

The White Terror Stalinist Treachery in China

Shanghai May 30.—The Left Opposition in China has repeatedly suffered heavy blows from the Kuomintang reaction. Working under conditions of illegality, many of its members have been arrested, jailed and tortured. Some have died in jail. Others are dying.

In July, 1931, within a week of the conference which resulted in the fusion of the four then-existing Left Opposition groups, the entire executive committee, with the exception of comrade Chen Du-hsiu and two other members, was arrested in the International Settlement at Shanghai.

The next heavy blow was struck in September, 1932 when Chen Du-hsiu and ten members of the Shanghai district committee were arrested. Other members of the Left Opposition have since been arrested and a large number are now languishing in the jails of the Kuomintang in various parts of China.

The Chinese Stalinists have been hard put to it to explain how it could happen that "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists"—and so many of them—have fallen victim to the Kuomintang counter-revolutionary white terror. Being unable to explain, they have slandered. At the time of Comrade Chen Du-hsiu's arrest they circulated the infamous lying report that comrade Chen had been summoned to Hankow for a "conference" with Chiang Kai-shek, thereby implying that comrade Chen had turned traitor and capitulated to the Kuomintang.

The Trial of Chen

This baseless slander was revealed in its true dimensions when comrade Chen Du-hsiu was brought before a Nanking court and sentenced to thirteen years' imprisonment for his revolutionary activity on behalf of the Left Opposition. Throughout his trial, comrade Chen deposed himself as a communist should. His attitude was one of splendid revolutionary intrepidity in defense of his communist principles. Far from bowing to and capitulating before his captors, he hurled revolutionary defiance in their teeth.

Comrade Chen's splendid and inspiring attitude in the face of an almost certain prospect of torture and death stands out in amazingly marked contrast to the attitude of most of the leading Stalinists who have fallen into the clutches of the Kuomintang during the past two years, many of whom were among the noisiest in denouncing the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists". Their record is one long list of capitulations and betrayals, which in the past year developed into a veritable avalanche.

When men and women are submitted to the vilest physical tortures the human mind can conceive, when their bodies have been wracked beyond the endurance point, submission and capitulation to their tormentors and even the betrayal of comrades is understandable. But torture is one of the supreme tests of a revolutionary. Only those of the finest revolution, any fiber are able to endure it—if necessary to the death—and stand firmly on their principles.

Persecution of Communists

This fact gives us a measure by which to gauge the caliber of the present-day Communist Party of China. Ever since the triumph of the bourgeois counter-revolution in 1927, the party and its members have been subjected to a vicious persecution. Unnumbered and nameless thousands have filled the jails of the Kuomintang. Some have been shot or beheaded or buried alive. Others have died under torture or from disease. Yet others linger on in jail, clinging to a life that is worse than death.

In the early years of the Kuomintang white terror, almost instant execution was the fate of arrested communists. But latterly the Kuomintang has seen the value of supplementing its campaign for the physical extermination of the communists by an ideological campaign against Communism.

And who should be more fitted to conduct such an ideological campaign than the communists themselves? Thus for the old method of instant execution the Kuomintang substituted a system of wheeling and bribing arrested Communists to capitulate publicly to the ruling regime, to renounce their revolutionary past, to engage in counter-revolutionary propaganda against communism, and to betray former comrades.

Stalinist Capitulators

Sad to relate, the Kuomintang has made many conquests along this line. One of the first and in some ways most notable example was that of Huang Ping, a leading member of the central committee of the Chinese Communist Party who was arrested in 1932. Under torture he capitulated to the Kuomintang and permitted publication of a statement in which he repudiated his entire revolutionary past.

A flood of fresh capitulations soon followed. In Peiping, batches of ex-Communist Party members appeared at public meetings in the parks and on city squares denounced Kuomintang auspices and under Kuomintang auspices denounced former comrades.

an opportunity to capitulate, to betray, to sell out. They did not wait for arrest, but voluntarily surrendered and offered their services to the Kuomintang.

Some of them were rewarded with comfortable government jobs. A notable example is that of a youth named Feng Ta of the student-intellectual type, who within this writer's personal knowledge edited for a considerable time the Chinese Workers' Correspondence, a mimeographed bulletin which the Chinese Communist Party issued and continues to issue mainly for distribution abroad. (It is this publication which supplies the exaggerated accounts of C. P. "successes" on which scribes of the Comintern in Moscow and elsewhere base their falsely optimistic accounts and estimates of the Chinese situation and which helps secure the continuance of the Comintern subsidy to the C.P.C.)

A Despicable Betrayal

Feng Ta now holds a government job in Nanking, a reward of one of the most dastardly and despicable betrayals on record. He betrayed Ting Ling, China's most outstanding girl writer and a pioneer in the development of Chinese proletarian literature, to the white terror agents of the Kuomintang. Ting Ling's husband, Hu Yeh-ping, also a prominent revolutionary writer, was buried alive with four other writers and poets at Lunghua prison, Shanghai, on February 7, 1931. From that time the communist Feng had been her intimate friend. He seemingly remained a friend until May 14 last year. On that date he directed Kuomintang agents to her house in Shanghai (she had lived secretly since the killing of her husband).

For over a year Ting Ling's fate has been shrouded in mystery. She was kidnapped from her house in the International Settlement and disappeared, leaving not a trace. Although there are reports current—obviously Kuomintang-inspired—that she has been released, no word has been received from her. There are good reasons for believing that she was killed by her captors. But her betrayer, the Stalinist Feng Ta, meanwhile enjoys the fruits of his treachery.

Nemesis of a Traitor

It is of interest to mention that the police inspector who with Feng Ta's guidance carried out the kidnapping of Ting Ling, a man named Ma Chao-wu, was himself not long ago a good Stalinist member of the Chinese Communist Party. Ma turned traitor and was rewarded by the Kuomintang with the job of chief of the Special Division of the Bureau of Public Safety (police). The work of this Special Division is the hunting down of Communists and other opponents of the Kuomintang government. An appropriate man for an appropriate task! Ma's career as a policeman did not last very long, however. One month after Ting Ling's disappearance he was riddled with bullets just as he was about to enter a brothel in the International Settlement.

Capitulations to the Kuomintang and betrayals of former comrades are not, be it noted, common in the lower ranks of the party (insofar as there are any longer any lower ranks). The capitulators are party functionaries, often holding leading positions. Within the past five weeks seven such capitulations have been recorded, as follows:

Tsang King-teh—secretary of the China section of the International Red Aid.

Chen Yung-chao—head of the Chinese Communist Party.

Chang Chi-yung—director of the Organizational Department of the Kiangsu Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Liu Wen-hsiang—a party member and secretary and executive member of the party-controlled Shanghai Labor Union.

Zai Wei—a woman member of the party engaged in work among women.

Fung Yuen-ming—editor of the party's trade union organ.

Liu Chi-hsia—described as an important member of the party.

Voluntary Surrenders

In all but the case of Fang Yuen-ming, the individuals named surrendered voluntarily to the Kuomintang authorities and wrote or signed statements repudiating their past. Spoken of the entire period in which capitulations to the Kuomintang have been common, it is worth while recording that in a large number of instances the capitulators have been persons who received their communist education and training in Stalinist institutions in Moscow, and who have excelled in the usual stereotyped abuse of the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists".

The facts cited above are in themselves sufficiently revealing of the degeneracy of the leading cadres of the Stalinist party in China, of the fact that the apparatus is in the hands of unprincipled careerist functionaries.

But much more is revealed by the present avalanche of capitulations. There stands out as clear as daylight a current of bitter disillusionment at the bankruptcy of the Stalinist Party. Let the capitulators

themselves speak:

"Testimony" of Traitors

First we will give the floor to Liu Wen-hsiang, one of the capitulators listed above, whose declaration appeared in the Shanghai *Sin Wen Pao* on April 25. It reads, in part, as follows:

"I was formerly a printer working in the printing works of the Peiping finance ministry for more than ten years. Only at the beginning of this year did I come to Shanghai. Because I have long felt the bitterness in the lives of the workers I struggled for their interests. Since I was born in the North I was especially bitter against the Japanese. After joining the Communist Party I often held important positions, but there were often times when I was uncertain and bewildered. . . .

"I sincerely believe that the change in my ideas and the surrender of many important members of the Communist Party are not accidental. This is due to the bankruptcy of the Communist Party. It represents turning from bewilderment to the right path. . . .

"In Shanghai the labor union under my leadership is supposed to be the big weapon in the fight for the proletariat. There is not a single healthy small organization or branch. It is impossible to organize strikes and struggles every time. But the communists still boast of their own strength. The bankruptcy of the communists does not begin now. It dates from the time they proclaimed the policy of insurrection. So during the past few years the political line was either right or left and never on the right track. But all these mistakes are not accidental. . . .

Another Capitulator Speaks

Now let us hear Fang Yuen-ming, whose statement of capitulation was published in the Shanghai *Morning Post* of May 17:

"I am during my long political life I have felt myself wandering toward extinction. Especially my five years in the Communist Party led me to believe that it is wrecking the Chinese revolution and the Chinese race. The central idea of the communists is the class struggle. Class warfare above racial welfare. . . .

"At a time when the country is going to be unified, the communists are shouting loudly for 'victory in one or a few provinces.' They are practising the feudal idea of trying to get hold of a few provinces. Because of such political mistakes in the party and the many intrigues, right after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria the communist organizations declined along with the confidence of the masses in them. . . .

democracy is the instrument for the peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.

Wisconsin Reformism

On this fundamental question, the Wisconsin Platform takes an unambiguously reformist position. Referring to the immediate demands to be sought for under capitalism, it says "There are many ways in which the lot of the worker and farmer can be made easier during the transition from capitalism to socialism." If anyone should still think that Wisconsin's vote for the Declaration of Principles means that Wisconsin has ceased to believe that the ballot box will usher in socialism, let him read the convention's resolution on the Progressive Party, which says: "Join the Socialist Party, vote the Socialist ticket, and sweep the forces of reaction into oblivion and substitute for them representatives of your own class."

The whole Platform reeks of narrow reformism, as if Wisconsin Socialists were out to build socialism in one state. Except for a phrase that the "Socialist Party of Wisconsin is proud to be part of the National Socialist Party", and verbal recognition of the fact that the problem is national—and not even verbal recognition of the fact that the problem is international—the Platform has no planks in it other than those dealing with Wisconsin. The chief planks reveal, just as clearly as the Platform's general principles, that the Socialists do not aim at building the power of the workingclass in preparation for revolutionary overthrow, but are primarily interested in reforming capitalism.

Planks of Platform

Thus the first three planks are: 1. "A constitutional amendment to enable the state government to engage in any industry or business necessary to the welfare of the people." 2. State-owned electric power. 3. A state-owned bank.

In contrast to such reformist demands, a workingclass party genuinely interested in revolution would concentrate on two kinds of immediate issues: 1. Immediate demands, including especially unemployment insurance at the expense of the government and the bosses—issues around which to build workers' struggles, from which would grow workers' organizations, and 2. Demands for democratic rights

The Man on the Flying Trapeze The Record of Bill Dunne

"He floats through the air
"With the greatest of ease—
"That darling young man
"On the flying trapeze."
"His motions are graceful . . .
—A Current Ballad.

No man should be reproached for not being qualified in every domain, for no man can be. But a man who is thoroughly at home on a trapeze bar should not always venture into the field of politics, especially when workers are involved in an important struggle. We are far from saying that a trapeze bar has no place anywhere. It has and it ought to stay there. We do say, however, that a man may be skilled in swinging it yet he may not necessarily be a worth-while critic of trade union policy. Not always, at any rate. And William F. Dunne in the *Daily Worker* is a case in point.

When Dunne launched his blood-curling attack upon the Trotskyists and the Minneapolis teamsters' strike a couple of weeks ago in the *Daily Worker*, no reader but had to ask himself: "Who is the man that speaks with such furious majesty of conviction and authority? He must be a person not only entitled to such savage criticism, but capable of pursuing such a course in the trade unions and their struggles as would make it worth while for me to listen to his strictures, however fantastic they may seem to be at first blush." Those who knew the critic better, shook their heads pityingly. "Just another one of Dunne's sermons, into which he throws himself with all the greater abandon and violence the greater the errors he made in the last one. But even worse than usual: he is trying to rehabilitate himself in Browder's eyes by degrading himself in the cheap struggle against 'Trotskyism.' Tomorrow he'll improve matters by another serial after having completely forgotten the preceding one."

Dunne's main attack is based upon the fact that the Minneapolis strike did not lead to an uprising, or at the very least the overthrow of Governor Olson of Minnesota. A very radical man, you will say. But he was not always so radical, not always. "It seems to me," he once wrote in a gentler frame of mind, "that there has been enough experimenting with ideal forms of unionism in the metal mining industry to satisfy the most assiduous seeker of new types of organization. The sum total of these efforts is the conditions I have described, the inevitable result of action based on the mistaken belief that a union of wage-workers can conduct itself in a revolutionary manner at all times, still retain job control and refrain from any com-

promise with the employers in the shape of agreements, etc. . . . A mass organization of the workers in the metal mining industry can be built only by systematic planning, the enlisting of the support of every section of the labor movement connected with the industry coupled with a widespread publicity campaign. It cannot be done by giving the mine workers the problem of the overthrow of the capitalist system to consider while attempting to organize them around their job interests. For the minority of the class-conscious workers this is all right but it has no effect whatsoever upon the great mass of the miners (who at present are interested only in some relief from the oppressive conditions under which they work) except to frighten them."

This was written either in the First or the Second Period, but certainly not in the Third, for it appeared in the *Labor Herald* of February 1924 (p. 15) where it can still be found as a reminder of what Stalinism can do with a once perfectly level-headed trade unionist. At that time Dunne had not yet entered his Serial Period. He merely wrote his articles regularly about those subjects on which he had something to say. It was only later that he was gripped by the relentless spirit which apparently compelled him to write serials, ranging in length anywhere from six to twelve consecutive articles, increasingly adorned with erudite quotations from the third volume of "Das Kapital", on every conceivable question of the day. Bubbling over in quantity, his product thinned down in quality until the latter completely disappeared, leaving only shapeless mass.

With impetuosity as his distinguishing mark, he jumped in everywhere without bothering to reflect on his theme. Year by year the sad result became increasingly evident, until today his observations, and above all his criticisms in trade union policy, have reached the point where they aren't worth a pinch of snuff. A few examples lifted out of the bewildering multitude of his uncollected works will suffice to illustrate.

The Trotskyists, be it remembered again, were not Red enough for Dunne, but he was not always so particular. In 1925, a whole section of the British labor bureaucracy decided to buy itself off from a Leftward movement in the ranks of the trade unions by making a pilgrimage to Moscow and writing (or having written for them) a report which spoke favorably about the Soviets, however much they emphasized that it might be alright for backward Russians but it would be inconceivable for upright Britons. Just as impetuously as he bolts over on to the Trotskyists today, so did Dunne bubble over unrestrainedly over Messrs. Purcell and Co. in 1925.

"Conservative, schooled in the loved intricacies of British democracy which keeps a king for the sake of contrast [?], nurtured in the belief that the world outside is full of howling savages, brought up to reverence the rigid moral code of non-conformism, it has yet remained for the British trade unionists to bring the Russian revolution 3,000 miles closer to the masses of organized workers of the Anglo-Saxon nations than has been done heretofore. . . . It (the report) is wonderful in its dignified British fashion, unburied, careful, restrained [unlike Dunne!], documented and beautifully dispassionate. It might be a report on housing conditions read before the local group of trade union secretaries at their monthly meeting. . . . They apparently thought there was no one but outright imperialists like Lord Curzon who would object to the truth about Soviet Russia. Having found otherwise they are now striking back at their traducers with right good-will. In defending themselves they have had to defend Soviet Russia, the Red International of Labor Unions, World Trade Union Unity and to some extent even the Communist International. It may be beside the point but it appears that these staid British trade union officials have somewhat enjoyed doing this." (William F. Dunne, *Revolution in Trade Union Terms*, *Workers Monthly*, May 1925, pp. 295-296.)

What is not beside the point is that if Purcell ever read Dunne's appreciation of him, he must surely have enjoyed it. Looping his way through the atmosphere of words to his next trapeze, still pursuing the Right Honorable and Most Revolutionary Defender of the Communist International, A. A. Purcell, we next find Dunne in a more solemn mood as befits a solemn occasion:

"At the Atlantic City convention there occurred an event of historic importance to the American working class."

Historic importance! We swallow breathlessly as he shoots to a new bar: "Just as the publication of the British Trade Union Report on Russia marked the sweep of the tremendous influence of the Russian revolution into the British labor movement, so did the visit of Purcell, as fraternal delegate from the

British Trade Union Congress to the A. F. of L. convention, mark the beginning of a new period in American labor history." (William F. Dunne, *The A. F. of L. and World Trade Union Unity*, *Workers Monthly*, December 1925, p. 65.)

The working class never noticed this "new period in American labor history", and if it did, it got over it right quickly. But not so Dunne. His faith in the revolutionary virtues of Purcell remained undiminished and undimmed for months to come. And such is the power of faith, that it blinded Dunne to the difference between victory and defeat, between loyalty to labor and treachery. For on the day when Purcell, Hicks, Citrine and their ilk stabbed the British general strike in the back, the *Daily Worker*, under Dunne's editorial direction, carried the following headlines: "BRITISH STRIKE FORCES GOVERNMENT RETREAT" and "GOVERNMENT CONCEDES MAJOR POINTS", and in his own front page editorial called "The British Government Backs Down", our trade union specialist wrote triumphantly:

"The British labor movement has won a partial victory. . . .

"Even the correspondents of the American capitalist press are forced to concede that the withdrawal of the lockout notices by the mine-owners, their agreement to continue the old wage scale and resume negotiations and the government's promise to continue the subsidy to the coal industry, all occurring before the general strike was called off, is a retreat for the Baldwin regime." (*Daily Worker*, May 13, 1926.)

No condemnation of Purcell for having called off the strike without overthrowing Baldwin. Purcell, you see, was not a Trotskyist in Minneapolis, but a defender of the Communist International, which made it impossible for Dunne to tall the difference between a partial victory and a betrayal. It is true he made up for it within twenty-four hours, but not without the aid of G. Zinoviev, whose Moscow speech denouncing the calling off of the strike as a betrayal, was cabled to New York to appear in the *Daily Worker* on May 14, and to produce one of the most awkward and embarrassing loop-the-loop flip-flops ever performed on the editorial trapeze. Praise for Purcell gave way to imprecations, for the linotype operator will set up for your paper anything you write, as demonstrated again by Dunne's Minneapolis articles. Only this time, instead of calling a betrayal a partial victory, as he did in 1926, he calls a partial victory a betrayal. We call heaven and earth to witness: here is an eminently qualified man!

We skip generously by the year 1926, during which Dunne proposed in the party's Political Bureau that no known Communist should speak during the Passaic textile strike lest it be compromised in Bill Green's eyes, and come to the early part of 1927, when by a brilliant tour de force, he jumped through a paper hoop and accomplished nothing less than a wide-open split in the leadership of the American Federation of Labor, something which no other artist had done for years before, nor since.

It was during the anti-Red heresy hunt of the A. F. of L. officialdom in the Left wing-controlled furrier's union of New York that Dunne performed his breath-taking feat of driving a wedge between William Green and Matthew Woll and proposing to the former to lead a crusade of righteousness against the latter with the support of all men honest and true. Dunne's efforts, it is true, went unappreciated, both by Green and the Communist party membership which took weeks to get over the convulsions of laughter which assailed it. The gem deserves to be dusted out of the archives, if only to see that when Dunne speaks on a trade union problem, it is in order to stop, listen—and laugh:

"We are of the opinion that the speeches of Green and Woll indicate a difference on policy. Green is not wholeheartedly in favor of the campaign and the way it is being conducted. In addition to this Woll is using the drive against the Left to carry favor with the capitalist elements in the Civic Federation and to appear as the most militant champion of 100 percent American trade unionism. Woll is carrying out the policy of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the Militia of Christ in the labor movement. He hopes to rally to his support a solid bloc of reaction that will put him in the position Green now holds."

"If Green were not a weakling and compromised by a number of shady associations he could easily rally every honest element in the labor movement to his support on a program of freedom for political expression and trade unionism free from religious and capitalist party control. Falling this, with the continual rise of energetic reaction in official circles, Green is doomed to defeat." (William F. Dunne, *Daily Worker*, March 24, 1927.)

—S.

(Continued in next issue)

Business Slows Down

Standard Statistics Company of New York currently comments as follows:

"Evidences of a slowing down in the rate of business activity have continued to accumulate with the pending curtailment of production schedules at cotton mills and other textile plants outstanding in this respect. Moreover, steel operations have receded from the recent high level, in reflection of the relatively heavy stocks on hand and smaller orders from the automobile industry. Building contract awards also have declined further."

Seasonal curtailment is becoming more apparent in steel, motor and production.

The daily average volume of Federal Reserve bank credit outstanding during the week ended May 23, as reported by the Federal Reserve banks, was \$2,475,000,000, a decrease of \$7,000,000 compared with the preceding week.

Bank clearings in twenty-two leading cities for the week ended May 23 amounted to \$4,326,588,000 against \$4,994,501,400 last week, again reflecting rapidly decreasing business activity.

The Wisconsin State Socialist Party Convention

The Socialist Party of Wisconsin adopted a state platform, June 17, at the state convention, which reveals a completely reformist position. Since the Wisconsin delegation was the largest group supporting the "leftist" Declaration of Principles adopted at the recent national convention, and the state convention reaffirmed its delegation's support of the Declaration, the new platform shows exactly how the Wisconsin Socialists interpret the ambiguous centrist phrases of the Declaration.

The paragraph in the Platform on the ultimate aims of the Socialist Party differs not in the slightest from the well-worn "democratic socialism" of the Old Guard. "The Socialist Party proposes to abolish the profit system and establish in its place a real co-operative commonwealth, based upon service in kind instead of profit", etc. etc. The possibilities of war, fascism, or "collapse of capitalism", which the Declaration of Principles suggests as situations in which the Socialist Party would change its reformist tactics, are possibilities not even hinted at in the Wisconsin Platform.

Revolutionist and Reformist Positions

The ambiguous phrases in the Declaration, which might lead some people to think that the Socialist Party is breaking with the reformist doctrine of "growing into socialism" via bourgeois democracy, receive an unambiguous definition so far as the Wisconsin Socialists are concerned. The dividing line between the revolutionist and the reformist is in their differing conceptions of the nature of the transition from capitalism to socialism. The revolutionist declares that, after utilizing bourgeois democracy to its utmost, it is nevertheless no instrument for doing away with capitalism. This requires the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the transition from capitalism to socialism. Among the ways we utilize bourgeois democracy is to fight for the immediate demands of the workers, a fight which not only wins provision for immediate needs of the workers, but, much more important, teaches them to fight, and builds their strength, thus bringing nearer the transitional dictatorship. In contrast to this revolutionary position, the out-right reformist says that bourgeois

of workers such as free speech, free press, free assembly, right to organize, picket, etc. These demands also are the bases of the organization of mass struggles to build workers' organizations.

The Wisconsin Platform contains no planks dealing with issues of democratic rights. Nor does it give a central place to the question of unemployment insurance at the expense of the bosses and government, but lumps unemployment insurance together with other issues in one vague formula which plays into the hands of every fake "program of social insurance". All it has to say is: "An extension of state insurance to include all the risks to which the worker and farmer is subjected."

In line with their usual opportunism, and despite strong protests from a large section of the delegates, the convention chose as the candidate for governor, George Nelson, a prominent farmer who had only left the La Follette Progressives after their convention a few weeks ago. Like any bourgeois party looking for sectional votes, the Wisconsin Socialists picked candidates to represent all sections of the state, and even boasted about this fatuous concession to sectional pride.

A Touch of Farce

A touch of real farce was supplied to the proceedings and the Platform by an amendment from the floor by Max Raskin, Mayor Hoan's Milwaukee city attorney. This amendment tacked on to the thoroughly reformist platform the following chosing paragraph: "In the event the people of the State of Wisconsin by majority vote endorse this platform, and thereafter the vested interests by force refuse to yield to the mandate of the people, we pledge our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor to its accomplishment."

This, certainly, is a lovely bit of "revolutionary" bombast to finish off such an absurdly timid Platform.

The final bit of comedy was furnished by Andrew J. Biemiller, secretary of the convention and one of the leaders of the "Militants" at Detroit. Said Biemiller in his column in the Milwaukee *Leader*: "Never has there been a more important and significant convention."

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