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OF THE
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UNITE

THE MILITANT



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COPS FIRE ON UNARMED PICKETS

A.F.L. Misleaders Betray Frisco General Strike

Terror Used by Bosses to Crush Strike

With the general strike at its crisis, and the reactionary bureaucracy carrying the bosses' colors into the ranks of labor, the bosses unleashed a new strikebreaking weapon: a whirlwind series of raids on Communist and other workingclass centres, workers' meetings, picket groups and soup lines. Thirty-five squads of "vigilantes", dressed as workers, backed up by the National Guard and the police, began an unprecedented reign of terror on the night of July 17, which is still going on.

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

While the local authorities pretended that this work was done by "lawless vigilantes", and most of the capitalist press reported accordingly, some even attempting to say that workers made the raids, two or three liberal reporters let the real story through. Contradictions piled up, as the same issue of a newspaper carried both the fake and true story.

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

The San Francisco Chronicle asserts that the "vigilantes" who raided the radicals' headquarters were organized by conservative labor leaders. The newspaper said that these union men were aroused by evidence that Reds had been masquerading as union strikers and flaunting banners and placards at variance with the aims of the strike.

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

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

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

Gives Word of Raids.
By The Associated Press.
SAN FRANCISCO, July 17.—A series of raids on known Communist "hot spots" were under way here late today. The police are determined to smash the radical element in San Francisco. Youthful civic vigilantes aided them.

The first indication of the concerted drive against radicals came from Charles Wheeler, vice president of the McCormick Steamship Line, who said in a talk at the Rotary Club here today that the raids would start soon. He intimated government consent had been obtained for the raids.

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

Signs advocating revolution and literature were seized. Dolores Park, at Eighteenth and Dolores Streets, was the scene of another civilian demonstration against radicalism. Hardly had speakers mounted soap boxes to exhort their cause when

CAPITALISTS JUBILANT, LONGSHOREMEN STILL OUT

San Francisco, July 19.—Never have labor fakery so clearly "headed a strike in order to behead it" as have the reactionaries of the Labor Council led the general strike to disintegration.

Bitterly opposed to the strike, only to be over-riden by the overwhelming majority of the local unions, Vandeleur, Kidwell, Casey, and their clique rode along just long enough to find the first opportunity to break the strike.

After two days during which the strike was completely victorious, with the bosses on the run, with no sign of any weakening of labor's ranks, Vandeleur's gang suddenly sprang a resolution for arbitration on the general strike committee, Tuesday, simultaneously with the beginning of raids by troops, police and vigilantes, who began weeding out militant workers from picket groups, soup lines and other places, and jailing them.

A Phony Vote
The resolution introduced by Vandeleur was claimed to have been passed by the narrow vote of 207 to 180, but the vote was by a show of hands, which Kidwell counted, and the demand by Harry Bridges and others for a roll call was denied by Vandeleur. Bridges later accused Kidwell of miscounting, and declared many unauthorized individuals voted. Kidwell's only answer was a formal denial.

The resolution is directed against the longshoremen and the ten striking marine unions. Time after time, by democratic votes, the waterfront unions have voted against arbitration of the hiring halls control, and in addition, the longshoremen have repeatedly voted to refuse arbitration of the other issues unless the bosses agree to also arbitrate their differences with the other marine unions. In direct contravention of the democratic decisions of the striking unions, the resolutions would have President Roosevelt call on the waterfront workers and bosses to submit all issues to the National Longshoremen's Board.

A few hours after the "adoption" of the resolution, the National Longshoremen's Board issued a seven-point program for the arbitration settlement. This Board was deliberately set up, in accordance with the wishes of the bosses, to separate the longshoremen's fight from the fight of the other marine unions who came out in support of the longshoremen. And its seven points represent exactly the viewpoint of the bosses as stated before the beginning of the strike. Like the bosses, the Board demands that, instead of the ten marine unions other than the longshoremen being recognized by the bosses for negotiations, there be "collective bargaining with the elected representatives of their respective employees." This is identical with the bosses' refusal to recognize the marine unions as representing the workers, and the bosses' demand that each individual employer's workers should hold an election to determine their representatives.

The "Election" Fake
The meaning of the proposition of the Board and the bosses is that there would not be a vote taken of all the strikers. Instead, each employer would have an "election" by his employees, including employees on the Atlantic coast and elsewhere, and including scabs now on the high seas. This is a perfect layout for a crooked election. Moreover, no date is even set for the election, and the Board also requires the immediate calling off of all strikers. For the marine workers, this would mean that, with the resumption of shipping, the shipping bosses could at their leisure weed out all leading elements among the strikers, "clean up" all their crews, and then, when they are good and ready, hold an election which would be a joke.

The silence of the labor fakery since the issuance by the Board of its seven-point program indicates that they are consenting.

The resolution was a serious blow to the morale of the general strike. However, there was hope that, once the meaning of the resolution became clear, and especially with the interpretation of it by the Longshoremen's Board, the local unions, pressed by the workers, who didn't come out for a general strike in order to get a resolution which makes the general strike meaningless, would rally and have the resolution rescinded. If the general strike remained intact this would undoubtedly have happened.

Steps to Break the Strike
Precisely for this reason, Vandeleur, Kidwell & Co. proceeded to liquidate the strike. They issued

John Possel, president of the International Union of Operating Engineers, issued the least swinish statement: "We have always tried to carry out our contracts, but if your friends are shot down, what can you do? Our West Coast organization is one of the best, and it is a conservative outfit. There are no Communists in it." He added—that he would not say what he would do if the bosses protested the broken contracts.

William Hushings, legislative agent of the A. F. of L. said he was not acquainted with the terms of labor contracts on the coast, but added: "Personally, I think contracts should be kept."

Militant Pickets Close Alabama Textile Industry

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

The haven of lynchers and the home of the attempted legal murder of the Scottsboro Boys for the first time in years felt the might of organized and aroused labor when the United Textile Workers issued their call for a general strike of all cotton workers.

Bosses Fear to Open Mills
Militant action in Huntsville where a strong group of strikers closed down six plants that continued operations and threats to defeat similar moves has caused the bosses to refrain so far from any attempts to open their mills.

The Alabama strikers are pointing the way to American labor in being the first to initiate the battle for the thirty-hour week. Among their other demands are: a twelve dollar weekly minimum wage, elimination of the "stretch-out" system, reinstatement of workers fired for union activities and collective bargaining.

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

The walkout of the 20,000 textile operatives in Alabama becomes a signal now for labor in the entire cotton and silk fabric industry to galvanize their forces and to make good proposals adopted by the United Textile Workers, the Hosiery Workers in convention a few months back and the National Committee of the American Federation of Silk workers to call a general strike for the thirty hour week.

Reliable reports have it that officials of the U.T.W. have been conferring for some time now over the question of a national stoppage. This momentous issue facing hundreds of thousands of textile, silk and hosiery workers has now passed beyond the talking stage. Labor scabs like MacMahon, who conveniently allowed himself to be talked out of a general strike a couple of months back by vapid NRA promises, and statements like that made by the National Committee of the A.F.S.W. to call a general strike "if necessary" can only stem the tide and let the favorable moment pass.

Strike Now
The time for the cotton and textile workers to strike is now! Now, when working men throughout the country are joining hands in a formidable move to conquer those rights denied them for years and impossible to obtain by isolated, sporadic actions, the iron is hot for textile workers to take that step which labor fakery, procrastinators, and timid progressives have been delaying for months—the general strike of all textile, hosiery and silk workers.

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

Tide of Strikes Sweeps Over the Entire Nation

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

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

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

New York, N. Y.—At a membership meeting of the Knit Goods Workers Union branch of the I.L.G.W.U., 18,000 workers ratified a strike proposal and prepared to take immediate action to enforce three demands: for the closed shop, a thirty hour week, and a thirty per cent wage increase. 2,000 members of the San Francisco branch of the I.L.G.W.U. have joined the general strike there.

Philadelphia, Pa.—Five thousand members of the Longshoremen Union here declared themselves in readiness to walk out in support of the general strike in San Francisco. The union is awaiting instructions from the Frisco strike committee.

Helena, Mont.—Attempts by the bosses to put scabs to work met with firm resistance on the part of 3,600 copper miners who have been on strike since May 8. Picket lines were reinforced by 1,500 smelter workers who struck in sympathy with the embattled miners. The National Labor Board is trying feverishly to break the strike but without success. The miners demand a wage increase of 65c an hour and a thirty-hour week.

Publication of all newspapers in this city ceased when the Typographical Union went on strike for a 30% wage increase on May 10th. Since then, the city has been without newspapers.

Danielson, Conn.—Five hundred workers at the Davylle plant of the Assawaga Woolen Co. have gone on strike in answer to the bosses' refusal to grant a 25% wage increase. Mass picket lines forced the shutting down of the plant.

Kohler, Wis.—The tranquility of this "ideal village", founded by the robber baron W. J. Kohler, was considerably disturbed when more than a thousand workers went on strike to enforce their demands for a thirty-hour week and a minimum wage of 65c an hour. Mass picketing continues despite the police terror.

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

33 Shot In Minneapolis As Strikers Stop All Commercial Vehicles

UNIONS MEET TO CONSIDER CALL FOR GENERAL STRIKE

Minneapolis, July 20. (By wire).—Thirty-three pickets were shot with sawed-off shotguns by police who, at the same moment, in two different places, began firing volleys of slugs into groups of pickets.

The authorities apparently had planned the double provocation as the opportunity for bringing in the National Guard, for within a few minutes of the shootings the first truckload of machine gunners arrived on the blood-splattered sidewalks, established military lines, and cleared the district.

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

Olsen Threatens Martial Law

BULLETIN
One dead and fifty wounded is the toll taken so far by the murderous authorities of Minnesota.

Governor Olson backed up by the local police with an announcement that he is prepared to declare martial law. As we go to press no word has yet come from the vast gathering of all trade union members of Minneapolis.

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

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

One attack took place on Third Street and Sixth Avenue North, in front of the Slocum Bergen Grocery Company, from which convoys of police cars were preparing to move a merchandise truck. The police were under orders from Chief of Police Michael Johannes to shoot their way through picket lines and were armed with the murderous sawed-off shot-gun, favorite deadly weapon of American gangsters.

As the scab truck began to move, swaddled around by police cars, a truckload of pickets drew alongside. Without warning, according to witnesses and newspapermen, the police fired volley after volley into the tightly-packed strikers. While men fell like flies, the rest courageously advanced on the scab truck.

Their defiant advance probably saved the lives of many, for in hand-to-hand fighting with the bloodthirsty police, they prevented them from continuing their gunfire. Despite the number wounded and the truck drivers fighting with their bare hands, they sent two of their attackers to the hospital. Another, a sergeant, was shot by his berserk subordinates when he accidentally got into the line of fire.

The other police attack occurred at the same moment, a block away. Witnesses in between heard the shooting break out on both sides simultaneously, as if at a signal. The signal arranged for may have been the moment of arrival of the picket truck.

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

The militant answer of the labor movement of Minneapolis came immediately. Union-driven taxicabs, ice, beer and gasoline trucks which had so far continued to operate by arrangement with the union, immediately went on strike.

The district surrounding strike headquarters was immediately cleared of police by the strikers, including traffic cops. Strike headquarters took over the directing of traffic.

LECTURE

The General Strike

Its Role in the Class Struggle

SPEAKER:

ARNE SWABECK

Sunday, July 22, 8 P.M.
at Our New and Spacious Home
144 Second Avenue
Admission 10 cents Questions and Discussion

LOCAL 574 APPEALS FOR FUNDS

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

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

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

REVIEWING THE NEWS

The Capitalist Press and San Francisco

In tearful articles about the suffering of women and children, in threatening stories about the power of the National Guard and the Army, in hair-raising reports of "Russian Reds" imposing their leadership on Americans the capitalist press does its bit to discredit the greatest forward step taken by American labor in years—the Pacific Coast general strike. And yet hidden away, far from the front page and the headlines, we find the World Telegram's correspondent saying: "The strike, strong and dramatic, has seemed amazingly popular with the general public." Over the protests and barriers set up by the traitorous and yellow labor leaders, many of them bought with enemy gold, the working class of California, "the great American working man" has surged forward in splendid class solidarity. That surging enthusiastic militancy has carried with it not only a "conservative" organized labor and sections of the unorganized but also thousands of the white collar workers, professionals and small business men who make up "the general public". Here we have a mental, spiritual and moral awakening of the workers of California—in a word a rising class consciousness which shows that the grave-diggers of decaying American capitalism are reaching for their spades. No wonder the capitalist press becomes hysterical.

Green—"The Lost Leader"

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

"Lost" General Strikes

The capitalist press with great gusto tells of the lost general strikes of the past and reckons among them the Winnipeg general strike. And it is true that the Winnipeg strike was called off without winning recognition of the metal workers union, the point for which the strike was called. However, during and after the strike wage increases were won by practically all sections of Winnipeg labor. Thousands of workers were brought into the labor movement who had no previous contact with it. Literally thousands broke their church, lodge and other ideological ties with their masters and never returned them again. So great was the support of the strike that months later four of the strike leaders, three of them still in jail were elected to the provincial legislature. A labor mayor and a group of labor aldermen were elected in the city. Later with the formation of the Communist party a Communist alderman was elected. Despite the fifteen years of prosperity and depression, fifteen years of apathy in the American Labor movement, the solidarity and militancy generated by the Winnipeg general strike is yet a potent force in that city. The San Francisco strike, greater in its scope, occurs under far different conditions. Conditions much more favorable for the working class. Gentlemen of the Capitalist press: American labor, conscious and aggressive, has arrived. It is here to stay. It took some hesitating steps in the past year and again more firmly in Minneapolis and Toledo. Now, standing upright and powerful, it places its feet down firmly in the Frisco general strike. Its face is to the East. There will be setbacks. But its task is laid by history. Awakened and all-powerful it shall march across the continent, cleaning the capitalist rats and parasites from the country it has made.

Class Collaboration

The following item was not clipped from the organ of a company union, nor even from Green's American Federationist but from the Stalinist Daily Worker. However, it should occasion no wonder that those who can read "peaceful intentions" in the imperialist policies of France and England can also "be keenly aware of the problems facing "both sides" in the factories of American capitalism and "have a realistic approach to their solution". Here is the quotation, Daily Worker, July 16th—I Rosenberg writing on the shoe industry in New York: "The manufacturers must admit (really!) that our organization is keenly aware of the conditions prevailing in the industry and the problems arising in the shops affecting both sides and they know that our organization is having a realistic approach to the solution of the problems." Bill Green couldn't put the case for class collaboration better than that. Here again the swamps of Stalinism and reformism merge.

—BILL.

Strike Ends in Philadelphia S.K.F. Works

Philadelphia.—The heroic struggle of the SKF Anti-Friction Bearings strikers ended on July 9, after a four month battle.

The strike broke out when the bosses refused to renew the agreement for a closed shop (which had been in effect for six months) and in its place tried to force an agreement embodying all the earmarks of a company union. The Philadelphia Regional Labor Board's pretensions to "impartiality" were exposed. This bosses' instrument tried to get the men back to work under this condition: to arrange negotiations between the men and the bosses for a period of 10 days during which the men were to remain at work, and after that to arbitrate all disputed points and render a binding decision in 30 days.

A Vicious Decision

The decision of the National Labor Board was even more vicious. They proposed that 250 workers were to be taken back (900 had gone on strike), the others were to be placed on a preferential hiring list for one year. In this time the company was not to hire any outside help. The Regional Labor Board was to act as arbitrator in all cases of violence.

The strikers correctly rejected both of the proposals. The workers received a lesson which helped to maintain their morale for a time—that the only defense against the bosses was their own organization, the Anti-Friction Bearing Workers Union.

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

Police Terror

During this period the police terror, unequalled in the labor history of the city, was inaugurated by the head of the Department of "Public Safety", Le Strange. Pick-

eting around the plant during the beginning and end of the work-day was made impossible by the scabbers. Convoys of motorcycle cops guarded the scabs to and from work—300 cops were stationed around the plant during the day and were fed in the plant's cafeteria. Many were injured by the bluecoated brutes, one striker was shot, two were stabbed and more than a score injured with clubs. The city's public strike-breaking agency, the police force, was the most effective tool in smashing the strike.

On the 11th week of the strike about 150 workers went back to work. Realizing that in order to win the strike—that is to keep out scabs—support from other unions was necessary. Calls were sent out to all labor organizations.

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

Labor Seates Boycott Strike

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

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

On Monday, July 9 the strike was officially ended.

From this strike we can learn that militancy in both the leadership and the membership of an independent union is insufficient to win. By being separate from the main stream of organized labor, the A. F. of L. the union was cut off from the aid of other locals in the A. F. of L. The Minneapolis strike shines out like a beacon—a militant left-wing trade union within the A. F. of L. forced the conservative trade-unions into workers' solidarity and into giving united aid against the bosses.

—LOU ROBERTS.

The Pledge Fund A Holy United Front in Mexico

THE PLEDGERS

New York City (New members)

John Delaney pledges 50c monthly, "for period of employment". George Cooper pledges \$1 weekly "as long as job lasts". M. M. pledges \$2 weekly "for as long as possible".

This is the same comrade who has disposed of 47 coupon books in the Organization-press Campaign. He has 10 more books, and will undoubtedly sell those too.

Manhattan

- I Glade \$1.00 monthly
Leonard Lewis 1.00 weekly
Dorothy Morris 1.00
Clara Nelson 1.00
J. G. Wright .50
M. Spithos 1.00 monthly
S. Bleeker .50
S. Gordon 2.00
Paul King 1.00
Florence Becker 2.00
J. Weber 2.00
Com. Tamas 1.00
F. Victor .50
M. Kling .50
E. Konikow 1.00

Harlem

- E. Beecher .50
Colay .50
Cochrin .50
Jerry Marsh 1.00
T. Smith 2.00

Bronx

- S. Eckstadt 1.00
M. Lifshitz 1.00

Others in New York City

- H. Porter 1.00 monthly
E. Alby 1.00
E. E. C. 1.00
E. J. Conwit .50
Cornelis 1.00
L. Haldous 1.00
Samuel, E. 1.00
The Geltmans 1.00
P. Miller 1.00
Sydney Moroff 1.00
A. McCabe 1.00
City Subway Worker 1.00
Edith Sher 1.00
Ann Toven 1.00
H. S. 1.00 weekly

Newark, N. J.

- Geo. Holley 2.00 monthly
L. Nagy .50
G. Kotz 1.00
J. Becker 1.00
Lambert 1.00
A. Sympathizer .50
A. Social Worker 1.00
A. Clerk .50

Boston

- E. Wiener .50
C. Sheeket .50
W. Henderson .50
J. Chiplowitz .50
A. Wolfe, New Haven 1.00
A. Friend, Youngstown 2.00

(paid 4 months in advance)

A Steel Worker, W. Va., sends a donation to this fund whenever he can manage it. Thus far he has sent in \$15. NEEDED—A few more friends like

Mexico City.—While considering counter-revolutionary all proposals of a united front with other workers' organizations not directly controlled by them, the Stalinists make no bones about the formation of united fronts with isolated intellectuals or intellectual groups, and at times in actual practice even with the Fascists as demonstrated by the Prussian "Red" Referendum in 1931. The prize example of all, however, seems to have been reserved for the Mexican Stalinists who today maintain a united front in action with the clerical forces on the issue of opposing sexual education in the public schools.

In an effort to cover up its inability to solve the problems of the Mexican revolution and distract attention from the non-fulfillment of the pompously announced educational projects, and the attacks on the standards of living of the school teachers and professors, the government of the bourgeoisie has brought forward through its Minister of Public Instruction, Nicholas Basols, an elaborate and apparently very "revolutionary" project for sexual education to the children in the public schools.

Taking advantage of the prejudices of the most backward sections of the population, the Roman Catholic clergy has succeeded in mobilizing the parents' organizations under its control in a mass protest movement against this "unholy" proposal of the Rodriguez-Calles regime which, they point out is set on destroying the morals of our innocent offspring and corrupting the home with ideas about life and sex not yet accepted by the Holy See.

A substantial mass movement has been raised on this issue having its main support among fanatical housewives. And here is where the official Communist Party enters the scene with its complete collection of appendages and auxiliaries. The Y.C.L. and the Anti-Imperialist League are fighting in the street demonstrations side by side with the Catholic Youth Federation as the shock troops of reaction in this conflict.

As if there were nothing else to attack and criticize in the policies of the bourgeoisie government, and instead of emphasizing the demands for better conditions for the teachers and the fulfillment of the program for better conditions for the teachers and the fulfillment of the program or establishment and maintenance of schools in the countryside, raising the issue for free books and supplies to school children, the Stalinists pick the issue of sexual education, thereby giving the most direct support to the most reactionary forces in the country. No further comment is necessary. —C.C.

M.M. of the Bronx, the teacher in New York City and the steel worker from W. Va. in addition to our regular pledgers, whose contributions help greatly to lighten our financial burdens.

QUESTION BOX

Send questions to "Question Box Editor", c/o The Militant. State the name under which you wish your answers to appear.

COMRADE G-d-n, Brownsville.—Here, briefly, is the story of the Prussian "red" referendum.

On March 5, 1931, 42,000 members of the Stahlhelm, the nationalistic, reactionary, league of war veterans, petitioned the Prussian government, headed by Otto Braun, Premier and Dr. Carl Severing, Minister of the Interior, both Socialists, demanding the calling of a popular initiative on the dissolution of the Prussian Diet. All the parties to the right of the government, particularly the Nationalists and National Socialists, signified their intention of supporting the initiative, thus indicating who stood to gain by it. By about April the initiative, which required about 5,000,000 votes was carried. The Diet then had the choice of either voting on its own dissolution or submitting the matter to a popular referendum. It chose the latter course.

Now the Stalinists step on the scene. "On July 21, the Central Committee addressed itself to the Prussian Government with the demand for democratic and social concessions, threatening otherwise to come out for the referendum. Advancing its demands, the Stalinist bureaucracy in actuality addressed itself to the upper stratum of the Social Democratic party with the proposal for a united front against the Fascists under certain conditions. When the Social Democracy rejected the proposed conditions, the Stalinists formed a united front with the Fascists against the Social Democracy.

The vote was taken on August 9, 1931; the plebiscite failing, receiving about 10,000,000 votes out of a required 13,500,000. The voting was not done by parties, all the votes being merged, so that no accurate measure was available as to how each party voted. The Stalinists, however, claimed that the showing was due to them and accused the Fascists of having "sabotaged" the voting.

The Stalinists defended their position by claiming that it was not their fault if, in voting correctly, the Fascists voted their way. To this we replied: "The question of the coincidence of the voting with the Fascists is . . . viewed by us not from the point of view of some abstract principle, but from the point of view of the actual struggle of the classes for power, and the relationship of forces at a given stage. . . . To come out into the streets with the slogan 'Down with the Bruening-Braun government' at a time when according to the relation of forces, it can only be replaced by a government of Hitler-Eugenberg, is the sheerest adventurism." By taking such a position under the circumstances "the Communists . . . appear in the eyes of the masses as the aids of reaction."

For a more complete analysis of the question see the article by L. D. Trotsky in the Militant of September 19, 1931, from which the excerpts in quotation marks have been taken.

COMRADE B.A.N., New York.

The names of the countries where we have sections, and the names of the papers which they publish follows:

- Germany: Unser Wort
Holland: Baanbreker
France: Verite and Combat des Jeunes (youth)
Belgium: La Voix Communiste
Spain: Communismo and L'Antorchita
Greece: Pali ton Taxion
Poland: Proletariat
Bulgaria: Osvojobdenie
England: Red Flag
Italy: Verita
U.S.A.: Militant, Young Spartacus (youth), and the New International (theoretical monthly)
Canada: Vanguard
Argentina: Nueva Etapa, Tribuna Leninista
Brazil: Lucha de Classe
Cuba: Rayo
Chile: Izquierda
U.S.S.R.: Bulletin of the Russian Opposition
Switzerland
Lithuania
Mexico
In addition we have groups in China, Austria and other countries.

Com. Abramowitz Dead

Comrade Isaac Abramowitz, a member of the Communist League in New Haven died of cancer on Saturday, July 7. For the greater part of his life he was a fighter in the revolutionary and working class movement. Joining the movement in Russia he was one of the foundation members of the Communist Party of the United States. Expelled in 1928 for supporting the Marxist position in the party he has ever since been a staunch fighter for the Communist League. His death has greatly bereaved all the comrades that knew him.

The Crisis in the New York Painters Union

The widespread belief that the Brotherhood of Painters, District Council No. 9, with its thirteen locals in New York City is facing its gravest internal crisis in recent years, was substantiated by Philip Zausner, fraudulently elected secretary of D. C. No. 9, in a sixty minute speech delivered last Friday, July 13, before the membership meeting of Local 442.

The New York Painters are in open revolt against the unconstitutional, fraudulent and strong-arm methods used in the elections on June 30 and they are determined to clean out the underworld elements from the ranks of the organization. Betrayed in the strike of last October, deprived of \$100,000 which was extorted from working members in the short space of a few months under the pretext of raising a strike fund and then having it spent just as quickly by Zausner and his "friends" who ignored the welfare of the painters and imposing on them a flock of human parasites who maintain their hold by intimidation, force and terror, the Brotherhood rank-and-file members have become definitely insurgent. And rightly so, as the conditions in the trade and in the shops are worse now than they have ever been.

The Steamroller in Action

During the last Fall "season", when the union treasury was bulging with cash, Zausner's clique felt itself firmly in the saddle of the union. The seeming stability soon led to mechanization of leadership. Next he found it easy to create a machine, which was transformed into a perfect steamroller that now dominates all the activities of the union—at meetings and elections—flattening out opposition, balking protests. But the potential rise of new leaders, in time, under the stimulus of real divergences of policies and program is a real menace to the steamroller today.

Last Thursday evening seven hundred bona fide members of the Brotherhood marched in solid ranks to the headquarters of the D. C. on 14th St. and Eighth Ave. and impressed the gangsters and the police there with their militancy. Saturday a huge mass meeting was held in Irving Plaza where pledges were made and a resolution adopted to fight Zausnerism to the bitter end. Every honest painter is convinced that the Zausner gang occupies the office illegally, and the election was carried through by repeatings at the voting machines, by dishonesty and corruption—shortly in a fraudulent manner.

The chief demand was new elections and speaker after speaker directed his speech to that conclusion. "New elections" is a correct demand and since the case is in the hands of lawyers and courts it was also correct to demand that in the meantime the painters themselves take action and force Zausner from office.

A Bit of Fake Bravado

Here we were witness to the usual Stalinist hot-headedness, where sentiments were allowed to run rampant and emotions take the place of sober reasoning. One of the main speakers, the I.L.D. lawyer Sacher, forgot himself completely and after admitting that he is "terribly interested in the painters" and a feeling had come over him to be one of the painters himself concluded his speech by a bravado: "If I was a painter I would go and bust up the whole outfit." When during the collection dollar bills were slow in coming in he pleaded with the audience that he personally had put up \$40 for police protection of the meeting and at least that amount should be made good. A few minutes later he bursted out again and literally threatened to go out and "tear the gangsters to ribbons".

Louis Weinstock, the rank and file candidate for Zausner's office, as a main speaker also made many statements that didn't win the approval of the painters save the few Stalinists present. He proposed to the painters to violate the constitution whenever possible, since Zausner has also violated it. He spoke of building some new, mysterious union, the name of which he carefully omitted. Weinstock spoke about starting out the D. C.—"not a penny in per capita tax." He also urged the painters to "go back to your locals and give the gangsters their own medicine" with a full knowledge that the painters are not in a position to do so with the exception of his own local and probably one or two others.

The response of the meeting was good, but not as good as it should have been. It is hard to reach all the painters. Despite the fact that during the last month, the Daily Worker has printed column after column on the situation only 700 out of 6,000 members could be mobilized for the parade and the mass meeting. The meeting also didn't seem to approve the petitioning for names and addresses that were to be sent to the Executive Board in Indianapolis. Many felt that this is self-exposure and would result in blacklisting.

Zausner on Offense Although the militant rank and file is ready to carry the battle to the D. C. door, Zausner's machine is far from sleeping. In fact he is taking the offensive and the odds

seen to be in his favor at the moment. He has a score of men already under charges of Section 272 of the Constitution which, when enforced, means a fine of \$25 or expulsion. The men were instructed to ignore the charges.

Last Friday Zausner opened his barrage in a forceful speech at Local 442 against "Communists" emphasizing that the fight against him is a fight against the union. "We must present a united front to our enemies, the strikebreaking Communists and the bosses who press on us now from all sides." He didn't forget to mention the Taxi drivers and the Seabrook Farms strike as illustrations.

His lieutenants, Harry Rosen and Harry Kaplan even dispensed with lip-service to union democracy and advocated suppressive measures and mob sentiment to give full rein to the ever-present bureaucracy. Many workers were impressed by this demagoguery. The struggle has acquired an ethical tone and "boiled up" into a conflict between the "destroyers" and "saviors" of the Union. Zausner, as a slick speaker and a shrewd politician, capitalizes on the situation. His very position and continuous experience in organizational matters gives him the advantage of wider knowledge. The courageous rank-and-file lacking the constancy that characterizes the leadership loses more than gains from this verbal fight on the floor. What is needed is a wide mass support and for that slow and stubborn organizational work must be carried on. The painters, although they voted for a rank-and-file candidate, are not united enough in action. There remains mutual distrust, a continuous sense of irritation that seems to set the members of the union against each other. This situation must be slowly overcome. And for that more patience is necessary.

Red Baiting

When important issues come to the fore and the old and the new are really in grips, "names" play a great role. "Red", "Communist", "rat", etc. plays a large part in the stock-in-trade of the Zausner's reactionaries—terms that have no bearing on the real issues that are at stake. Thus every leaflet that the D. C. issues contains one or all of these epithets. The "bad name" campaign is a flank attack. Intimidations, physical force, terror—all these hit the workers directly. "Bad names", or at least unpopular ones, are utilized in an effort to stem the discontent of the painters. So Mr. Zausner "knows" that the Communists are taking advantage of the forthcoming strike, to wreck the union and Ellstein also "knows" it is the "dual union idea" which underlies the real cause of the revolt.

The fight against these misleaders will not be a simple one. The very fact that they occupy the seats of power gives them a sharp-edged weapon against the members. They translate every phase of protest into terms of constitutionality, and demand that the protestants obey or be crushed as disrupters of the union. In other words, Zausner's machine wreaths all its acts into the aureole that emanates from the constitution since they are its custodians and interpreters.

Zausner's machine will fight us bitterly. It is a certainty that when all means of combating the influence of the rank and file fails, the officials would use their last and most powerful weapon—expulsion, and revocation of local charters. In order to conduct a successful fight against the Zausner clique we should by all means fight to retain our membership in the union.

Tasks of the Left Wing

Although the fight against the Zausner regime has reached a high point the Left wing has still to enrich itself in the union, to win over the wavering, vacillating workers and by means of a realistic Marxian trade union policy to preserve their membership in the union. The double-faced policy of the Stalinists, who would just as soon as not provoke a split in the union in the interests of their paper "revolutionary" outfit can only bring grief to Zausner's mill.

One thing is certain, the fight within the Brotherhood of Painters D. C. No. 9 is on. Behind the conservative officials is the power of the official machine. Behind the radical rank and file is the trend of the times.

—MEMBER OF BROTHERHOOD

MARCH OF EVENTS

The United Front in France

The threat of Fascism in France is an even greater danger to the French proletariat at this moment than was the threat of Hitler's coming to power in 1932. That is clear when one considers, as every Communist must do, the international setting and the relations of the classes on the world arena. French Fascism strives for power after the catastrophic defeat of the German workers, after the betrayal of the Austrian working class, after the advent of Fascism in a whole string of countries. In their struggle the French proletariat cannot, therefore rely on the active support of the enslaved toilers in the countries given over to the bloody regime of reaction. Furthermore the bourgeoisie of France travel more readily over a road partly paved for them,—it is the bourgeoisie and not the working class that has been shown "how it is done", at least in this recent period. True, the recent happenings in Germany can but strengthen the determination of the masses of every land where reaction has not yet triumphed, not to permit the seizure of power by the Fascists. For that the masses of France, as of every other capitalist country, must be united for struggle.

The Inception of the United Front

against Fascism in France is at least a guarantee that the French workers will not capitulate without a fight, if such a guarantee were afforded in a country with the tradition of leadership in every revolution in Europe except the Russian Revolution. Forced by the inexorable logic of events, the Socialists and the Stalinists, the parties of the betrayal of the German workers, have come to an agreement to fight together against French Fascism. Neither of these bankrupt bureaucracies could resist the over-riding demand and impulse of all the toilers for united action. Both these parties have alike suffered serious splits that threatened their disintegration. The St. Denis communist workers under the leadership of Dorlot merely showed the way to the proletarians still under Stalinist influence. At least one motive of the Comintern in "authorizing" the policy of the United Front on an international scale, was to prevent further splits and possibly to win back the St. Denis insurgents.

The Psychology of Forgetting

Both the Socialists and the Stalinists would prefer to start a new page on the united front and to "forget" the past "mistakes". That is partly the meaning of the mutual guarantee not to criticize each other in the united front. The French Stalinists tried to impose as one condition for the united front that the Trotskyists, the International-Communists, be excluded. Indeed they had every reason for wishing this. But their double bookkeeping,—denunciation of the Trotskyists as counter-revolutionists in one column for having advocated the only correct policies (which would have made Hitler's coming to power impossible) in the struggle for power of the international proletariat, and sliding in of these very policies in another column (only half-heartedly) at least in the matter of the united front, without any announcement of change or analysis of their past—is the proof that the "new line" is only a false cover to be cast off for further betrayal at a later stage. For the united front can lead to nothing fruitful without correct policies to be advanced through the united front, itself merely a tactic. And until the reactionary theory of socialism in one country is destroyed root and branch (and this means inevitably the liquidation of the Stalinist cliques in every country) the Stalinist parties can only mislead the working class. Precisely because the unity in struggle of the workers permits the hegemony ultimately to pass to that party which advocates a correct course of action based on firm principles, precisely for this reason the Stalinists would like to exclude the Trotskyists whom they cannot face and withstand in open and free debate. They fear the Fourth International!

The United Front to Release Thaelmann

We fight for the release of all political prisoners of Hitler, Thaelmann included. (And do not forget the four German youths shamelessly abandoned to Hitler by the Stalinists). But we cannot help voicing our utter repugnance to the propaganda of the Stalinists which, looking to this figure of "the leader", shamelessly speaks of the daily execution of one or two Communist workers by the Fascist scoundrels as merely the prelude to the killing of Thaelmann. And what of these nameless victims themselves! It is the irony of history that Blum and Thorez form a united front in France to help secure the release of Thaelmann who found it impossible (counter-revolutionary!) to collaborate with Weis, the collaborator of Blum in Germany, to prevent Hitler from coming to power and placing Thaelmann in jail.

—JACK WEBER.

THE MILITANT

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Spain

Movement Towards Unity Against Fascism Grows

Conflict almost to the point of civil war is now raging in Spain, though not a word about it is to be seen in the pages of the bourgeois press.

The strike, called by the Land Workers' Federation of the Socialist Union General de Trabajadores, demands the return of the rights abrogated by the cancellation of reformist land laws passed by the Azana-Socialist government.

Catalonian Land Laws As part of this same offensive, the land reforms voted in Catalonia by the autonomous government, under left-republican control, have been declared "unconstitutional".

Since most of the land-workers in Catalonia are peasant-renters, who form the majority of the population, and are also the strongest political base of the Catalan government, it has apparently defied Madrid, re-passing the laws with a retroactive character.

An Appeal for Our Cuban Comrades

In the series of rearguard battles being waged in Cuba by the working class, the Bolshevik Leninist Party is very active.

One of the most solid labor organizations of the island, the General Union of Commercial Employees with a membership of 7,000, publishes a 24 page magazine, "Proletarian Culture" which contains a number of valuable informative and theoretical articles including in the last issue one by Comrade Trotsky.

The Bolshevik Leninist Party through the Commercial Employees Union is striving for the establishment of trade union unity in a Workers' Alliance.

Can the Stalinists, who dominate the National Confederation of Labor, be forced into a united front against Fascism? Can a solid front of labor be organized in time to prevent a Fascist coup by the A. B. C. and further repressions by

governments hoping to smooth matters over because such a war would almost surely become revolution.

"We are almost surely at the doors of either triumphant revolution or a Catholic Fascist dictatorship," our correspondent writes. "Spain is living the most crucial moments of her modern history."

The objective conditions for revolution are present: the workers in a mood no longer willing to compromise, the army sympathetic to the workers, and no formidable armed force that can be relied upon to support the Right.

The Socialists, who control the great mass of organized workers (at least a million) have been agitating for out-and-out revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat, and no more combination with the bourgeoisie, but have done nothing whatsoever concrete in that direction.

The Anarcho-Syndicalists, who at one time were the great driving revolutionary force in Spain, have become much weakened and disorganized because of irresponsible piteous and revolts under terrorist leadership.

Yet this is the group which acts like ferment in the shaping of the Workers' Alliance, looked upon by most Spanish workers as their most immediate hope.

The struggle against the "right" and the "left" wing of Fascism was conducted by the police, the Reichswehr and the socially select, black shirted elite troops of Hitler and Goering, the semi-government S.S. forces.

The Struggle for "Morality"

Hitler, knowing his German philistines, conducts the struggle in the name of "morality". Of course the victims were sexually abnormal; of course they led a life of debauchery at the expense of a starved people; of course, the Roehms, Heines, Ernsts were bloody butchers who have on their conscience the lives of thousands of our brothers.

What does Mussolini preach?—"the fruitful and unassailable inequality of men." The transforming of women from human beings to incubating machines. Culture indeed! Divide and multiply like rabbits, is Mussolini's dictum to women.

Latin American Dept. of the National Committee.

GERMAN FASCISM UNMASKED

Fascism promises the abolition of the class struggle, clean government and material prosperity.

In the last three days German Fascism has demonstrated before the whole world in unmistakable terms that it brings about instead an extreme accentuation of the class struggle, a government of degenerates, rakes and criminals as well as abject material misery.

Discontent on Two Sides The spirit of dissatisfaction crystallized around two poles. Hitler faced patsches from two sides. The dissatisfaction of a section of heavy industry and, especially of the Junkers, was canalized by the Herrenklub clique of Papen and Schleicher who counted upon the support of the Reichswehr.

The dissatisfaction of the petty bourgeoisie, who had received nothing and were even endangered by removal from their positions took shape in the form of the S.A. and the actual creator of the Nazi party, Ernst Roehm.

In view of the impending danger Hitler compromised with the Reichswehr. Hitler, "the loyal", made them a sacrificial gift of his friends and gave them the monopoly of the armed forces.

Roehm-Schleicher Combine Impossible

Hitler and Goering are today creating one of those famous "amalgams" from these two oppositional groups but all the facts point to the impossibility of common action between Roehm and Schleicher.

The second version—that Hitler avenged Schleicher with the heads of the S.A.—is no less contradicted by the facts. For Hitler did not only exterminate the leadership of the S.A.: Heines, Ernst, Scheidhuber. At the same time he also slaughtered the Papen-Schleicher Herren clique: Alversleben, Bose, Klausener. If he had had the slightest opportunity to attribute the assassination of Schleicher to the S.A., he would have seized at it with unmitigated joy.

The Hitler-Goebbels Legend

The struggle against the "right" and the "left" wing of Fascism was conducted by the police, the Reichswehr and the socially select, black shirted elite troops of Hitler and Goering, the semi-government S.S. forces. There is hardly a doubt left that it was conducted along preventive lines.

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les, must be the envy of any leader of a Macedonian band.

Our information is still inadequate. But what is revealed is an unequalled slaughter. Mixing the useful with the agreeable, the sadist Goering profits by the occasion—as he did at the time of the burning of the Reichstag—to exterminate every possible bit of opposition in a veritable St. Bartholomews Night.

The fact that the murder of butchers like Heines as well as the sharpers of the Herrenklub did not evoke any sympathy among the workers is not an adequate explanation. The explanation of the tragic and painful fact that in face of such a conflict in the enemy camp removed from intervening to struggle for its rights, can only be the following: the defeat without a struggle caused by the bankruptcy of the Socialist and Communist parties has demoralized the proletariat to such a point, so deprived it of all serious organization, that this proletariat could not intervene however favorable the moment might be.

How Long Will Hitler Last?

For the moment Hitler appears to be the master of the situation. But for how long? And how? Two photographs which were reproduced in the world press illustrate that

In Mussolini's "Paradise"

That technically impeccable journal of "objective" bourgeois opinion—Fortune—devotes the contents of its entire July issue to Italy. As such it reviews the past twelve years—the era of Fascist dictatorship in Italy.

- 1) 14,000 bankruptcies during 1933, mostly of small business. 2) The national income has dropped since 1929 from 100 billions to 75 billion lire. 3) State and local taxes have increased from 27% to 32% of national income. 4) The average wage for a worker in Italy is eight (8) cents an hour. 5) This is the lowest wage scale in Europe.

Taxes on Necessities

Almost half of the total revenue in Italy is derived from consumption (sales) taxes—taxes levied on the most elementary needs of the Italian masses. The income tax which, of necessity, is gotten from the upper strata of society supplies only 20% of the revenue.

That a government exacting a "mild drain from the wealthy" and inflicting an eight cent hourly wage on its laboring class can hardly be construed as impartial never, apparently, entered the refined skulls of the immaculate editors.

With impartial uncton it is pointed out that strikes are prohibited—but so are lockouts. Now there, what could be fairer than that. Only this is forgotten—that unemployment—which is but a subtle form of lockout—is not prohibited.

Culture Under Fascism

What does Mussolini preach?—"the fruitful and unassailable inequality of men." The transforming of women from human beings to incubating machines. Culture indeed! Divide and multiply like rabbits, is Mussolini's dictum to women.

To sum up the picture of Fascism in Italy ever since its inception we find that the workers are the most poorly paid in the world, that the middle class is taxed to starvation, that the arts and sciences are in decay, that higher education is almost non-existent and that all that Fascism inculcates in the minds of the masses is obedience and slavishness.

in a very simple manner: On the 30th of January Hitler returns the salutes of the upraised arms of the Brown Shirts passing under his window rendering him homage. Hitler, June 30, 1934: The same window, the same Hitler, the same salute. But outside are not the Brown Shirts passing in review but the Reichswehr, with their iron helmets and rifles on their shoulders. And behind Hitler is General von Litzmann.

Italy and Germany

The transformation, that we have predicted, from the Hitlerite Fascism to Bonapartist dictatorship of the state apparatus and especially of the army has not only occurred more rapidly than in Italy (corresponding to the German rhythm of development which is decidedly different from the Italian development), but in a more dramatic manner and with an incomparably less stable perspective in the economically most developed country of Europe, as against backward Italy.

Up till now it has only been the upper layers which reflected the class contradictions which have entered into the struggle. Tomorrow when the devil finally overcomes his disgust and claims Hindenburg, the contradictions from above will break out anew. And other occasions will not be wanting. It is true that the top layers have become more restrained and more uniform. But in return the regime has registered heavy losses in its base.

Petty Bourgeois Discontent

And besides this "moral" part will have to pay the same taxes tomorrow. Will have to suffer the same bankruptcy and instead of being satisfied with the apostle of normal sexual relations will have their doubts on those who were so long the friends of the "immoral".

The working class is directly threatened with new reprisals from the state apparatus of Goering on the one hand and by brutal attacks by the bosses on the other. But it can be predicted that in these attacks and in the next crisis of the regime things will happen differently.

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China

Terror and Capitulation Grip Worker's Ranks

Shanghai, June 20.—Much has happened since my last letter. Although many important events have taken place throughout the world the revolutionary movement in China remains in much the same condition.

I am devoting this letter to information on the following most important questions: the "soviet territory", the bureaucratic regime and the renegades from Communism as well as the Stalinists at work in the Labor Defense Association (the Chinese I.L.D.).

I wish to state firstly that everything written in this letter is based on authentic facts. As I am now a member of the Stalinist L.D.A. my daily work gives me an opportunity to draw an accurate picture of the Stalinists in China.

The "Soviet Territory"

It is four years now that the Stalinists have been shouting at the top of their voices about conquest or victory in one or several provinces. We, the Bolshevik-Leninists, have frequently and openly criticized the party policy in giving up the city workers and seeking revolutionary cadres in the village. The Stalinists stand Marxism on its head—not the peasants following the proletariat but leading them. Four years have passed and the peasant partisans still remain in the same condition, sometimes with more and sometimes with less territory.

Internal "Life"

2. Mistakes in principle questions, impotence in the political life of the country accompanied by dishonest methods in the party cause the Stalinist bureaucrats to refuse to acknowledge their errors and to constantly seek "scape-goats" at every turn in the road.

This stifling regime opens the door for spies, adventurers and government agents of every description to enter the leading apparatus of the party. They flatter the bureaucrats, perform the most amazing contortions with the most graceful skill at every new zig-zag and work their way into the good graces of this perspicacious leadership.

Yes, the chairman of the Shanghai Union of Labor (an illegal trade union controlled by the C.P.) had been a spy for more than six

months. Through his nefarious work a few score of militant comrades were arrested by the police. Zee, secretary of the Chapei District Committee, was a spy for more than a year but the bureaucracy was ignorant of the fact. Rank and file comrades, dissatisfied with his activities, were rebuffed by the bureaucracy when they demanded his removal. It took the Stalinists a long time to discover on whose side the error had been.

Significant Figures

Besides the spies who work in cooperation with the police there are those who turn renegade after arrest. If we express these facts in percentage the number of turn-coats and spies in the upper and lower ranks of the party is as follows: From 1932 to June 1933, 75% of these were spies, including among them Lu Fu-tai, Chairman of the National Union of Labor and Chon Kwang-ia, secretary of the Kiangsu Provincial Committee, while the renegades after arrest numbered from 25 to 35%. From June 1933 to the Fall of 1933 the former was 80% and the latter 20%. In these figures can be seen that whatever integrity there is among the members of this party it rests in the lower ranks.

The Economic Crisis

3. The economic crisis is deepening day by day. Capitalist exploitation of labor in China is more terrible than ever. Despite the savage white terror of the Kuomintang Blue Shirt Society (Fascists) the Chinese workers still rise time and again for improvement of their living conditions. During the struggle in the Shun Sin Seventh Cotton Mill in the Fall of 1933 and the strike against a wage cut in the Shanghai Mei-lia Silk weaving factory in January-February 1934 the workers automatically demanded legal trade unions and wanted to organize an open strike committee.

The Stalinists are ignorant of the fact that a trade union cannot exist legally without a mass foundation. While, on the contrary, the mass unions of the workers can exist as a struggling organization even if it is not given permission by the Kuomintang. The question is determined upon whether the union represents the workers or not and not on its legality or illegality. But to try to convince the Stalinists of this is like "playing a harp to an ox", as the Chinese proverb says.

4. Under the reign of white terror the number of political prisoners has jumped skyward in recent years. In Kiangsu (including Shanghai), in the latter half of 1932 and at the close of 1933 the number had risen to 2,000. Although prison conditions are somewhat better than they were previously I have received reports from the Nanking and Shanghai prisons that some of our bravest militants have died of tortures inflicted by the prison authorities. There are many more such tragedies in every part of China but if help from the outside could manage to reach the imprisoned comrades many fatalities might be avoided.

Make the Org-Press Drive a Success

In the great events now taking place in various parts of the country our organization is playing an ever more direct and definite role. This is the beginning to a new advance. A revolutionary organization is built in the fire of the class struggle and it is in that sense that the League assumes its present responsibility.

We are on the way to new gains; but the job ahead is still an enormous one.

The building and strengthening of the League is the crying need of the moment. To bring our press to ever wider circles has become an indispensable necessity. It is in that way that our views, our policy will win new supporters and become a greater influence. It is in that way that our organization and its sympathizers become a more active and a more vital force in the labor movement.

Ideas become a power when they penetrate the masses. But to penetrate the masses a medium is required. This medium is at our disposal and will become more effective as we succeed in building the League. To make it more effective we have sent several organizers into the field. They are now actively engaged in building the League in Minneapolis, in Detroit and on the Pacific Coast. No efforts are being spared to increase the circulation of The Militant and to establish the New International as a regular monthly publication.

This is the way we have proceeded; but to complete the job we need your support. We have set a

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

Additional quick response is imperative. Will you help us finish the organization and press campaign? We count upon you. Funds Received in the Organization and Press Campaign (Since Last Report)

Table listing donors and amounts: J. P. Chicago \$ 1.00, H. S. Hutchinson 1.00, M. M., N.Y.C. 15.00, Student, West Haven 1.00, A. Konikow, Boston 15.00, C. Hoffman, Chicago 1.00, H. Dissand, Newark 1.00, Two Steel Workers, W. Va. 2.00, G. N., N.Y.C. 1.00, Salt Lake City Branch 6.00, Philadelphia Branch 15.00, San Francisco Branch 9.50, Boston Branch (Boland) 1.75, Friends of the Militant Club, Chicago 16.00, Local New York 57.25, Downtown Branch 26.25, Bronx 6.00, Boro Park 10.00, Brownsville 7.00, Krakofsky 1.00, Williamsburg 7.00

Trade Union Strategy

Unionism the Main Issue

Unionism—the right of union organization and union recognition—is the crucial issue involved in the San Francisco general strike. But it is not confined to this one section of the battle front, it is the most burning issue before the American working class today. At the same time it is also the most sharply contested issue wherever the differences between exploiters and those who are exploited come to a head. In this San Francisco is in the limelight.

The right of union organization is by no means an established fact. Union recognition is not something that can be taken for granted. On the contrary, it is accorded only where the workers themselves secure it through the force of their collective efforts.

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

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

Efforts to Smash Strike Ever since the general strike began, the combined forces of the capitalist interests and their government, stiffened their offensive and assumed a more aggressive attitude. No longer was the object merely the defeat of the demands for union recognition and control of hiring halls, the whole scope extended to one of smashing the strike, put a stop to the organization developments and to crush the unions. Watchful of any weakening of the general strike, the capitalist forces prepared, as stated in the New York Post dispatch, to challenge the workers, that "they can return to work only upon a basis to be determined by the employers."

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

The New International

The long awaited first issue of the New International is now off the press. It is an issue that every member and sympathizer should have. Beginning with a stirring editorial for the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL which gives the general perspective of the magazine, it contains two documents by Comrade Trotsky: "The Testament of Lenin and The 'Clemenceau Thesis'" and the Party Regime, a document of great historical importance. Comrade Cannon contributes two analytical articles on the Minneapolis Strike and the Socialist Party Convention. A prominent German Communist under the pen-name of A. Max, writes on the Legend of the Vienna Commune—a castigating analysis of the treacherous role of the Social Democratic leaders in the recent Austrian events.

Then there is an editorial on the Soviets and the League of Nations, an article by Jack Weber on New Trends under the New Deal; Strikes and the Economic Cycle by Alfred Weaver; The Decay of the Stalinist Party by Arne Swaback; Engels on Bimetallism, which is particularly interesting in view of the monetary crisis. An article on the internal political situation in France serves to illuminate the recent events there. It also contains a book review section, a survey of current periodicals and numerous miscellaneous items. All in all, it is a splendid issue which shows great promise for the future. Every effort should be made to secure it the widest circulation. All inquiries should be addressed to The New International, Station D, P.O. Box 119, New York, N. Y.

emphasis is lent to this fact by the campaign of hysteria against communism, charging the objects of the general strike to be an insurrection, and by the savage attacks upon the Communists, the official Communist Party and the Communist League of America. To this the Daily Worker of July 17 answers: "Any sensible, sane and honest person knows that there is no revolution on the West Coast. The aim of labor in this situation, the aim of the general strike is not to seize political power, but to force the ship owners to grant the maritime workers three demands: (1) union control of hiring halls; (2) recognition of the maritime unions; (3) improvement of working conditions."

What About Minneapolis? This is entirely correct. Such are the aims today. They imply first of all the building of powerful unions to assert their rights and to establish the guarantees of recognition by their own forces. Incidentally we may ask, in view of this correct statement, from whence appeared the thesis advocated by the Stalinists in the Daily Worker that in the Minneapolis Truck Drivers strike of last May the essential objective should have been the overthrow of the state government, which, the "Trotskyists," "failed" to do? Are the Stalinists now ready to say that "any sensible and sane person knows" that the aim of the Minneapolis strike could not and should not have been to seize political power? Are they ready to say that the aims were recognition of the union, control of the hiring of its members without discrimination and improved working conditions; the very aims that these strikers battled for until the main victory was won? Are they ready to grant that this correct policy resulted in the establishment of a powerful union? Upon honest revolutionists such a confession would be obligatory.

Breaking Strike Solidarity Meanwhile in San Francisco the general strike developed the whole struggle for unionism to a higher level than before. Hence the desperate onslaughts upon it by the employers. Hence also the craven reactionary local leaders headed by Vandeleur and backed by the A. F. of L. hierarchy, who above all else fear the militancy of the rank and file, began to turn their backs treacherously upon the general strike, gave concession after concession, joined the red baiting chorus and thus assisted in the savage raids and arrests of workers charged as Communists. The objective result of such an attitude is the breaking of the solidarity of the strikers. To break this solidarity is treason to the working class. The attacks of course must be resisted to the utmost and it is the duty of every honest worker to rally in the defense of those attacked. The San Francisco strike is conducted by the A. F. of L. unions. It is the life of the A. F. of L. unions that is at stake. Unity and solidarity in the A. F. of L. unions for the most sweeping general strike in years had been accomplished. But it had been accomplished against the reactionary leaders. It had been accomplished also in spite of the splitting T.U. U.L. policy of the Stalinists.

Stalinists Foster Division It is necessary to remember and to bring out once more the criminal policy pursued by the Stalinists which from the outset played into the hands of the employers as well as into the hands of the reactionary leaders. While the maritime unions were growing, rallying thousands of new recruits to their ranks, the Stalinists pressed forward in direct rivalry their private Marine Workers Industrial Union. While the A.F. of L. maritime unions marched forward in a progressive move to strengthen their solidarity and unity in a waterfront federation, which of necessity could not include the rival unions, the Stalinists attempted a counter-move by efforts to rally some of these unions in a separate conclave with the M.W.I.U. Simultaneously they insisted upon bringing into the A. F. of L. waterfront federation, first the M. W. I. U. and when that did not succeed they attempted to bring in a subsidiary of the M.W.I.U., the ship scalers union. So far did this criminally false policy proceed that the party bureaucracy found itself in conflict with the party fraction in the A. F. of L. maritime unions. And naturally so. Unionists loyal to their class, revolutionists loyal to their class must necessarily fight for the unity of the mass unions and can only become bitterly hostile to the splitting policy of the rival unions which have no mass basis.

In the present severe attacks aimed to defeat the general strike and to crush the unions, unity and solidarity is the paramount issue. Unity proceeds against the reactionary traitors, but it must also set itself hard as flint against the splitting policy of the Stalinists. This policy cannot proceed unpunished. A collapse of Stalinism will result, but the revolutionists will continue their fight for unity in the mass unions to prepare for victory in the bigger struggles to come.

The Betrayal of the Coast Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

an order permitting scab trucks to move. When the teamsters came out in sympathy with the waterfront fight, they had seen to it that no trucks rode the Frisco streets without a permit from the union. This procedure was also followed the first two days by the general strike committee. The bosses obeyed, and only trucks with union permits moved. The milk, bread, produce and other trucks exempted from the strike had to have union drivers. But after the resolution and the Longshoremen's Board interpretation, the bosses decided they could flout the union's orders, and non-union drivers drove trucks.

Especially the Standard Oil Co. and other gasoline companies ran scab trucks. The teamsters and longshoremen got busy, and chased trucks off the street, and closed gas stations as far as San Mateo. When for provocative purposes, two filling stations were opened early Wednesday less than a block from the Longshoremen's headquarters, with National Guard sentries guarding each station with rifles, bayonets and machine guns, scores of carloads of pickets went cruising to prevent shipment of fuel into Frisco. Whatever reasons the general strike committee might have about sending municipal car workers back, and liberalizing issuance of truck permits to include owner-driven trucks, it was essential to the salvation of the marine strike, let alone the general strike, to keep scab trucks off the street. That's why the teamsters came out, independently and before the general strike. Had the general strike never come, the teamsters themselves would have seen to it that no scab trucks rode the street.

It was this vital spot of the strike that Vandeleur and his gang stabbed mortally. The small executive committee, without even consulting the big general strike committee on this fundamental question, issued an order "releasing gasoline and fuel oil supplies to the general public." While every other embargo lifted previously had provided for union truck-drivers, this most strategically important factor included no such provision. With the result that scab drivers are filling the streets. This has made the union permit ridiculous, and bosses are tearing it out with impunity. On Tuesday no truck rode the streets without a union permit. Wednesday evening few permits were in evidence.

With these two moves, first the demoralizing resolution, then permitting scab drivers, the labor fakery have broken the back of the general strike. They have also largely nullified by the second move the value of the teamsters' strike.

Waterfront Strike Not Over But this by no means ends the waterfront strike. Even with the National Guard in control, not only of the waterfront but also of a large part of the surrounding territory, including markets and warehouses, it is a lie that steamers are being loaded and unloaded to any degree approximating normal. They can't get enough scabs on the Pacific Coast to man the ships and service them, nor trucks to bring and take away the freight. If the waterfront workers and the teamsters stick it out, they can still win. The teamsters over-rode their President, the reactionary Mike Casey when they went out. But the rank and file are an inexperienced lot, with no militant core to hold them together. By one trick or another Casey may still drive them back to work. The longshoremen are solidly behind Harry Bridges, but he is a lone militant. The other marine unions have no experienced rank and files.

If Joseph Ryan, strikebreaking head of the I. L. A.—word has come that he is driving the men on the East coast to unload ships loaded here by scabs—and Andy Furuseth, white-haired "old man of the sea"—and like the old man of the sea in the story, he's got his legs

tightly twisted around the neck of the Seamen's Union—if these two ghouls start driving the marine workers back to work, can Harry Bridges with a handful of men around him keep them fighting?

Stalinist Responsibility If the marine strike fails, the Stalinists will bear a heavy responsibility for it. By going right on with their splitting policy of building the Marine Workers Industrial Union, they have done a perfect job for Ryan, Furuseth and the bosses. The existence of the M.W.I.U. has meant the isolating of splendid, fighting militants who should have been in the midst of the marine workers within the unions. Instead of that, most marine workers have come to hate these militants for being in a dual union. The M.W.I.U. was like a man sticking his chin out for a sock, and when the troops and vigilantes raided its headquarters, the result of the whole splitting policy was that the striking thousands did not come to their help. The failure of the strikers to defend the M.W.I.U., and the condemnation by the Vandeleurs of the red raids, would have been absolutely impossible if it weren't for the splitting policy of the Stalinists. The confusion bred in the minds of the workers has also enabled the police and troops to march right into groups of pickets and soup lines and arrest militant strikers. There have been plenty of fights in which strikers fought to save arrested men, but defense has been spontaneous and unorganized, whereas if the M.W.I.U. members had been all along inside the regular unions, this raiding of strikers would have led to a tremendous and organized defense of the rights of workers.

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

If the teamsters and waterfront men hold out they can still save the union movement here.

—C. G. E.

Bosses' Terror

(Continued from Page 1) civilians, who had dressed like workers and circulated through the crowd, struck like lightning. Several speakers resisted and were reported to have been beaten. Later dispatches in the World Telegram (July 18) by the United Press further exploded the worker-vigilante myth and revealed the tie-up with the government authorities: "Just Hoodlums," Declare Police By EVELYN SEELEY, World-Telegram Special Correspondent.

SAN FRANCISCO, July 18.—"America Today," announced the red and white poster bared to vie at the first broken window of the San Francisco Worker's School, demolished in yesterday's first general strike violence. "America Today" was a lecture to have been given last night by Jim Branch, tall young Harvard economist and head of the Worker's School. Students said Branch probably would have spoken of strikes and violence, the struggle between capital and labor. But last night's newspapers told the story for him. We were having a sandwich at

Books by Leon Trotsky

Table listing books by Leon Trotsky with prices. Includes titles like 'PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION', 'THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION', 'THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION', etc.

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

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

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

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

Brandish Clubs They brandished clubs and chased everyone across the street, even reporters. But Herbert Lord, 27, they insisted on hustling inside the building. When he came out his head was bleeding. "I didn't do nothing," he declared.

When they got through there the police raced up to the Workers' School at 121 Haight St. We followed. Police did not have to do much smashing there. Twenty men or more ("I guess they were hoodlums," said the cops), had driven up in cars and done a thorough job. They wore leather jackets and heavy gloves and carried rocks. They didn't leave a piece of the place intact except the poster that stared out the window about "America Today."

Green's Treachery

(Continued from Page 1)

The "Holy" Contract Richard J. Gray, international treasurer of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union, said: "Our policy is to live up to our contracts. A union has no right to walk out, no matter how great its sympathy with another craft, if it is bound by contract."

Joseph P. Ryan issued a statement which is at least commendable for its plain-speaking. "There will be no strike here in New York while we can hold our men. We have an agreement with the steamship companies until October 31, and we shall continue to live up to it. Communists are trying to make trouble in the vicinity of the piers where ships from the West Coast are unloaded." (That is, scab-loaded ships, being unloaded by union men on Ryan's orders). "They tell the men that it is their duty to walk out to show their sympathy with their comrades on the Pacific, but the men are paying no attention."

Green and the A. F. of L. bureaucracy must not be permitted to live down this shameful treachery, this flagrant display of unity with the bosses against the workers. A survey by the N. Y. State Industrial Commissioner based on reports by 1,675 representative factories in various parts of the State, reveals that employment between the middle of May to the middle of June dropped only 1.2% while wages dropped 18%. Compared to last year this means a further reduction in wages of 26.6%.

This is ample testimony to the "benefits" the NRA has brought to the workers. It also accounts for the support of the NRA by the bosses. It is a commonly accepted Marxian axiom that capitalism can develop only in so far as it can revolutionize the instruments of production. Recent statistics show that unemployment amounts to 47% in the durable goods industries. The Durable Goods Industries Committee also reports that only \$100,000,000 was invested in industry in 1933, as compared with an average of \$4,000,000,000 a year in the 10 years ending with 1930. This amounts to 4 per cent of the annual average. The NRA codes also show a tendency to restrict the installation of new machinery and to limit productive capacity on the false theory of "overproduction." This planned sabotage of the productive forces is the distinguishing feature of declining capitalism.

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Brass Check Journalism The Boss Press and Frisco

A venomous attack on the San Francisco strikers is being carried on by the nation-wide capitalist press.

The Los Angeles Times of July 16 editorially called for the crushing of the strike by force, calling it an "insurrection" and saying: "There is but one thing to be done—put down the revolt with any force necessary." The Sacramento Bee, and the Oakland Tribune editorially hailed Governor Merriam and Mayor Rossi's strikebreaking efforts. The San Francisco Chronicle, declaring the "radicals" are in control of the strike, says the "majority voted for the strike in fear of radical thuggery."

The newspapers are enthusiastically backing the red scare and the raids on groups of strikers being carried on by the police, the bosses' vigilantes, and the National Guard. Before the raids even began on Tuesday, every San Francisco newspaper carried front-page editorials proposing crushing of all militant elements. With eight-column streamers, the yellow Hearst press throughout the country is hailing the mass arrests of militant strikers as seizures of "Reds." The two great national press services, the United Press and the Associated Press, are reporting the raids as raids on "Communist meeting places" and those arrested as "Communists." The N. Y. Times of July 17 attempted to convey the impression that the raids were made by longshoremen. The N. Y. Post was the only paper whose headlines made it clear that strikers were being arrested.

The Myth of the Food Shortage

The red scare was merely the latest of a series of propaganda methods by which the capitalist press has been aiding the bosses against the strike. The worst of these was the myth of a food shortage in Frisco.

In San Francisco, where the public could learn from Strike Committee statements, from strikers, and from the bread, milk and other food trucks passing freely in the streets, that the Strike Committee had made every possible arrangement before the strike began for adequate distribution of food, the myth of a food shortage could make little headway.

But the rest of the country, unable to see what was going on in Frisco, were systematically propagandized by the nation-wide capitalist press with preposterous stories about famine in the strike area. In this attempt to alienate the masses from the strikers, the "liberal" press played its part. As early as Saturday noon the N. Y. World Telegram carried the screaming headline: "Refugees Flee Coast As Food Shortage Grows." This was the main point of many stories. But when an enterprising reporter checked up outgoing traffic, and found few more than usual were leaving the city, the fact was buried inconspicuously in the later stories.

Food "Riot" Scares

While usually the capitalist press maintains a dead silence about the fact that every day in the week desperate unemployed break into food stores, two or three usual instances of the same kind occurring, not in Frisco but in Oakland which was as yet not involved in the strike, were magnified beyond recognition into a fantastic picture of enormous mobs. The ultra-respectable and ultra-reactionary N. Y. Herald Tribune ran on Monday a four-column scarehead: "Famine Menaces San Francisco; Stores Looted in Strike Crisis." The ever so "liberal N. Y. Post" went even further, carrying the same day an eight-column streamer: "Coast Mobs Riot For Food."

This was based on an Associated Press dispatch. A careful reading of the three column dispatch disclosed that one grocery store was involved.

Thus the press attempted to create sentiment against the strikers by falsely picturing them as preventing food distribution, and also to create an atmosphere of rioting mobs and chaos and violence, in order to justify the use of violence against the strikers. In addition, the press pictured the strike as a blow, not at the oppressive capitalists, but at the whole population. These various ways of creating antagonism against the strikers were cleverly woven together. One example is the lead of the Associated Press story of July 15: "The general strike began to swing down upon the 1,300,000 residents of San Francisco's metropolitan area accompanied by vandalism and violence." Another example is the United Press story of July 14, in the N. Y. World Telegram, which said that "unions met to deliver the most devastating blow organized labor has ever dealt to an American city."

Anything Goes in Brass Check Press The same dispatch says not a word about the Strike Committee's arrangements for food distribution, but instead makes it appear that the unions are attempting to prevent food distribution: "Governor Merriam was ready to declare martial law to assure food deliveries, while leaders said that a general strike and a complete stoppage of

business was inevitable." Anything, any trick, to make propaganda against the strikers!

All the News That's Fit to Print

Freed from the restraint of approximating the facts in the news columns, the newspaper editorials were bitterly hostile to the workers. The "fair-minded" N. Y. Times of July 16 said the aim of the strike was "to inflict such hardships upon the people of the city that the authorities will yield"—leaving out entirely the fact that it was a strike against the bosses. The Times hailed the red scare and provocative attacks of the Mayor and Governor, saying their "attitude and proclamations" "are correct and commendable," said the strikers had "already alienated public sympathy" and talked lyingly of the strikers' "determination to keep food and supplies from hospitals and children. Such an open effort to hold it up the city must be prepared to resist with all its might."

The N. Y. Tribune's editorial of July 16 was a tissue of lies. The attempt to separate the longshoremen from the other marine workers, and the bosses' refusal to abide by a vote for representatives of the seamen—issues fundamental to the strike—are thus described: "The most difficult issue . . . is a rather minor one about the recognition of some weak maritime unions in trades in which an election cannot be held at once because most of the workers are at sea." Then the Tribune, like a magician making rabbits disappear, does away with all the issues of the strike: "It is a strike about very little, which presumably means that it is not really a strike at all, but the discharge of pent-up emotions." etc. Then, like true bourbons, the Tribune blames for the strike—"the Roosevelt labor policy!" The Tribune, no doubt, would like to outlaw labor unions altogether, instead of, like Roosevelt, chaining labor to arbitration boards, special mediators, extra-special mediators and the rest of the clap-trap class collaboration machinery.

A "Pro-Labor" Paper

As hostile as the bourbons is the N. Y. World Telegram's editorial of July 16, but it finds itself subtler arguments. It denounces the general strike as "suicide for organized labor" because "the basis of organized labor is the union contract and any union which engages in a sympathetic strike can do so only by breaking its own contract with its employers." In other words, it denounces unions for breaking the clause often inserted in contracts by bosses to prevent sympathetic strikes—a clause, by the way, which the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain, to which the Telegram belongs, has always forced from the Typographical Union. Then the Telegram goes on to say that in a general strike "the public is certain to be wholly hostile. The public, indeed, is made a direct party to the conflict. It fights to save itself." Certainly the World Telegram, for all its false claims to be pro-labor, has been doing all it can to make the public hostile.

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

Militant Builders

ONE MORE WEEK TO GO No Club Plan Cards Sold After August 1st. BUY YOUR CARDS NOW! 4 six-month sub cards for \$1 Cards not sold in clubs of less than 4 at a time. Pittsburgh Branch bought 12 cards last week and A. S., New York City, got 4. This brings the total subs of the second drive to 390. Take advantage of the last week to stock up on the club plan cards. Invest a few dollars and have these cards on hand so as to be able to give an opportunity to such workers as cannot afford to pay the full rate to buy a six-month sub for 25c. After August 1st a six-month sub will be 50c. Only those who have bought the cards before August 1st will be able to get the special rate.

Bound Volumes

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.