ranks of the strikers were solid. Until that time the only ones who were working in the plant were imported scabs who had been brought in by a scab agency of New York City on the third week of the strike after the Regional Labor Board's decision was rejected. **Police Terror** 

During this period the police A. F. of L. forced the conservative terror, unequalled in the labor his- trade-unions into workers' solidaritory of the city, was inaugurated ty and into giving united aid by the head of the Department of against the bosses "Public Safety", Le Strange. Pick-

THE PLEDGERS

New York City (New members) John Delaney pledges 50c month-

long as possible".

ly, "for period of employment". George Cooper pledges \$1 weekly "as long as job lasts". M. M. pledges \$2 weekly "for as This is the same comrade who has disposed of 47 coupon books in Prussian "Red" Referendum in tion of forces, it can only be re- demand and since the case is in the

the Organization-press Campaign. 1931. The prize example of all, placed by a government of Hitler- hands of lawyers and courts it was He has 10 more books, and will un-Manhattan

Send questions to "Question Box was made impossible by the scabthe name under which you wish lovers. Convoys of motorcycle cops

guarded the scabs to and from work your answers to appear. COMRADE G-d-n, Brownsville .--300 cops were stationed around the plant during the day and were Here, briefly, is the story of the Prussian "red" referendum. were injured by the bluecoated On March 5, 1931, 42,000 members of the Stahlhelm, the nationalbrutes, one striker was shot, two were stabbed and more than a score istic, reactionary, league of war

injured with clubs. The city's veterans, petitioned the Prussian government, headed by Otto Braun, police force, was the most effective Premier and Dr. Carl Severing, Minister of the Interior, both So-On the 11th week of the strike work. Realizing that in order to win the strike-that is to keep out parties to the right of the governscabs-support from other unions ment, particularly the Nationalists was necessary. Calls were sent out

Some offered financial assistance and a few pickets but the main body of the Central Labor Union sabotaged the strike.

Labor Scates Boycott Strike Since there wasn't any organized eftwing that could challenge the conservative and reactionary leaders, this treachery to the strikers heightened the audacity of the firm while the workers became demoralized. After that it was merely a question of how long the workers could hold out against the over-

whelming odds. Though the strike hadn't been called off, as time wore on quite a few workers went back to their

On Monday, July 9 the strike was

From this strike we can learn that militancy in both the leadership and the membership of an independent union is insufficient to win. By being separate from the main stream of organized labor, the A. F. of L., the union was cut off from the aid of other locals in the

left-wing trade union within the -LOU ROBERTS.

Front in Mexico Mexico City.-While considering

of a united front with other workunited fronts with isolated intellec- stage. . . . To come out into the

\$1.00 monthly in action with the clerical forces munists . . . appear in the eyes of office.

retary of D. C. No. 9, in a sixty minute speech delivered last Friday, July 13, before the membership meeting of Local 442.

open revolt against the unconstitutional, fraudulent and strong-arm methods used in the elections on cialists, demanding the calling of June 30 and they are determined to a popular initiative on the dissolu- clean out the underworld elements tion of the Prussian Diet. All the from the ranks of the organization. Betrayed in the strike of last October, deprived of \$160,000 which and National Socialists, signified was extorted from working members in the short space of a few their intention of supporting the

initiative, thus indicating who stood | months under the pretext of raising to gain by it. By about April the a strike fund and then having it initiative, which required about 5, spont just as quickly by Zausner 000,000 votes was carried. The Diet and his "friends" who ignored the then had the choice of either voting welfare of the painters and imposon its own dissolution or submit- ing on them a flock of human para-

endum. It chose the latter course. timidation, force and terror, the Now the Stalinists step on the Brotherhood rank-and-file members scene. "On July 21, the Central have become definitely insurgent. Committee addressed itself to the And rightly so, as the conditions in Prussian Government with the de- the trade and in the shops are mand for democratic and social worse now than they have ever concessions, threatening otherwise been

to come out for the referendum. The Steamroller in Action Advancing its demands, the Stalinist bureaucracy in actuality addressed itself to the upper stratum ing with cash, Zausner's clique felt from this verbal fight on the floor. of the Social Democratic party itself firmly in the saddle of the What is needed is a wide mass supwith the proposal for a united front against the Fascists under certain led to mechanization of leadership. organizational work must be carconditions. When the Social Democracy rejected the proposed conditions, the Stalinists formed a united front with the Fascists against the Social Democracy.

The vote was taken on August 9, flattening out opposition, balking tion that seems to set the members 1931; the plebiscite failing, receiv- protests. But the potential rise of ing about 10,000,000 votes out of a new leaders, in time, under the This situation must be slowly overshines out like a beacon—a militant required 13,500,000. The voting stimulus of real divergences of was not done by parties, all the policies and program is a real menvotes being merged, so that no ac- ace to the steamroller today.

curate measure was available as to how each party voted. The Stal- hundred bona fide members of the inists, however, claimed that the Brotherhood marched in solid ranks showing was due to them and ac- to the headquarters of the D. C. on cused the Fascists of having "sab- 14th St. and Eighth Ave. and impressed the gangsters and the police otaged" the voting.

counter-revolutionary all proposals not from the point of view of some office illegally, and the election was abstract principle, but from th carried through by repeatings at the ers' organizations not directly con- point of view of the actual struggle voting machines, by dishonesty and trolled by them the, Stalinists make of the classes for power, and the corruption-shortly in a fraudulent no bones about the formation of relationship of forces at a given manner.

tuals or intellectual groups, and at streets with the slogan 'Down with tions and speaker after speaker times in actual practice even with the Bruening-Braun government' at directed his speech to that concluthe Faccists as demonstrated by the a time when according to the rela- sion. "New elections" is a correct however, seems to have been re- Hugenberg, is the sheerest adven- also correct to demand that in the served for the Mexican Stalinists turism." By taking such a position meantime the painters themselves who today maintain a united front under the circumstances "the Com- take action and force Zausner from

1.00 weekly on the issue of opposing sexual edu- the masses as the aids of reaction."

The widespread belief that the seem to be in his favor at the mo-Brotherhood of Painters, District, ment. He has a score of men al-Editor", c/o The Militant. State Concil No. 9, with its thirteen locals ready under charges of Section 272 in New York City is facing its of the Constitution which, when engravest internal crisis in recent forced, means a fine of \$25 or ex- French proletariat at this moment years, was substantiated by Philip pulsion. The men were instructed Zausner, fraudulently elected sec- to ignore the charges.



ting the matter to a popular refer- sites who maintain their hold by in-

During the last Fall "season", when the union treasury was bulgleadership loses more than gains union. The seeming stability soon port and for that slow and stubborn Next he found it easy to create a ried on. The painters, although machine, which was transformed they voted for a rank-and-file caninto a perfect steamroller that now didate, are not united enough in dominates all the activities of the action. There remains mutual disunion,-at meetings and elections-

trust, a continuous sense of irritaof the union against each other. come. And for that more patience is necessary.

Last Thursday evening seven

The Stalinists defended their po- there with their militancy. Satursition by claiming that it was not day a huge mass meeting was held their fault if, in voting correctly, in Irving Plaza where pledges were the Fascists voted their way. To made and a resolution adopted to this we replied: "The question of fight Zausnerism to the bitter end. the coincidence of the voting with Every honest painter is convinced the Fascists is . . . viewed by us that the Zausner gang occupies the

The chief demand was new elec-

A Bit of Fake Bravado

The United Front in France The threat of Fascism in France is an even greater danger to the than was the threat of Hitler's coming to power in 1932. That is clear when one considers, as every Last Friday Zausner opened his Communist must do, the internabarrage in a forceful speech at tional setting and the relations of Local 442 against "Communists"

the classes on the world arena. emphasizing that the fight against The New York Painters are in him is a fight against the union. French Fascism strives for power "We must present a united front after the catastrophic defeat of the German workers, after the betrayal to our enemies, the strikebreaking Communists and the bosses who of the Austrian working class, after the advent of Fascism in a whole press on us now from all sides." He didn't forget to mention the string of countries. In their strug-Taxi drivers and the Seabrook gle the French proletariat cannot, Farms strike as illustrations

**Red Baiting** 

When important issues come to

of these epithets. The "bad name"

midations, physical force, terror-

all these hit the workers directly

"Bad names", or at least unpopular

ones, are utilized in an effort to

stem the discontent of the painters.

So Mr. Zausner "knows" that the

Communists are taking advantage

of the forthcoming strike, to wreck

the union and Ellstein also "knows'

it is the "dual union idea" which

underlies the real cause of the re-

The fight against these misleaders

will not be a simple one. The very

volt.

thereford rely on the active support of the enslaved toilers in the coun-His lieutenants, Harry Rosen and tries given over to the bloody re-Harry Kaplan even dispensed with gime of reaction. Furthermore the lip-service to union democracy and bourgeoisie of France travel more advocated suppressive measures and mob sentiment to give full rein to readily over a road partly paved the ever-present bureaucracy Many for them,-it is the bourgeoisie and workers were impressed by this not the working class that has been demagogy. The struggle has ac- shown "how it is done", at least in quired an ethical tone and "boiled this recent period. True, the reup" into a conflict between the cent happenings in Germany can 'destroyers" and "saviors" of the but strengthen the determination of Union. Zausner, as a slick speaker the masses of every land where reand a shrewd politician, capitalizes action has not yet triumphed, not to permit the seizure of power by on the situation. His very position and continuous experience in or- the Fascists. For that the masses ganizational matters gives him the of France, as of every other capiadvantage of wider knowledge. The talist country, must be united for

courageous rank-and-filer lacking struggle. the constancy that characterizes the \* \* \* \*

The inception of the United Front against Fascism in France is at least a guarantee that the French workers will not capitulate without a fight, if such a guarantee were needed in a country with the tradition of leadership in every revolution in Europe except the Russian Revolution. Forced by the inexorable logic of events, the Socialists and the Stalinists, the parties of the betrayal of the German workers, have come to an agreement to fight together against French Fascism. Neither of these bankrupt bureaucracies could resist the over-riding demand and impulse of all the toilthe fore and the old and the new ers for united action. Both these are really in grips, "names" play a parties have alike suffered serious great role. "Red", "Communist", splits that threatened their disin-"rat", etc. plays a large part in the tegration. The St. Denis commustock-in-trade of the Zausner's renist workers under the leadership actionaries-terms that have no of Doriot merely showed the way bearing on the real issues that are to the proletarians still under Stalat stake. Thus every leaflet that inist influence. At least one motive the D. C. issues contains one or all of the Comintern in "authorizing" the policy of the United Front on campaign is a flank attack. Intian international scale, was to prevent further splits and possibly to win back the St. Denis insurgents.

\* \* \*

The Psychology of Forgetting

Both the Socialists and the Stalinists would prefer to start a new page on the united front and to "forget" the past "mistakes". That is partly the meaning of the mutual guarantee not to criticize each other in the united front. The French Stalinists tried to impose as one condition for the united front fact that they occupy the seats of that the Trotskyists, the Internapower gives them a sharp-edged tional-Communists, be excluded. weapon against the members. They Indeed they had every reason for



months later four of the strike	Leonard Lewis	1.00 weekly	cation in the public schools.	For a more complete analysis of	Here we were witness to the	translate every phase of protest in-	wishing this. But their double
leaders, three of them still in jail	Dorothy Morris	1.00 "		the question see the article by L. D.	usual Stalinist hotheadedness,	to terms of constitutionality, and	bookkeeping,-denunciation of the
were elected to the provincial legis-	Clara Nelson	1.00 "	In an effort to cover up its mable	Trotsky in the Militant of Septem-	where sentiments were allowed to	demand that the protestants obey or	Trotskyists as counter-revolution-
lature. A labor mayor and a group	J. G. Wright	.50 " 1.00 monthly	ity to solve the problems of the	ber 19, 1931, from which the ex-	run rampant and emotions take the	be crushed as disrupters of the un-	
of labor aldermen were elected in	M. Spithos	.50 "	tention from the non-fulfillment of	cerpts in quotation marks have	place of sober reasoning. One of the	ion. In other words, Zausner's	vocated the only correct policies
the city. Later with the formation	S. Bleeker	2.00 "	the pompously announced educa-	··· • •	main speakers, the I.L.D. lawyer	machine wreaths all its acts into	(which would have made Hitler's
of the Communist party a Commu-	S. Gordon	1.00 "	tional projects, and the attacks on		Sacher, forgot himself completely	the aureole that emanates from the	coming to power impossible) in the
nist alderman was elected. Despite	Faul Allg	2.00 "	the standards of living of the school	* * * *	and after admitting that he is "ter-	constitution since they are its cus-	struggle for power of the interna-
the fifteen years of prosperity and	T Wohen	2.00 "	teachers and professors, the govern-	COMPADE DAN Weby Vork	ribly interested in the painters" and	todians and interpreters.	tional proletariat, and sliding in of
depression, fifteen years of apathy	J. Weber	1.00 "	ment of the bourgeoisie has brought	COMRADE B.A.N., New York.— The names of the countries where	a feeling had come over him to be	Zausner's machine will fight us	these very policies in another col-
in the American Labor movement,	E Victor	.50 "	forward through its Minister of	we have sections, and the names of	one of the painters himself con-	bitterly. It is a certainty that	umn (only half-heartedly) at least
	M. Kling	.50 "	Public Instruction, Nicholas Bas-	the papers which they publish fol-	cluded his speech by a bravado: "If	when all means of combating the	in the matter of the united front.
ated by the Winnipeg general	E. Konikow	1.00 "	sols, an elaborate and apparently	lows.	I was a painter I would go and	influence of the rank and file fails.	without any announcement of
strike is yet a potent force in that	Harlen		very "revolutionary" project for	1	bust up the whole outfit." When	the officiale would use their last	change or analysis of their past-
	E. Beecher	.50 "	sexual education to the children in	Germany: Unser Wort	during the collection dollar bills	and most powerful weapon-expul-	is the proof that the "new line" is
greater in its scope, occurs under	Colay	.50 "	the public schools.	Holand: Baanbreker	were slow in coming in he pleaded	atom and noncontion of local above	Unity a laise cover to be cast on
far different conditions. Conditions	Cochrin	.50 "	Taking advantage of the preju-	France: Verite and Combat des	with the audience that he personal-	ters. In order to conduct a suc-	for further betrayal at a later
much more favorable for the work-	Jerry Marsh	1.00 "	dices of the most backward sections	Jeunes (youth)	ly had put up \$40 for police protec-	cessful fight against the Zausner	stage. For the united front can
ing class. Gentlemen of the Cap-	T. Smith	2.00 "	of the population, the Roman Cath-	Belgium: La Voix Communiste	tion of the meeting and at least	clique we should by all means fight	lead to nothing fruitful without
italist press: American labor, con-			olic clergy has succeeded in mobil-	Spain: Communismo and L'Antor-	that amount should be made good.	to retain our membership in the	correct policies to be advanced
colong and aggressive has arrived.	Bronx	100 "	izing the parents' organizations un-	cha	A few minutes later he bursted out	union.	through the united front, itself
It is here to stay. It took some	S. ECKSTAOL	1.00 " 1.00 "	der its control in a mass protest	Greece: Pali ton Taxion	again and literally threatened to go	Tasks of the Left Wing	merely a tactic. And until the re-
hesitating steps in the past year	ar. Direnter		movement against this "unholy"	Poland: Proletarjat	out and "tear the gangsters to rib-	Although the fight against the	actionary theory of socialism in one
and again more firmly in Minnea-	Ofmers m Mew 1		proposal of the Rodriguez-Calles re-		bons".	Zausner regime has reached a high	country is destroyed root and
polis and Toledo. Now, standing	H. Porter	1.00 monthly	gime which, they point out is set	Bulgaria : Osvobojdenie	Louis Weinstock, the rank and	point the Left wing has still to en-	branch (and this means inevitably
upright and powerful, it places its	E. Alby	1.00 "	on destroying the morals of their	England: Red Flag	file candidate for Zausner's office,	in the terms to the sector of anter	the liquidation of the Stalinist
feet down firmly in the Frisco gen-	E. E. C.	1.00 "	innocent offspring and corrupting	Italy: Verita	as a main speaker also made many	over the wavering, vacillating	cliques in every country) the Stal-
eral strike. Its face is to the East.	E. J. Conwit	.50 "	the home with ideas about life and	U.S.A.: Militant, Young Sparta-	statements that didn't win the ap-	workers and by means of a realistic	inist parties can only mislead the
There will be setbacks. But its	Cornelis	1.00	sex not yet accepted by the Holy	cus (youth), and the New In-	proval of the painters save the few	Marxian trade union policy to pre-	working class. Precisely because
task is laid by history. Awakened	L. Haidous	1.00 "	See.	ternational (theoretical month-	Stalinists present. He proposed to	serve their membership in the un-	the unity in struggle of the work- ers permits the hegemony ultimately
and all-powerful it shall march	Samuel, E.	1.00 "	A substantial mass movement	ly)	the painters to violate the constitu-	ion. The double-faced policy of the	to pass to that party which advo-
across the continent, cleaning the	The Geltmans	1.00 "	has been raised on this issue hav-	Canada: Vanguard	tion whenever possible, since Zaus-	Stalinists, who would just as soon	cates a correct course of action
capitalist rats and parasites from	P. Miller	1.00 "	ing its main support among fanati-		ner has also violated it. He spoke	as not provoke a split in the union	based on firm principles, precisely
the country it has made:	Sydney Moroff	1.00 " 1.00 "	cal housewives. And here is where	Argentina: Nueva Etapa, Trib-	of building some new, mysterious	in the interests of their paper "rev-	for this reason the Stalinists would
• • •	A. McAbe		the official Communist Party enters	una Leninista	union, the name of which he care-	olutionary" outfit can only bring	like to exclude the Trotskyists
	City Subway Worker	1.00 "	the scene with its complete collec-	Brazil: Lucha de Classe	fully omitted. Weinstock spoke	grist to Zausner's mill.	whom they cannot face and with-
Class Collaboration	Edith Sher Ann Toven	1.00 "	tion of appendages and auxiliaries.	Cuba: Rayo	about starving out the D. C.—"not	One thing is certain, the fight	stand in open and free debate. They
The following item was not clip-	H. S.	1.00 weekly	The Y.C.L. and the Anti-Imperialist	Chile: Izquierda	a penny in per capita tax." He also	within the Destherhood of Deintere	fear the Fourth International!
ped from the organ of a company	(paid for 25 week		League are fighting in the street	U.S.S.R.: Bulletin of the Russian	urged the painters to "go back to	D. C. No. 9 is on. Behind the con-	* * *
union, nor even from Green's Amer-	A Teacher	1.00 "	demonstrations side by side with	Opposition	your locals and give the gangsters their own medicine" with a full	servative officials is the power of	The United Brout to Delega
ican Federationist but from the	(paid for 26 wee		the Catholic Youth Federation as	Switzerland	knowledge that the painters are not	the official machine. Behind the	The United Front to Release
Stalinist Daily Worker. However,	Geo. Cooper	1.00 "	the shock troops of reaction in this	Lithuania	in a position to do so with the ex-	radical rank and file is the trend	
it should occasion no wonder that	M. M.	2.00 "	conflict.	Mexico	ception of his own local and prob-	of the times.	we light for the release of all
those who can read "peaceful inten-	John Delaney	.50 monthly	As if there were nothing else to	In addition we have groups in	ably one or two others.	-MEMBER OF BROTHERHOOD	political prisoners of Hitler, Thael-
tions" in the imperialist policies of	Newark, N		attack and criticize in the policies	China, Austria and other countries.			mann included. (And do not forget
France and England can also "be	Coo Hollow	2.00 monthly	of the bourgeois government, and		The response of the meeting was	THE MILITANT	the four German youths shameless-
keenly aware of the problems fac-		.50 "	instead of emphasizing the demands		good, but not as good as it should have been. It is hard to reach all	Entered on a cound place mail	ly abondoned to Hitler by the Stal-
ing "both sides" in the factories of	G. Kotz	1.00 "	for better conditions for the teach-	Com Abramowitz Dead	have been. It is hard to reach an	matter November 28, 1928, at the	inists). But we cannot help voic-
American capitalism and "have a	J. Becker	1.00 "	ers and the fulfillment of the pro-		the painters. Despite the lact that	Post Office at New York, N. Y. Un-	
realistic approach to their solution".	·	1.00 "	gram for better conditions for the	Comrade Isaac Abramowitz, a	Worker has printed column after	don the est of Manch 2 1970	
Here is the quotation, Daily Work-	1	.50 "	teachers and the fulfillment of the	member of the Communist League	column on the situation only 700 out		looking to this figure of "the lead-
er, July 16th-I Rosenberg writing	A Social Worker	1.00 "	program or establishment and main-	in New Haven died of cancer on	of 6,000 members could be mobilized	I dombied Wookij by the Com-	er", shamelessly speaks of the daily
on the shoe industry in New York:	A Clerk	50 "	tenance of schools in the country-	Saturday, July 7. For the greater	for the parade and the mass meet-	manuse Longue of America	execution of one or two Communist workers by the Fascist scoundrels
"The manufacturers must admit	Boston		side, raising the issue for free books	part of his life he was a fighter in	ing. The meeting also didn't seem	144 Second Ave., New LUCK, N. I.	as merely the prelude to the killing
(really!) that our organization is		.50 "	and supplies to school children, the	the revolutionary and working class	to approve the petitioning for	I HORE & GRAMCICY 5-5524	
keenly aware of the conditions pre-	E. Wiener	.50 "	Stalinists pick the issue of sexual	movement. Joining the movement	names and addresses that were to	VUL. 1, NU. 25, (WHOLE NO. 255)	of Thaelmann. And what of these nameless victims themselves! It is
vailing in the industry and the	W Henderson	.50 "	education, thereby giving the most	in Russia he was one of the found-	be sent to the Executive Board in	SATURDAI, JULI 21, 1954	the irony of history that Blum and
problems arising in the shops af-	T Chiplowitz	.50 "	direct support to the most reaction-	ation members of the Communist	Indianapolis. Many felt that this is	EDITORIAL BOARD	Thorez form a united front in
fecting both sides and they know that our organization is having a	A Wolfe New Haven		ary forces in the country. No fur-	Party of the United States. Ex-	self-exposure and would result in	Martin Abern James P. Gannon	France to help secure the release
that our organization is having a	A Friend, Youngstown	2.00 "	ther comment is necessaryC.C.	pelled in 1928 for supporting the	blacklisting.	Mar Shachtman Maurice Spector	of Thaelmann who found it impos-
realistic approach to the solution			M.M. of the Bronx, the teacher in	Marxist position in the party he has	Zausner on Offensive	Arne Swabeck	sible (counter-revolutionary!) him-
of the problems." Bill Green could-				ever since been a staunch fighter		Bundle rates one cent per copy.	
mit mut the same for along 'sallahous					Although the militant rank and		8elf to unite with Wels the colle-
n't put the case for class collabora-	A Steel Worker, W.	Va., sends a	New York City and the steel	for the Communist League. His	Although the militant rank and file is ready to carry the battle to	Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year	self to unite with Wels, the colla- borator of Blum in Germany, to
tion letter than that. Here again	A Steel Worker, W. donation to this f	Va., sends a und whenever	New York City and the steel worker from W. Va. in addition	for the Communist League. His death has greatly bereaved all the	file is ready to carry the battle to	Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year \$0.50 per half year — Canada	borator of Blum in Germany, to prevent Hitler from coming to pow-
tion letter than that. Here again the swamps of Stalinism and re-	A Steel Worker, W. donation to this f he can manage it.	Va., sends a und whenever	New York City and the steel worker from W. Va. in addition to our regular pledgers, whose	for the Communist League. His death has greatly bereaved all the	· · ·	Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year \$0.50 per half year — Canada	borator of Blum in Germany, to prevent Hitler from coming to pow-
tion letter than that. Here again the swamps of Stalinism and re- formism merge.	A Steel Worker, W. donation to this f	Va., sends a und whenever Thus far he	New York City and the steel worker from W. Va. in addition to our regular pledgers, whose contributions help greatly to	for the Communist League. His death has greatly bereaved all the	file is ready to carry the battle to the D. C. door, Zausner's machine	Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year \$0.50 per half year — Canada and Foreign: \$1.50 per year;	borator of Blum in Germany to

#### SATURDAY, JULY 21, 1934

#### THE MILITANT

#### PAGE 3

## Spain **Movement Towards Unity Against Fascism Grows**

Conflict almost to the point of govenments hoping to smooth matcivil war is now raging in Spain, ters over because such a war would though not a word about it is to be almost surely become revolution. "We are almost surely at the seen in the pages of the bourgeois doors of either triumphant revolu- ment and material prosperity. In press. Its correspondents and retion or a Catholic Fascist dictator- the last three days German Fasporters have been ordered by the reactionary Spanish government to ship," our correspondent writes. ignore the national agricultural "Spain is living the most crucial workers' strike-on pain of heavy moments of her modern history." fines-and the government itself The objective conditions for revolutakes the position that the strike tion are present: the workers in a doesn't exist, while at the same mood no longer willing to comprotime more and more police and mise, the army sympathetic to the shock troops are sent out from the workers, and no formidable armed capital to enforce the illusion with force that can be relied upon to support the Right. On the other | ly among all layers of the German leaden arguments. Our correspondent reports that to date, seven hunhand, the workers are handicapped dred Civil Guards have been killed by two serious factors. One, fat----which means that the workers igue, after three years of ceaseless, heroic struggle involving a good are on the offensive, and in a grimly determined, though disorganized deal of loss, both organizationally way, are putting up a fight that and by death and repression. Two, may become the first step of a serand this is the pivot of the quesious struggle for definitive power. tion, the workers are confused, be-

The strike, called by the Land wildered, split into conflicting Workers' Federation of the Socialgroups and parties, and with no ist Union General de Trabajadores, real faith in the revolutionary will demands the return of the rights of any. abrogated by the cancellation of

reformist land laws passed by the Azana-Socialist government. The gist of these rights are: 1. collective bargainin; 2, fixed wages and ship of the proletariat, and no more hours; and 3, the employment of local, organized labor in preference but have done nothing whatsoever to transient immigrant labor, either concrete in that direction; while at from other egions or from Portugal. the same time they continue their This last practise has for many alliance with the left-republicans, years allowed the landowners to endorse, but avoid, united front acmaneuver the work in such a way tion, and merely "deplore" and "laas to shift the cheapest labor from region to region, at the same time shifting responsibility for the workfrom office. In reality they are ers in off seasons. Since, as a rule, a land worker can expect a job not more than six or eight months out of the year, unemployment is chronic, and no provision whatsoever has ever been made for relief; and now to realize. the quite minimum protection contained in the land labor laws has been completely done away with, this being the backbone of a general reactionary offensive backed first and most powerfully by the landputsches and revolts under terrorist owners, whose two parties, the leadership. They, too, sidestep the Agrarios and the Confederacion Espanola de Derechas Agrarias domi-

#### nate the present Cortes. **Catalonian Land Laws**

As part of this same offensive. the land reforms voted in Catalonia its familiar cross-fire of "united by the autonomous government, unfront from below", which is echoed der left-republican control, have by the anarchists with the slogan been declared "unconstitutional" by of "united front in the streets". the National Tribunal of Constitu- And the lzquierda Comunista, (Intional Guarantees-mostly of monternationalist Communist) while it archist derivation. The Catalonian has grown considerably since it laws provide reforms of another dissociated itself from the C. P. character than those sponsored na- and though it enjoys widespread tionally by the Socialists. They prestige and commands respect, is are designed to protect peasant still too small and too weak to take renters, who by these laws are enthe leadership of the situation. titled to demand revision of con-Yet this is the group which acts tracts, expropriation (with arbilike ferment in the shaping of the Workers' Alliance, looked upon by trated pay) of land worked by the same hands for eighteen years or most Spanish workers as their most over; rent is to be paid in cash, immediate hope. The Workers' Alfixed according to the tax-value of liance, started in Barcelonia, is an the land, instead of in crops as organization of united-front comformerly; it is not to exceed fifty mittees. It operates in a manner



30th of January Hitler returns the

salute. But outside are not the

Brown Shirts passing in review but

von Litzmann.

the Reichswehr, with their iron

Italy and Germany

Fascism promises the abolition | les, must be the envy of any leader | in a very simple manner: On the of the class struggle, clean govern- of a Macedonian band. Our information is still inade- salutes of the upraised arms of the quate. But what is revealed is an Brown Shirts passing under his unequalled slaughter. Mixing the window rendering him homage. cism has demonstrated before the whole world in unmistakable terms useful with the agreeable, the sad- Hitler, June 30, 1934: The same that it brings about instead an exist Goering profits by the occasion window, the same Hitler, the same treme accentuation of the class —as he did at the time of the burnstruggle, a government of degenering of the Reichstag-to exterminate every possible bit of opposition ates, rakes and criminals as well as in a veritable St. Bartholomews helmets and rifles on their shoulabject material misery. What happened? For months Night. In the midst of all this the ders. And behind Hitler is General working class apepars to have redissatisfaction developed increasingmained removed from the events.

people. Fascism was in reality un-(Only because of this situation was able to placate any of them, but an inner-Fascist conflict possible.) The explanation of the passivity of that this situation would culminate with the dramatic explosions that the working class is not yet possible on the basis of the informait did no one was able to foresee clearly. tion at hand. (The first letters of

our German friends, dated after the Discontent on Two Sides events, shows that they are better The spirit of dissatisfaction cryand more rapidly informed than stallized around two poles. Hitler those who are under the thumb of faced putsches from two sides. The Goebbels' censorship.) dissatisfaction of a section of heavy

The fact that the murder of industry and, especially of the butchers like Heines as well as the The Socialists, who control the Junkers, was canalized by the Hernomically most developed country sharpers of the Herrenklub did not great mass of organized workers (at renklub clique of Papen and Schleievoke any sympathy among the least a million) have been agitating cher who counted upon the support workers is not an adequate explanfor out-and-out revolution, dictator- of the Reichswehr. That accounts ation. The explanation of the tragfor the extraordinary courage of ic and painful fact that in face of combination with the bourgeoisie, Papen in his famous Marburg such a conflict in the enemy camp speech.

the working class should be so far The dissatisfaction of the petty removed from intervening to strugbourgeoisie, who had received nothgle for its rights, can only be the ing and were even endangered by following: the defeat without a removal from their positions took struggle caused by the bankruptcy shape in the form of the S.A. and of the Socialist and Communist ment" their loss every time a So- the actual creator of the Nazi party, parties has demoralized the proletacialist mayor is removed arbitrarily Ernst Roehm. riat to such a point, so deprived it

In view of the impending danger working hard to bring back the Hitler compromised with the prolotariat could at this proletariat could not intervene left-republican forces, talking revo- Reichswehr. Hitler, "the loyal", however favorable the moment lution only in order to keep the made them a sacraficial gift of his might be.

workers under control - as the friends and gave them the mono-How Long Will Hitler Last? workers by this time are beginning poly of the armed forces. The "loy-For the moment Hitler appears al" Reichswehr generals, returning The Anarcho-Syndicalists, who at the favor, betrayed the actual creto be the master of the situation. one time were the great driving ator of the Reichswehr forces, But for how long? And how? Two revolutionary force in Spain, have schleicher and his clique. And photographs which were reproduced become much weakened and disor- then the deed was done with the in the world press illustrate that ganized because of irresponsible benediction of heavy industry.

**Rochm-Schleicher** Combine Impossible

united front question, calling for a Hitler and Goering are today "united front within the C.N.T."--creating one of those famous "amalthe Anarcho-Syndicalist trade-union gams" from these two oppositional federation. The official Communist groups but all the facts point to the Party fights the united front with impossibility of common action be-

tween Roehm and Schleicher. Not because they were not personally journal of "objective" bourgeois inclined to conclude a compromise. But rather because they represented two opposing social orientations. two opposing social forces. If Schleicher's struggle had any significance at all then it must have been a struggle for the absolute domination of the Reichswehr. And Roehm's "second revolution" could have been nothing but a struggle for the final subordination of the following: Reichswehr. His "second revolu-

tion" was a struggle for the spoils 1933, mostly of small business. of the petty bourgeois parvenues. The second version-that Hitler avenged Schleicher with the heads lions to 75 billion lire. of the S.A.-is no less contradicted

## China **Terror and Capitulation** Grip Worker's Ranks

Shanghai. June 20. - Much has months. Through his nefarious happened since my last letter. Al- | work a few score of militant comthough many important events rades were arrested by the police. have taken place throughout the Zee, secretary of the Chapei Disworld the revolutionary movement trict Committee, was a spy for in China remains in much the more than a year but the bureau-The official cracy was ignorant of the fact. same condition. Communist party and the Left Rank and file comrades, dissatisfied Opposition have suffered savage with his activities, were rebuffed by repressions from the Kuomintang the bureaucracy when they demandand its imperialist masters. The ed his removal. It took the Stalinparty led by the Stalinists faces an ists a long time to discover on alarming danger. whose side the error had been.

I am devoting this letter to information on the following most important questions: the "soviet The transformation, that we have territory", the bureaucratic regime and the renegades from Communism predicted, from the Hitlerite Fasas well as the Stalinists at work cism to Bonapartist dictatorship of in the Labor Defense Association the state apparatus and especially (the Chinese I.L.D.).

of the army has not only occurred I wish to state firstly that everymore rapidly than in Italy (corresthing written in this letter is based ponding to the German rhythm of on authentic facts. As I am now development which is decidedly difa member of the Stalinist L.D.A ferent from the Italian developmy daily work gives me an opporment), but in a more dramatic tunity to draw an accurate picture manner and with an incomparably of the Stalinists in China. less stable perspective in the eco-

The "Soviet Territory"

1. It is four years now that the of Europe, as against backward Stalinists have been shouting at the Italy. If the rapidity of rhythm and the different perspective are top of their voices about conquest due to the great difference of social vinces. We, the Bolshevik-Leninstructure, the sanguinary side of the convulsions are explained in ists, have frequently and openly large part by the extremely accentuated economic situation, which up the city workers and seeking Hitler faces instead of the prosper-The Stalinists stand Marxism on ity which favored Mussolini, and its head-not the peasants follow- unlikely. which has created an enormous ing the proletariat but leading pressure of class forces and a ver-

them. Four years have passed and itably desperate situation. the peasant partisans still remain Up till now it has only been the in the same condition, sometimes upper layers which reflected the with more and sometimes with less class contradictions which have enterritory. One section of the peatered into the struggle. Tomorrow when the devil finally overcomes his sant partisans led by Hsieng-tsien has changed its field of operations disgust and claims Hindenburg, the from the border of the Honan, contradictions from above will Hupei and Anwhei provinces to the break out anew. And other occaborder of Shansi, Kansu and Szechsions will not be wanting. It is wan provinces. This section made true that the top layers have bea big advance last year but they come more restrained and more unwere unable to occupy even Waniform. But in return the regime hsien, the second important part on has registered heavy losses in its the upper Yangste valley. At presbase. It is true that with the ent they have suffered severe destruggle against the S.A., rotten feats and have made no further with corruption, Hitler has genersteps forward. All this is not said ated not a little enthusiasm among to prove that the peasant partisans the philistines and he has justified are not brave fighters but rather the excuse in the eyes of many disthat the Stalinist peasant policy is contented: "If Hitler knew he following a disastrous road. would have intervened." But the Internal "Life" "moral" part of the petty bourgeoi-

2. Mistakes in principle ques tions, impotence in the political life of the country accompanied by

dishonest methods in the party And besides this "moral" part cause the Stalinist bureaucrats to will have to pay the same taxes torefuse to acknowledge their errors morrow. Will have to suffer the and to constantly seek "scape-goats" same bankruptcy and instead of be- at every turn in the road. Expres- ist as a struggling organization ing satisfied with the apostle of sion of opinion in the party is lim- even if it is not given permission by normal sexual relations will have ited to the rigid confines outlined the Kuomintang. The question is their doubts on those who were so by the bureaucracy. Immediate exlong the friends of the "immoral". pulsion is the price of the slightest represents the workers or not and With the difficulties to come Hitler doubt. Words cannot express the can no longer count on any extendvenomous hate the Stalinists dised support from the petty bourgeoi- play against the International Com- this is like "playing a harp to an sie, but rather on an important munists. Only those are permitted ox", as the Chinese proverb says. number of irreconcilable enemies into the party apparatus who bow 4. Under the reign of white ter-

**Petty Bourgeois Discontent** 

knows how to forge a real Commu-

A Priceless Lesson

Significant Figures Besides the spies who work in cooperation with the police there are those who turn renegade after arrest. If we express these facts in percentage the number of turncoats and spies in the upper and lower ranks of the party is as follows: From 1932 to June 1933. 75% of these were spics, including among them Lu Fu-tai, Chairman of the National Union of Labor and Chon Kwang-ia, secretary of the Kiangsu Provincial Committee, while the renegades after arrest

uumbered from 25 to 35%. From June 1933 to the Fall of 1933 the former was 80% and the latter 20%. In these figures can be seen or victory in one or several pro- that whatever integrity there is among the members of this party it rests in the lower ranks. The criticized the party policy in giving monstrous size of the upper category shows that our accusation revolutionary cadres in the village. that the Stalinists have betrayed comrades to the police is not at all

#### The Economic Crisis

3 The economic crisis is deenening day by day. Capitalist exploitation of labor in China is more terrible than ever. Despite the savage white terror of the Kuomintang Blue Shirt Society (Fascists) the Chinese workers still rise time and again for improvement of their living conditions. During the struggle in the Shun Sin Seventh Cotton Mill in the Fall of 1933 and the strike against a wage cut in the Shanghai Mei-ia Silk weaving factory in January-February 1934 the workers automatically demanded legal trade unions and wanted to organize an open strike committee. But the Stalinists objected and held that the workers' organizations must be secretly organized or they will face prohibition by the police since they had not registered as a legal body in the offices of the Kuomintang.

The Stalinists are ignorant of the fact that a trade union cannot exist legally without a mass foundation. While, on the contrary, the mass unions of the workers can exdetermined upon whether the union not on its legality or illegality. But to try to convince the Stalinists of

"Paradise" That technically impeccable

opinion-Fortune-devotes the consie is a bad exchange for the fighttents of its entire July issue to ing section. Italy. As such it reviews the past twelve years-the era of Fascist dictatorship in Italy. What it finds there is not entirely unpalatable to the taste of its editors or advertisers. But that's to be expected. How will the working class and the little business man react to the

1) 14,000 bankruptcies during 2) The national income has dropped since 1929 from 100 bil-

3) State and local taxes have inby the facts. For Hitler did not creased from 27% to 32% of naonly exterminate the leadership of tional income. the S.A.: Heines, Ernst, Schneid-4) The average wage for a work-

In Mussolini's

percent of the price paid before. analogous to soviets, and has arand must always allow first for a oused so much interest and sympaprofit to the tenant. thy among the workers throughout

Since most of the land-workers the country that through sheer in Catalonia are peasant-renters. who form the majority of the popushape in some cases, locally, elselation, and are also the strongest where, regionally, and sometimes nolitical hase of the Catalan govonly for given strikes. In Catalonernment, it has apparently defied ia, all workers' organizations ex-Madrid, re-passing the laws with a cept the C. P. are represented in it with unmitigated joy. He would retroactive character - though it, and sometimes the C. P. too is meanwhile it begs the peasants and forced to take part in some specific workers not to take direct action, action. The same conditions are but to wait for orders. The peas- true of Valencia and parts of Exants, however, have started carry- tremadura and Castile. In the city ing the laws out in their own way of Zaragoza, an overwhelmingly -expropriating the crops, while the successful strike was called out recity petty-bourgeoisie supports them | cently on a Workers' Alliance basis. on the issue of Catalan rights, for Given a national scope, this organwhich the industrial workers too ization would unquestionably raise are ready to fight. Thus potential- the morale of the entire working ly, another kind of civil war waits class, and give it a powerful fighton the threshold. Ships have been ing weapon. It is this that must ordered to the ports nearest Barce- be watched-for on it depends, to lona, the Catalan deputies have re- a tremendous degree, and until a tired from the national parliament, | revolutionary party takes leaderand each side waits for the other ship the triumph or defeat of revto break the grim deadlock-both olution in Spain.

## An Appeal for Our Cuban Comrades

National Committee.

In the series of rearguard battles | the uniformed brigand Batista? being waged in Cuba by the work- The answer to these questions will skillful intrigues, he can cover up ing class, the Bolshevik Leninist depend to a great extent on whe-Party is very active. While not supplied with unlimited funds as ther or not the Bolshevik Leninist are the Stalinists, our comrades party is able to bring sufficient are deeply rooted in the unions, es- pressure to bear within the labor pecially in the sugar industry and movement. The party organization among the commercial employees. must be strengthened, tightened In Havana province, the Labor and consolidated. Rayo, the party mal; of course they led a life of ing of women from human beings to Federation is led by Bolshevik organ, must be assured of the pos-Leninists. sibility of regular publication. Re-

One of the most solid labor orsources must be made available for the Party congress to be held soon. ganizations of the island, the Genfor organization purposes and for eral Union of Commercial Employlabor defense. The Cuban comrades ees with a membership of 7,000, have appealed to the Communist publishes a 24 page magazine, League of America for support. "Proletarian Culture" which con-The intense activity and difficult tains a number of valuable informstruggles they have passed through ative and theoretical articles including in the last issue one by have drained practically every local Comrade Trotsky. source of funds, and it has been

The Bolshevik Leninist Party necessary for them to appeal to us. through the Commercial Employees Comrades and sympathizers are re- like to appear as a Robespierre Union is striving for the establish- quested to send their contributions ment of trade union unity in a to the National Office, 144 Second Workers' Alliance.

Can the Stalinists, who dominate may also obtain collection lists if Al Hitler, the cousin of Al Capone, bor, be forced into a united front tion to the work of the Cuban Bolagainst Fascism? Can a solid front shevik Leninist Party is a blow of labor be organized in time to dealt at American imperialism. prevent a Fascist coup by the A. B. C. and further repressions by

huber. At the same time he also er in Italy is eight (8) cents an slaughtered the Papen-Schleicher pressure from below, it has taken Herren clique: Alversleben, Bose, hour.

5) This is the lowest wage scale Klausener. If he had had the in Europe. slightest opportunity to attribute

Taxes on Necessities the assassination of Schleicher to Almost half of the total revenue the S.A., he would have seized at in Italy is derived from consumpnever have had to take it upon his tion (sales) taxes-taxes levied on by the bosses on the other. But it the most elementary needs of the own shoulders.

Italian masses. The income tax The Hitler-Goebbels Legend which, of necessity, is gotten from The struggle against the "right" the upper strata of society supplies and the "left" wing of Fascism was only 20% of the revenue. In fact, conducted by the police, the Reichsin that portion of the article dealwehr and the socially select, black ing with finances it is pointed out shirted elite troops of Hitler and that income tax in the higher Goering, the semi-government S.S. brackets-"is a mild drain on the forces. There is hardly a doubt wealthy in comparison with other left that it was conducted along nations." preventive lines. The victory of That a government exacting a Goering in the North and of Hitler

'mild drain from the wealthy" and in the South was achieved too inflicting an eight cent hourly wage smoothly. People like Roehm, on its laboring class can hardly be wounded fourteen times on the batconstrued as impartial never, aptlefield, are not captured alive, nor parently, entered the refined skulls with such insignificant losses, once of the immaculate editors.

they have begun the struggle. All With impartial unction it is the stories of Hitler and Goebbels pointed out that strikes are proabout the execution of the coup hibited-but so are lockouts. Now there, what could be fairer than

his atrocities with clouds of stifling unemployment—which is but a subtle form of lockout-is not prohibited.

#### **Culture Under Fascism**

equality of men." The transform-

debachery at the expense of a incubating machines. Culture in- has received a priceless lesson. Instarved people; of course, the deed! Divide and multiply like Roehms, Heines, Ernsts were bloody rabbits, is Mussolini's dictum to butchers who have on their con- women. Bear kids so that they science the lives of thousands of can be reared to become obedient our brothers. But who are their and bloodthirsty tools of Fascism. accusers? Those who were their The Ballila, ages 8 to 14, are issued events in the entire world by exbest friends despite knowledge of real rifles and bayonets in miniaall these vices for fifteen years! ture. The city of Milan spends mean peace and well-being but etrate the masses a mediu Who are their accusers? Hitler, more for its police than for prim- crime, murder, misery to an ex- quired. This medium is at during the revolutionary period Goering and their pack of dogs, ary education. And in all of Italy treme degree. Basing themselves on posal and will become me firebrands, drunkards, rakes, per- there were last year but 47,000 these facts they should beat down tive as we succeed in buil

To sum up the picture of Fascism | Fascism is but the result of the ex- to the field. They are now sending a Danton and a Hebert to in Italy ever since its inception we treme convulsions of our epoch, and engaged in building the La the guillotine but in reality he is find that the workers are the most that it will install itself, despite all Minneapolis, in Detroit and Ave., N. Y. C., from which they the leader of a mob of gangsters. poorly paid in the world, that the these "lessons" if the proletariat- Pacific Coast. No efforts a middle class is taxed to starvation, unless armed with a new party, for spared to increase the ci the National Confederation of La- they wish them. Every contribu- has taken upon himself the reform- that the arts and sciences are in the old parties have proved them- of The Militant and to estal

ing of the reproduces. The recent decay, that higher education is al- selves incapable of leading it-does New International as a days have shown that Fascism has most non-existent and that all that not lead society towards the only put at the head of one of the most Fascism inculcates in the minds of solution possible, towards the tak-Latin American Dept. of the advanced nations in the world a the masses is obedience and slav- ing of power, towards socialism. ed; but to complete the

-GLEE. | Paris, July 2, 1934.

from its ranks. The S.A. which had to the bureaucracy in utter obse | ror the number of political prisongrown campaigning in the struggle quiousness. Militancy and integrity ers has jumped skyward in recent against the Junkers, its Steel Hel- count for nothing with them. mets and its cousins of the Reichswehr, has not yet pronounced its last word. The working class is directly

the state apparatus of Goering on eaucrats, perform the most amazing received reports from the Nanking the one hand and by brutal attacks can be predicted that in these attacks and in the next crisis of the this perspicacious leadership. The thorities. There are many more results are not unexpected: regime things will happen different-

ly. For the ring of iron with which hai Union of Labor (an illegal red could manage to reach the impristhe S.A. have surrounded the factrade union controlled by the C.P.) oned comrades many fatalities tories, the home, the saloons and had been a spy for more than six might be avoided. the working class families has been broken. And no police in the world

years. In Kiangsu (including This stifiling regime opens the Shanghai), in the latter half of 1932 door for spies, adventurers and and at the close of 1933 the number government agents of every descrip | had risen to 2,000. Although prison tion to enter the leading apparatus conditions are somewhat better threatened with new reprisals from of the party. They flatter the bur- than they were previously I have contortions with the most graceful and Shanghai prisons that some of skill at every new zig-zag and work our bravest militants have died of their way into the good graces of tortures inflicted by the prison ausuch tragedies in every part of Yen, the chairman of the Shang- China but if help from the outside

#### Make the Org-Press Drive a Success can replace this truly popular movement against the working class. Although we do not give

ourselves to any illusions on ap-In the great events now taking | big task for ourselves, and we have proaching struggles for power of place in various parts of the coun- done that because we count upon the German working class---for it is try our organization is playing an deeply beaten, shattered, disorganever more direct and definite role. ized-one thing is certain. The This is the beginning to a new adnext period offers it great possibilivance. A revolutionary organizaties to reconquer its lost positions. tion is built in the fire of the class Everything depends on the degree struggle and it is in that sense in which the German working class that the League assumes its present responsibility.

nist Party in place of the organiza-We are on the way to new gains; tions which have failed vesterday. but the job ahead is still an enor-Not a few black days are ahead of Hitler. For not only the social but mous one.

also the economic and political con-The building and strengthening sequences of the new developments of the League is the crying need of What does Mussolini preach ?: add to the old difficulties facing the moment. To bring our press to ever wider circles has become an

indispensable necessity. It is in that way that our views, our policy The international working class will win new supporters and become a greater influence. It is in ternational Fascism has received a that way that our organization and powerful blow. These have already its sympathizers become a had their consequences on the Saar. tive and a more vital force The international working class labor movement. should exploit the lessons of these

Ideas become a power w penetrate the masses. But plaining that Fascism does not verts, bullies, neurotics, traitors students attending the universities the Fascist bands. But it is nec. League. To make it more essary that it does not forget that | we have sent several organ monthly publication. This is the way we have

-E. B. need your support. We have

your support. We can report an excellent response so far to our appeals for the organization and press campaign. If we can bring it to a successful conclusion, as successful as it has started, there need not be the slightest doubt that new and great gains will be recorded for the League, for the views we represent, for the development of the new revolutionary party and for the strengthening of the labor movement as a whole.

Additional quick response is imperative. Will you help us finish the job? Will you do your share in the organization and press campaign? We count upon you.

Funds Received in the Organization and Press Campaign. (Since Last Report)

more ac-	(Sance East Report)	
	J. P., Chicago	<b>1.00</b>
ce in the	H. S., Hutchinson	
	M. M., N.Y.C	15.00
hen they	Student, West Haven	
t to pen-	A. Konikow, Boston	
um is re-	C. Hoffman, Chicago	
t our dis-	H. Dissend, Newark	
ore effec-	Two Steel Workers, W. Va	
lding the	G. N., N.Y.C.	
effective	Salt Lake City Branch	
nizers in-	Philadelphia Branch	
actively	San Francisco Branch	
eague in		
nd on the	Boston Branch (Boland)	1.75
are being	Friends of the Militant Club,	
rculation	Chicago	
	Local New York	
ublish the	Downtown Branch	26.25
regular	Bronx	6.00
	Boro Park	10.00
proceed-	Brownsville	7.00
job we	Krakofsky	1.00
ave set a	Williamsburg	7.00

must be considered as pure legend. The hysteric Hitler is capable of

smoke.

The Struggle for "Morality" Hitler, knowing his German phil-

istines, conducts the struggle in the name of "morality". Of course the victims were sexually abnor-

and bloodhounds. Hitler would of the country.

band which, for its want of scrup- ishness.

that, Only this is forgotten-that

#### THE MILITANT



Unionism-the right of union or- | emphasis is lent to this fact by the ganization and union recognition- campaign of hysteria against comis the crucial issue involved in the munism, charging the objects of the San Francisco general strike. But general strike to be an insurrection, it is not confined to this one section and by the savage attacks upon the of the battle front, it is the most Communists, the official Communist strike committee. The bosses burning issue before the American Party and the Communist League working class today. At the same time it is also the most sharply contested issue wherever the differences between exploiters and those who are exploited come to a

head. In this San Francisco is in the limelight. The right of union organization is by no means an established fact. ship owners to grant the maritime Union recognition is not something

that can be taken for granted. On control of hiring halls; (2) recogthe contrary, it is accorded only nition of the maritime unions; (3) wherever the workers themselves improvement of working condisecure it through the force of their tions." collective efforts.

**Recognition Still to Be Won** Many fierce struggles to secure the right of union organization are recorded in American labor history and yet the issue had to be fought out again and again. History once more repeats itself. The present sweep of union organization has brought large numbers of new recruits into unions formerly existing only in skeleton form and now infusing them with new life and new hope. New unions have grown up in formerly unorganized industries. A strong stimulus was undoubtedly provided by the NRA, at least in its early stage. But it did not at all establish the right to organize nor secure recognition of the unions. That this right can be assured only through struggles is verified once more by the San Francisco general strike. It was verified before by the struggles in Minneapolis and Toledo and in its reverse form by the treacherous sell-out in the automobile and steel industries.

On the Pacific Coast the Longshoremen and the other maritime workers in their battle of almost three months duration demanded this elementary right-union recognition and union control of hiring halls. From the outset the contest centered around this issue. The owners of the maritime industry refused to yield and refused to concede even this elementary right. Supported solidly by the whole of the capitalist interests and their government, the San Francisco section assumed the offensive to endeavor to settle the issue to their own liking through their armed forces. The concentration of troops and police became a direct threat to the very life and existence of the unions.

#### Efforts to Smash Strike

Ever since the general strike began, the combined forces of the capitalist interests and their government, stiffened their offensive and assumed a more aggressive attitude. No longer was the object The attacks of course must be remerely the defeat of the demands of hiring halls, the whole scope ex- in the defense of those attacked.

of America. To this the Daily permits moved. The milk, bread, Worker of July 17 answers: "Any sensible, sane and honest person knows that there is no revolution on the West Coast. The aim

of labor in this situation, the aim terpretation, the bosses decided of the general strike is not to seize political power, but to force the workers three demands: (1) union

#### What About Minneapolis?

stations were opened early Wednes-This is entirely correct. Such day less than a block from the are the aims today. They imply the Longshoremen's headquarters, unions to assert their rights and with National Guard sentries guardto establish the guarantees of rec- ing each station with rifles, bayonets and machine guns, scores of ognition by their own forces. Incidentally we may ask, in view of carloads of pickets went cruising to this correct statement, from whence prevent shipment of fuel into Frisco. Whatever reasons the general appeared the thesis advocated by the Stalinists in the Dally Worker strike committee might have about sending municipal car workers that in the Minneapolis Truck back, and liberalizing issuance of Drivers strike of last May the estruck permits to include ownersential objective should have been driven trucks, it was essential to the overthrow of the state governthe salvation of the marine strike, ment, which, the "Trotskyists" let alone the general strike, to keep "failed" to do? Are the Stalinists scab trucks off the street. That's now ready to say that "any sensible why the teamsters came out, indeand sane person knows" that the pendently and before the general aim of the Minneapolis strike could strike. Had the general strike not and should not have been to never come, the teamsters themseize political power? Are they selves would have seen to it that ready to say that the aims were no scab trucks rode the street. recognition of the union, control of

the hiring of its members without It was this vital spot of the discrimination and improved working conditions; the very aims that stabbed mortally. The small exethese strikers battled for until the cutive committee, without even consulting the big general strike main victory was won? Are they committee on this fundamental ready to grant that this correct policy resulted in the establishment question, issued an order "releasing of a powerful union? Upon honest gasoline and fuel oil supplies to the general public." While every other revolutionists such a confession embargo lifted previously had prowould be obligatory.

#### Breaking Strike Solidarity

Meanwhile in San Francisco the most strategically important factor general strike developed the whole included no such provision. With the result that scab drivers are fillstruggle for unionism to a higher level than before. Hence the desing the streets. This has made the union permit ridiculous, and bosses perate onslaughts upon it by the employers. Hence also the craven are tearing them off with impunity. reactionary local leaders headed by On Tuesday no truck rode the streets without a union permit. Vandeleur and backed by the A. F. Wednesday evening few permits of L. hierarchy, who above all else fear the militancy of the rank and were in evidence.

With these two moves, first the file, began to turn their backs demoralizing resolution, then pertreacherously upon the general mitting scab drivers, the labor fak-ers have broken the back of the -Cstrike, gave concession after concession, joined the red baiting chorus and thus assisted in the general strike. They have also largely nullified by the second savage raids and arrests of workmove the value of the teamsters' ers charged as Communists. The strike. objective result of such an attitude

#### Waterfront Strike Not Over

is the breaking of the solidarity of the strikers. To break this solidar-But this by no means ends the ity is treason to the working class. waterfront strike. Even with the National Guard in control, not only sisted to the utmost and it is the of the waterfront but also of a for union recognition and control duty of every honest worker to rally large part of the surrounding territory, including markets and ware-The San Francisco strike is conhouses, it is a lie that steamers are ducted by the A. F. of U. unions. being loaded and unloaded to any degree approximating normal. They Telegram (July 18) by the United can't get enough scabs on the Pac- Press further exploded the workerific Coast to man the ships and vigilante myth and revealed the service them, nor trucks to bring tie-up with the government authorand take away the reight. If the ities: waterfront workers and the teamsters stick it out, they can still win The teamsters over-rode their also in spite of the splitting T.U. President, the reactionary Mike U.L. policy of the Stalinists. Casey when they went out. But the rank and file are an inexperi-Stalinists Foster Division It is necessary to remember and enced lot, with no militant core to to bring out once more the criminal hold them together. By one trick policy pursued by the Stalinists or another Casey may still drive which from the outset played into them back to work. The longshoremen are solidly the hands of the employers as well behind Harry Bridges, but he is a

tightly twisted around the neck of (Continued from Page 1) the Seamen's Union-if these two an order permitting scab trucks to move. When the teamsters came ghouls start driving the marine workers back to work, can Harry out in sympathy with the water-Bridges with a handful of men front fight, they had seen to it that around him keep them fighting? no trucks rode the Frisco streets Stalinist Responsibility without a permit from the union.

If the marine strike fails, the This procedure was also followed Stalinists will bear a heavy rethe first two days by the general sponsibility for it. By going right on with their splitting policy of obeyed, and only trucks with union building the Marine Workers Industrial Union, they have done a produce and other trucks exempted perfect job for Ryan, Furuseth and from the strike had to have union the bosses. The existence of the drivers. But after the resolution M.W.I.U. has meant the isolating and the Longshoremen's Board inof splendid, fighting militants who should have been in the midst of they could flout the union's orders, the marine workers within the unand non-union drivers drove trucks. ions. Instead of that, most marine Especiany the Standard Oil Co. workers have come to hate these and other gasoline companies ran militants for being in a dual union scab trucks. The teamsters and The M.W.I.U. was like a man longshoremen got busy, and chased sticking his chin out for a sock, trucks off the street, and closed gas and when the troops and vigilantes stations as far as San Mateo. When raided its headquarters, the result for provocative purposes, two filling of the whole splitting policy was that the striking thousands did not come to their help. The failure of the strikers to defend the M.W.I.U., and the condonation by the Vande-

leurs of the red raids, would have been absolutely impossible if it weren't for the splitting policy of the Stalinists. The confusion bred in the minds of the workers has also enabled the police and troops to march right into groups of pick ets and soup lines and arrest militant strikers. There have been plenty of fights in which strikers fought to save arrested men, but defense has been spontaneous and unorganized, whereas if the M.W.I. U. members had been all along inside the regular unions, this raiding of strikers would have led to

a tremendous and organized defense of the rights of strikers. It's just beginning to dawn on

the masses of strikers what the strike that Vandeleur and his gang Vandeleurs, Kidwells, Caseys, are doing to them. It's a known fact here that the Standard Oil Co. has contributed two million dollars to the Frisco Industrial Association's open-shop fund, that almost every firm in town has signed a pledge card covering five years' contributions to this strike-breaking fund, vided for union truck-drivers, this and that the banks are discounting the pledge cards for the full sums in cash, so that the Industrial Association has a terrific batch of cash, and is out to smash the union movement here. The workers are contrasting these known facts with the backing-down of the union leadership and are finding that the answer to this contradiction is: Fight Now or Never.

If the teamsters and waterfront men hold out they can still save

---C. G. E.



(Continued from Page 1) civilians, who had dressed like workers and circulated through the crowd, struck like lightning. Several speakers resisted and were reported to have been

Later dispatches in the World

"Just Hoodlums," Declare Police

By EVELYN SEELEY,

World-Telegram Special

Correspondent.

SAN FRANCISCO, July 18 .--

"America Today," announced the

red and white poster bared to vie

at the first broken window of the

San Francisco Worker's School,

demolished in yesterday's first

"America Today" was a lecture

to have been given last night by

Jim Branch, tall young Harvard

economist and head of the Work-

ers School. Students said Branch

probably would have spoken of

strikes and violence, the struggle

between capital and labor. But

last night's newspapers told the

general strike violence.

story for him.

beaten.

The Betrayal of the Coast Strike the Maison Paul, that runs through Market St. to Grove, when waitresses began rushing to the Grove St. exit to see what was happening. We followed them, went on out and across Grove St. to join the crowd that stared across at the office of the press. Western Worker, Communist newspaper.

#### **Glass Front Smashed.**

Its plate glass front was smashed, the shattered glass scattered all over the sidewalk. People in the crowd told us that "a gang of hoodlums" had driven by and done it with rocks they carried. They "might have been workers-maybe strikers," they said. They all wore leather jackets.

"They got away," they said. "Where were the police?" we asked, They shook their heads. We went across the street and into the building. We went all through the rooms, both floors, and nobody there.

Soon the police came, four carloads of them, sirens shrieking. It had been about ten minutes since the rock throwing. They did not question the witnesses nor start pursuit. They went right on into the Western Worker and Workers' Bookshop and finished what the "hoodlums" had begun. They smashed every window and every piece of furniture in the place, knocking glass and pieces of chairs down into the street.

#### Brandish Clubs

They brandished clubs and chased everyone across the street, even reporters. But Herbert Lord, 27, they insisted on hustling inside the building. When he came out his head was bleeding. "I didn't do nothing," he declared. When they got through there the police raced up to the Workers' School at 121 Haight St. We followed. Police did not have to

do much smashing there. Twenty men or more ("I guess they were hoodlums," said the cops), had droven up in cars and done a thorough job. They wore leather jackets and heavy gloves and carried rocks. They didn't leave a piece of the place intact except the poster that stared out the window about "America Today."

## Green's Treachery

#### (Continued from Page 1) The "Holy" Contract

Richard J. Gray, international able to see what was going on in treasurer of the Bricklayers, Mas-Frisco, were systematically propaons and Plasterers International gandized by the nation-wide capi-Union, said: "Our policy is to live talist press with preposterous storup to our contracts. A union has ies about famine in the strike area. no right to walk out, no matter how In this attempt to alienate the great its sympathy with another masses from the strikers, the "libcraft, if it is bound by contract." eral" press played its part. As Joseph P. Ryan issued a statement which is at least commendable

early as Saturday noon the N.Y. World Telegram carried the screamfor its plain-speaking. "There will ing headline: "Refugees Flee Coast be no strike here in New York As Food Shortage Grows." This while we can hold our men. We was the main point of many storhave an agreement with the steam- ies. But when an enterprising reship companies until October 31, porter checked up outgoing traffic, public is certain to be wholly hos-

Brass Check Journalism The Boss Press and Frisco

A venomous attack on the San | business was inevitable." Any-Francisco strikers is being carried thing, any trick, to make propaganon by the nation-wide capitalist da against the strikers!

'All the News That's Fit to Print"

The Los Angeles Times of July Freed from the restraint of ap-16 editorially called for the crushproximating the facts in the news ing of the strike by force, calling columns, the newspaper editorials it an "insurrection" and saying: were bitterly hostile to the workers. "There is but one thing to be done | The "fair-minded" N. Y. Times of -put down the revolt with any July 16 said the aim of the strike force necessary." The Sacramento was "to inflict such hardships upon Bee, and the Oakland Tribune edithe people of the city that the autorially hailed Governor Merriam thorities will yield"-leaving out enand Mayor Rossi's strikebreaking tirely the fact that it was a strike efforts. The San Francisco Chronagainst the bosses. The Times icle, declaring the "radicals" are hailed the red scare and provocain control of the strike, says the tive attacks of the Mayor and Gov-'majority voted for the strike in ernor, saying their "attitude and proclamations" "are correct and commendable", said the strikers had The newspapers are enthusiastic-

"already alienated public sympaally backing the red scare and the thy" and talked lyingly of the raids on groups of strikers being carried on by the police, the bosses' strikers' "determination to keep igilantes, and the National Guard. food and supplies from hospitals Before the raids even began on and children. Such an open effort Tuesday, every San Francisco to hold it up the city must be prepared to resist with all its might." newspaper carried front-page edi-The N. Y. Tribune's editorial of torials proposing crushing of all July 16 was a tissue of lies. The militant elements. With eight-colattempt to separate the longshoreamn streamers, the yellow Hearst men from the other marine workpress throughout the country is ers, and the bosses' refusal to abide hailing the mass arrests of militant strikers as seizures of "Reds" The by a vote for representatives of the two great national press services, seamen-issues fundamental to the the United Press and the Associated strike-are thus described: "The Press, are reporting the raids as most difficult issue . . . is a rather minor one about the recognition of raids on "Communist meeting places" and those arrested as "Commusome weak maritime unions in nists". The N. Y. Times of July trades in which an election cannot 17 attempted to convey the impresbe held at once because most of the workers are at sea." Then the Trision that the raids were made by longshoremen. The N. Y. Post was bune, like a magician making rabthe only paper whose headlines its disappear, does away with all made it clear that strikers were the issues of the strike: "It is a strike about very little, which presumably means that it is not really The Myth of the Food Shortage a strike at all, but the discharge of The red scare was merely the pent-up emotions", etc. Then, like latest of a series of propaganda true bourbons, the Tribune blames methods by which the capitalist for the strike-"the Roosevelt labor

policy"! The Tribune, no doubt, press has been aiding the bosses against the strike. The worst of would like to outlaw labor unions these was the myth of a food altogether, instead of, like Roosevelt, chaining labor to arbitration In San Francisco, where the pub boards, special mediators, extraspecial mediators and the rest of lic could learn from Strike Commit the clap-trap class collaboration te statements, from strikers, and

machinery. A "Pro-Labor" Paper

As hostile as the bourbons is the N. Y. World Telegram's editorial of July 16, but it finds itself subtler arguments. It denounces the general strike as "suicide for organized labor" because "the basis of organized labor is the union contract and any union which engages in a sympathetic strike can do so only by breaking its own contract with its employers." In other words, it denounces unions for breaking the clause often inserted in contracts by bosses to prevent sympathetic strikes-a clause, by the way, which the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain, to which the Telegram belongs, has always forced from the Typographical Union. Then the Telegram goes on to say that in a general strike "the and we shall continue to live up and found few more than usual tile. The public, indeed, is made

strike, put a stop to the organization developments and to crush the It is the life of the A. F. of L. ununions. Watchful of any weaken- ions that is at stake. Unity and ing of the general strike, the capi- solidarity in the A. F. of L. unions talist forces prepared, as stated in for the most sweeping general the New York Post dispatch, to strike in years had been accomchallenge the workers, that "they plished. But it had been accomcan return to work only upon a plished against the reactionary basis to be determined by the em- leaders. It had been accomplished ployers."

tended to one of smashing the

Could it be more clearly and more brazenly stated that the issue of the right to union organization is a definite class issue? Additional

#### The New International

The long awaited first issue of the New International is now off the press. It is an issue that every member and sympathizer should have.

Beginning with a stirring editorial for the FOURTH INTERNA-TIONAL which gives the general perspective of the magazine, it contains two documents by Comrade which of necessity could not include Trotsky: The Testament of Lenin

the rival unions, the Stalinists at and The "Clemenceau Thesis" and tempted a counter-move by efforts the Party Regime, a document of to rally some of these unions in a great historical importance. Comseparate conclave with the M.W.I. rade Cannon contributes two analy-U. Simultaneously they insisted tical articles on the Minneapolis upon bringing into the A. F. of L. Strike and the Socialist Party Conwaterfront federation, first the M. vention. A prominent German Com-W. I. U. and when that did not munist under the pen-name of A. succeed they attempted to bring in Max, writes on the Legend of the a subsidiary of the M.W.I.U., the Vienna Commune — a castigating ship scalers union. So far did this analysis of the treacherous role of criminally false policy proceed that the Social Democratic leaders in the party bureaucracy found itself the recent Austrian events.

in conflict with the party fraction Then there is an editorial on the in the A. F. of L. maritime unions. Soviets and the League of Nations, And naturally so. Unionists loyal an article by Jack Weber on New to their class, revolutionists loval Trends under the New Deal; to their class must necessarily fight Strikes and the Economic Cycle by for the unity of the mass unions Alfred Weaver; The Decay of the and can only become bitterly hos-Stalinist Party by Arne Swabeck; tile to the splitting policy of the Engels on Bimetallism, which is rival unions which have no mass particularly interesting in view of basis.

the monetary crisis. An article on In the present severe attacks the internal political situation in aimed to defeat the general strike France serves to illuminate the re- and to crush the unions, unity and cent events there. It also contains | solidarity is the paramount issue. a book review section, a survey of Unity proceeds against the reactioncurrent periodicals and numerous ary traitors, but it must also set miscellaneous items. itself hard as flint against the All in all, it is a splendid issue splitting policy of the Stalinists. which shows great promise for the This policy cannot proceed unpunfuture. Every effort should be ished. A collapse of Stalinism will made to secure it the widest circu- result, but the revolutionists will lation. All inquiries should be ad- continue their fight for unity in the dressed to The New International, mass unions to prepare for victory Station D, P.O. Box 119, New York, in the bigger struggles to come. N. Y. -A. S.

as into the hands of the reactionary lone militant. The other marine leaders. While the maritime unions were growing, rallying thousands of unions have no experienced rank and filers. new recruits to their ranks, the

If Joseph Ryan, strikebreaking Stalinists pressed forward in direct head of the I. L. A .-- word has rivalry their private Marine Workcome that he is driving the men on ers Industrial Union. While the A.F. of L. maritime unions marched the East coast to unload ships loaded here by scabs-and Andy Furforward in a progressive move to useth, white-haired "old man of the strengthen their solidarity and unsea"-and like the old man of the ity in a waterfront federation.

sea in the story, he's got his legs We were having a sandwich at

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to it. Communists are trying to were leaving the city, the fact was make trouble in the vicinity of the buried inconspicuously in the later piers where ships from the West stories. Coast are unloaded." (That is, scab-

Food "Riot" Scares loaded ships, being unloaded by While usually the capitalist union men on Ryan's orders) press maintains a dead silence

Menaces San Francisco: Stores

Looted in Strike Crisis." The ever

so "liberal N. Y. Post went even

further, carrying the same day an

eight-column streamer: "Coast

This was based on an Associated

Press dispatch. A careful reading

of the three column dispatch dis-

closed that one grocery store was

Thus the press attempted to

create sentiment against the strik-

fear of radical thuggery."

being arrested.

shortage in Frisco.

little headway.

from the bread, milk and other

food trucks passing freely in the

streets, that the Strike Committee

had made every possible arrange-

ment before the strike began for

adequate distribution of food, the

myth of a food shortage could make

But the rest of the country, un-

"They tell the men that it is their about the fact that every day in the duty to walk out to show their week desperate unemployed break sympathy with their comrades on into food stores, two or three usual the Pacific, but the men are paying instances of the same kind occurno attention." ring, not in Frisco but in Oakland Green and the A. F. of L. bureauwhich was as yet not involved in

cracy must not be permitted to live the strike, were magnified beyond down this shameless treachery, this recognition into a fantastic picture flagrant display of unity with the of enormous mobs. The ultra-reosses against the workers. spectable and ultra-reactionary N.

A survey by the N. Y. State Industrial Commissioner based on reports by 1,675 representative factories in various parts of the State. reveals that employment between the middle of May to the middle of June dropped only 1.2% while Mobs Riot For Food." wages dropped 18%. Compared to last year this means a further reduction in wages of 26.6%. This is ample testimony to the "benefits" the NRA has brought to

the workers. It also accounts for involved. the support of the NRA by the bosses.

ers by falsely picturing them as It is a commonly accepted Marxpreventing food distribution, and also to create an atmosphere of ian axiom that capitalism can derioting mobs and chaos and viovelop only in so far as it can revolence, in order to justify the use lutionize the instruments of producof violence against the strikers. In tion. Recent statistics show that addition, the press pictured the unemployment amounts to 47% in strike as a blow, not at the oppresthe durable goods industries. The ive capitalists, but at the whole Durable Goods Industries Committee also reports that only \$160.000,- population. These various ways of creating antagonism against the 000 was invested in industry in strikers were cleverly woven toge-1933, as compared with an average ther. One example is the lead of of \$4,000,000,000 a' year in the 10 the Associated Press story of July years ending with 1930. This 15: "The general strike began to amounts to 4 per cent of the annual swing down upon the 1,300,000 resiaverage. dents of San Francisco's metropoli-The NRA codes also show a tan area accompanied by vandalism tendency to restrict the installation and violence." Another example is of new machinery and to limit prothe United Press story of July 14, ductive capacity on the false thein the N. Y. World Telegram, which ory of "overproduction". This said that "unions met to deliver the planned sabotage of the productive most devastating blow organized

city."

Militant expired. Do not delay. Send your renewal in at once and so save us innecessary labor and expense. If you cannot renew at this time let us know how soon you

a direct party to the conflict. It fights to save itself." Certainly the World Telegram, for all its false claims to be pro-labor, has been doing all it can to make the public hostile.

By Tuesday the elaborate arrangements made by the Strike Committee, to insure adequate food and other necessities, had become too obvious to ignore, and after two days of ranting about famine the truth began to get through the press, but distorted as in the World Telegram by such phrases as "labor was slowly relaxing its grip on the Y. Herald Tribune ran on Monday throat of Frisco".

a four-column scarehead: "Famine

## Militant Builders

ONE MORE WEEK TO GO No Club Plan Cards Sold After August 1st.

**BUY YOUR CARDS NOW!** 4 six-month sub cards for \$1

Cards not sold in clubs of less than 4 at a time. Pittsburgh Branch bought 12 cards last week and A. S., New

York City, got 4. This brings the total subs of the second drive to 390.

Take advantage of the last week to stock up on the club plan cards.

Invest a few dollars and have these cards on hand so as to be able to give an opportunity to such workers as cannot afford to pay the full rate to buy a sixmonth sub for 25c. After August 1st a six-month sub will be 50c. Only those who have bought the cards before August 1st will be able to get the special rate.

**Bound Volumes** 

labor has ever dealt to an American We have just received from the binders a number of Bound Vol-**Anything Goes in Brass Check Press** umes of the Militant. Series No. 3 which includes all issues of the The same dispatch says not a Militant from January 7, 1933 to word about the Strike Committee's December 30, 1933 inclusive. Copies arrangements for food distribution, can be obtained from Pioneer Pubbut instead makes it appear that the unions are attempting to prelishers, 84 E. 10th Street, at the vent food distribution: "Governor phenomenally low price of \$1.50 Merriam was ready to declare marplus twenty-five cents for postage. Regular price is \$2.50. Order your tial law to assure food deliveries, while leaders said that a general copy immediately before our supply strike and a complete stoppage of 'is exhausted.

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