EDITORIAL

A 'Farmer-Labor' Strikebreaker

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

Workers, opening their eyes to the perfidious deeds of Olson, will back to the outrageous conditions Johannes had arranged with the of-Citizens Alliance, a blow at the embattled drivers. marvel at his skill in hiding his real intentions. Step by step he of work and wages against which ficers of the National Guard, who regulations which were put into efploughed into the solid ranks of the strikers, sowing confusion and they were rebelling. Instead of had taken over the city under marwinning their confidence at the same time. The job could not have been falling into the cunningly laid trap tial law the day before, to put and they would insist upon their

better executed had it all been premeditated. Elected on the platform of the Farmer-Labor party, which has even ing an anti-Communist hunt in been so radical as to call for the "abolition of the profit system", Olson their own ranks, the union leaders did everything to solicit the backing of the drivers. In the May strike stood like rocks and insisted that be acted as a go-between in the arbitration of issues after 574 had ale every worker-be he Communist or ready won the battle. He called out the National Guards, but kept them Democrat, Republican or Farmerin the barracks. At the conclusion of the conflict he is reputed to have Labor, whatever might be his polimade a personal donation of \$500 to the truckers' union.

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

Under the pretext of protecting the strikers Olson's troops have protected scabs and scab trucks. Where cops, thugs, preachers and red gle. Being unable to defend a posiscares failed to move trucks in Minneapolis, Olson brought the troops tion which says that 421 cents an rifles. They were bundled into an in to do the dirty work. Rivalling only his red-baiting colleague in hour for a family man is too much, open military truck, still as heavily California, the St. Paul demagogue called out his army to keep the city they simply did not bother to dein essentials, but in reality moving commercial vehicles of every de- fend it at all, and concentrated inscription. When the strikers saw trucks moving they saw through stead upon baiting of Communists. Olson at the same time. They would battle and beat the troops even as They needed a sensation, and on they had the police. Before the drivers could make their threat effective Wednesday evening, the papers finthe troops raided the strike headquarters, drove the workers out and ally burst out with it. arrested the union leaders, William Brown, Vincent and Miles Dunne. 200 drivers were thrown into military barracks and then the Central a trio of Minneapolis detectives, Labor Union, set up as a second headquarters, was invaded by soldiers. flanked by a cop in uniform, placed

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

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

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

Victory or defeat, the curse of the entire labor movement is on the daily strike paper, the Organ-Olson. He is forever discredited in the eyes of every worker and honest izer, personal letters, and Shacht- violated. No reply was made, and progressive. The career of Olson as a liberal is over. The curtains that man's whole suitcase, were brought are rung over Olson are rung over the whole gamut of liberalism and down to police headquarters with

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

Strike at Martial Law!

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

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

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

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

The Militant is the only working class paper which devotes its columns mainly to the Minneapolis situation. For that reason it is important that the Militant reach every

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

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

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

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

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

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

SEND US \$1 TO-DAY!

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

OF YOU WE ASK ONLY \$1.00 TO-DAY. Help us spread the true facts of the Minneapolis heroic battle

to every part of the country. DON'T FAIL THE WORKERS IN MINNEAPOLIS!

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

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City State.....

Arrest of Cannon and Shachtman

(Continued from Page 1)

of the Citizens Alliance and startprey to artificially injected dissension inspired by the employers.

Having no other arguments, how-

At about 10 p.m. of that evening,

Finger Prints Taken

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

Meanwhile, a squad of detectives broke into the hotel rooms of the two prisoners, and without even the formality of a search warrant, proceeded to ransack the personal effects and papers which they found there. Copies of the Militant, of the hope that evidence might be found to show that the two Comblowing up the city, at the very long enough by the police to incapacitate them for the duration of the strike, in any case.

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

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

A Real "Scoop"

The next morning, the local capitalist press boomed with the news. Copies of purloined letters and telegrams, skillfully provided with terrifying headlines that had little or nothing to do with the contents Alliance press and were spread all over the columns.

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

Under Military Arrest

Friday morning, thirty-six hours after their arrest, and with a vagrancy charge actually booked National Guard. against them, the prisoners were brought into court. Attorneys the strike. Goldman and Mendow of Minnearancy charge could be heard, the not stop the strike. men were transferred to Judge Martial law could not stop the Guildford's court. There the city strike.

tary arrest.

Guard entered the courtroom-the pers who had, of course, not been first time such a procedure has ever molested. been witnessed in the history of or affiliations-was a soldier in tody of the prisoners. The sensa- and demands of the two men and the S. P. national committee with the union with full rights and tion was heightened by the fact contented himself with a repetition several requests already made for men, automatics strapped to their sides and rifles in their hands, stood ly surrounded, Cannon and Shacht- full: man were marched down the corridors, out of the municipal building compelled to harp on the same to the street, where another score string throughout the whole strug- of Guardsmen awaited them with were either some invaluable treasure or an automatic time bomb which might explode at any moment.

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

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

At the expiration of this period of time, Provost Marshal Colonel Elmer McDevitt entered the detention room and informed the prisoners that they were to be released and ordered to leave the city immediately. Cannon and Shachtman demanded to know what charges had been made against them, what

munists had been on the verge of Drivers Force the least, so that they might be held Release of Leaders

(Continued from Page 1)

What the police and their mast- der pretense that there they would strikers to take care of their own were destroyed in the clean-up.

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

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

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

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

polis.

The Militant

"Max Shachtman, editor,

The New International."

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

It was the hope of Governor Ol which hopeful editors expected son obviously that his order should their readers not to bother reading, gradually be extended until all had been generously supplied to the truck service was restored to normal under scab operation, while the workers stood by paralyzed and helpless.

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

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

But picketing by automobiles or otherwise, has not been stopped! It is the greatest tribute to the

militancy of the workers that they were able to defy first the police bullets and now the bayonets of the

,The "Red Issue" could not stop The police thugs, the brutal kill-

polis were on hand with a writ of ing of Ness and Belor, who died habeas corpus. But before the vag- yesterday from his wounds, could

attorney declared that he had no repeated. They then declared that workers, they did not miss an op. objections to the release of the men they would refuse to leave the city portunity to explain to the mem. on the writ. It immediately became of Minneapolis of their own volibership that the Red Scare was a clear why no prosecution was to tion, that they would depart only barrage being laid down by the em- take place. Having found it im- if forced to do so by a squad of cialist parties (hitherto the "so- fascists out of the factories, out of ployers behind which the union was possible to hold the men any long. Guardsmen. They had violated no cial-fascists"), for long so vigor- the unemployment bureaus, out of to be crushed and the men driven er even on a trumped-up charge, law, they had not violated, nor ously denounced by the Stalinist the trade schools." Will be disavow Cannon and Shachtman under mili- rights to carry on as correspond- But in reality it is not. ents for their periodicals to exactly Just as the release in civil court the same degree as the representawas effected, a sergeant of the tives of out-of-town capitalist pa-

> Colonel McDevitt made no at-Minnesota-and demanded the cus- tempt to reply to the arguments that proposition was repeated to that he was armed with a sub-ma- of his order. Immediately upon an answer. As yet the Socialist chine gun and that a dozen Guards- quitting the Armory, Cannon and party leadership has made no an-Shachtman dispatched a telegram to the commander-in-chief of the be posed: Why is it silent? outside the courtroom as an escort Minnesota National Guard, Goverfor the dangerous Reds. Complete- nor Oison, which we quote here in

Telegram to Olson-"Under tyrannical military or-

der delivered to us at the Nation-

al Guard Armory by Colonel Mc-Devitt, after being held illegally under military arrest for six hours, we are being compelled by force to leave Minneapolis. We have been here as correspondents for the papers which we represent and at no time violated any law, civil or martial, nor have we even been charged with any such violation. We were released from city prison after thirty-six hours illegal detention on writ of habeas corpus. We were then illegally arrested in the courtroom by a large squad of heavily armed' National Guardsmen and confined in the Armory without explanation or charges, nor have any yet been made against us. It was obviously impossible for us to violate any provisions of martial law since we were confined to city prison from the time of its promulgation until the moment of our military arrest. We know of no such outrageous violation of constitutional rights in any city in recent times. Even in California, under the rule of the most reactionary Governor, who is an open agent of employers, such dastardly deportations had to be executed by paid thugs disguised as Vigilantes and in no case bore the stamp of civil or military authority. It remained for the city of Minneapolis and the state of Minnesota, under a Farmerthe progressive farmers, upon whose support you base yourself, have always fought. We wish to inform you that under protest and against our will we are leaving Minneapolis under the force and duress of the National Guard which you command. We demand of you the immediate revocation of this despotic order which is obviously aimed at the undersigned alone, as correspondents

of the few papers which have wholeheartedly supported the strike of Local 574 and which is in no way designed to hamper or restrict the activities of correspondents for papers representing the interests of the employers, to say nothing of the Citizens Alliance whom you have publicly class and its forces. branded as a sinister clique conspiring against the people's interests and responsible for the redhanded murder of unarmed men. We intend to make our appeal

known to labor and liberal forces of the entire country and will make your direct and personal responsibility known particularly to those who have hitherto regarded you as a progressive and liberal Governor. We await an immediate reply in care of our attorney, Mr. Albert Goldman, Hampshire Arms Hotel, Minnea-"James P. Cannon, editor,

message by Governor Olson. But berg, who is now the celebrated policy of rival unions, which splits No reply was ever sent to this And let us ask Willi Muenzenthe bluff to get Shachtman and visitor here, was he correct when Cannon to leave the city without he said in Feb., 1931, "A bloc, or protest, did not work. Instead, a even an alliance, or even a temporreaction set in against the outrag- ary joint operation in individual eous procedure. Officials of 574 en- actions between the Communst tered their protest with the Gover- party and the Socialist party in nor. And the next morning, the Germany against national socialpress carried a statement by Olson ism, would forever discredit the declaring that the correspondents Communist party among the broad of the "Tory Tribune" as well as masses of the workers, toiling peasthose of the "radical Militant" ants and the middle strata, and

Is he ready to repudiate that

Stalinist Zig-Zags

The United Front

cially that appears to be the case. grounds."

The Stalinist, party leadership, over the signature of its general secretary, Browder, submitted a proposition to the Socialist party convention for a united front strug- that all this was false. gle for certain specific aims. Later swer and the question might well

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

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

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

Labor Governor, to witness such is a change in orientation and a procedure which strikes at the methods of the Stalinist leadership nist parties and an effort of the very heart of civil liberties for 1 of the party and of the Third Inwhich the labor movement and ternational, it is not a real political change. To affect a real change to throw overboard the ideological in reality become a life and death baggage of the recent past and to question. Meanwhile the bureaurepudiate many of its concepts and crats of the Cominern have become necessary to repudiate the spurious front policy that what they propose methods. First of all it would be theory of "social-fascism".

It would be necessary to repudiwing of fascism. They do not neantipodes, but twins,"-or is this ticism of all participants. gate one another. They are not still to be considered correct? If Leninist conception of the working

But it was in following these ri diculously false ideas that Manuilsky reported to the Eleventh Comalong the line of a belief in the existence of a basic contradiction between bourgeois democracy and fascism, between the social democrats and Hitler's party, are harmful and fatal to the Communist movement." And the American party at its plenum in 1932 defines as "American social-fascism (Amrenegades)." Is that still to be policy? Are they ready to repudiconsidered correct, or was it pure and unadulterated fakery?

should enjoy equal rights in the draw it into decline."

And such as they are, we still now? Will he disavow the old slo--M. S. | gan of the German Young Commu-

Is the united front with the So-| nist League-"Drive the social leaders, here and elsewhere, again the old slogan of the German Young to be accepted as a povicy of the of- Pioneers-Beat the smallest Zoerficial Communist parties? Sup Td- giebels out of the schools and play-

Your own statements condemn you as liars. You canno expect, gentlemen, that workers shall take your united front proposals seriously unless you are ready to declare

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

It would be illusory to expect 'hat these formal united front proposals represent a political change of policy of the Comintern and its various parties. Essentially it reflects the pressure of the Communa genuine united front. On the ist workers facing an ever more menacing enemy to which the Stalinist leaders are attempting to adjust themselves in a tactical way instead of giving actual leadership. While it now appears that there It represents the pressure due to the decline of the official Commuanother periodical zig zag to establish an alibi for the past failures when the genuine united front had so estranged from an actual united cratic "non-aggression pact" which ate Stalin's axiom that, "social de-suspends criticism. That, of course, mocracy is objectively the moderate is false to the core. One of the first essentials of a genuine united front is the freedom of mutual cri-

In the formal united front proso there could not and there should posal made by the C.P.U.S.A., there is listed as one of the aims, "buildessary to repudiate it because it ing a revolutionary trade union has nothing in common with the leadership." Is that possible of democrats? Obviously not. And we might also ask, what role will the T.U.U.L. rival unions play in this? But there are many more questions that the Stalinist leaders own ranks who erroneously act are obliged to answer before they can begin to convince a single worker with the seriousness of their united front proposal and even before it can become clear to their own members and supporters what they mean.

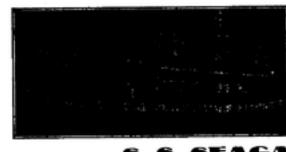
Are they ready to repudiate their theory of social-fascism and their declarations of the impermissibility of a bloc with the Socialist parties? ist Party, particularly the Muste Are they ready to repudiate their ate their actions at the Madison Square Garden meeting? Are they ready to liquidate their T.U.U.L. policy of the militants working within the mass unions?

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

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

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