

REVIEWING THE NEWS

The Minneapolis "Organizer"

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

A Tough Break for 200,000 Natives

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

Laughs from the News

Mussolini, the murderer of Matteotti, becoming righteously indignant over the happy ending of Dollfuss.

Friends of Dollfuss, the murderer of the Vienna socialists, weeping at the funeral of the bloody gnome.

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

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

The "Cardinal's Mistress" Goes to Mass

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

Building Up Socialism and Tearing Down Capitalism

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

Smile! Damn You, Smile!

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

Capone Declines

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

A Reminder

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

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

Green Strikes at Labor in Blow at Sympathy Strike

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

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

"A Grave Mistake"

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

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

No Solidarity Green

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

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

Bosses Unite—O. K. for Green

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

"When a sympathetic strike occurs, the issues primarily responsible for a strike become subordinated and a new conflict arises between those engaged in the strike and the governmental authorities... it is compelled to bring all its resources into action... the fight is between the city, state and Federal authorities on the one side and the strikers on the other... everyone must know and understand that in such a conflict the government must win; it cannot surrender."

Profoundly correct, Mr. Green! That is the first part of your statement which says that the government lines up with the bosses. The workers are fast learning this lesson, but they are learning too that the bosses and their government will never surrender so long as they can call upon slimy traitors like Green, who decries a sympathetic strike as an insurrection.

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

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. 31, (Whole No. 235)
SATURDAY, AUGUST 4, 1934
EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Mar Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arne Swabeck
Bundle rates one cent per copy.
Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year
\$0.50 per half year — Canada
and Foreign: \$1.50 per year;
75c for six months.

Sharper Struggles in Strike Wave

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

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

Deeper Meaning in Struggles

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

Militant Builders

Forward to a Daily!

The second Club Plan sub drive ended on August first with a total of 574 new subs.

During the past week 86 new subs came in as follows:

Minneapolis (Amigo)	20
Chicago Branch	20
Los Angeles Branch	14
New Haven Branch	8
Buffalo (Reid)	4
Bronx Sp. Youth Cl.	4
Davenport Branch	4
Local N. Y. (A. S.)	4
Philadelphia Branch	4
Waukegan Branch	4

Complete Record	
Local New York	103
Chicago Branch	72
Cleveland Branch	66
Minneapolis Branch	40
Minneapolis (Amigo)	20
Los Angeles Branch	50
Philadelphia Branch	20
Davenport Branch	16
New Haven Branch	16
Pittsburgh Branch	12
San Francisco Branch	12
(Osborn 4)	

Toronto	12
Youngstown Branch	8
Boston Branch	8
Chicago Friends of the	

Militant Club	
San Francisco Branch	8
Helen Mason	8
M. N. Stone, Phila.	4
Kogan, Berkeley	4
A. S., N. Y. C.	4
O. P., Ludington, Mich.	4
Ben L.	4
Leuser	4
New Castle Branch	4
Buffalo (Reid)	4
Newark Branch	4
Oakland Branch	4
Springfield Branch	4
St. Louis Branch	4
Ross Moran	4
A. L. Rumble	4
Jefferson Hall	4

Total in Second Drive	539
Total in First Drive	1014

Grand Total

1553

Our next job is to get every one of these new subs to renew their subscription as their terms expire. *The Militant* herewith expresses its deep appreciation to all those hustlers who made it possible to add the 1553 new subs to our mailing list. The securing of subscriptions, as well as the selling of the paper and its general distribution may appear as an ordinary "rank and file" job, but looked at properly it is political work of the most important kind.

The Militant Builders have not only helped to raise \$388 for *The Militant* through this drive, but they have also enabled 1553 people to read our message. Many of these new subscribers, we are confident, will remain with us. Together we will continue to build *The Militant* and march forward to a bi-weekly, then—
On to a Daily Militant!

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

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

The Bosses' Offensive

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

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

Breaking the Craft Lines

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

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

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

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

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

Unions—A Life and Death Issue

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

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

—ARNE SWABECK.

Ossip Wolinsky "Resigns"

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

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

The meeting was packed. Turmoil set in at the very outset. More than an hour was consumed electing a chairman. Kleiman, a former lieutenant of Wolinsky who deserted him when he saw his ship was sinking, took the chair and gave the floor to a Wolinsky supporter who urged the non-acceptance of the resignation. The indignant workers rose and voiced their indignation, whereupon the Wolinsky supporters, led by the aforementioned Stein, began a Billy Sunday-Holy Roller demonstration. This bedlam all to the chairman's liking continued for some time until order was finally restored only for the chairman to make the astounding announcement that Wolinsky was to report on his "activities" in Washington. Then for the first time in years this gangster-actor in the labor movement could not be heard above the angry shouts of the workers: "We want your resignation."

Unable to steamroller a majority for Wolinsky, even in this meeting jammed with administration supporters, many of whom had never attended a meeting before, the chairman adjourned the gathering with Wolinsky's resignation still hanging in the air.

Just Off the Press!

War and the 4th International

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

TEN CENTS

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

84 East 10th Street New York City

Statement of the New Group For Workers Rights

July 21, 1934

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

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

We make these charges:

1. The program of the shipowners to break the strike by engineering anti-red hysteria was joined in by the Governor of the state of California, by the Mayor of the city of San Francisco and by the federal government.

2. The reign of vigilante terror and vandalism resulting in raids upon and destruction of Communists and I.W.W. headquarters apparently were with the knowledge, approval and cooperation of both the employers, the police of San Francisco, and the National Guard.

3. The searching of headquarters of workers' organizations without warrants, by police and National Guard, and the seizure of literature, were not only entirely lawless, but in violation of both the federal and California constitutions prohibiting such searches.

4. The wholesale arrests by police and military authorities of workers were without justification in law and was an abuse of California's vagrancy law. It constitutes another example of the use of the criminal law as a strike breaking weapon against workers.

5. The whole program was designed to persecute strike leaders and militant workers for their activity in the strike; and to punish them for their political opinions. As such it was a denial of freedom of thought guaranteed to us both by the Constitution of the U. S. and of California.

We unqualifiedly condemn the entire program.

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

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

AN OPEN LETTER TO FRANCES PERKINS

Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Dear Miss Perkins:

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

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

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

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

MARCH OF EVENTS

A Turn In the Business Trend

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

Slump More Than Seasonal

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

The Workers and the New Slump

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

The French Parliamentary Crisis

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

—JACK WEBER.