

N.U.L. Plans Caravan to Washington

By JACK ELDER WASHINGTON.—It is easier to understand the Roosevelt legislative program or 1935 than it was to understand the programs of 1933 and 1934. The New Deal is intellectually bankrupt. It has come to the end of its rope in high-minded social experimentation, in absurd pretenses at economic planning, in the diversity of quack stimulants to keep production for profit alive.

The proposed Work Relief bill represents the scrapping of the high wage, mass purchasing power pretense of the NRA. The government, under the guise of carrying forward public works, intends to drive building trades wages down to the level of \$50 a month. It does so in the conviction that what holds back revival in the capital goods industries is high labor costs. The answer: deflate wages upon the pretense of giving work (which is a moral "tonic") rather than the dole (which is a moral "dope") to the unemployed.

PRESIDENT IS CONSISTENT In standing against the "prevailing rate of the Senate revolvers" (upon which the President's revolvers insist), the President is consistent with his past behavior. OWA was scrapped because it paid wages which operated to make effective the nominal wages set forth in the code. The bottom was later cut out of the FERA relief payments for the very same reason. The government, under the terms of the Work Relief bill, must not "compete" with private employers in the labor market. This means that the government must relinquish the one and only device which might conceivably force employers into complying with the code labor standards.

At the same time, however, the President requests Congress to renew the NRA for two years. Concretely, this can mean only one thing: a continuation of the cartelization tendencies already long operative before the Recovery Act, and to which the Act gave the official blessing of the law. More monopolies; more price fixing; more production curtailment; more allocation of output quotas—in short, jamming down upon the economic system the rule of the Code authorities. On really and truly raising wage rates; on really and truly shortening the work-week, the President is forever silent. As for Section 7a, he contents himself with a brief pious hypocrisy.

WAGNER'S LABOR BILL Senator Wagner's newly-introduced Labor Disputes Bill—which would outlaw the company union—is not an Administration measure. It could not be an Administration measure, for the President is the last man in the world to expose big business to the pressure of genuine collective bargaining. The bill, so far as it outlaws the company union, will not pass. So far, however, as it clears the path for the progress of compulsory arbitration, there is every reason to believe that the Administration will find certain features of it worth saving.

SHADOW BOXING The so-called "Social Security" program is slowly moving through the legislative mill of committee hearings. These hearings are mere shadow boxing. The President and his advisers know what they want and are determined to get it: not security for the unemployed, the aged, and the sick by levying taxes upon the rich, but rather compulsory saving by which wage earners are compelled to pay for the hazards and risks inflicted upon them by a capitalist system.

Due to the moving of our printing shop the February 23 issue was omitted. All subscribers are assured, however, that they will not miss an issue. The next one will be numbered 12 so as to avoid confusion and thus your present expiration number will carry over an extra week. More subscriptions will help us get the paper out earlier in the week. —The Business Manager

Mini on Stand Gives Lie to 'Stool-pigeon' Charge

Further proof of the degeneration of the leadership of the Communist Party is the campaign of slander and vilification it is now carrying on against Norman Mini, one of the 17 defendants on trial in Sacramento under the criminal syndicalism laws of that state. Mini has been labeled a counter-revolutionist, a renegade and a stool pigeon by the Communist Party press. It is courageous testimony in court has been deliberately falsified and his character has been attacked in the Western Worker and the Daily Worker in such a manner that it must make even a William Randolph Hearst feel like a piker.

What is the reason for these gutter ethics of the C. P.? Norman Mini is a member of the Workers Party. He left the Communist Party to join the Workers Party. That is all the reason there is. How much longer will the honest and decent members of the Communist Party permit their leaders to slander and vilify such courageous revolutionists as Norman Mini? How much longer will they give their loyalty and devotion to a party that fosters such leadership?—Ed.

SACRAMENTO, Cal., Feb. 15.—Defiantly countering the efforts of Special Deputy Attorney General McAlister to heap slander and misrepresentation upon the revolutionary movement, and equally defiantly giving the lie to the campaign of slander against him being conducted jointly by the Hearst and Communist Party press, Norman Mini yesterday expounded from the witness stand in the Superior Court of his native county the revolutionary program of Marx and Lenin, and affirmed undying loyalty to the cause of the working class.

As soon as Albert Goldman, noted Socialist and labor attorney retained by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, completed his examination of Mini, first and only witness on his own behalf in the criminal syndicalism trial now in its seventh week, Mini's co-defendants gathered about him to praise his courageous stand.

Again when McAlister, wrathfully indignant at his inability to trap or bulldoze the witness, completed a four-hour cross-examination, the defendants hailed their comrade. One openly expressed the hope that he would be able to express with equal clarity, dignity and force his determined opposition to the capitalist system and the government which is its chief administrative arm.

Workers Demonstrate Solidarity On the courthouse steps after the session, workers crowded about Mini to shake his hand and voice solidarity. Not two feet away stood the salesman of the Western Worker, organ of the Communist Party, which has proclaimed Mini, now facing a long term in San Quentin for his loyalty to the revolutionary cause, to be a renegade and stool-pigeon.

Immediately after Mini's cross examination, Attorney Goldman departed for Chicago, inasmuch as the next few weeks will be devoted to presentation of defense testimony by Leo Gallagher, I.L.D. attorney. Goldman will return to argue Mini's case before the jury. Before he left, several defendants had last minute consultations with him as to their tactics during his absence.

Before court adjourned yesterday, McAlister admitted he had presented no evidence linking the defendant Luther Mincy with any activities proscribed by the criminal syndicalism statute, and the case against Mincy was dismissed. Apparently unaware that the Stalinists have "proven" Mini to be a stool-pigeon, the prosecutor failed to move the dismissal of the charges against the lone Workers Party member on trial.

The examination by Attorney Goldman was constantly hobbled by Judge Dal M. Lemmon, who has hitherto been unusually careful to appear to be without animus against the defense. Lemmon had earlier permitted the prosecutors to present to the jury all sorts of

the notion became steel and iron. The rigging van drew up to our new printing house. The movers got to work and hoisted the whole business through the window. They loaded all the parts on the floor and for all the world it resembled a pile of junk. Not for long, however. The machinists got to work and before our very eyes the blasted thing grew up. When it was done it stood up three times the size of our old model.

And built for action—and plenty of punishment. Here it was. A grand thing to look at. But no juice. The power trust was sabotaging the revolution. What is the puny power trust to the invincible power of Marxism, said the manager—and the juice streamed through. Now we could see what the new press could do. Its fast rolling cylinders could turn out the paper in less than half the time required on the old paper. It could print all four pages at one time. It could out the paper while in motion. An improvement? No, a miracle!

Better take another slug out of the old oxygen belt, because we're not through with you yet. The old saying that it never rains but it pours is really revolutionary—in case you didn't know. We have some more machinery to knock you wind out of your sails. First a Laddow machine. Just a technical name to you non-printers. But it means mountains to the boys in the shop. All our famous headlines will now be set by machine. No more hunting for spaces or brasses. No more worn and busted letters. No more waiting for forms to come off the press to find a missing letter. The Ludlow machine means the twentieth century has come to our printshop. Then there is something that will warm the heart of the laymen in New York. A folding machine! Two days

WP to Hold Conference

It is "hard to hold back a California delegation" from trekking to Pittsburgh, writes Comrade James P. Cannon, for the Active Workers' Conference of the Party to be held there March 16 and 17. Beginning on the 15th and lasting through the 18th the National Committee of the W. P. will also be in plenary session in Pittsburgh. All branches not too distant are sending two members to the Conference. All Party members who can get to Pittsburgh are eligible to attend.

Reports on the "hot" situations of Fargo, Sacramento, Akron, in steel, rubber, automobiles etc., and consideration of the growth of the Party during the first three months since the merger of the former A. W. P. and C.L.A. will have a prominent place on the agenda.

The National Committee will have the task of analyzing the developments which are taking place in other parties, C.P., S.P., etc.; the significance of the agitation for a labor party; the drift of the Roosevelt administration and its bearing on the trade union and unemployed work of the Party; international developments; and other problems.

Comrade James P. Cannon will come to Pittsburgh with detailed reports of his trip to California.

AFL to Aid Akron Bosses Fight 'Reds'

A burning example of what workers can expect from the current and much ballyhooed A. F. of L. unionization drive in auto and steel industries was seen in the "great offensive drive" of William Green which began in Akron Sunday, Feb. 24 for the rubber industry.

Green's son-in-law, William Shepler, attorney for the rubber unions, openly told the Akron rubber workers at a mass rally which started the campaign, that the "A. F. of L. knows it can and will help management keep Communism from rising and that industry is slowly beginning to realize it."

High praise for President Roosevelt followed the attack on Communism, Shepler saying that "We are fortunate in having a President whose government we know is on the side of the workers!" This, despite the open break with the A. F. of L. which Roosevelt made when the auto industry code was contained recently!

Coleman C. Claherty, special organizer for the rubber industry and close associate of Green, then urged the workers to join the A. F. of L. and quit being "dumb" by remaining in the company union. In other words, he blamed labor for the deliberate betrayals he had made in the past.

The Firestone local, containing about 2,000 members (formerly it had 8,000) has threatened to split

16 Sentenced for 'Riot' In Fargo; Labor Aroused

The strike of Drivers Local 173, Fargo, N. D., which has been on since Jan. 22, is still going strong despite the most diabolical legal trickery on the part of the bosses' "law and order" machinery.

Local 173 has developed some rather unusual weapons in its latest fight. On Monday every highway leading into Fargo was picketed with immense signs reading: "16 FARGO STRIKERS HAVE BEEN SENTENCED TO 44 MONTHS. DON'T TRADE IN A SCAB TOWN!"

To raise funds to continue its fight, Local 173 is sending a troupe of Union boxers and wrestlers to nearby communities, where performances will be given several nights this week.

The Special Strike Bulletin continues to appear on Fargo's streets despite Judge Paulson's whims that "Statements published in the strike bulletin . . . were in defiance of the court."

By ROBERT WHITCOMB ST. PAUL.—While sixteen of the 60 Fargo strikers indicted on the "crime" of "riot" have been found guilty and sentenced to from two to six months, the strike goes on with increased fury, bigger picket lines, and renewed vigor. Meantime defense meetings are being pushed, a special one at General Drivers Hall, Minneapolis, Sunday, March 3. Myles Dunne will speak for the Minneapolis Farmer-Labor Convention the same day.

The Bosses Make a Mistake The greatest tactical error on the part of the opposition (employers, police, banks and Chamber of Commerce—all connected with the Twin City reactionaries who fought Local 574 last summer) was the bombing of the Union Hall two weeks ago, when tear gas was aimed at men, women and children by a mob of police and deputies in an effort to make the strikers give up their leaders. The women and kids were piled into the cellar, but the gas forced out the men, who were lined up on the sidewalk and marched to the county jail—95 of them.

This stirred popular indignation against the authorities more than anything else in the history of Fargo, even more than when the I. W. W. raids were going on during and after the War. All sorts of workers were present during the gas attack—a dance was being held—and news of the police terror spread among working people of all trades. Now the public of Fargo is predominantly in favor of a strike for the first time.

Outside of Cass County, militant members of the Farmers Union and Farmers Holiday Association are not only with the strike—they have assisted in spiriting strike leaders away from the police, especially the Minneapolis leaders who are quickly spotted and tracked down. Myles Dunne recently made such an escape, when his life was in danger.

But the unemployed are also with this strike. Having no definite unemployed organization, leaders nevertheless have persuaded the unemployed to aid their striking brothers, and the first signs of an unemployed organization is making its appearance largely because of the strike situation. Unemployed men are helping on the picket line, even unemployed men from Moorhead, across the Red River in Minnesota. Meantime the trials of the 60 men indicted from the 95 arrested, which started last week and have resulted so far in the sentencing of sixteen of them, have been postponed pending the arrangement of adequate defense.

Adequate defense will come only from outside the strike area. Defense meetings in Minneapolis will start the ball rolling. A provisional committee is being formed which will get new members from the unions and Farmer-Labor clubs. The Non-Partisan Labor Defense, just starting here, is being interested in the case, in cooperation with the American Civil Liberties Union. A Chicago lawyer has been approached.

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To Get Out Nat'l Paper For Jobless

A Caravan to Washington in May, before Congress adjourns, to present its nine-point program embodied in a Workers' Security Bill, is announced by the National Unemployed League from its headquarters in Columbus, Ohio. Plans for the caravan are getting under way.

The N.U.L. also announces that beginning soon after March 1 it will issue a national weekly paper for the unemployed, in accordance with a mandate from the last national convention. The office of the paper will be in New York.

In Columbus, the N.U.L. has moved into new headquarters, room 500, 232 North High Street. Calling attention to the rapid expansion of the League into new states, the League urges all workers interested or active in the unemployed movement to communicate with the N.U.L. office for details on the program of action for the coming six months.

Protests against the administration's attempts to kill the "prevailing rate of wage" amendment to the work relief bill were sent by the N.U.L. to Senator Carter Glass of the Senate Appropriations Committee and other prominent senators. The League, which has 1,000 branches in 22 states, warned of the coming Caravan to Washington, "by men and women from all parts of America whose patience is fast reaching the breaking point because of the apparent determination on the part of the government to destroy the American standard of living and reduce us to Chinese coolie conditions."

"We hold that all persons have the duty and right to employment," the letter continues, "performing socially useful work, under decent working conditions and for adequate wage standards, with sufficient working hours to maintain decency and health. We hold that all useful members of society are entitled to adequate sustenance without the stigma of charity; that it is the first duty of government to provide for the health and happiness of the people of the nation."

The Caravan to Washington is the outgrowth of the National Unemployed Day demonstration last Nov. 24. When the Demonstration Committee presented demands, on Nov. 27, to Secretary of Labor Perkins and Relief Administrator Hopkins, the casual reception gave new proof of the necessity of mass pressure as the only means of obtaining action.

The nine-point program for National Unemployed Day has now been incorporated into a Workers' Security Bill, with these four points as the basis:

- 1. The 30-hour week for labor. 2. A \$10,000,000,000 public works program, with work on the basis of the 30-hour week at \$30 per week. 3. Unemployment insurance (the Landon Bill). 4. Proportionate cash relief for all unemployed workers and farmers pending establishment of a satisfactory social insurance system.

In announcing the new paper, the N.U.L. explains: "Competent research men will give an analysis of the administration's relief program, rules and regulations governing the relief, decency and distribution standards, who pays the relief bill, etc., so that you will have facts and material at your fingertips to meet all opposition in your fight to raise the living standards of the unemployed in your community."

SUBSCRIBERS, ATTENTION!

Watch the number after your name on the wrapper in which your paper is mailed. When the number after your name is the same as this number—11—it means your sub has expired and this is the last issue you will receive until we receive your renewal. If you will send your renewal several issues in advance it will save work and expense in the office and insure your receiving the paper without interruption. No subscriptions can be back dated. Back issues will be supplied at the regular rates plus postage. Please cooperate! —Business Manager. Use the renewal blank appearing elsewhere in this issue.

The New Press Is Here; We'll Do Our Part If You Do Yours!

HONESTLY, we really don't believe in miracles. That is, we didn't until now. Let's start with history. That's the best way for a writer to get out of a jam. When the idea was first advanced we were somewhat intrigued. But we must admit that we were also somewhat skeptical. Yes, to be sure we needed a new press. A mountain of literature to turn out. The New Militant every week, and that wants a couple of additional pages. The New International every month. Young Spartacus just as often. A raft of pamphlets and God knows what else our ambitious party leaders are cooking up.

There had to be a new press. The old rattletrap—God bless its memory—it did its work faithfully, if not so obediently for five years. It gave birth to an issue of the Militant every week. Trotsky's immortal pamphlets were conceived on it. From its sturdy bed the New International saw the light of day.

But that's all reminding. It's the warm glow in our heart thumping in retrospect for the old master. The cold and brutal truth is that every press, like every dog, has its day. Now progress demanded that it take a back seat. (How's that for mixing metaphors?) Mathematically computed the old junk, running at high speed could only produce 1,000 impressions an hour. At that rate our overworked but uncompensating pressman would have to keep his nose to the grindstone twenty-four hours a day. And then the work wouldn't be done. Taking all this in account the party brain trust got together and decided for a new press. Yes, but how? Where were the coconuts to come from? Since Moscow had turned cold on us and Hearst had stopped making donations the doubting Thomases said it couldn't be done. But the impossible did happen. And

Organized Left Wing Task of Real Progressives in Silk Workers Union

Strike Vote Sabotaged By Delay of A.F. of L.

By FELIX GIORDANO
 HAZLETON, Pa.—Three weeks have elapsed since the Allentown Conference of Silk Workers. This conference went on record calling for a second conference in Rhode Island for Sunday, Feb. 17, and approved a national strike in silk which would not be handed over for settlement to any Government board. The second conference was not held but instead was suddenly postponed for a week. Thus the entire activity of the Allentown conference remains on paper.

In the meantime the situation in the silk industry has altered considerably, and not in the workers' favor. During recent years silk has become perhaps the most seasonal industry in this country, with the periods of slack and inactivity becoming longer and longer, while the "busy" seasons grow shorter and shorter. Three weeks ago our industry was at the peak of one of its busy periods. Had a strike been called at that time, it would have been in all probability of short duration. In any case, the chances for a successful conclusion would have been all in favor of the workers because the bosses needed the workers and the workers could have commanded their own terms.

Slack Season Is Near
 But today, after the passage of three invaluable weeks, the period of intense activity is on the decline. By the time the complex machinery of a strike can be set in motion a few more weeks would have to go by, and then the silk workers will be at the beginning of the slack season.

Obviously, a strike call now would mean a long drawn out struggle, with the chances for success uncertain. Moreover, the very existence of the union would be put in grave jeopardy. A long struggle under the best of conditions, with the most militant and trustworthy leadership, puts a terrific burden on the workers. When the possibility of demoralization exists—and such a possibility cannot be denied in view of the last textile strike—a defeat might well break the present organization.

The line of strategy to pursue is clearly to prepare for a strike which should be called and put into effect at the very first signs of a real revival in the industry.

Security on the Job
 The industry, we repeat, has become extremely seasonal. The principal objective of the silk workers must be to make it more steady. This can be achieved only through the establishment of the 30 hour week, and the definite limita-

tion of the machine load. To achieve a decent level of wages on a graduated scale and to enjoy any amount of security on the job the silk workers must win the 30-hour week and the closed shop. Every worker understands the seriousness of such a struggle. In the face of such a serious struggle—how are we to estimate the course pursued since the Allentown conference? It is a maneuver of the leadership to cover up its unmitigated and unrealistic policies which play directly into the hands of the bosses. Such maneuvers will continue so long as a strong and militant left wing is not consolidated in the silk industry nationally. We must guarantee a successful strike, and the existence of our union, the American Federation of Silk Workers, by immediately crystallizing such a left wing.

The Paterson Election
 Last Saturday the silk workers in Paterson elected a general manager to succeed Bill Keller, "the progressive" who was forced to save his face by resigning three weeks ago; they also elected four organizers in the Plain Goods Dept. The left wingers in the union succeeded in electing a slate of three organizers (the fourth one, Sam Sheber, deserted the ranks before the election and went over to the right wingers), but failed to elect their candidates to the office of general manager.

In Keller's place today there is Williams, an outright right winger with a none-too-clean record. Sarkis Phillian, left wing candidate for general manager, was defeated by 84 votes in an election in which some 1,800 votes were cast. He was the candidate of the largest department in the union, and very popular in his own department as well as in the joint board. His record as a left winger and a militant is clear cut. Yet he was defeated. Just a short time ago Keller the "fake" was elected and the right wingers did not even dare run against him because of the obvious left tendency among the workers. Yet the right wing in this election was victorious and rolled up an impressive vote. Why?

Why Militants Failed
 The Daily Worker, which broadcast in its headlines the victory of electing three organizers out of the four for a department, slurs over the enormous vote and the defeat of the election for the key post in the union by claiming fraud in the victory, and by blaming Keller for the enormous vote received by the right wing.

How does it happen that a strong left wing could have fallen victim

to such petty fraud as might have been perpetrated under the circumstances? But more important still, how well based is the claim of the Stalinists that the strength of the reactionaries is due to Keller's underhand tricks?

Every silk worker in Paterson knows how discredited Keller is. In the largest department of our union, the Plain Goods Department, the Keller clique a few weeks ago failed to elect a single man to the executive board of fifteen. Keller's strength in the union does not amount to the proverbial row of pins, certainly not among the militant workers who are in the predominance as proven by the elections and the victories of the militants in the Plain Goods Department. The reasons for the defeat in the union as a whole are not quite so simple as the C. P. pretends.

The reason for the victory of the reactionaries lies in certain policies, or rather lack of policies pursued by the present dominating group among the militants.

No Clean-Cut Program
 In the first place, the present "left wing" is in reality a loose bloc with no clear-cut program and policies, a bloc that places stress on catching votes rather than on crystallizing a genuine left wing movement. As a consequence the Stalinists pushed to the fore many elements whose function was to serve as a screen but who in reality played with the Stalinists for their own personal advantage, as for example Sam Sheber, who was pushed to the fore as a "militant" and who at the last moment came out for Williams. How many other Shebers are there among those with whom the Stalinists are maneuvering?

At the same time, the C. P. spares neither wind nor effort to discredit those militants who proved themselves in the activities of the United Silk Workers Club—who as a matter of fact did yeoman's service in the fight against Keller, who were expelled by Keller, and who were kept out of the union at the time when the Stalinists were accepted.

Secondly, the activities led by the C. P. members were concentrated primarily in a single department, the Plain Goods Department. This short-sighted policy, whose goal was to get immediate results, could not fail to isolate the left wing and tend to weaken it.

Thirdly, the sentiment the Stalinists primarily cultivated was a negative one: against the Keller clique, as if the entire problem could be settled on the single issue of Keller. The lack of a positive alignment of militant forces is illustrated in the fact that the workers in the Plain Goods Department gave the Stalinists bloc as high as 900 votes in the elections for the department executive board, while the elections for organizer the highest C. P. candidate received some 650 votes—a drop of almost one-third.

Results of C. P. Policy
 In short, Sarkis Phillian and the left-wingers were defeated because Phillian was endorsed not by a genuine left wing with a clear cut program but by the C. P. bloc. The reactionaries were able to capitalize on the fact that many members of the union still remember the dual and splitting tactics of which the C. P. was the torchbearer up to a very few months ago. Williams received a great many "negative" votes: many votes cast for him were votes against the Communist Party, and cannot be interpreted otherwise.

The defeat is all the more dangerous because it gives new ammunition to those "militants" who have long howled for the "independence" of the Plain Goods Department, who have long preached the hopelessness of achieving any progress within the union as a whole, and who aim to establish more firmly the craft divisions in the local—And there is no lack of such middleheads among the figureheads in the Stalinist bloc.

A genuine left wing is needed and must be built. We repeat what we have said time and again: the basis for the left wing is a policy and not a vote catching bloc; the left wing must be built in the union as a whole, and the industry as a whole, and not in a single department. And above all: BWARE OF ADVENTURISM!

NBC BUSE FAILS
 NEWARK, N. J.—A barrage of missiles smashed truck windows and a number of scab drivers were rushed to a hospital here when the National Biscuit Co. attempted to run out a fleet of trucks loaded with "dummy" loads, a maneuver to break the morale of the strike, now in its seventh week. The maneuver failed. "Gorillas" are paid \$8 a day by the company to take care of scabs and trail NBC trucks in high-powered cars. Picketing continues night and day, both at the factory and in the markets. Many local merchants have discontinued selling NBC products, due to the pressure of the boycott which the 250 strikers have spread through the city. Thirty strikers have been arrested.

Fargo Rallies To Aid Strike

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ed for adequate legal defense, both in the appeal of the case of the sentenced sixteen, and in the trials of the remaining 44 men.

Leaders Picked Off
 Bill Cruden, president of Local 17, of Fargo, was singled out as one of the first sixteen. So was Secretary Austin Swalde, and Hugh J. Hughes, another union official. Cruden will be one of the speakers in Minneapolis Sunday. The other strikers on trial consist of printers, carpenters, bricklayers and unemployed, as well as truck drivers, including the victorious milk strike drivers who won their demands of higher wages under the leadership of this same Local 17 last fall.

Jules Emme, Secretary of the State Industrial Commission, and Bob Cramer, editor of the Labor Review, also will speak this Sunday.

Meanwhile the Fargo Central Council of Trade Unions passes resolutions. It does nothing in the way of positive action. But that is more than the American Federation of Labor, of which Local 173 is a member, is doing, for the A. F. of L. is in reality sabotaging by being conspicuously absent. It is even rumored that Green and Tobin may try to act against the strike.

It is perhaps noteworthy that until last year Fargo had no unions of any strength except the printers, and during the present strike the leaders of these printers' unions tried to turn down the job of printing a strike leaflet because it would "antagonize the police". Now the Drivers' union alone has 400 members.

Fear of antagonizing the police has disappeared in the city of Fargo. Even the back-biting, reactionary, red-baiting paper, the Fargo Forum, is being forced to tone down its open strike-breaking.

Stalinists Attack Worker Opposed To Union Policy

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Joseph Fox, member of the New York Food Workers Industrial Union, was slugged and beaten up by an organized mob of Stalinists after inciting speeches made by Kramberg, Beal and other officials of the union at a membership meeting held on Monday night, Feb. 18. Because comrade Fox's speech was enthusiastically received by the great majority of the rank and file when he pointed out his position in favor of trade union unity and against arbitrary dissolution of the union, a mob was organized which met him downstairs coming out of the hall and slugged him on the head and the neck. One C. P. member, Lieberman by name, a member of the trade board, threatened worse violence to Fox if he attended another meeting.

The officials are using every despicable means of terrorizing the membership into accepting the dissolution policy of the T.U.U.L. The basis for unity, comrade Fox pointed out, must always rest on our fight for the adoption of a class struggle policy as against class-collaboration and unity of action of all the workers in the industry. Against the proposal of dumping the membership into the "Dutch Schultz" controlled local 302, comrade Fox moved in favor of negotiating directly with the "International" on the basis of local autonomy and separate charter, thus remaining the bona-fide basis for the organization of the unorganized. Revolutionists and sincere workers can only look at such manifestations of hoodlumism with disgust, as aid to the enemies of the working class, the bosses.

ORDER W. P. PAMPHLETS NOW. SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT.

AFL Starts Drive in Akron With Anti-Strike Ballyhoo

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from the A. F. of L. unless something is done. The other two big unions at the Goodyear and Goodrich plants which combine with Firestone to make the basis of the rubber industry, have lost over half of their 15,000 membership, and dues aren't coming in.

Most important of all, all three of the big locals planned a strike vote. Claherty hopes to divert the energy of the workers into a futile campaign. He completely ignores the fact that Akron labor dropped out of the A. F. of L. because of its inaction and that it would flock back if strike action was taken against the arrogant rubber barons.

The Willoughby Strike
 The militant strike of the Ohio Rubber Co. union at Willoughby, Ohio, about 45 miles from Akron, is having an effect here. There 400 workers are facing 450 scabs and 200 gunmen directed by the notorious strike breaking agency from Cleveland, the Associated Industries.

The brutal beatings of 12 strikers, the terror caused when strike breakers and professional gunmen threw tear gas bombs at school children in a "playful" mood, not only aroused the populace of Willoughby, which is backing the strikers, but caused resentment in Akron.

After Claherty and Shepler left the meeting, a misguided but sincere A. F. of L. field organizer, George Roberts, who is leading the strike at Willoughby spoke briefly and aroused the rubber workers into a fever pitch when he told

Thomas Quits New Leader; S.P. May Split

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the Right wingers hold the offensive. This tendency to play a weak, defensive role has in turn been due in large degree to the fact that they themselves have no clear consistent position. This has again been evident in recent discussions among the militants on the question of the "road to power", some standing for proletarian dictatorship, some for "workers' democracy", without defining, however, what this means.

At present the majority seem to favor "a mass labor party organized on a federated basis", some on the ground that "the alternative to a labor party is either armed insurrection or fascism!" Some favor a labor party with a "minimum program of socialization of basic industries". Others assert that it is the business of revolutionists to build the revolutionary party—not a reformist party.

Thus on top of the cleavage between the Old Guard in the S.P. and its opponents, fresh cleavages develop immediately among the latter. The most crucial question for the future is whether out of these developments a substantial element standing on an uncompromising Marxist and Leninist program will crystallize.

574 BOYS SUPPORT ALBERT LEA PICKETS

Several of the men who helped make labor history in Local 574's Truck Drivers and Teamsters International, far-reaching strikes of last summer, were in Albert Lea last week to add their strength to the picket lines which surrounded the Potter foundry.

The Minneapolis picketers were Carl Skogland, Hiney Strand, Harry Wilson, Frank Hall, George Brethren, Lee Glynn, Clifford Westlund, Hank Klose, and Glasgen. "They certainly were a lot of help to us," declared Frank Ellis. "There wasn't the slightest bit of doubt about our picket lines wherever these strike veterans were on duty. They knew what they were doing and how to do it."—From the Austin (Minn.) American.

League Wins Relief Fight

(Continued from Page 1)

five children. The work to organize the jobless over a period of months was almost heartbreaking, but the reward came on Feb. 15. Sam Pollack, vice-president of the Ohio Unemployed League, was sent into Anglaise county, at the request of the League in Waynesfield, to help organize the demonstration. When the unemployed flowed into the town of Wapak, the county seat, and elected spokesmen to call on the relief officials, nobody wanted to stay behind, everybody went with the committee to the court house. The relief officials were caught with their pants down. Not knowing what to do, they immediately began distributing clothing and adjusting individual grievances.

Today, as a result of this first success, more Leagues are forming in the county. Bill Groff, special organizer of the O.U.L., is in charge.

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Mass meetings . . . and new Leagues. This is the formula for success, to judge by the experience of Local 1 of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League. Mass meetings everywhere, including school buildings. But—

They Got Suspicious
 Ben Graham, superintendent of schools, got suspicious. Suspicious of radicals. The School Board got suspicious. Also of radicals. The politicians, with the aid of "substantial" people, suddenly started an organization called the Community Councils' and the school board decided to close all school buildings to "radical organizations"—if it could.

Meeting in the same schools where the P.U.L. meets, the Community Councils operate on the theory that movie lectures and popular songs will aid all classes in dissolving their differences, and cause the workers to forget that their children are half-starved and will continue to starve.

Local 1 is fighting to retain its school-meeting permits . . . not hat in hand, but by militant action. The old locals of the P.U.L. are growing and new locals are formed every week following mass meetings.

WHAT TO ATTEND
 New York City
 March 3, Sunday, 8 P.M.—"The Truth About Sacramento" A. J. Muste. Germania Hall, cor. 16th Street and Third Avenue.
 March 25, Monday evening—Theatre Party, "The Black Pil" at the Civic Repertory Theatre. Tickets from Lillian Bord, at District Office.

Los Angeles
 International Workers School classes commencing. At 1789 First Street, corner Boyle:
 Mondays, 8 P.M.—Trade Union and Organization Principles. Instructor: Sam Meyers.
 Thursdays, 8 P.M.—Marxian Economics. Instructor: E. Everett.
 At 9 P.M.—Imperialism. S. Feebels.
 Fridays, 8 P.M.—Fundamental Party Principles for the Youth. Instructor: Rae Ruskin.

Toledo, Ohio
 March 3, Sunday, 8 P.M.—Toledo Workers School Hall, 322 Ontario St. Short addresses on "The Trade Union and the Progressive Movement", "The Youth Movement and the Workers Party" and "Fascism and War". Questions and discussions.

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 THURSDAYS, 8:00-9:00 P.M.—MARXIAN ECONOMICS. Instructor: E. Everett.
 THURSDAYS, 9:00-10:00 P.M.—IMPERIALISM—Instructor: S. Feebels.
 FRIDAYS, 8:00 P.M.—FUNDAMENTAL PARTY PRINCIPLES FOR THE YOUTH. (A Class in Public Speaking Especially for the Spartacus Youth League). Instructor: Rae Ruskin.

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL
 First Year—Winter 1935. Beginning Feb. 18, 1935
 MONDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Workers Party Fundamentals—B. Borkeston
 MONDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Organizational Principles—M. Aborn.
 MONDAY, 8:40-10:00 P.M.—Elementary English—F. Becker.
 MONDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—American History—Felix Morrow.
 WEDNESDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Marxian Economics vol. 1)—H. Oehler
 WEDNESDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—American Labor History—A. J. Muste.
 WEDNESDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—History of the Three Internationals—M. Shachtman.
 THURSDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Trade Union Strategy and Tactics—A. Swabeck.
 THURSDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Philosophy of Marxism—Grote.
 FRIDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—History and Problems of the Youth Movement—N. Gould.
 FRIDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—A B C of Marxism—Jack Weber.
 FRIDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—History of the Russian Revolution—Wm. Duncan.
 Ten sessions for each course; no evening a week.
 Fees: \$2.00 per course, payable in three installments: \$1 at time of registration, and two 50c installments within 3 weeks.
 The International Workers School is ready to give any additional classes if a minimum of fifteen workers request it. For further information regarding the school, get in touch with Joseph Carter, School Administrator, at 2 West 15th Street, New York City.

Contest Note

IN SPITE of a bad start due to moving the offices the New MILITANT building campaign is well under way. Minneapolis stands first in number of new subs sent in and the Central Branch in New York City second. Davenport, Iowa stands highest in percentage of fulfillment of quota, having already reached the 30 percent mark. Philadelphia is also making noticeable progress toward the achievement of its goal. There are a number of branches from which we have not heard as yet. Akron, Buffalo, Charleston W. Va., Cleveland, Detroit, Fort Wayne, Mineola, Oakland, Plentywood, Salt Lake City, Springfield, Staunton, Washington and Waukegan are on this list. Let's have some word from you in the next week!

Certain branches are doing an excellent job on bundle payments, keeping them right up to date. Among these are Los Angeles, Oakland, Tonawanda, Cleveland, Dickson City, Allentown, New Castle, Northampton, Salt Lake City and Riverview. All other branches should make immediate arrangements to settle on bundle accounts at once. This is vital and your bundle will not be counted in the circulation drive unless paid in full.

And now, another week of concentrated effort to achieve our goal of 10,000 circulation by May 31. Send subs today! Build up the bundle orders!

RULES OF PRIZE CONTEST FOR SUBSCRIPTIONS

- Who may participate?**
 The contest is for individuals and branches. Any individual, not employed in the national office of this publication, may compete.
 - How are points counted?**
 Counting will be on the basis of yearly subs, each of which will count as one point. Two half year subs will also count as one point. Subs taken on combination offers will be counted unless otherwise specified.
 - What are the dates of the drive?**
 The drive started February 1 and will end on May 31.
 - What are the prizes?**
 - Each month during the drive a prize of \$2.00 in books will be awarded to the individual sending in the greatest number of subs during that month. A minimum of 10 subs will be required in this category.
 - To the individual sending in the largest number of subs for the period of the entire drive will be awarded a prize of \$5.00 in books.
 - To the branch getting the largest percentage score in individual subs and bundle orders will be awarded a prize of \$10.00 in books.
 - To the branch making second place for the entire drive in the points outlined in (c) above, a prize of \$5.00 in books.
- General remarks:**
 *All books are to be selected from the lists of the Pioneer Bookshop,

96 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
 *In case of tie in any category duplicate prizes will be awarded.
 *All remittances must be payable to the New Militant, 2 West 15th Street, New York. In order to be counted they must be received on or before 5 P.M. of the last day of each month (for category 4a) or on or before 5 P.M. of the last day of the drive (for the remaining categories). They must also contain:
 (a) name of subscriber
 (b) name of contestant
 (c) name of branch (if to be thus credited)
 * * * * *

Friends! Comrades! The goal has been set and the rules given. Remember, each sub you send in will make the position of the Party press the more secure—will help build the advance guard of the American working class. Start sending them now!
 1 year \$1.00; 6 months 65c.
 Special combinations are listed elsewhere in this issue.
 For your convenience—this coupon.

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 Add 15c to above for sample copy of the New International []
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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

American Imperialism Arrives At a Decision

When Roosevelt granted recognition to the U.S.S.R. his move was interpreted correctly as being aimed at Japanese imperialism. Undoubtedly it gave pause to the Japanese militarists in the ruthless plundering of China. For to them it meant the prelude to a military alliance, a view that was made highly plausible by the fact that recognition was soon followed by the sending of military and naval attaches to the Soviet Union by the U. S., by the fact that even prior to recognition the Curtis-Wright aircraft concern had been granted permission by the U. S. Army (naturally with the consent of the State Department) to conclude a technical assistance contract with the U.S.S.R. and to build airplane factories in Russia, etc. Only a few weeks before open announcement of recognition the attitude of the Soviet Union towards Japanese aggression in connection with the Chinese Eastern Railway had undergone a distinct change; the tone of Soviet diplomacy hardened and became less conciliatory. Temporarily the Japanese generals, faced with the possibility of two such foes, whose interests ran parallel only momentarily in common opposition to Japanese aims, uniting against them, were forced to wait and move more cautiously. But since then the international situation has taken new form, new alignments are in process of achievement, and the American capitalists have arrived at a decision. This decision, to make perfectly plain to Japan that there would be no military alliance between the U. S. and the U.S.S.R., is unquestionably related to the stand taken by England in support of the rearmament of Hitler Germany. Thus the whole international situation has become threatening to the Soviet Union. The signal for the war of intervention may be given at any moment.

American Policy

The question of the debts owed by Russia to the U. S. played only a minor role in Roosevelt's decision to withdraw military attaches and consuls from the Soviet Union. It provided merely the plausible diplomatic excuse for justification of a provocative act before the masses. For such an act will be (and has been!) interpreted by Japanese militarists and German fascists as a guarantee that they may proceed with the attack on the Soviet Union without fear of interference by U. S. imperialism. The German "Tagblatt" thus stated that "Apparently Washington intends to demonstrate that there is no military alliance between the two powers." Washington feels that the interests of American imperialism will be best served by pushing Japan into war against the Soviet Union and then waiting till both countries have become exhausted by the con-

Militarizing of the Pacific

Meantime Roosevelt pursues the "New Deal" policy in the Pacific. That is, he is completely militarizing the Pacific coast and the island "possessions" and laying the necessary foundations for properly carrying on the colossal naval battles of the future. The preparations involve political changes as well as physical ones. Thus the New Deal as applied to Hawaii means the change to a "mainland" governor completely under instruction of the U. S. navy. Millions of dollars are being poured out to construct in Hawaii the largest air bases in the Pacific. In addition air bases are being set up rapidly on certain of the Aleutian Islands which form the northern and the safest approach to the Japanese Isles. The Philippines will undergo a similar process at the first opportunity. The propaganda for tightening the military grip on the Philippines is already evident in the announcement by American business interests in the islands of the "discovery" of rich chromite deposits, valuable in war time. Thus it is clear that he U. S., under the guidance of a President who, under the cloak of liberalism, pursues the ends of imperialism, is embarked on a course directed against both the U.S.S.R. and Japan. War between these two countries would afford Roosevelt the full opportunity to go even further in "mechanizing and modernizing" both the army and the navy, and in building the largest navy in the world to carry out the greedy aims of world hegemony of the American financiers.

War and Fascism

An unforgettable lesson that the capitalists learned in the last world war is that the ruling class must protect itself not only against rival imperialists abroad, but also against the working class enemy at home. For just as the capitalists carry out similar policies of exploitation at home and abroad, so the working class under proper leadership pursues internal and international policies directly antagonistic to those of capitalism. During war in particular the workers are apt to learn the lesson that no nation can be free at home that exploits other peoples abroad. Hence the capitalist class attempts to guarantee its rear (at home) in wartime by suppressing all working class liberties and wiping out their independent, particularly their revolutionary, organizations. Thus war breeds fascism and the working class must oppose both.

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Five Join Workers Party Protesting C.P. Bureaucracy

Calling on other members of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League to follow them, five Philadelphia comrades have joined the Spartacus Youth League and the Workers Party. The new members are Milton Prens, S. S. Colton, Nat Cohen and John Brusklin, all from the Y.C.L. and Jed Davis from the C.P.

In a statement addressed to "Communist Comrades, Fellow-Workers," these comrades protest against the bureaucracy of the C. P., and cite in particular the change of policy on the trade union field, the united front and the building of a Labor Party without reference to the party convention or free discussion by the rank and file.

Cite Lack of Democracy

"For months already we have witnessed the swift destruction of the last semblance of party democracy," the statement reads, in part, "and the robbing of the rank and file's revolutionary right to freedom of discussion on all major changes in the party line. . . . It was ruled at the last convention, 'in the name of several hundred thousand workers', 'the party must conduct a sharp struggle against any liquidatory tendencies, and expose the slanders and maneuvers of the renegades who call for the liquidation of the T.U.U.L. because they wish to strengthen the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, of which they have become a part.' . . . 'Without warning, as if there had never been a party congress, the Central Committee not long after startled the whole membership with a series of decrees (Daily Worker, Jan. 26, 1935), completely reversing the unanimous decisions of the convention. The C.C. commands us: 'The existing revolutionary trade unions and their locals join the A. F. of L. or its unions wherever there exist parallel mass A. F. of L. trade unions, or the Red trade unions can join the A. F. of L. directly.' . . . 'Even if the C. C. claim—that the objective conditions have forced

this sudden turn in trade union policy—were correct, still nothing can justify their refusal to recognize the party members' elemental right to democratically decide what the party's proletarian policy should be! . . . 'After we had been taught year in, year out (1929-35) that social democracy and fascism were twins, after it had been drummed into our heads that no united fronts against imperialist war and fascism could be carried out with the treacherous socialist leaders but only with the workers from below—after all this, the executive committee of the Comintern (and there has not been a world congress of the Comintern for seven years!) wholly upset our old united front policy. . . . Are we to honor the impotent united front of the C.P. and S.P. of France as a model for our future united front tactics? Never! . . . It is a united front of speeches and parades, and not of organized struggle against fascism. It is a united front from above! We stand for the united front of all working class parties and leagues from top to bottom, with unrestricted right of mutual criticism in the course of the fight for common aims. Go back and read the records of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International and learn what Lenin meant by the united front! . . . 'The idea that the major political task of the communists today is the launching of a Labor Party came like a thunderbolt to us! We have learnt from history that a Labor Party is a reformist petty-bourgeois party, what we once branded a 'social fascist' party. As Lenin once pointed out, all so-called labor parties inevitably become imperialist (social imperialist) instruments against the revolutionary Marxist vanguard. . . . 'We call on all comrades who are in sympathy today with our viewpoint to follow us and join strength with the rising ranks of the only revolutionary Marxian party and youth league in America, the Workers Party of the U.S. and the Spartacus Youth League.'

the objective conditions have forced

THE TRUTH ABOUT SACRAMENTO

How C.P. Tactics Hurt Defendants

By JAMES P. CANNON

San Francisco, Feb. 11.—The "Criminal Syndicalism" trial at Sacramento had every right to become a central issue of the advanced labor movement throughout the country. The reasons for the failure are now clearly established and it is time to speak out loud about them. Behind the familiar smoke screen of the "Red scare", the prosecution is patently aimed at militant trade unionism; concretely it is an attempt to take revenge for the strike movement of the cannery and agricultural workers, and to head off further activities of this kind. This contention was fully substantiated by the nature of the evidence introduced by the prosecution throughout the past week of the trial which I had the opportunity to attend. The big banking and industrial interests which stand behind the prosecution at Sacramento are out to "get" Chambers and Decker and their immediate associates. At the same time they are aiming a deadly blow at militant unionism which the defendants represented and carried into practice among the most oppressed and deprived section of the California working class, the agricultural workers.

A great working class movement could have been organized around this issue. Nothing of the kind happened, and the responsibility for the failure—which jeopardizes the defendants as well as the advanced labor movement in general—rests squarely on the Communist Party. Indeed, facts are already piled mountain high to prove that the Stalinists did not simply fail to take advantage of the opportunity which was in their hands; they worked deliberately to "play down" the case and to wreck every attempt initiated by others to put the defense movement on a broad working class base.

Sacramento is not merely a repetition of the neglect and incompetence for which the Stalinists are sufficiently distinguished; the story of Stalinism in the Sacramento case is a story of perfidious betrayal of the interests of the labor movement and of the defendants on trial. On this point argument is unnecessary and superfluous; the facts which make up the shameful record speak for themselves.

Subotaging the Case

The arrests occurred last July. The trial began in January. Thus the C. P. and its defense organization, the I.L.D., had a period of six months to popularize the case, alarm the labor movement and set a big defense movement into motion. But they did nothing of the kind. On the contrary, the case was completely neglected and ignored. Practically no publicity was given to it in the Daily Worker. No attempt was made to enlist the cooperation of the Socialist Party and other organizations on a national scale. Nothing was attempted even in the State of California beyond the usual perfunctory "united front" of the C. P. and its satellite organizations. The capitalist reactionaries were fully awake to the import of the case. The opening of the trial found them mobilized and firing away every day in the press against the "red menace" on trial at Sacra-

mento. But it produced hardly a ripple in the labor movement of California. As for the advanced workers throughout the country, they didn't even know about the case until a series of articles in the New Militant called attention to it.

The defendants were allowed to remain in jail the whole six months before the trial, despite the fact that bail for each of them was set at only \$3,200. Chambers and Decker the leaders of the union, are effective and popular agitators. If they had been at liberty during the six months before the trial they could have done much to arouse labor and liberal support for the case and to procure bail for the others. But they never had the chance.

Were they allowed to remain in jail because the I.L.D. was unable to procure bail for them? Nonsense! They had been in conflict with the party bureaucracy over questions of union policy. Because of that bail was withheld from them and they were deliberately kept in jail for six months by their own party while a whispered campaign of slander was carried on to discredit and isolate them. As one over-zealous and somewhat indiscreet Stalinist remarked when questioned about the matter: "The party is keeping Decker in jail to discipline her."

Proof that the failure to provide bail was not due to lack of means and resources was supplied when the Non-Partisan Labor Defense intervened in the case at the request of several of the defendants. The N.P.L.D. offered to attempt to raise bail. At first the prisoners were forbidden by the I.L.D. to accept the "counter-revolutionary bail" of the N.P.L.D. This was going a little too far, however, and Jack Warnick made application to the N.P.L.D. His bail was procured within a week. A few days later the N.P.L.D. took Decker out on bail, and collected the bail funds for a third defendant. Put to shame by this demonstration the I.L.D. woke up and suddenly discovered that they also could raise bail if they wanted to. They deposited bail for six defendants on one day after the N.P.L.D. had forced their hand. They didn't have to hunt for this bail. They had it all the time. They didn't use it for six months because they didn't want to use it.

Making and Breaking United Front As stated above, the trial began without the semblance of a united front defense movement. When the N.P.L.D. entered the case as the representative of Norman Mini, one of the defendants who had left the C. P. and joined the Workers Party, it made concrete proposals for the organization of a united front to mobilize the mass movement in support of the defense. Under pressure of the defendants the C. P. finally agreed.

The Socialist Party, the Workers Party, the American Civil Liberties Union and several other organizations participated and a united committee was constituted on the basis of definite agreements in writing. Everything was set to build up a broad supporting movement even at this late day. Prospects were good to organize a real counter-offensive against the capitalist reactionaries and red baiters and to penetrate the trade union movement with the appeal of the Sacramento prisoners.

Then orders came from New York: "Break it up!" At the con-

Statement by N.P.L.D.

Fifteen men and women are now on trial in Sacramento, facing 6 to 84 years imprisonment each for their activities. That the trial is an onslaught on labor unions is proven by inclusion in the indictment of the organization of picketing, as specific proof of criminal syndicalism.

Even more revealing is a statement made to the Sacramento Bee, on February 4, by F. J. Palomares, manager of the San Joaquin Valley employment agency:

"This trial is of the utmost importance to them (the bosses) because they believe the defendants responsible for the San Joaquin Valley strike of 1933—the first serious one in that section's history."

If convictions are obtained in Sacramento, the next step will be a state-wide—and eventually a nation-wide attack on labor unions. Mini and to offer aid to the other prisoners. We raised the bail. The Non-Partisan Labor Defense was called in by Norman Mini, one of the defendants. We dispatched a field representative to Sacramento and Albert Goldman, noted labor attorney, to defend (\$6,400) for Caroline Decker and Jack Warnick, co-defendants of Mini. By our appeals to trade unions and other means, we popularized the Sacramento defense movement. We have helped provide the prisoners with relief funds and literature needed by them for the trial. We have begun an investigation to impeach State evidence. In New York, we held a great mass meeting protesting Hearst's anti-labor campaign and in support of the Sacramento prisoners.

All this has been done by us without any general appeal for funds. Now we must have funds. Rush donations. Help smash the attack of the California bankers on the elementary rights of labor. Fraternally yours,

GEORGE NOVACK Chairman, Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense Room 731, 22 East 17th St., N. Y. C.

ference on January 26 they tried to do so by the simple device of insisting on the inclusion of their satellite organizations. When they got enough votes in this way, they sailed ahead and, in violation of written agreements to the contrary, adopted a motion which drove out of the united front every non-Stalinist organization.

The Communist Party has said and written much in recent months about the desire for a "united front" with the Socialist Party. The State organization of the S. P. in California participated in the short-lived united front on the Sacramento case with the C. P. and with the Workers Party. The testimony of the Socialist Party of California as to the cause of the disruption of this attempt therefore has an exceptional interest and importance. I quote from an official circular of the Socialist Party of California addressed "To Members of the Socialist Party of California" under date of February 5, 1935:

"The Communist Party-controlled delegates, however, after repeated breaches of faith, and despite concessions made by the other groups for the sake of unity, deliberately smashed the united defense. At the conference on January 26, acting apparently on orders from New York, they violated every agreement previously made with other delegates. This they did in spite of unity appeals by Dr. George P. Hedley, of the A.C.L.U. and two of the I.L.D. defendants who were present. A policy frankly designed to bar cooperation of any delegate unwilling to accept Communist Party orders was laid down as an ultimatum. Thereupon, the C.P.-controlled delegates called for 'a united front under the leadership of the C.P. and I.L.D.' Having driven all non-controllable delegates out, they got it."

The result of the Stalinist united front policy was predicted by our San Francisco branch in a leaflet, for distributing which our comrades were physically attacked by the Stalinists on the night of Feb. 3. The Stalinist "united front" conference assembled on Feb. 10. It was a complete success—I.L.D. delegates were present from various cities and they never once disagreed with each other or with the C. P. delegates. As a matter of fact, even the I.W.O., the Marine Workers Industrial Union, and the League Against War and Fascism cheered every decision to the echo. As for trade unions and other genuine mass organizations, they stayed away in droves.

Stalinist policy which, for six months, prevented the development of a mass movement, has now smashed the movement which might have been built out of the genuine united front committee including the S. P., W.P., N.P.L.D. and other non-Stalinist organizations. For this the C.P. will have to answer sooner or later to the defendants and the workers of California.

Defense Policy in Court

As previous editorials in the New Militant have indicated, the Workers Party stood for unity and cooperation in the courtroom. Despite the deep and irreconcilable differences which separate us from the Communist Party we considered unity before the capitalist court a

self-evident duty and necessity. The N.P.L.D., representing Norman Mini, brought Albert Goldman from Chicago to conduct his defense and sought an agreement for cooperation between him and the attorney of the I.L.D., Leo Gallagher. The attitude of the C. P., however, made even this cooperation impossible. The I.L.D. attorney has never been willing to confer with Goldman over courtroom tactics, to say nothing of coming to an agreement with him.

The conflict over courtroom tactics, which at one point flared into the open, brought out two conflicting theories of labor defense which I do not believe can be reconciled. Our theory is that you engage a lawyer to safeguard the legal rights of a worker on trial, to take advantage of all legal technicalities and to try to convince a jury that he acted within his legal rights. This does not mean compromising principle. On the contrary, in the courtroom the attacks of capitalism on the workers' standards and workers' rights, the suffering of the masses, the principles and tactics of the revolutionary movement for the liberation of the workers—all are clearly and sharply brought out. "Mass pressure", which is undoubtedly the decisive factor in labor cases in the final analysis, has to be realized by means of publicity and agitation to mobilize mass support and protest outside the courtroom. For this, a united front and a mass campaign is needed. A lawyer's soap box speeches in court cannot be substituted for it.

The attorney of the I.L.D. has proceeded in this case as though it were lost before it started; as though there had been no hope of securing an acquittal, or even a hung jury. Consequently, he has tried the case for the benefit of the courtroom audience, which consists of exactly 112 people when all the chairs are occupied, about one-half of whom are sympathizers who need no agitation and the other half prejudiced supporters of the prosecution. This is the perverted Stalinist conception of "mass pressure". This is the way they try to compensate for their failure to organize a real mass movement in support of the defense.

Gallagher even went so far in antagonizing the jury and applying "mass pressure" in the courtroom that on one occasion, when a woman juror interrupted to ask him not to shout so loud because it made her nervous, he retorted: "I am not talking for the jury, I am talking for the people in the courtroom." (Western Worker, Feb. 7). How can anyone who has a decent regard for the fate of men on trial support or acquiesce in such tactics? It was at this point that attorney Goldman, after repeated warnings against such methods, made the statement that he did not associate himself with the tactics of Gallagher.

Frame-up Against Norman Mini

If the Stalinist leaders here have shown themselves to be helpless and impotent before the assaults of reaction, and unable to organize any serious resistance to it, they display great energy in the crusade against what, after all, they regard as the "real enemy"—"Trotskyism". Considering the case lost before it started, and the defendants as good as in San Quentin—and losing very little sleep on that score—they are concerned now to find a scapegoat upon whom they can unload the responsibility for the results of their own incompetence and perfidy. They have selected "Trotskyism" for this role. The fact that "Trotskyism" in this instance is represented by a defendant who himself is on trial and facing a prison term does not deter them.

Norman Mini, one of the defendants, quit the Communist Party and joined the Workers Party. That made him, forthwith, a coun-

ter-revolutionist of course. And now, according to the official propaganda, he is also a "stool pigeon". But what's new about that? Is it not well known that anyone who disagrees with the policy of the Communist Party is ipso facto a police agent as well as a social fascist? Who is going to be impressed by this new discovery in regard to Norman Mini? True, such an attack on one of the defendants while the trial is going on and the repetition of the Hearst press lie that Mini made a "confession"—implying that some "crime" was committed—is a blow at the defense. But why should people who deliberately kept their own party members in jail for six months worry if they get six years on top of it? The important thing is to deal a blow at "Trotskyism".

But in this case, also, I think the Stalinist generals have overreached themselves and that their attack will turn out to be a boomerang. For the accusation against Mini is a frame-up which has already called forth the protest of Jack Warnick. And I venture to predict that when Mini's day in court comes, and he takes the witness stand to speak for himself, the blackguards who blithely denounced him as a stool-pigeon will be put to shame.

When he was arrested last August Mini, then a member of the C. P., gave a statement in which he openly admitted his membership in the C. P. and openly proclaimed his revolutionary beliefs. He also answered questions regarding the party affiliation of well known officials of the C. P. and their revolutionary beliefs as he understood them. This, of course, was a mistake and a very serious one too, for which Mini deserves severe criticism. A revolutionist should know better than to give any information of any kind to the police or the prosecutor. Naturally, the Workers Party, which had never even heard of Mini last August cannot take a particle of responsibility for his statement. It reflects the woeful lack of revolutionary education as well as the spirit of leftist bravado of a young member of the Stalinist party. We educate our members differently.

I heard the statement read in court. It fell flat; there was nothing in it that was not commonly known. The capitalist press blazoned it as a "confession". This it was not in any sense of the word, for the essence of Mini's statement was that he had a right to belong to the C.P. and to believe in a revolutionary program, and did not consider this a crime. But the Western Worker, ever-anxious to strike a blow at Mini, even if thereby a blow was also struck at all the defendants in the case, enormously exaggerated the import of the statement and, following the lead of the capitalist press, declared it to be "the most dangerous weapon the railroad machine has brought into use against the defendants to date."

That is false from beginning to end. As a matter of fact, the statement cannot harm the case of the defendants in the slightest degree except on one theory: that they intend to give up the fight for the legality of the C. P., deny membership in the C. P. and deny the revolutionary program.

Jack Warnick, who made an open break with the C. P. in protest against the frame-up of Mini, gave the answer of a revolutionist to the slander of the Western Worker: "Neither do I think the information he gave is damaging to the case or to the revolutionary movement. What he said consisted of facts which we have always disdained to hide." Other defendants said the same thing in substance when the statement was read in court.

The Western Worker characterizes the document as a "stool pigeon statement". That is not true at all. No person of integrity would support such a slanderous accusation. The very people who make it known that Mini has repeatedly been offered immunity if he would testify for the State and that he refused all such offers and remained in solidarity with his fellow-defendants.

The slander campaign against Mini is a shameful attempt to take revenge on a young comrade who had the intelligence and courage to break with the Stalinist party and join another more worthy of the allegiance of a revolutionist. That is his real crime. For that they want to assassinate him. But they will not succeed. We will not let them do it. We would not deserve the name of revolutionists if we yielded an inch to such an infamous frame-up.

Beginning with the next issue the New Militant will start a Questions and Answers department. Comrade A. Weaver who conducted the Question Box in the old Militant will have charge of the new feature. Readers are requested to address their questions to "Questions and Answers" department.

THE TRUTH ABOUT SACRAMENTO Speaker: A. J. MUSTE National Secretary of the Workers Party SUNDAY, MARCH 3, at 8 P.M. Germania Hall, 16th Street and Third Ave. QUESTIONS ADMISSION 15c DISCUSSION

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

NEW MILITANT

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The Reason for Hearst

WILLIAM Randolph Hearst and his yellow press howling for blood of foreigners and "reds", among whom one finds prominently listed in his latest broadside such pale pinks, with names that clearly reveal their foreign origin, as President Chase of New York University, President Graham of the University of North Carolina, and President Hutchins of the University of Chicago.

Leaders of the Agricultural and Cannery Workers Union on trial in Sacramento, California, for strike activities last year, and agricultural workers being shot in another strike a few miles away. Impoverished share croppers and their leaders in Arkansas terrorized by vigilantes and the courts. Sixteen members of the Drivers Union in Fargo, N. D. found guilty of rioting on the basis of a picketing incident in which police manhandled several strikers, but no one else suffered a scratch.

A new barrage of injunctions against unions and strikers in all sections of the country. The state of Arkansas, proposing to pass a law under which the mere possession of a radical book or pamphlet by an individual would subject him to a long term in jail, and its possession by a school such as Commonwealth Labor College would mean its dissolution.

Bills in state legislatures requiring teachers and even students to take "oaths of loyalty". Bills in Congress to finger print everybody. Bills to deport aliens. Private organizations such as the American Legion and the Elks openly organizing vast propaganda campaigns against all progressive and radical ideas, and secretly organizing vigilante squads.

Against whom and what is this widespread campaign of terror and red-baiting aimed? Against individuals and organizations which have revolutionary aims and carry on revolutionary activities? Only in a secondary sense; and any radical party which encourages the notion, as the C. P. tends to do, that it by itself is the sole or chief object of this attack, is playing straight into the hands of the reactionaries.

The trade union movement is the object of the present campaign of the reactionaries. They are determined to smash the unions if possible and in any event to keep them from getting a foothold in the basic industries.

The attack is aimed at the entire working class, at the farmers, at the professional and technical workers, at the small business people.

Why has the attack upon the unions, upon all forms of progressivism and radicalism, broken out just now? First of all, the New Deal now stands forth in all its nakedness. The masses see that it is not a way

of salvation for them. It has, for the moment, saved and strengthened monopoly capitalism. Corporation profits have grown under Roosevelt, friend of "the forgotten man". But in this period of capitalist development profits can be maintained only by forcing down the standards of the masses. Thus Roosevelt himself now leads a new drive to force the unemployed to work for an average of eleven dollars a week. How can the rebellion of the masses, of the unions, of the unemployed leagues, be kept down? Make it appear that it is unpatriotic to offer resistance, that only "reds", foreigners, agents of enemy powers, are inspiring opposition to the slave wage standards.

Thus the Roosevelt Administration itself, since it will not fight big capital on behalf of a higher standard for the workers, is chiefly responsible for the present anti-union terror campaign, despite its liberal pretensions and despite the fact that it may be "embarrassed" by some of the cruder attempts to put down labor rebellion.

In the second place, the international situation is tense. Stick a pin into the map at random almost anywhere and you are likely to hit a spot where war may soon break out. The masses must be psychologized and terrorized into submission to war-plans. They must not be permitted to stop the schemes of the war-mongers for making profits out of the manufacture of battleships and munitions. But the masses don't want war and they don't care to help the munitions makers coin profits. What is the answer? Again, obviously, put the "red" or the "foreign" label on any opposition to imperialist schemes.

Thirdly, a showdown is coming on the question of union recognition in the big industries. A new strike wave has begun. The leaders of the A. F. of L. themselves are compelled to moan that Roosevelt has betrayed them, though the next moment they fondly embrace him. How stop the organizing work in the basic industries? How prevent strikes? How smash strikes when they break out?

Vigorous organizing work and the strike struggles without which the workers in the basic industries cannot get strong and militant unions will be carried out only by the progressive, fighting elements in the unions. Pin the red label on every progressive and militant, therefore. Try to prejudice the workers against them. Isolate the militants from the masses. This is the game of the wage-cutters who are trying to force the workers into complete slavery.

How combat the capitalists' attack and thwart their schemes? The best defense is a strong offensive.

Build the unions in every trade and industry! Build the left-progressive movement in the unions, since only thus can the unions themselves be built! Build the Unemployed Leagues! Bind the unions and the leagues closely together!

Strike and demonstrate militantly—against wage cuts, for wage increases, for the 30-hour week, for the right to organize!

Build a great nation-wide Non-Partisan Labor Defense movement which will tell the boss class in unmistakable terms to keep its hands off militant workers.

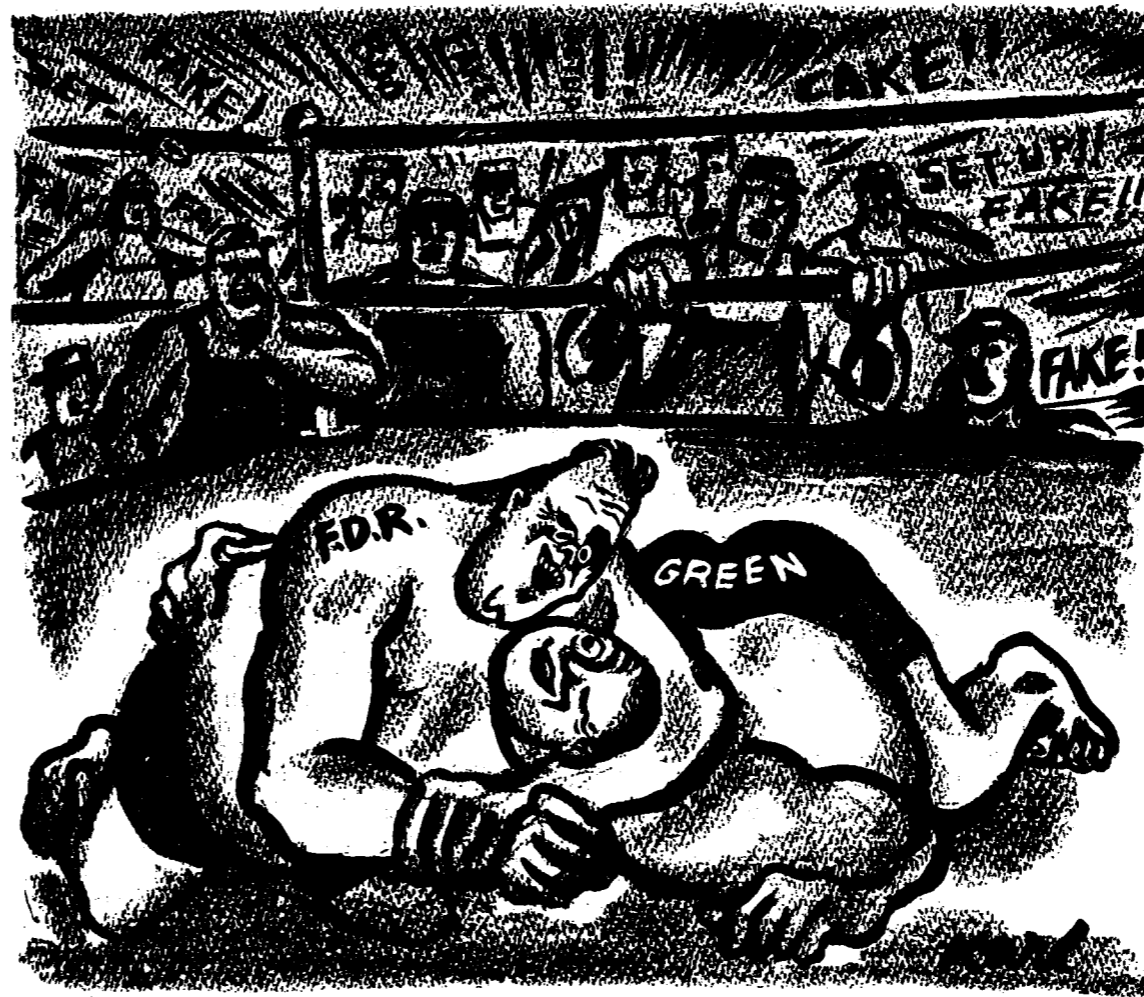
Build the revolutionary party of the workers! For in the showdown there is no alternative but to let the capitalist reaction establish Fascism or for the workers to take power and build a new world.

There is where help is needed and where help counts.

The answer to Hearst, the answer to the war-mongers, the answer to the Roosevelt's wage-cutting campaign, is organization in steel, rubber, automobiles, textiles, the onward movement of the organized masses of the workers!

BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF THE WORKERS!

The Set-Up



Bill Green: "Am I getting too rough, Franklin?"

Elevator Strike History In Newspaper Headlines

NEW YORK. — The elevator strike has been postponed—this is the latest news, and has been the latest news for the last three months. A short history of local 32B of the Building Service Workers International Union is given in the headlines: Oct. 17—Tie Up Threatens Garment Center. Oct. 27—Walkout Looms. Nov. 1—Strike Plans Put Off. Nov. 2—Strike Called in Garment Center. Nov. 3—Strike Called Off Under Pact. Nov. 4—Strike Planned in Financial and Home Zones. Nov. 6—Strike Threatened in Hotels. Nov. 9—Strike in Garment Area Postponed. Nov. 13—Strike Likely in Garment Area. Nov. 14—Strike Again Postponed. Nov. 15—Strike Threat in Commercial and Apartment Buildings.

Nov. 19—Sudden Strike Call Expected. Nov. 20—Mayor LaGuardia (the friend of labor) Bars Strike. Nov. 21—Arbitration Pact Signed (it was not signed by the union) Dec. 29—Bambrick Threatens Strike. Jan. 9—Strike Held Near. Feb. 14—3,000 Out On "Unauthorized" Strike. Feb. 15—City Wide Strike Voted. Feb. 16—City Wide Strike Voted Over Bambrick's Protest. Feb. 17—Ed. McGrady arrives from Washington to Arbitrate! Feb. 18—Elevator Strike Set for 10:30 A.M. in 1,000 Buildings. Feb. 19—City Wide Strike Called Off After All Night Conference. Feb. 20—Six Months Truce Signed. Feb. 22—Call For Walkout Monday Expected. Feb. 25—Walkout Postponed When NLRB Intervenes.

What can be said of this history? The constant use of the strike threat serves one purpose, it helps keep the union in the public eye and gives an impetus to organization.

But! The same constant threat, keeping the workers at a high pitch of expectancy, can have the most destructive reaction, unless the threat is actually carried out. There is a certain point beyond which the enthusiasm of the workers turns cold, and they quit the union, if it remains inactive, as rapidly as they joined it.

That time has come!

Washington News Letter

(Continued from Page 1) so-far ineffective program of "spending our way back to prosperity". The lunatic policies of A.A.A.—crop curtailment, plowing under, driving share croppers from the soil—will be continued. The Department of Agriculture, it would seem, is slowly coming to realize that the drought of 1934 is driving up prices to the point where it may be expedient to desist from continuing wanton destruction. But what the Department's experts may think will have little effect upon the President and his inspired advisers. They are still in the grip of the "overproduction" fallacy; to induce revival you must starve wage earners and pay the farmers for performing the task. The policy has the added merit of driving a wedge between the interests of farmers and workers who might otherwise come together for revolutionary action.

Foreign trade? A few more treaties of negligible import; but complete neglect of one vast market—Russia—where big scale transactions might be carried on. Banking? Increased centralization of credit in the hand of a government-dominated Federal Reserve Board to the end that monopoly finance capitalism may function with fewer restraints. Military affairs? More, bigger and costlier battleships with an eye to imperialistic war in the near future with Japan.

But at least the Brain Trust is henceforth out of the picture. That is something the President will no longer be able to pretend that he acts on inspirations which come to him from on high.

severest grilling, Mini revealed that, while the Communist Party did not train him for the practical class struggle, his self-obtained socialist education is not deficient. The perspectives are admittedly poor. A prejudiced jury; a judge in league with a venomous prosecution; the ill-advised tactics of the I.L.D.; the lack of a mass protest movement, glaringly revealed by the complete failure of the C.P. "united front" conference held in San Francisco on February 10, justify little optimism as to the outcome.

No serious turn in the situation can be expected during the next week or two. Were a verdict to be given today, there is little doubt that it would be against all the defendants. Should sufficient protests come in from outside the state, things may brighten up a bit.

Whatever happens, the working class can be sure that in Newman Mini, it has an incorruptible advocate. We must do everything in our power to prevent him and his co-defendants from being railroad. Should they go to San Quentin, it will be the duty of the working class to launch a great fight for their freedom.

left jabs

By BILL SHERMAN The New Title The column appears today under its new title, Left Jabs, sent in by A. D. Philadelphia, who wins the prize of a year's subscription to the New Militant. We again wish to thank the many readers who sent in suggestions for the title, and trust that all will continue with contributions that will make LEFT JABS the best column in the New Militant.

"My Country 'Tis of Thee" "We Communists yield to no one in our love of our country. It is because we love our country that we support the Workers Bill."—Earl Browder, Daily Worker, Feb. 13, 1935.

A Governor, Child Labor and Bolshevism

Gov. John M. Slaton of Georgia came "up No'th" to speak to the President of the Federation of the Bar. The Child Labor Amendment was his chief topic, and the "Southern gentleman" got blue in the face denouncing it—"It is hard to trace a difference between this suggestion and the extremist decrees of Bolshevism under Lenin, which destroyed the integrity of the family and made children the wards of the State," declared the Governor.

Our Hope and Strength

"Roosevelt is our hope and strength," says President Bill Green of the A. F. of L. . . Dan Tobin of the Teamsters Union presents the Roosevelt administration has done for labor" . . . President Roosevelt's new relief scheme calls for wage cuts and provides a maximum of \$50 per month per family. . . Gawd, what 'ope and strength!—Bill Reich.

The Cuckoo Clock

A peasant presented Stalin with a clock which signals the hours with music, as Stalin's picture pops out in front. A very appropriate gift.

Religion, A Moral Force

Holy Mount Athos, a monastery on a mountain rising 6,000 feet from the Aegean Sea, possesses more pieces of the True Cross than any other shrine. . . Dr. Reinhold Krause, Nazi churchman, says "God cannot be against Hitler, he alone has God's orders for the Fatherland" . . . The Goodwin Plan by which American churches, Ladies Aid Societies, etc. may raise money for foreign missions and preachers' salaries, proposes to market in 5,600 towns such products as BVD's, Northern Toilet Paper, Zemo Ointment, Champion Spark Plugs, and Winget Kickermicks. Excluded are wines, cigarettes, poker sets, contraceptives and bust developers. . . —Bill Reich.

Theory and Practice

Educator Walter Pitkin says that a knowledge of psychology is essential for success in business. . . William McDougal, foremost American Psychologist, who studied the hereditary characteristics of 37 generations of rats, was swindled of \$20,500 by oil stock promoters.—Bill Reich.

Arms Control & League of Nations

The Arms Traffic Committee of the League of Nations was holding one of those endless discussions on arms. Article 2 of the American draft was the subject. A Fascist admiral said that Italy prefers the 1925 convention because it "provides for the suspension of all of its few restrictions in war time." Mr. Wilson for the U. S. "stressed the moral importance of the question." He held that "birth certificates should be given for cannons just as for men". The French delegate thought the birth certificates should go into "the pre-natal stage". A British Lord thought such certificates required too many statistics. So the question of "birth control" for arms versus "birth certificates" was debated. Nothing was settled, no conclusions reached, and the League of Nations called it a day. —Reviewing the Crisis, 1929-35, by M. L.

'Til Death Do Us Part

The English Parliament has passed a regulation making it criminal for dole recipients, of which there are 17,000,000 not to make "honest efforts" to find work. . . To save expenses, the aged inmates of the Yellowstone County (Montana) Poorhouse were sent out to dig their own graves. None have yet died.—Bill Reich.

WE NEED A LARGER PAPER

Because of lack of space a number of important articles had to be omitted from this issue, including the third installment on "Should Revolutionaries Build a Labor Party?" by Hugo Dekker, and a second article on Father Coughlin by Dan Eastman. These articles will appear in the next issue.—Ed. Note.

SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT ORDER W. P. PAMPHLETS NOW.

Mini in Court Reaffirms His Views as Revolutionist

(Continued from Page 1)

information and misinformation as to the views of the defendants with respect to religion, racial questions and other matters not directly connected with the indictment. But he now ruled that Goldman could not ask Mini questions relating to the same matters.

Even where Goldman endeavored to ask Mini questions concerning his understanding of revolutionary principles connected directly with the matters in the indictment, McAllister interposed objections at every point. These objections, combined with the judge's rulings, constituted a steady barrage of interruptions so that for the most part Mini's voice came to the jury through a din of competing remarks.

Not until Goldman turned the witness over to McAllister did Mini really get a chance to voice his views. The judge now loosened up again, letting McAllister go into subjects which he had closed to Goldman. Lemmon's entire attitude during these two days has completely given the lie to his earlier laborious endeavors to appear as the embodiment of perfect justice.

Perhaps the tensest moment of Norman Mini's day in court was just after he frankly stated that, at the time of his arrest and down to some time in November 1934, he had been a member of the Communist Party.

Mini Risks Contempt "Who were the other members of your unit?" asked McAllister. "I won't tell you," came the firm reply.

"Why not?" "Because it's none of your business!"

Attorneys and court attaches, aware that Mini had put himself in contempt of court, gasped. The judge was visibly embarrassed, as he apparently would not have related the publicity and protests which would have resulted, had he noted this young revolutionary for contempt. He intervened with a remark designed to save his own face:

"Suppose I put the question this way," he said. "Were any of the defendants in your unit?" Norman Mini slowly turned his

gaze from one to another of the defendants with whom he has stood solid against the state all these trying months. "No," he answered.

Another tense moment came with the conclusion of the cross-examination. McAllister sneeringly put the following question:

Would Try Capitalists "And would the Sacramento workers council give a trial to those capitalists who refused to accept the new government and fought to defend their property?"

"It would," answered Mini. Raising his voice to a shout and waving his finger in the air, McAllister threw out a final remark as he took his seat:

"They don't give trials in Roosh-ia."

Judge Lemmon felt obliged to label this crude remark "misconduct" and to order it stricken from the record, the theory being that the jurors would also be able to strike the remark from their minds. Not believing in magic of this kind, Attorney Goldman was on his feet at once:

"Your Honor, the improper remark has been made and on behalf of the defendant Mini, I ask that he be permitted to give his answer. He is ready to state what he thinks about the question of trials in the Soviet Union."

"I have ruled," said Judge Lemmon.

Affirms Marxist Position

The major portion of Mini's testimony, especially under cross-examination, was devoted to an explanation of the Marxist-Leninist idea of revolution. He explained to the jury, in simple terms the concepts of the vanguard party; struggles for immediate demands; the culmination of partial struggles in a general struggle; the conditions under which a successful revolution might occur; the role of workers' councils; the idea of workers' control of production; the crisis of the paralysis of capitalist state power; the seizure of power by the workers' councils in the name of the majority of the people; the taking over of all state functions by these councils; the proclamation of the new order; the promulgation of its first laws respecting the expropriation of the means of pro-

duction, transportation and communication; the defense of the proletarian state against sabotage and open counter-revolution; the role of force in securing the will of the people against the will of the exploiters and in defending the conquests of the only progressive class in society, the proletarian class.

"What will you do if a majority objects?" demanded McAllister.

"The revolutionary party will not consider the time ripe as long as a majority objects," replied Mini.

"But suppose a majority of capitalist objects, that is of property?"

"Oh! You mean the three percent of the population who own eighty-three percent of the wealth?" Mini shot back.

"That's right," said McAllister. Their places," answered Mini.

People Versus Property "We'll just have to put them in 'Suppose they refuse to submit. Suppose they won't turn over their property?"

"The workers' councils will use all the necessary force to carry out the law of the workers' state," answered Mini.

"Suppose the Board of Directors of the Sacramento Telephone Co. meets and informs the workers' council that it refuses to turn over the property."

"That's a hypothetical telephone company," Mini answered. "The Sacramento Telephone Co. is run by a board that meets in Wall St. and never saw Sacramento."

"Well, suppose the local manager refuses to get out?"

"He won't refuse!" answered Mini.

"How do you know?" asked McAllister.

"Well, he will have heard what's going on and he'll be on a boat going places fast."

"Now what do you mean," asked McAllister, "when you say you will use force if necessary? Do you mean like a bank robber who wants to steal the money but won't shoot unless somebody tries to stop him?"

At this point Leo Gallagher leaped to his feet, to object to the question. Attorney Goldman, who has throughout the long weeks of the trial striven to steer the defense fight along principled and effective lines, informed the judge that Mini would not object to answering the question. Gallagher mumbled more objections, but Mini went ahead as follows:

"The bank robber, like any other capitalist, is engaging in an individual act for his own benefit. The proletarian movement has nothing

in common with his method or his goal. We use force if necessary to enable the vast majority of the people to take back from a tiny minority the property which that minority has stolen, and to make it available for the benefit of all mankind, so that the race may advance and develop itself and terminate a condition in which millions starve while a few live in luxury."

Differs With C. P.

An interesting light was cast upon those conditions inside the C. P. which result in the political backwardness of even its most devoted militants. It was lack of education which caused, for example, the foolish gesture Mini made last August, when he gave McAllister an open statement of his beliefs and affiliation.

He disclosed that he had never read a single Communist Party pamphlet or Communist International document until after the indictment!

Before Mini stepped down from the witness stand, he had made it plain that the beliefs he was expounding he had acquired from the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, before he joined the Communist Party.

"When I studied the C. P. documents, I began to understand that I differed and eventually I got out."

McAllister now took up the program of the Communist International, adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. From it he read the last paragraph: "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling class tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries, unite!"

"Is this the part of the program you disagree with?" McAllister asks.

"Why no," answered Mini; "that's the part I agree with. That's right out of the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels!"

Mini added that the C. P. appears to regard a revolution as an earthquake, to be predicted rather than as an historical occurrence realizable under certain conditions if human beings act properly. He affirmed the necessity of "an active preparation by the conscious elements" for every aspect of the struggle.

McAllister turned away with a

leer of satisfaction, a vulture sensing a meal in the offing. Red Hynes, (beefy Los Angeles Red Squad captain) could not contain his glee. Sam Darcy rubbed his chin contemptuously. By all odds this "stool pigeon" was a very strange bird!

Mini's testimony opened with a brief outline of his life story. Born in Sacramento, he went to the public schools and was a member of the National Guard. He won an appointment to West Point in a competitive examination but was expelled for anti-militaristic views which he developed through study while at West Point.

"Last summer you told me that while you were at West Point you were ashamed of your parents. Will you explain that?" ask McAllister.

"Sure!" answered Mini. "They are ordinary workers and the propaganda the officers fed me at West Point made me think that workers are scum; so sometimes I felt ashamed of my father and mother, but now I know better and I am proud to be the son of a proletarian!"

Was Active In Strike

Expelled from West Point, he sought a job in New York, where he experienced life on the breadline. He then returned to Sacramento, wrote a novel satirizing military life and studied the socialist classics. After witnessing several instances of police brutality against unemployed demonstrators, he joined the Communist Party early in 1933. He was assigned to no work, but managed to go to Chow-chilla, and there helped to organize a successful farmers' strike against the Pacific Gas and Electric Co.

In responding to questions which were in reality thinly-disguised stump speeches on behalf of the glories of private property, rugged individualism and a system "which enabled Charles M. Schwab to climb from the bottom of the ladder to the top", Mini pointed out that there had been BERN great developments under capitalism, but that the system has entered the stage of decay. "There must be an overturn or a collapse into chaos," he added, "and only the proletariat can save human civilization."

"Asked whether he had ever heard of a thrifty class, Mini answered that he had—"in connection with bank failures".

McAllister made repeated but vain endeavors to get Mini to state that he favored having the workers seize industries or banks in advance of the revolution. Under the