

# EDITORIAL

## Democracy—American Style

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Red-Baiting on the Coast

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### NOTICE!

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

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

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

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

## Leon Trotsky in Danger

(Continued from Page 1)

civil war. "What is the ministry of interior waiting for? Why doesn't it carry out the expulsion order?" "Or do we have to call on the war veterans to conduct Trotsky, to the border?"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Despite slanders and lies the name of Trotsky, towering over those of his defamers, remains that of the comrade of Lenin, the leader of the October Revolution, the real continuator of Marx. His name is bound up with the struggles of the proletarian vanguard for the building of the Fourth International. That is why the infuriated French reaction is preparing to provoke an attack upon him. Fascism and military and police reaction wants to sidetrack attention from the new conspiracy they are concocting against the toiling masses. The kept press hasn't changed its aims. It is a campaign of the same press, in similar circumstances which led to the assassination of Jaures in 1914.

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

## Goldman's Funeral Oration

(Continued From Page 1)

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

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

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

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

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

How long will the working masses tolerate a social system which gives to over 12,000,000 unemployed and their families the right to starve in the midst of plenty, which gives to millions more the right to be exploited and to receive a miserable wage? The answer has been given by the workers of Toledo, Milwaukee, Birmingham, Frisco, Portland, Seattle and Minneapolis. The answer is that there are millions of Nesses, workers ready to sacrifice their lives if need be in the struggle against the exploiters and oppressors. . . .

## Drivers Ranks Solid Despite Provocation

(Continued from Page 1)

instated, that no arbitration award in wages shall be less than 42 1/2 cents an hour for inside men and 52 1/2 cents an hour for drivers, were unanimously accepted by a meeting of the drivers, thus placing the onus for the continuance of the strike directly upon the shoulders of the bosses.

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

### Union Gains Daily

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

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

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

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

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

## Frisco League Is Firm

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

### C.P. Taken Completely Off Guard

The C. P. apparatus is completely unprepared to meet the change in situation. Terrorized, its membership is dropping out fast, its many workers clubs, the real backbone of the Stalinist movement here have all dissolved. The I.L.D. is no longer active, and George Anderson, the I.L.D. lawyer, refuses to defend the members in jail due to "threats". Neither the District Committee of the C. P. or the Y. C. L. has met since the attack. Although the attack had been expected for several weeks it seems that no adequate preparations had been made to meet the situation.

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

### Mayor Rossi Leads the Vigilantes

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

### —S. F. LEAGUE MEMBER.

### LOS ANGELES BR. ACTIVITIES OPEN FORUMS

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

### Law and Order.

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

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

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

### THE MILITANT

Entered as a second class mail Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.  
Published Weekly by the Communist League of America  
144 Second Ave., New York, N. Y.  
Phone: Gramercy 5-9524  
Vol. 7, No. 30, (Whole No. 234)  
SATURDAY, JULY 28, 1934  
EDITORIAL BOARD  
Martin Aborn James P. Cannon  
Mar Shachtman Maurice Spector  
Arne Swaback  
Subscription rate one cent per copy.  
Single rate: \$1.00 per year  
\$0.50 per half year — Canada and Foreign: \$1.50 per year;  
75c for six months.

## WORKERS' BLOOD IS SHED!

(Reprinted from The Organizer, July 21, 1934)

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

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

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

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

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

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

### A COLD BLOODED PROVOCATION

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

On the same day, at 2 P. M., Johannes ordered a turnout of his police. That day's Tribune reported him as saying: "We're going to start moving goods. Don't take a beating. You have shotguns and you know how to use them. When we are finished with this convoy there will be other goods to move."

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

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

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

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

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

They never had a chance. But these are men! These are lion-hearted! The first detachment quivers and falls under the withering fire of the police. Then, to the aid of their fallen brothers, from the ranks of other strikers and workers sympathetic with their cause, comes a second wave rolling right into the jaws of the shotguns. But they too must give way before the murderous fire.

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

### THE CRIME OF THE STRIKERS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### WORKERS! SPEAK OUT IN PROTEST

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

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

Now is the time to make Minneapolis a 100 per cent Union town! The workers will not let the Citizens Alliance smash 574. Instead, they will smash the reactionary, open-shop conspiracy of the Alliance.

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

Local 574 has received its baptism in fire and blood. It emerges from it firmer and more resolute. And now— It will man the picket lines with workers from every trade in Minneapolis.

It will permit no trucks to be moved—by nobody! It will not capitulate and surrender. It will fight doggedly till it wins.

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

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

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

Union men, fight on!