

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America

VOLUME VII, NO. 27 [WHOLE NO. 231]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 7, 1934

PRICE 2 CENTS

Hitler «Purges» Party in Bloody Reign of Terror

Fascist Leaders Throw off Middle Class Ballast; Degenerate Character of Regime Revealed

Hitler has remained the victor in the palace revolt within the German Nazi party. While his real difficulties still lie ahead of him it is clear that at the present moment his stranglehold on the German state of affairs is strengthened. The blackest reaction, the big industrialists, the financiers and the Junkers are, if anything, as a result of the recent events, more firmly in the saddle, ruling through their instrument—Fascism.

Those who lost in the revolt faced the firing squad, their guts splattered in gory scenes which have become commonplace in Fascist Germany. The Schutz-Staffeln—the specially picked section of the Fascist army, selected by social origin and physical distinctions—together with Goering's special political police and assisted by the Reichswehr army, were the executioners. For the moment they turned their attention away from their regular pursuit of hounding down proletarian rebels.

Human Refuse

And as for those who now were the victims—the vilest types of degenerates—nobody will shed a tear. Only now this fact is admitted openly although it has long been a byword that this condition was widely prevalent and these elements constituted the brown shirted army as a whole. Only the scum of the earth, the human refuse, can be used for the dastardly role this bestial horde had to play. It was, and it remains after the purging, a monster trained to be fierce, schooled for use as a class instrument of suppression.

Hitler came into power, carried forward by this movement. Its social base consisted in the main of the middle class, urban and peasantry, together with demoralized proletarian elements, rallying from desperation and despair. This middle class had its own aspirations nourished by the demagogic promises of the Nazi program of national socialism. These aspirations, representing in themselves a danger to the fascist regime, are now dashed to the ground in the gory scenes called the self defense of the state.

German Workers Prostrate

There was no evidence at all of the German proletariat in these recent events. It still lies prostrate, sacrificed by the miserable failure of its parties. The German proletariat as a social force has played no role as yet. However, the objective result of these events will serve to narrow enormously the base of the blood curdling ruling regime. Its exploitation and suppression of the masses will of necessity increase, preparing the day when the German proletariat will again rise. But it will not rise until it regains its consciousness, its organizations and above all, not until it re-establishes a revolutionary party.

To gain a better understanding of these recent German events it is necessary to recapitulate some historical facts.

Under the Weimar Republic the capitalists and the Junkers remained the real rulers. The Weimar constitution stripped them of some of their formal authority. Governments changed in make-up and in political color, from social democratic to outright bonapartist, but the police, the army and the whole of the state bureaucracy remained theirs. The big industrialists, the financiers and the Junkers never for one moment gave up the hope of regaining their glories of the old empire, of regaining its colonies, of regaining the markets of exploitation, of scrapping the Versailles Treaty, of crushing the Weimar constitution and above all of crushing the working class movement.

The Custodians of Capitalism
The social democrats had been good enough to rule as long as the masses could be held in subjection by its promises of reforms. In the most trying period of the German capitalists, when they were the weakest and when the working class asserted its demands, the social democrats came to the rescue. From the inception of the Weimar republic the social democrats drowned the proletarian revolution in blood and prepared the road for the reestablishment of capitalism. They continued as the custodians of the interests of capitalism and in an almost uninterrupted coalition with the capitalist parties gave up even their own reform program. Of

the parliamentary democracy, which they had so laudatorily appropriated as their own, they made a shambles and a debacle.

The working class found itself reduced to the lowest level. Impoverishment struck the middle class. Social Democracy was no longer useful to capitalism. Communism grew. The Communist movement began to appear dangerous and the trade unions, despite all the betrayals of the workers, remained strongly entrenched. But the forces of Fascism grew out of the same conditions of capitalism. The big industrialists needed an instrument to crush the Weimar constitution and to do that they had to first crush the working class movement. In this situation the fascist movement developed and became powerful. It became the instrument. It attracted to itself the vilest and most decrepit elements of the capitalist class, but essentially the desperate and despairing middle class and the demoralized

proletarians.

The Rallying Slogans of Fascism

Its rallying slogans were embodied in its deceptive national socialism. Within the former was contained the promise of the scrapping of the hated Versailles Treaty and the restoration of all the glories of the empire of the old days to which the middle class, disappointed with Social Democracy and never attracted to support of Communism, still harked back in its dreams. In the fascist slogans of Socialism was embodied the bizarre promises of busting up the trusts, of dividing up the big businesses for the benefit of the small retailer and of parceling out the big landed estates to the peasants. To the middle class this program represented a glorified empire but with the oppressive features of big business eliminated. The capitalists and the Junkers were never fooled by this "socialist" part of the Nazi program. They knew it was only a bait for the

(continued on page 4)

Old Guard Routs Militants In New York S.P. Convention

The Old Guard won a complete victory at the New York State convention of the Socialist Party, nominating as candidate for governor the extreme right winger, Charles Solomon, by a majority of nearly three to one; electing a complete Old Guard slate for the new State Executive Committee; and put through every Old Guard resolution, including a repudiation of the centrist Declaration of Principles adopted at the recent national convention.

A section of the Old Guard finally permitted the nomination of Norman Thomas as candidate for U. S. Senator, by the withdrawal of his opponent, James O'Neal. But the controlling elements of the Old Guard, the Solomon-Waldman-Hendin-Panken gang, were unrelenting. Though Thomas was the only candidate running, he received only 58 votes to 38 against, in a convention of 118 delegates.

Militants Pussyfoot

The Militant-Thomas faction lost every claim to leadership in the struggle against the Old Guard. Not only did they put up no fight in the pre-convention struggle for delegates, but at the convention they were conciliatory and pussyfooting on every basic issue, and instead of fighting on the fundamental questions, contented themselves with boozing the most provocative attacks made by the Old Guard.

Even in victory, the Old Guard made no pretensions of loyalty to the decisions of the national convention majority. Charles Solomon, standard-bearer in the state elections, bluntly told the Militants, "You are making it practically impossible for some of the comrades to remain in the party," and declared that if the referendum on the Declaration were defeated he would continue to fight against its principles. In direct contradiction to the constitution of the Socialist Party, Algernon Lee, convention chairman, ruled that the Detroit Declaration was not binding until after the referendum. The Old Guard resolution went further, repudiating the Declaration by saying that "the Socialist Party of the State of New York is a social democratic party," that the Detroit declaration "in some of its features is in conflict with the principles and tactics of social democracy," and pronounced the reactionary Declaration adopted in 1924 to be "still in force."

Crushing Policy of Old Guard
By nominating James O'Neal in opposition to Thomas, the Old Guard served notice that they are determined to crush or drive out all opposition, and will give no place in the party to those opposing them. Part of the Old Guard did not go this far, feeling their overwhelming victory was sufficient. This group included full-time party functionaries like Julius Gerber, Henry Fruchter and O'Neal. The ruling Old Guard, however, remained adamant to the end. Since they are in full control of the new State executive Committee, it is clear they intend to wipe out the Militant opposition.

The miscarriage of the Old Guard

plans to keep Thomas out of the election campaign was largely due to a slip-up in strategy. The Old Guard planned to adopt the state platform and other right-wing measures, and then demand that Thomas could not stand as candidate unless he supported the right-wing program. But the time element saved Thomas. The Old Guard's machine did not move fast enough, and the hour for choosing candidates arrived before passage of the right-wing program. The Old Guard suspended the rules long enough to pass their repudiation of the Declaration of Principles. This, however, since it was in contravention to the decision of the national convention, Thomas was able to say did not bind him. It was then too late for the Old Guard to put through the state platform before the candidates.

Humiliation of Thomas

But the nomination of Thomas, instead of being the "victory" which the Militants claim, was a thorough humiliation of Thomas. Laidler's speech nominating Thomas was shamefully conciliatory. He let pass by Waldman's chauvinist statement, in nominating O'Neal, that the candidate should be one "to whom the U. S. Senate means something in the American tradition." He ignored the insistence of the Old Guard "that the candidate should represent a definite position." In the face of Solomon's denunciations, Laidler assured the convention that Solomon and Thomas were ideal running mates because "they have gotten along together splendidly in previous campaigns."

Panken, in opposing Thomas' nomination, declared that "Thomas has been a candidate all this time, and if anybody is responsible for the failure of the movement, it is Thomas." The climax in the attack on Thomas was the denunciation of him by Joseph Tuvim for the stand he took on the furriers, the Progressive Miners, and his attack on the movie union racketeers.

O'Neal had risen to ask for the

(continued on page 4)

General Strike Near in Frisco After Killings

New York, July 6.—Twelve hours after Joseph P. Ryan, chief of the longshoremen's union had issued a vicious reactionary attack on the longshoremen's strike, which Ryan had attempted to settle and leave the other unions in the lurch, Ryan was forced to change his tune. All A.F. of L. unions on the waterfront, were planning to meet on the question of tying up New York piers and Ryan was declaring for the strike.

San Francisco, July 6.—General strike looming. Frisco inflamed with indignation at the murders and violence inflicted on the strikers. Strike sympathy is so strong that the governor and the bosses are afraid the morale of the national guard, now patrolling the piers, will break under the pressure. "Any man who fires into the air will be court-martialed," Colonel Mittelstaedt warned his men, in issuing the order "Shoot to kill."

The pressure is also driving forward the Frisco Labor Council which last week passed a resolution calling upon the longshoremen to drive radicals out of the union. The Council meets tonight, on the general strike issue. So does the Marine Engineers' Association. Teamsters' Union votes on strike Sunday. Street railway men on the move too, and other union meetings scheduled for next few days will undoubtedly take strike votes.

The two thousand national guardsmen have not stopped the strikers and sympathizers who are pressing against the military and police lines. Outgoing trucks are being turned back at outlying piers. Trucks carrying perishables were overturned at Livermore Canyon. The Belt Line Railroad connecting the piers with the railroads, is the worst striking weapon, not only carrying freight, but its cars are lined up to provide a protecting alley for the trucks.

The strikers killed yesterday were shot down on the corner of Mission and Stuart Streets. Today pickets chalked off the square on which they were killed and asked passing workers not to walk on it. In the center of the square is inscribed: "Police murders here"

The labor movement here comprises 120 unions with about 50,000 members. Only the combined efforts of the whole labor movement can defeat this onslaught. Everybody has combined on the side of the bosses—chambers of commerce, the notorious Industrial Association, Governor Merriam, the police, the troops, the ship owners. For all they know that if the marine workers win San Francisco will be a union town. That's just why all the unions have to fight this fight. If they don't fight, they're licked.

New Address

All members and sympathizers are urged to take notice of the change of address of the Communist League, The Militant, Young Spartacus and all the other institutions which formerly had their headquarters at 126 E. 16th Street. The new address is 144 Second Avenue, New York City.

Housewarming

A housewarming party at the new headquarters of the New York Local of the Communist League of America will take place Saturday, July 14th at 8 P.M. The new headquarters are located at 144 Second Ave., corner 9th Street. A program of entertainment has been arranged for this occasion, food and refreshments will be served. All friends and sympathizers are invited.

MASS MEETING

The Meaning of the German Events

SPEAKERS:

Max Shachtman - Arne Swabeck

Sunday, July 8, 8 P.M.

Irving Plaza Hall - 15th Street and Irving Place

Admission 15c

Questions and Discussion

New Truck Drivers Strike Impends in Minneapolis

Back the League In New Drive

With the general strike impending in Minneapolis, the need for concerted efforts on organization work, and the stabilization of our press becomes imperative. A definite duty is imposed upon us by the events.

Can we rise to the situation? Comrade Cannon has already left for Minneapolis to cover the news and analyze the events for The Militant and the New International. If the strike breaks, we must give further assistance. The entire League must be mobilized for the tremendous tasks ahead.

SHOULDERS TO THE WHEEL! BACK MINNEAPOLIS BY HELPING THE LEAGUE. SEND YOUR COLLECTIONS IMMEDIATELY. DON'T DELAY.

Receipts
(Since last Report)

A. Friend, N. Y.	\$15.00
Chas. Anthony, N. Y.	2.00
Marion McLeod	1.00
S. C. Baltimore	1.00
G. James, Berkeley	1.00
Helen Mason, Columbus	10.00
A. Friend (King)	.50
Manhattan Branch	1.28
M. M.	25.00

Entire Labor Movement Backs 574 General Strike Possible

Another general strike of truck drivers under the leadership of the indomitable Local 574 looms in Minneapolis. After the crushing defeat they suffered at the hands of organized labor in the first drivers' strike the bosses are now trying to recoup their losses in an effort to swindle the workers out of the wage increases which were taken for granted at the conclusion of the last strike.

The employers, violating the terms of the agreement, have refused to arbitrate the question of wages and working conditions with the representatives of the union.

In the meanwhile the open shop bosses have issued half page paid ads to the press, lying about the facts and charging the union with the responsibility for the impending strike.

But Local 574 will not be cheated out of the rightful gains they so victoriously won in the recent strike. They have accepted the challenge and hurled back the answer.

The answer is **FIGHT!** Minneapolis labor has been called upon for its support. A joint conference was held and from the Central Labor Union of the A. F. of L. they have joined hands to the last man with the fighting truck drivers against the notorious Citizen's Alliance of Minneapolis.

Under the aegis of this joint conference of all the unions of Minneapolis a mass demonstration is to be held tonight, July 6th, at 6:30 P.M. Union representatives will expose the conniving tactics of the bosses and their jackal tricks before tens of thousands of cheering workers. The leaflet advertising the demonstration says that "**DECISIVE ACTION WILL BE TAKEN AT THIS MEETING.**"

Broad Silk Dept in Silk Union Backs 7 Expelled Militants

(The following article on the expulsions in the Silk workers union was due to appear in the last issue of the Militant but unfortunately was crowded out because of lack of space.—Ed.)

BULLETIN
PATERSON, June 25.—The Broad Silk Dept membership meeting (A.F.S.W.) overwhelmingly voted today to recommend to the Joint Executive Board and to the General Membership Meeting that they throw out the expulsions of all Associated members brought up on charges by Eli Keller for their participation in the Albert (Roy) case, and for being members of the United Silk Workers Club. This motion was opposed by only two votes.

Among the seven expelled members of the Associated are: members of the Broad Silk Executive, members of the Constitution Committee, members of the last strike committee, and shop chairmen. All of them are candidates for election to the incoming Broad Silk Executive. With a single exception, they are all members of the United Silk Workers Club. The attack of the officialdom is being directed in particular against: Eddie Swalyful, Charlie Weiss, Felix Giordano, Ross Moran, and Anna Fisher.

The Albert (Roy) Case

On April 23 a strike was called in the Roy shop because of discrimination. The worker discriminated against was a member of the National (Stalinist) Union: the shop was under the jurisdiction of the National, and in it worked several A.F.S.W. members. All the workers in the shop, both National and A.F.S.W., walked out.

On April 26 the bosses offered to settle provided the workers took a wage out. The workers stayed out, now striking on two issues.

For two weeks everybody was out on strike, including one, H. Berman. Then the bosses moved the shop to Madison Ave. & 3rd Ave. and changed its name to Albert Silk Co. At the same time they became members of the Manufacturers Association in an obvious attempt to break the strike by claiming a contract with the A.S.W. In other words, the bosses moved their shop, rushed to the Bosses' Association and then—to Keller who had just managed to squeeze through in the election for General Manager on a "progressive platform."

Here was an excellent opportunity to demonstrate to all silk workers not only the suicidal policy of Stalinism but also the forward-looking policies of the Associated. Instead Keller obligingly appointed one Berman as shop-chairman. The bosses promptly appointed Berman, as a reward. As now this foreman-shop-chairman Berman proceeded to aid the bosses in the name of the A.S.W. (!) in getting an injunction against the picketers.

Demand Open Investigation
At this juncture a committee of A.S.W. workers appeared before the Broad Silk Executive and demanded an open investigation of the Albert case. Although the motion was made and seconded, the "progressive" majority on the board completely ignored it, and proceeded then and there to carry on an

"investigation" with Henry Berman, foreman-shop-chairman as the spokesman for the workers. The Executive Board meeting broke up in a list-fight, precipitated by one Chensatsky (Keller's man Friday). All attempts to deal with the matter inside the union were squashed. Keller and his "progressives" obviously were relying on their temporary control of the executive bodies to whitewash themselves through secret investigations.

The United Silk Workers' Club thereupon undertook a campaign for the following demands: 1) an open investigation conducted by the union into the whole case; 2) immediate recall of all the A.S.W. members recruited by Berman into the shop and actually scabbing there; 3) refusal to grant membership to any worker not now in the Associated but working in the shop under Keller's protection; 4) full support of the strikers by the A.S.W.; 5) immediate repudiation and expulsion of Henry Berman who acted throughout as a bosses' agent and scab recruiter.

Militant Policy Bears Fruit

The militant and progressive policies of the Associated men who led and supported this campaign bore fruits immediately, to the chagrin of both Keller and of the Stalinists who presumably were "leading" the strike, but who as a matter of fact had left the men stranded. The leader of the strike, together with several other National members, immediately either joined the Associated or filed their applications. In a pathetic attempt to salvage their biggest shop the Stalinists ran a "public trial of Eli Keller" on June 1—as their attempt to capitalize on the Open Investigation which the United Silk Workers' Club held on May 30. At the same time the Daily Worker ranted that the Trotskyites were working to sell out the strikers. While the Stalinists were busy inciting the workers against the "Mustelites and Trotskyites", the Lovestonites (Keller at the head) raised a howl that these same "renegades" were working hand in hand with the Stalinists, in the interests of the National.

Keller initiated nothing short of a red-baiting campaign, and availed himself of every reactionary tactic that has ever been devised. Thus, the "accused" were summoned to appear for trial without being informed what the charges against them were, or who the accusers were: even before a hearing was held, three of the accused who were also members of the Broad Silk Executive were suspended. Protests against the procedure were not heeded. Keller did graciously consent to send out letters specifying the charges. Before the actual hearing, Ross Moran was expelled from the union as "not a silk worker." (Keller is convinced that Moran is a truck driver—evidently under the fresh impression of the Minneapolis struggle, Keller has been having nightmares of "truck-driver Trotskyites.")

Keller's Charges
Moran's protest letter, demanding

(Continued on Page 4)

Breaking the written pledge which was wrested from them by the fearlessly militant actions of Local 574 in the preceding strike, the bosses have undertaken a movement to deprive the truck drivers of those advantages which were implicit in the arbitration they agreed to.

Lies and Evasions

Amidst a veritable barrage of lies and evasions to the kept press they complain bitterly that the union is not living up to its promises. These promises, they presume to be, are not that the questions of wages and working conditions shall be brought before the arbitration board for adjudication. The employers conceived the agreement as the usual run-around. After failing to come to terms with the union representatives they thought the matter would be dropped and nothing more would be heard of it.

But this was Local 574 they were dealing with, not the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

In this statement of the 168 firms they display that hypocritical indignation that is so typical of bosses when they are compelled to surrender the smallest part of their blood-profits extorted from their wage-slaves.

A tear-jerking whine that the union would not permit itself to be victim of delay—the time-worn method of cheating the workers out of their victories—is expressed at the fact that 574 promptly placed pickets before those few establishments which continued to discriminate against strikers.

A Real Industrial Union

If these aggressive tactics on the part of the union and its leaders were unsavory to the bosses then it certainly must have been a bitter pill for them to swallow when they discovered that they were not dealing with a craft union of drivers and helpers but a broad industrial union covering handlers, banana men, tomato men, potato men, cooler men, celery trimmers, orange men and California fruit men. The bosses howl that these were not included in the agreement. But the very fact that it is these self-same bosses who deal with the drivers that are making the complaint gives the lie to this assertion. The bosses would have very much liked to separate the workers into ineffective craft unions. But they reckoned without their host.

We are paying enough, shout the profit-mad bosses. Are we not living up to the 50 cents per hour minimum for truck drivers? Fifty cents an hour may be the conception of the wealth sated bosses of a living wage for their employees. Fifty cents an hour may have been the lot submitted to by the workers before their last strike, before they stood up to the stature of human beings who want a decent living wage. But certainly not after they drove the bosses, their police and hired thugs to such a miserable rout.

The Union's Answer

The answer of the union leaders to the false charges of the employers is quite explicit. It throws the responsibility where it belongs. They make their position clear beyond doubt in a statement issued to the press which follows. We quote from the Minneapolis Journal of July 2nd.

(Continued on Page 4)

REVIEWING THE NEWS

"Hell Hitler!" Not the least nauseating feature of the recent murder campaign in Germany was the unanimity with which the lesser bureaucrats, fearing their own necks and jobs, repeated with variations all the official denunciations of those who but yesterday were hailed as heroes.

Hitler and Capone Newspapers, particularly the English press, have been comparing Hitler's murdering of his bosom pals to the St. Valentine's Day massacre of gangsters in Chicago. There is this difference. Hitler was able to pass a law making his murder campaign legal after the event. Capone was never able to do that.

The Fascist Danger That murderers, dope-fiends, sexual degenerates and maniacs make up the leadership of Fascist movements has been amply demonstrated first in Italy and now in Germany. The record of the leadership of the Ku Klux Klan, Silver Shirts and Khaki Shirts show that this feature is also common to similar movements in America. That the powerful German labor movement should have allowed such a gang to grow in strength is the most telling condemnation of that movement that can be made.

Stalinism and Germany The Stalinists who saw a "revolutionary upsurge" in Hitler's coming to power now see a proletarian victory approaching in the death of Von Schleicher and Roehm. Open-air speakers go a step further than editorial writers and call on their audiences to prepare to "defend Soviet Germany". But the Moscow correspondent of the New York Times reports that Soviet officials consider a Bolshevik revolution in Germany something in the remote future. Actually, he reports, they would not like to see such a development now. It might lead to war. And yet the Daily Worker shouts "Long live Stalin, leader of the world revolution!"

Voodooism Science may explain the world, explain it so clearly that even the witch doctors of the various churches are compelled to acknowledge its truth. But let some upsetting natural phenomenon occur and the preachers revert to the primitive. The New York Times reports "Prayer bands have been organized throughout Kansas. Catholic as well as Protestant churches are holding prayer services in behalf of rain." There must be a shortage of lunatic asylums in Kansas.

Bert Wolfe Bertram D. Wolfe of the Lovestone Group ventures to attack Karl Radek in the latest issue of the Workers Age. Radek's article in the Daily Worker on the League of Nations is the object of the attack and Wolfe does a fair job of demolishing Radek's reactionary position. However, before attacking Radek, who is but a tool of Stalin, Wolfe bows before the "leader". "We can quite agree with Stalin," says Wolfe. Yes, yes, we know that. You always agreed with Stalin on every thing but one. "Dual-unionism", "Social-fascism", "third period", "Socialism in one country", "expulsion of Trotskyists", "expulsion of Brandler", "removal of Bucharin", all was agreed to. But removal of Lovestone and his supporters from the leadership of the American party—ah! that was a different matter, a principle question. —BILL.

CLEVELAND First Annual PICNIC Given by Communist League of America (Cleveland Branch) SUNDAY, JULY 22, 1934 Garfield Park — Section 7 (Take 105th St. Car—Garfield Pk.) Admission 10c. Free Refreshments

The Military Coup d'Etat In Latvia

The character of the military coup of May 15th in the small Baltic country, Latvia, leaves no doubt in the minds of the revolutionary working class that the leadership of Karl Ulmanis and General Bolodis are inseparably identified with the hated ultra-reactionary "Peasants' League", which is known to all revolutionary workers as a petty-bourgeois, kulak-nationalist sect, and which has led a characteristically clear fascist movement in that country for a long time.

Not by any accident has this party—the most reactionary and anti-proletarian in Latvian politics—been at the bottom of the initiator and influencing force of the coup d'etat of May 15th. First of all, this "Peasants' League" has been the initiator of the notorious special tariff law on export goods, in favor of the middle-class kulak economy; the "Peasants' League" representatives in the Saeim (parliament) are the constant looters of the state treasury, for the benefit of the former Baltic barons and landlords of Liv- and Courland; the "Peasants' League" has been the medium that most efficiently pursued those policies which shifted all the sufferings and hardships brought about by the general crisis upon the shoulders of the city proletariat, the village poor and the farm workers; and, finally, the "Peasants' League" is the ruthless creator of the system of terror by which the Latvian ruling class have suppressed and are still able to suppress the slightest attempts of protest by the masses. They are employing subterfuge and deception to hide their true motives and real intentions.

The Program of Ulmanis By the direct support of this petit-bourgeois clique that has the form and policy of the unbridled monster of fascism, the Ulmanis dictatorship rose into power. The goal of Ulmanis' ambition was to replace the parliamentary form of government with the authoritarian or dictatorial power. Several months before the coup, he presented a bill to that effect in the parliament, where it was drastically criticized, changed and filed. A week before the coup, the parliament adopted in its second session the new constitution, with complete rejection of all Ulmanis' amendments. Then it became evident that the third session would not even consider his proposals and the only way left was—the military coup, which was successfully carried out the night between May 15th and 16th.

That night armed bands of war veterans broke into the Labor Temple of Riga, capital of Latvia, where the Social Democratic headquarters were located, arrested all present, confiscated all property, and transformed the place into a so-called "National Defense League" headquarters. On the same night all Socialist members of the Saeim were arrested in their homes. The S. D. president, Dr. Paul Kalnins, was amongst the first arrested. From all other members of the Saeim signatures were taken, under threat, not to attempt to call an assembly. Early in the morning, all trade union leaders were rounded up and their offices closed. Fifty newspapers and periodicals were suppressed, mostly Socialist, although one neutral German language paper, Europa Ost was included.

The official report next morning circulated stories that carloads of arms were seized, and two hundred revolvers taken from Dr. Kalnins' room. The second part of the report announced, ironically, in contrast to its own actions, that in the near future, the Fascist Legionnaires would have attempted an uprising and the action of Ulmanis was simply to stave them off. But very few Legionnaires were arrested by Ulmanis.

Rests on Military Force In throwing all his opponents into jail, Ulmanis' dictatorship expected to prepare the ground for the coming general election, the date of which has not been set in which to carry his program into action. In the meantime, it rested purely on military force. The morning after the coup, eight regiments of regular troops marched into the city. Simultaneously, new regiments were organized from the reactionary volunteers. In recruiting first from the most conservative layers of the population, soon the government found full support also from the various centrist groups and of the German national minorities.

Ulmanis, being himself a rich land-owner and capitalist who recently spent several weeks in Nazi Germany to "study" the government

there, formed his new government after his own image, that is, of the capitalists and landlords. His cabinet includes, besides himself as Secretary of State and Foreign Affairs; Skujenieks—Vice-secretary of State and Foreign Affairs; General Bolodis—War; Gulbis—Interior; Einbergs—Communication; Rubulis—Public Welfare; Kaulins—Agriculture; Ehks—Finance; Apsitis—Justice; Professor Adamovits—Education; Yaudsens—Assistance.

All "good" men, when judged by individual standards of morality and respectability. Looking at it from a little broader point of view, the vocabulary of denunciation and abhorrence seems inadequate when applied to their records and actions. Viewed with still wider social and historical vision, they seem to be instruments in the process by which the capitalist class hopes to maintain its power, without which it could not retain its stranglehold over the working class of Latvia.

Aimed at the Workers It is clear from here, that the Latvian working class and the toiling masses are the subject against whom the Ulmanis coup d'etat was directed. Bourgeois reaction, with armed forces, and not altogether without the support of the S. D. leaders, is trying forever to crush the resistance of the proletariat. The "Peasants' League" and its war-fascist traveling companions dared to take the power, with the knowledge that the Latvian working class is split and demoralized by the Social Democracy on the one hand, and the Stalinist bureaucrats, with their political isolation and false trade union policy on the other.

The Latvian Social Democracy and the Stalinist phrase-mongers helped Ulmanis' accession to power, just as much as the armed kulak bands of the "Peasants' Party". Only recently, the Social Democrat Menders threatened the fascist forces from the floor of the Saeim, and also in the party congress, that they would not make the mistake their Austrian brothers did. Menders and Bruno Kalnins warned the bourgeoisie with threats: "Nothing comes to us unexpected", and that in case of the violation of the constitution they would "come to the streets".

More than fifteen years the Social Democratic leaders have split and sabotaged the working class fight for freedom. In every case where the working masses attempted action against their exploiters, they called for "law and order" and "discipline". At the same time they matched their wits with the Stalinists, in sabotaging the united front. Whenever the sentiment of the workers called for action, they, with Menders and Kalnins, gave them promises for the future. The Stalinists on their part answered by organizing a "Labor Sports Unions" of their own, and played football with fascist storm-troopers, while refusing to meet with Social Democratic workers.

Workers Without Leadership Tricked by Social Democracy, repelled by the Communist Party politics of bluff and ballyhoo, the bombastic phrase-mongering which held sway over every activity of the party, great masses of class-conscious workers sank into apathy and indifference. Thousands have been lured over into the camp of Ulmanis and the "Peasants' League".

The petit-bourgeois element in the Peasants League and their war-fascist allies have prepared for the coup of the 15th of May for a long time. It manifested itself in the systematic wholesale arrests of the workers, imprisonment of the workers' delegates, the revision of the constitution, the fascization of the state apparatus, the mobilization of fascist storm-troops, and terror in town and country. Reaction made wide preparations while the Social Democratic Party and the Stalinists undermined the unity of the workers by calling each other the "main enemy".

It is interesting to note the attitude of the "Peasants' League" towards the open fascist organizations that were led by Stalmacher, Karlson and other adventurists under their ringing names, such as "The Fiery Cross League", "The Knights of the Lightning Cross" etc. The Latvian newspapers published in past months a lot of material concerning the connections these organizations had with the German Nazi agents, who in Riga already had established an official representative. It is true that some of the military leaders are trying to show that the new regime is also against these fascist bands that are directly led by German Fascists. But the German Fascist journalism approved wholeheartedly the Latvian insurrection by Latvian militarists, and not accidentally so. Hitler's Nazis do not endorse anything without expected returns.

The Latvian military coup d'etat, although not very important in itself, has a great significance and bearing upon the Soviet Union. Latvia, which now geographically presses the ribs of the body of the Soviet Union, should attract all the attention of the working class of the whole world. It looks like the actual spearhead of the fascist hordes against the workers' fatherland. —PAUL SCHWALBE.

QUESTION BOX

COMRADE H. L. Newark.—Yes! Lenin gave a very clear answer to the question of work in the trade unions controlled by the reactionaries, and his words of 14 years ago are a scathing denunciation of the present Stalinist trade-union policy.

"We carry on the struggle against the 'labor aristocracy' in the name of the working masses in order to gain them on our side; and we do battle against the opportunist and social-chauvinist leaders to achieve the same object. To forget this elemental and self-evident truth would be foolish. But the German 'Left Communists' (read today Stalinists, Ed.) commit the same stupidity when, because of the reactionary and counter-revolutionary heads of the trade unions they, through some inexplicable mental process, jump at the conclusion that it is necessary to abandon these organizations altogether! To refuse to work in them! To invent new working men's unions! This is an unpardonable blunder which results in the Communists rendering the greatest service to the bourgeoisie. . . . Not to work within reactionary trade unions means to leave the backward or insufficiently developed working masses to the influence of reactionary leaders, agents of the bourgeoisie, labor aristocrats or 'bourgeoisified workmen.'" (Lenin—"The Infantile Sickness of 'Leftism' in Communism," Emphasis ours)

By all means read this work.

SYMPATHIZER, N. Y.—Right now Trotsky's address is "somewhere in France". The idea of a party of your friends to raise money for his guards is excellent. Such money can be sent to The Militant.

Trotsky never wrote the leaflet containing the slogan: "Without a Czar—But a Labor Government", as your Lovestonite friend says. This was written in 1905 by Parvus. In attacking "Trotskyism" in his "Problems of Leninism", Stalin (who, with Trotsky, never saw the leaflet) found it convenient to change this factual side of the matter in order to be able to accuse Trotsky of "underestimating the peasantry". In 1928, when still in the official C. P., the Lovestonite, Bertram D. Wolfe, in slaying "Trotskyism" in his pamphlet, "The Trotsky Opposition" (p. 20) echoed this falsehood of Stalin. This is probably where your friend got it. To be fair to yourself always check the "quotations" of the Lovestonites at the original source. We speak from much experience.

F. S. U. MEMBER, N. Y.—There are no known official statistics by which to judge the accuracy of the Stalinist ballyhoo about the Chinese Soviets and the thousands of Chinese they claim to be in the I.L.D. etc. Certain facts are clear, however. In the Chinese Soviet districts there is practically no industry, the section being purely agricultural. The Red armies and the Soviets are purely peasant in character. This class basis, without the leadership of the city proletariat, is by no means a guarantee to the revolutionary character of the movement. The Stalinists speak of "workers and peasants", but it is a riddle where the proletariat comes from. However, if Amter can find "honest fascist workers" it should not be hard for him to find a few proletarians in those parts of China where industry has not penetrated. Also, the following remains to be answered by the Stalinists: If there is a Chinese Soviet government, why does not the Soviet Union recognize it, and if it already has, who are the ambassadors to and from the Soviet Union?

We cannot agree with you that a correct definition of fascism is "the more open, more brutal rule of the capitalist class". This is a hardly sufficient characterization of this form of the rule of finance-capital. The Stalinists are particularly addicted to calling every use of force by the capitalists as "fascist" or "semi-fascist". The following random example is handy: "La Guardia is moving toward more open brutalized reaction. There is not an honest person who will not be eager to join in the struggle against this Fascization of the life of the city." (Editorial in Daily Worker, June 28, 1934. Emphasis ours.)

From such a position would necessarily follow the conclusion that in its democratic form capitalism does not use force. The use of force, however, more or less open or brutal, is, and has been, a characteristic of all class society, and is by no means the feature which distinguishes fascism from other forms of bourgeois rule. . . . "the gist of Fascism and its task consist in a complete suppression of all workers' organizations and in the prevention of their revival. In a developed capitalist society this goal cannot be achieved by police methods alone. There is only one method for it and that is by directly opposing the pressure of the proletariat—the moment it weakens—by the pressure of the desperate masses of the petty bourgeoisie. It is this particular system of capitalist reaction that has entered history under the name of Fascism." ("What Next", by L. Trotsky, p. 32.)

The Chicago Friends of The Militant Club

Chicago.—The Chicago Friends of the Militant, as an auxiliary organization to the Communist League of America, came into existence almost two years ago.

For all those who are not familiar with this organization, its program and its tendencies, it would not be amiss to sketch in brief the purposes of this organization and the development it has undergone since its inception.

It was founded by a handful of sympathizers who became convinced that the Left Opposition was correct in its critical attitude toward the C. I. for misinterpreting Marxian theories and misapplying these principles or not applying them at all to the practical field of tactics and strategy.

The innumerable mistakes and deviations of the C. I. and of the various Communist parties, which were so clearly foreseen and warned against by the Left Opposition through all the available agencies, such as the press, literature and platform, and whose analyses and criticisms have proven so correct since, have developed the consciousness in this small group of sympathizers that the Left Opposition is the only wing in the revolutionary movement which pursues the correct Marxian policy.

The Friends of the Militant Club was formed as an auxiliary, first to render financial and moral support to the parent organization, in particular its press, so as to enable it to propagate its views among the large masses of workers; secondly, to secure a membership and develop it by educational means so that the more ripe and fully class-conscious would be ready to enter into the fold of the Party proper.

The requirements for admission to membership were made minimal: a) Acknowledgement of the principle of class struggle. b) Sympathy with the U.S.S.R. The educational program was to be broad and varied: while instituting lectures on Marxism and current topics related to the class struggle and the revolutionary movement as a whole, other fields were not to be neglected, such as literature, philosophy and sciences.

Looking back at this relatively short time since we have been in existence, while there is plenty room for improvement and for growth of the organization, we may truthfully say that the Friends of the Militants Club has lived up to its original aims. It has given not only financial aid to the Militant and the movement, but it has through lectures, personal contacts and spreading of the Militant among hundreds of strangers who otherwise could not be reached by the comrades of the local branch, become an important agency in spreading the principles of Marxism and the viewpoints of the Communist-Internationalists.

For the past 21 months, our organization has contributed close to \$800.00, has obtained hundreds of subscriptions to the Militant and subs to the New Internationalist, has distributed Militants at various other meetings and demonstrations, has sent delegates to important conferences such as the Tom Mooney Tag-Day, May First Conference and to Anti-Fascist groups. In short, it has participated in many activities of the revolutionary labor movement.

The various benefits in an educational and ideological sense to the majority of members of the organization were also not negligible. The lectures and discussions which were given every other Sunday night in open Forums and every other Thursday night in private homes were potent factors in molding the educational development of many members. Through these discussions, the members became acquainted with the various currents in the revolutionary movement, learned the correct and incorrect viewpoints on many issues of the class struggle, the various mis-interpretations and deviations from the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky and the disastrous consequences such deviations had upon the course of the entire revolutionary movement. Many a member obtained a clearer understanding of these burning questions as a result of the activities of the Friends of the Militant.

The Summer activities are going on with the usual lectures and discussions every other Thursday night at private homes. For the Fall season we are planning to launch a more intense membership campaign and, with the same devotion, try to be a greater help in the cause of world revolution. —J. RUBY.

Manhattan Branch I Glade \$1.00 monthly Leonard Lewis 1.00 weekly Dorothy Morris 1.00 " Clara Nelson 1.00 " J. Wright 2.00 monthly M. Spithos 1.00 " S. Biecker .50 " S. Gordon 2.00 " Paul King 1.00 " Florence Becker 2.00 " J. Weber 2.00 " M. Tamas 1.00 " F. Victor .50 " M. Kling 2.00 " E. Konikow 1.00 " Others in New York City I. Porter 1.00 monthly E. Alby 1.00 " E. E. C. 1.00 " E. J. Conwit .50 " Cornelis 1.00 " Samuel, E. 1.00 " Ann Ehrlich 1.00 " The Geltmans 1.00 " L. Haidous 1.00 " P. Miller 1.00 " Sydney Moroff 1.00 " A. McCabe 1.00 " City Subway Worker 1.00 " Beecher .50 " Colay .50 " Cochran .50 " Jerry Marsh 1.00 " Ann Toven 1.00 " Gonzales .50 " T. Smith 2.00 " Bronx Edith Sher 1.00 " S. Eckstadt 1.00 " M. Lifshitz 1.00 " Newark, N. J. Lambert 1.00 " G. Holly .50 " L. Nagy .50 " Becker 1.00 " G. Kotz 1.00 " A. Sympathizer .50 " A. Social Worker 1.00 " A. Clerk .50 " Boston E. Wiener .50 " C. Shecket .50 " W. Henderson .50 " J. Chiplowitz .50 " A. Wolfe, New Haven 1.00 " A. Friend, Youngstown 2.00 " (paid 4 months in advance) A. Teacher in N. Y. C., paid for 16 months in advance. A. Friend of The Militant paid \$25 in advance at \$1 a week.

THE MILITANT Entered as a second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879. Published Weekly by the Communist League of America 126 East 16th Street, New York, N.Y. Phone: Gramercy 5-9524 Vol. 7, No. 27, (Whole No. 231) SATURDAY, JULY 7, 1934 EDITORIAL BOARD Martin Abern James P. Cannon Mar Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck Bundle rates one cent per copy. Subscription rate: \$1.00 per year \$0.50 per half year — Canada and Foreign: \$1.50 per year; 75c for six months.

MARCH OF EVENTS

Appraisal of the German Events If the contradictions in the camp of German fascism have broken out into the open, certainly it can be said that the one restraining force that held together the fascist aggregation had been removed. That force which cemented momentarily the heterogeneous forces of reaction, was the independently organized working class. The cruelties of Stalinism (witness the article by Harry Gannes in recent issues of the Daily Worker) repeat ad nauseam: "German is on the eve of the greatest revolutionary struggles. . . . The fires of revolt are burning high in Germany."

Nor does Gannes yet refrain from informing us "that the stalwart, heroic leader of the German working class, the Communist Party, is growing by leaps and bounds, tremendously increasing its leadership in the fight against the bloody fascist dictatorship." When as a matter of fact the lack of any sort of relationship, let alone that of leadership, between a revolutionary vanguard party and the widest masses of the German proletariat is itself a decisive factor in permitting the disagreements in the camp of the enemy to come to the surface. Were the situation that pictured by the Stalinists its party could play a tremendous role at this moment. The events themselves give the lie to the false and premeditated deluding estimate of the Stalinist bureaucrats. For the relation between the revolutionary party and the working class is decisive, and the revolutionary party is now in process of building in Germany, as elsewhere, under the banner of the Fourth International.

The Fascist Hostages If the bourgeoisie was impelled to resort to fascism, it nevertheless feared the petty bourgeois forces of the reaction because these elements once in motion tend to go further than is desired by the big bankers and industrialists in control behind the scene. The exploited small tradesmen and peasantry attempt to throw off some of the oppression to which they are subjected by monopoly-capitalism. Furthermore the middle classes have been led to expect far greater rewards and achievements for their "heroism" than can be afforded by the big bourgeoisie. Hence the latter are anxious to restore "law and order" as soon as possible after the counter-revolution.

By a series of stages the armed forces and the "party" of the petty bourgeoisie must be dissolved. The storm troops became acutely aware of these designs, to which Hitler had perforce to acquiesce, when they attempted to gain control of the army, the Reichswehr. This force was being expanded from one hundred thousand men to three hundred thousand by including Stahlhelm and Junker elements and excluding the Nazis.

In the conflict that ensued a clear attempt was made at the beginning of dissolution of the storm troops by forcing them to give up their arms and uniforms and giving them a holiday. This precipitated a conspiracy of the underlings who feared for their posts and prerogatives. Von Papen shrewdly helped to precipitate a situation from which he had everything to gain. Hitler, realizing that mass support was slipping from under his feet, had to give himself as a hostage to the bureaucracy representing the Junkers and the big bourgeoisie. At the same time he keeps Goebbels, titular head of the petty bourgeois "lefts" and still retaining a measure of prestige in the ranks of the millions of Nazis, as a hostage to aid him in the further steps that now become inevitable. Goebbels will feel more than uneasy in view of the shooting of his erstwhile companions,—but precisely for that reason will obey "the leader" while distrusting him. Hitler aids to dissolve the forces that acted as a stirrup to lift him to power.

The Dregs of Society Hitler reveals openly the constitution of the hordes upon whom he relied for support previously. It is nothing new to the world that the Nazis were the dumpeep for the rottenest, vilest, most degenerate and individuals wishing to take advantage of this special offer are urged to get them at once. . . . New subs this week: Chicago Branch, 8; New Haven Branch, 4; New York Local, 4; A. L. Rumble, 4; Jefferson Hall 4. Total 24. REMEMBER! THE DRIVE ENDS AUGUST 1st. GET YOUR CARDS NOW! Complete Record

Table with 2 columns: Branch Name and Number of Cards. Includes Local New York, Minneapolis Branch, Cleveland Branch, Los Angeles Branch, Chicago Branch, Philadelphia Branch, Boston Branch, Chicago Friends of the Militant Club, San Francisco Branch, Constance N., Davenport Branch, New Haven Branch, Toronto, Berkeley (Kogan), Ben. L. and I. Porter, Leeser, New Castle Branch, Newark Branch.

Table with 2 columns: Branch Name and Number of Cards. Includes Oakland Branch, Springfield Branch, St. Louis Branch, Osborn, Frisco, Toronto Branch, Toronto Youth Club, Waukegan Branch, Youngstown Branch, Ross Moran, A. L. Rumble, Jefferson Hall, TOTAL 330.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL An Organ of Revolutionary Marxism Max Shachtman, Editor Martin Abern, Bus. Mgr. Station D - Post Office Box 119 New York, N. Y. One Year, \$1.50; Seven Issues, \$1.00; Single Copy, 15 Cents; Canada and Foreign Countries—One Year, \$1.75. I enclose herewith \$..... for which please enter my subscription for the NEW INTERNATIONAL: Name Address City State

The White Terror Stalinist Treachery in China

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tsang King-teh—secretary of the China section of the International Red Aid.
Chen Yung-chao—head of the Chinese Communist Party.
Chang Chi-yung—director of the Organizational Department of the Kiangsu Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Liu Wen-hsiang—a party member and secretary and executive member of the party-controlled Shanghai Labor Union.
Zai Wei—a woman member of the party engaged in work among women.

Fang Yuen-ming—editor of the party's trade union organ.
Liu Chi-hsia—described as an important member of the party.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Another Capitulator Speaks
Now let us hear Fang Yuen-ming, whose statement of capitulation was published in the Shanghai *Morning Post* of May 17:
". . . during my long political life I have felt myself wandering toward extinction. Especially my five years in the Communist Party led me to believe that it is wrecking the Chinese revolution and the Chinese race. The central idea of the communists is class struggle. Class warfare above racial welfare. . . .

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

The Wisconsin State Socialist Party Convention

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

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

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

the territories of the Red Bandits (so-called Soviet districts—L) are gradually becoming smaller and smaller. . . .

"Let us take a look at Shanghai which the communists think of as the 'capital of the non-property class' and also where communists have put in their full energies in their work. How about the communist organizations in this part of China? How many branch organizations are really working and holding meetings? In the Green Labor Union (!) of the non-workers, except for a few non-workers running here and there, there is practically not a single healthy branch organization. As to the rest of the communist organizations, like the Mutual Aid Society (Red Aid—L.), the Anti-Imperialist League, Left Writers' League, etc., these are only names for memories. There are no such organizations. . . .

"Before I was arrested I already had an idea of surrendering. After careful deliberation I know that I was travelling the wrong road. . . ."
Degeneracy of Stalinism
It has for long been clear that from a party whose members have first to capitulate to the counter-revolution before they can secure an opportunity to criticize the party line, there is nothing to be expected but fresh crimes and blunders. In the degeneracy of Stalinism, in the wholesale surrender of its leaders to the reaction, we are witnessing the rotting of a political corpse, the corruption of which stinks to high heaven.

The Chinese Left Opposition will waste no tears over it. Instead, with added energy and determination, it will proceed to the urgent task of building the Chinese section of the Fourth International.
—LUCIFER.

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

Seasonal curtailment is becoming more apparent in steel, motor and production.
The daily average volume of Federal Reserve bank credit outstanding during the week ended May 23, as reported by the Federal Reserve banks, was \$2,475,000,000, a decrease of \$7,000,000 compared with the preceding week.
Bank clearings in twenty-two leading cities for the week ended May 23 amounted to \$4,326,988,000 against \$4,994,501,400 last week, again reflecting rapidly decreasing business activity.

of workers such as free speech, free press, free assemblage, right to organize, picket, etc. These demands also are the bases or the organization of mass struggles to build workers' organizations.
The Wisconsin Platform contains no planks dealing with issues of democratic rights. Nor does it give a central place to the question of unemployment insurance at the expense of the bosses and government, but lumps unemployment insurance together with other issues in one vague formula which plays into the hands of every fake "program of social insurance". All it has to say is: "An extension of state insurance to include all the risks to which the worker and farmer is subjected."
In line with their usual opportunism, and despite strong protests from a large section of the delegates, the convention chose as the candidate for governor, George Nelson, a prominent farmer who had only left the La Follette Progressives after their convention a few weeks ago. Like any bourgeois party looking for sectional votes, the Wisconsin Socialists picked candidates to represent all sections of the State, and even boasted about this fatuous concession to sectional pride.

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

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

The Man on the Flying Trapeze The Record of Bill Dunne

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What is not beside the point is that if Purcell ever read Dunne's appreciation of him, he must surely have enjoyed it. Looping his way through the atmosphere of words to his next trapeze, still pursuing the Right Honorable and Most Revolutionary Defender of the Communist International, A. A. Purcell, we next find Dunne in a more solemn mood as befits a solemn occasion:
"At the Atlantic City convention there occurred an event of historic importance to the American working class."
Historic importance! We swallow breathlessly as he shoots to a new bar: "Just as the publication of the British Trade Union Report on Russia marked the sweep of the tremendous influence of the Russian revolution into the British labor movement, so did the visit of Purcell, as fraternal delegate from the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—S.
(Continued in next issue)

Hitler «Purges» Party in Reign of Terror

(Continued from Page 1)

gullible. So while the parties of Socialism failed ever more miserably as the decisive hour approached many who took the Nazi brand of Socialism rallied to its ranks. The task of capitalism proved an easy one.

With the Hitler hordes in power and the working class movement crushed the fascist revolution was completed. Still, it was not entirely completed. The middle class elements, deeply embedded in the Storm Troopers and in the Nazi party, had yet to be reckoned with—not in the fulfillment of their own aspirations of trust busting, dividing and parceling out of businesses and landed estates—but by dashing all of these hopes and aspirations.

Mussolini's Advice

It is reported that Mussolini said to Hitler on his recent visit to Venice: One makes the revolution with one set of men but rules with another. For Fascism this is true. It could not rule capitalist society through the medium of the middle class. It was only a tool utilized to perform the fascist "revolution" and more than that it was never intended to perform. It cannot lead, not even its own forces. It never led any movement in the modern era, but always swung as a pendulum between the two main class forces, and mostly to the support of capitalism. In this present situation in Germany it had to be disposed of and put in its place. For that the executioners axe and the firing squad was used. Amongst those executed like Roehm, Ernst or Heines are, of course, not to be found the spokesmen of the middle class. They were merely the degenerate adventurers and conspirators who capitalized on the middle class discontent.

But the reported execution of Gregor Strasser is highly significant. Others like him will surely meet the same fate. He was the particular exponent of the "Socialism" of the Nazi program and on this point he came into conflict with Hitler several times. Incidentally it was out of his theoretical concepts that he could proclaim a perfect harmony with the national socialism of Stalin some years ago.

Capitalist Reaction Strengthened

This most recent bloody carnage of German Fascism begins to open up a new chapter in its history. At the present moment its main significance is contained in the strengthening of capitalist reaction. This is clear to revolutionary realists; but not at all to the Stalinist quacks who dispense their foolish predictions in the Daily Worker.

In the issue of June 23, it is predicted that new forms of the dictatorship in Germany are in preparation which will offer to the discontented sections of the middle class, "certain concessions to join in the fight against the danger of a mass revolutionary armed overthrow of capitalism." What is taking place is the exact opposite. Hitler does not need to fear that danger hordes he warned off that danger when, due to the disgraceful capitulation of the Stalinist party and the Social Democracy, he was able to demolish every section and every branch of the German labor and revolutionary movement, the workers' parties, the trade unions, their press, their offices and homes as well as auxiliary organizations. Now he is settling accounts, in behalf of capitalism, with the middle class.

Fascist Base Narrowed

But in this new chapter Hitler faces a new situation. The chimerical Socialism from the national socialist program will have completely disappeared. Hitler is accused now of moving rightward and it is true in the sense that the dictatorship will henceforth be based much more directly upon the specific forces of monopoly capitalism, upon its state bureaucracy, the police and the army, together with specially picked fascist troops, but without the support of the large middle class strata. The dictatorship will rest on a much more narrow basis than before. Large sections of the Storm Troopers will be disarmed and demobilized to return to the ranks of the desperate middle class or become proletarianized. The economic difficulties of the regime not only remain but become multiplied and intensified. The enormous abyss between it and the mass of the population, which is sinking deeper into poverty and degradation, will be further enlarged. It is certain that out of such a situation new struggles of the German working class against Fascism will develop. Out of such a situation develops also the possibilities for it to rally the middle class to its support as allies but that also can materialize only provided the proletariat constitutes a revolutionary party capable of assuming its leading historical role.

A Corroded Party

Germany is not yet on the threshold of the proletarian revolution. There is not yet at all a "mighty growing upsurge against the fascist dictatorship" as the stupid Stalinist scribes predict in the

Daily Worker. But it is worse than stupid when they say further in the issue of June 23, that, "the stalwart, heroic leader of the German masses, the Communist Party, is growing by leaps and bounds, tremendously increasing its leadership in the fight against the bloody fascist dictatorship." Where and in what sense is the Stalinist party the heroic leader? Such mockery of history! Let us not forget that it was the Stalinist party which failed so miserably when Hitler took power. It failed when it had millions of supporters and a numerically powerful party, functioning under conditions of legality, with auxiliary organizations and a press together with the right to hold meetings and demonstrations. It was unable to organize one serious action of resistance and could not strike a single blow against Fascism before it came into power. It could not even fight as well as the Austrian Social Democrats. It kept the working class hopelessly divided, classified as Communists and Social Fascists, and it split the trade unions. The Stalinist party before Hitler came into power was corroded by careerists and adventurers who held the official positions. A revolutionary policy did not exist for these people and could not exist. For them the national socialism of Stalin with its bureaucratic methods was far more suitable. Today the remnants of the Stalinist party remains as rotten as before, except that it is smaller and has no influence. The careerists and adventurers in charge are the same. The policy has not changed nor have the bureaucratic methods.

The Stalinist "Contribution"

It would be ludicrous to conceive of such a party, unable even to make a fight against Fascism under conditions as they existed before, should be able to lead any serious action today with the working class disarmed, disoriented and disorganized against the hideous monster of the fascist state power. All of the struggles which the German workers face are now on a different and a far more difficult plane than before. In face of this the Stalinists have only the one contribution to offer, to proclaim that we "stand on the threshold of the German proletarian revolution". From their emigration and from Moscow these leaders call upon the German workers to demonstrate in the streets on May Day against Fascism, to demonstrate under the red banner of Communism and to hoist the red banner over the factories.

How foolish this must sound to the German workers and how far removed from their immediate problems of the day. The same as the suppressed class everywhere, the problems of the German workers is essentially that of bread and butter—the right to live—but in addition to that they face the problem of the democratic rights of having a trade union organization, yes, and even obtaining first of all the right to free speech and a free press to voice their demands for the right to live. It is in this manner that the struggles for democratic rights and will become the stepping stones to the more serious struggle for the proletarian revolution. The Stalinists fail to understand even this elementary procedure of the objective historical processes just as they failed to comprehend the social events which led up to the fascist seizure of power.

For a New Revolutionary Party

Under the illegal and much more difficult conditions it could not be expected that the German working class in any serious measure should follow such a party or have any confidence in it. Moreover, before the German working class can begin to struggle seriously against the fascist monster it must throw overboard all of the ideological baggage of Stalinism. A new revolutionary party is needed, a new, Fourth International is needed. This is an immense task which cannot be performed quickly. It is a historical process; but the forces of this process are now at work. From the lessons of the past and out of the difficulties at present the new cadres for this new movement are developing.

—ARNE SWABECK.

CHICAGO MASS MEETING "Should the Soviet Union Enter the League of Nations?"

Speaker
ALBERT GOLDMAN
Friday, July 13th, 8 P.M.
at
International Labor Center
2557 W. North Ave.
Admission 10c

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Old Guard Routs Militants in S.P.

(Continued From Page 1)

floor and decline the nomination, and the convention hall was filled with shouts of "Let Oneal speak", but Algernon Lee, Old Guard chairman, refused to give Oneal the floor until every possible available speaker had vented his bile on Thomas. It was a Roman holiday, and every labor faker, every racketeer and "labor" lawyer in the hall had his chance at Thomas, whose integrity and idealism, though hopeless as a substitute for revolutionary clarity, has been an embarrassment to some of the business dealings of the Old Guard.

The speeches of the section of the Old Guard who came out for Thomas were, if anything, more humiliating than the outright attacks. Julius Gerber said that "if there has been any sabotage in the party, it is done by Militants", and prefaced his support of Thomas with this insulting remark, "You make it mighty hard for me to do what I'm going to do, Comrade Thomas, after me sitting where I could watch your actions all afternoon." Gerber was referring to Thomas' jokes to his neighbors about the Old Guard machine which was Thomas' main outlet for his resentment against the pogrom.

Thomas Appeals to Hillquit

Though harassed and resentful, the Militant-Thomas faction showed themselves impotent to lead a fight against the Old Guard. After Solomon had voted against Thomas—which, with no other candidate running, could mean only unrelenting repudiation of Thomas—Thomas said it would be a "pleasure to work again with my friend Charles Solomon." By way of showing that he was not capitulating, Thomas declared: "I will fight against the things that Hillquit, Debs and Meyer London fought against"—taking the notorious Hillquit and the reformist London as his models!

In an article in *The World Tomorrow* of June 28, Thomas denied that by "workers democracy" he meant "another way of saying the dictatorship of the proletariat", and deplored the "bitter controversy over a few sentences of a Declaration." In the convention he retreated still further. When a substitute Declaration was introduced, mainly written by James Oneal, Thomas said he would be willing to make some concessions in line with the emasculated version.

Militants Evade Issue

The Militants were equally impotent. When Solomon read from their pre-convention program their statement that "workers democracy" meant "dictatorship of the proletariat" and challenged them to say whether this was really what they meant, or did they mean by it any other of the varying interpretations of the phrase, not one of the Militant speakers would give an answer. The Militants talked of the need for "revolutionary socialism," the need for a "new spirit," but none defended principles as principles. Typical of the level on which the Militants fought was Haim Kantorovich's argument, against those who said the Declaration would drive the party underground. Kantorovich's answer was that the St. Louis Resolution of 1917 was "equally revolutionary and it did not drive the party underground."

No Principled Struggle

At no point did the Militants stand and fight. They could boo Panken's vile slanders, Waldman's chauvinism, Gerber's charges of sabotage—but it was beyond them to get up on their feet and fight a principled struggle on the issues. Chairman Algernon Lee's plainly unconstitutional ruling that the Detroit Declaration was not binding until after the referendum, and the similar intent of the resolution passed by the Old Guard, were passed by without a struggle. With no sense of how craven was his proposal, Jack Altman offered to move Solomon's candidacy to be unanimous, if Solomon promised to abide by the referendum on the Declaration. Solomon answered by saying that if he were defeated on the referendum he would continue to fight against its principles—and no Militant rose to call him to account. When, just before the adjournment of the convention, the State platform came on the order of business, the crafty Old Guard, on the plea that there was no time, moved to adopt it as read and refer it to the State Executive for editorial correction, some Militants did ask for the floor. Were they, at last, going to make a stand, expose some of the worst phases of reformism, and perhaps try to educate a few of the followers of the Old Guard? Panken waved his hand graciously at them, and told them to "write out your suggestions and send them to the committee for consideration." Whereupon the Militants subsided.

Outside the convention hall they were loud enough in their complaints—which was characteristic enough. Outside, too, Thomas provided another example of his hopeless lack of clarity: They spent all their time in there on a national question (the Declaration) and then had no time for the State platform, which was the real business before us.

No Will to Fight

That the Militants so belied their

Silk Workers Vote Down Expulsions

(continued from page 1)

ing a committee to investigate his status, went unheeded. The rest were given a hearing. There were thirty-eight accusers—among them Henry Borman. But all these accusers were present at the trial in the person of Eli (38 in 1) Keller. Each "criminal" was given 15 minutes to clear himself of the charges which summed up to the following "crimes": 1) being members of the United Silk Workers Club (and not of Eli's "Progressive" Club); 2) being active in clearing the union's name and preventing the Stalinists from making capital of stupid and vicious policies; 3) receiving support of the workers during membership and shop-chairman's meetings. The Club, according to Keller, is a dual or secessionist organization—Why? Because it is a social and educational club which aims among other things to work for the organization of all silk workers into a single industrial union under the banner of the A.F. S.W.

The activity of the union members in the Albert case was, according to Keller, under the direct supervision of the Stalinists and in the interests of the National. Why? Because the National once had its headquarters at the same address as the Club; and because Musteltes and Trotskyites were notorious involved in the activities of the Club. And what is more notorious than the fact that they work hand in hand with the Stalinists, particularly in trade union policies? Keller's third charge really came down to the fact that he and his clique have had to resort to high-handed tactics in breaking up meetings precisely because they were unable to control them. Keller, therefore, decided in desperation to railroad his opponents out of the union before the membership voted them into the Executive Board.

Takes Worker from Job

He did not stop at the red-baiting tactics, but actually resorted to the most vicious method of all. He got Eddie Swayly fired from his job. The workers on the night shift elected Swayly shop-chairman, and Keller immediately "saw about it" as he told Swayly he would. The reaction of the rank and file of the union is precisely what would be expected. The men are solidly behind the militants. No doubt Keller will try as his last desperate trick—to call a General Membership Meeting on short notice and pack it with his henchmen. But he will not catch the union members unprepared. The Broad Silk Department has already gone on record. This department embraces more than two thirds of all the workers in the Associated. Without the slightest doubt the sentiment is overwhelmingly behind the militants whom Keller was taking for a ride.

The action of the Broad Silk membership is all the more significant because of the background against which Keller found it proper to inaugurate his high-handed Rule or Ruin campaign. The bosses have scrapped the Arbitration Board, and with it the contract, and, as they also hope, the Union. The bosses are driving for a wage-cut of at least eight per cent. In the meantime, Keller and his cohorts can only break up a meeting which, they ostensibly called to discuss the acute problems facing the Union, because they were unable to railroad through the expulsion of those militants who stood shoulder to shoulder with their fellows in the last struggle, and who will be found in the thick of the fight in the coming struggles.

The unmistakable indication that a genuine left wing is crystallizing inside the Associated is a signal of ill-omen to the bosses and to the reactionaries inside the Union.

—SILK WORKER.

name is particularly inexcusable since they have ceased to pretend that they do not understand the ultimate implications of the tactics of the Old Guard. Tardily enough they brought to the convention leaflets describing the Old Guard's policy: to budgeon the majority into submission, or to split the party. Why did they not bring the damning facts on the floor? If they did nothing else, why did they not confront State Chairman Waldman with his statement to the *New York Times* in which he explicitly stated that the "Socialist Party of the State of New York" would resist the "attempt" of the national organization to commit it to the decision of a national convention? The Militants did not, because they have no will to fight, because they are afraid the Old Guard will split and take along the sources and property from which the party derives its funds.

Just as clearly as the Militants' horse trading for votes, their compromises on principles, their failure to struggle on crucial questions at the Detroit convention, the *New York* convention revealed that the Militants cannot serve as a rallying center for a fight against the Old

Drivers Union Prepares Strike

continued from page 1

"We have been trying ever since May 31, when the regional labor board issued its order based on the terms of the signed peace agreement ending the strike, to negotiate with the employers the matters that the peace agreement left to negotiation, but have not been able to get anywhere because the employers refuse to recognize us as representatives of the employees and have just been giving us the run-around," William Brown, president of the union said in the statement which had the assent of other union leaders, Miles, Grant and Carl Skoglund.

"Our position, which we understand is in accord with the terms of the peace agreement is this," Brown said in his statement:

"The union represents the men. That was the understanding of the peace agreement, because the employers signed the peace agreement with us.

"We have the right to take into the union whatever employees in trucking plants who want to join. This, of course, includes workers as well as drivers and helpers.

"We desire to negotiate in regards to wages and working conditions in every plant where our members ask such negotiations.

"This is our position," said Brown, "and it is what we are going to insist upon."

Preparing to Strike

In that splendid method of organization which in the first strike proved worthy of being a model to be followed by workers everywhere, Local 574 is now proceeding just as efficiently to another strike to insure and extend the victories already obtained, "to insist upon our position," as President Brown so laconically puts it.

Towards this end, realizing that the battle will be so much fiercer and more intense than the first one, Local 574 has secured the support of all the organized labor movement in Minneapolis. The Central Labor Union, the Building Trades Council, the Street Railway Workers, the Printing Trades Workers, the Railroad Workers and every other organized trade in Minneapolis has given its endorsement to the battle of the truck drivers.

Mass Parade

The first step in the campaign that will once again bring the bosses to their knees is the mass demonstration to be held today. The demonstration will proceed from Bridge Square to the Auditorium. All of Nicollet Avenue, one of the main thoroughfares of Minneapolis, is to be cleared and roped off. The workers will march in parade from the assembling point to the Auditorium where the mass meeting will be held. The parade is to be held directly after working hours and the leaflet announcing the mass meeting advises the workers to come "direct from the job if necessary. A dinner pail is a badge of honor." The mass meeting is to decide on "decisive action".

All of the Minneapolis working class is aroused. The unemployed organization, the M.C.C.W., and the farmers in the Farmers' Holiday Association have pledged their backing. The coming strike will be a concerted drive to deal a smashing blow to the labor-hating bosses, to make Minneapolis a union town.

Throughout the city, the laundry drivers, the dental mechanics, the retail clerks, the street railway workers have long-standing grievances against the employers with regard to wage scales, working conditions, union recognition. These grievances are coming to a head. The Minneapolis press is full of stories about the possibility of a general strike in sympathy with the truck drivers. Even as we write the mass meeting at the Minneapolis auditorium may have decided upon this action.

The second strike of the Minneapolis truck drivers which will very likely pass over into a general strike will doubtless leave the first one in the shade for militancy and determination of organized labor to defeat the heinous plans of the employers and to really get a new deal through the might of their organized power.

All eyes on Minneapolis!

A LETTER FROM A COMRADE

Dear Comrades:

I have waited for one long month for Bill Dunne's article which was promised for June 6th (see D. W. June 5) on the role of the party in the Minneapolis strike. Alas, nothing has appeared to date. Having read of the "treacherous" role of the "Trotskyites", I was more than anxious to see just what the "vanguard of the vanguard" did during those hectic days.

Then again, the Minneapolis strike has given a tremendous impetus to articles about the "Trotskyites" on other questions and in other fields. They never however mention the Militant by name, but always refer to the "Trotskyite sheet". Are they perhaps fearful lest some wayward comrade be tempted to spend two cents for a copy and see through their miserable lies and distortions? —L.G.

To the Saar Workers An Appeal by the I.S.

The date of the referendum is set. Everyone is now inexorably faced with the question of the decision. Only a few more months separate you from the fateful hour in which will be decided for some time to come whether you are to have at least a meager possibility of struggling against exploitation and oppression or whether you are to be completely subjected to the bloody yoke of German fascism.

For the Status Quo!

When we, as Communists, call upon you today to vote for the status quo; when we call upon you today to come out fearlessly and unhesitatingly for this slogan, it is not because we regard the present situation in the Saar as ideal and final, but because we do not equivocate because we answer the question as it is posed in actuality and because it seems to us beyond any doubt that this referendum contains to some degree the possibility of protecting yourself against fascism, the worst scourge for all toilers and oppressed.

We are for the status quo; although we are far from considering your present masters, the League of Nations, as an instrument of peace but regard it as a tool of imperialist foreign policy. We are for the status quo purely for reasons of expediency because we consider it our duty to spare the people of the Saar all that they have seen for the last year on the other side of the border: unbridled terror, mass corruption, programs against Jews, military drill, spiritual devastation, racial insanity, forced labor, ever increasing starvation and need, and danger of inflation.

The workers refuse with thanks the freedom which the lackeys of Thyssen and Roehling will give them.

Since the revolutionary possibilities have been lost for a long time through the utter failure of the social democratic party and the Communist party of Germany, it is absurd to advocate return to the Reich. We scorn the attitude of those cowards who join the "German front" through fear, that is, those who give themselves up to Hitler voluntarily and thus commit suicide because of fear of death.

The decision will not be reached on the day of the Referendum! We warn you beforehand of the following grave illusion. The decision will not be reached by the vote on the day of the referendum. The result of the referendum is entirely dependent upon how successful you will be beforehand in freeing your countrymen from the spiritual and physical pressure which they experience at the hands of the Nazis.

Extra-Parliamentary Struggle for the Improvement of Living Conditions and Democratic Rights!

Only if the population of the Saar sees that the working class is ready and capable of breaking the Nazi terror in extra-parliamentary action, only if the proletariat of the Saar see that the fighters for the living conditions of the toiling masses who are ruthlessly exploited by the present regime; only if you succeed in retaining, during extra-parliamentary actions in time of preparation, freedom of association, assembly, and press,—only then will it be possible to secure a favorable outcome in the referendum.

No Effective Struggle Without a United Front!

The prerequisite for carrying out all these actions with sufficient force is that all organizations which are for the maintenance of the status quo, for the defense against the Hitler terror, enter into a solid fighting front on the basis of a concrete program. Through the stupidity and the intrigues of the various bureaucracies an enormous amount of precious time has been lost. But the fighting alliance must finally come into existence under penalty of defeat. Do not tolerate for one minute longer the sabotage of the United Front! This sabotage is a direct service to Hitler!

Organize a Militia Against the Nazi Terror!

You must not content yourself with joint meetings, demonstrations and even strikes but must organize a militia which will take over the defense against the terroristic acts of the Nazis. No one will help you if you do not help yourself. The "impartiality" of the police is already assured. The League of Nations will not help you if you do not help yourself.

S.P.G. and the C.P.G. Have Failed!

In complete consonance with its whole past the social democracy has been consoling you with the League of Nations while it has at the same time sabotaged the united front. The League of Nations plays the same role in dampening the fighting spirit of the masses in the Saar that Hindenburg played in Germany. Place no trust in these illusions! Close ranks! Act on your own initiative! The C.P.G., under the influence of the laudatory speeches of Roehling, sowed the greatest confusion. At first they stood unconditionally for return to Germany, then they

viet Germany, and finally, in the last hour, came out for the status quo. The C.P.G. had also completely sabotaged the establishment of a united front and thereby prepared for a defeat as in Germany. You are, therefore, faced with the task not only of building a united front but of creating a new revolutionary party under the banner of the Fourth International for the struggle against fascism.

United Front of All Anti-Fascists!

Both old parties have now finally taken the position of the status quo. There is not another minute to be lost. No excuses will avail now. Irrespective of how fundamentally irreconcilable reformism and communism are, they must immediately make an alliance for the status quo. Only thus can the hesitant ones outside the ranks of the working class be attracted to it. When they see that even the workers cannot establish a fighting united front, how can they decide to join the struggle for defense?

Hitler Can and Must Be Defeated!

In the coming months the eyes of all Europe will be riveted on the Saar region. Hitler can and must be defeated! Provided that the working class rallies to the struggle in the last hour and pursues correct tactics. No state, no treasury, only the workers can save the Saar!

For the first time in the Saar region—since national socialism has shown itself, no longer in theory and in criticism, but as an instrument of hunger and war preparations (of a war that is bound to hit the Saar territory especially hard), of murder and corruption. National socialism is put to a referendum which offers at least a trace of freedom. How great this freedom will be depends on the militancy the workers display before the referendum. This means:

Hitler must and can be defeated!

His defeat would be a triumph and a signal for anti-fascists of all countries! His victory would be a success for fascism in the whole world! A great task is entrusted to you, toilers of the Saar! Your efforts and your sacrifices will help not only yourself but millions of others!

We, therefore, call not only on all our sections but on the workers of all countries to follow the events in the Saar with the greatest attention and with the utmost solidarity and to support the Saar at the opportune moment by actions against Hitler fascism.

The task of defeating Hitler must be solved, it can be solved and it will be solved!

Hitler must and can be defeated!

Do not be frightened by the terrific array of influence, corruption lies, threats, flattery of the brown bloodhounds. For them too it is a question of prestige. Do not let yourself be lulled to sleep by their monstrous lies and provocations! Do not let yourself be duped by forests of swastika banners. Many of those who live under the present regime will vote for the status quo—only under one condition: that you stand together, that you fight, that you, too, put into motion the power which you command! After the defeat no crawling will help against the bloody fate! It is better to perish in struggle than to be slaughtered without struggle. Vienna is better than Oranienburg! But you do not have to perish. You still have enough time to fight.

Do not forget: Hitler must and will be defeated!

When you have beaten Hitler you can set before yourself other tasks of the class struggle!

For the maintenance of the status quo!

For the democratic rights of the working class!

For higher wages and better living conditions!

For the United Fighting Front of all labor organizations!

For the building of workers' militia against fascist terror!

For socialism and the final victory of the proletariat!

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

of the League of Communist Internationalists (Bolshevik-Leninists)
Geneva, June 6, 1934

OUR INTERNATIONAL PRESS

What is happening in Germany? You who read German can keep in close touch by reading *Unser Wort*. Send all inquiries to Sara Weber, c/o The Militant.

Our friends and sympathizers, our readers of the Russian Opposition Bulletin, know that Comrade Trotsky is its regular contributor and editor. The French police want to stifle the voice of Leon Trotsky—they will not succeed. Despite police persecution, despite the fact that the editorial office is forced to move again, despite tremendous financial difficulties and delays, the *Russian Opposition Bulletin* will appear. The next issue is speed up its appearance by a contribution, you can help by getting readers and subscribers to the *Russian Bulletin*.

Send all inquiries and contributions to Sara Weber, c/o The Militant.