

## The National Miners' Union Passes

The National Miners Union has passed like a ghost in the night. After many long months of concentrated bluff in the official Party press about the thousands and tens of thousands of miners who were following the leadership of the N.M.U., about the strikes and demonstrations it was leading, the bubble of bluff has collapsed of internal vacuum. At the "convention" in Pittsburgh of a few dozen miners, representing very little more than themselves, the N.M.U. was quietly interred.

Characteristic of the whole policy of the swindlers now dominating the Party was the manner in which the affair was carried out. To this day, the *Daily Worker*, which mentioned the convention only casually, has not said a single word about the fact that the N.M.U. no longer exists. Its first and last report on the meeting (a few lines in one issue) says nothing about it. The whole procedure was typically bureaucratic, conducted behind the scenes, without the workers knowing what was going to be done, or, in this case, even being informed about what was done.

### How the Retreat is Covered Up

Equally characteristic of the Party bureaucracy is the manner in which this mortifying retreat has been covered up so that it may be proclaimed as "another step forward for the T.U.U.L." In place of the quietly cremated N.M.U., a brand new (but no less weak) organization has been formed, in the same dark hour of the night at which the funeral took place: The Mine, Oil and Smelter Workers Industrial Union!

We won't speak of the "mine workers" in this "new union". But where are the oil workers in it, or the smelter workers? The answer is that they are not in it, and assuming that the Browders and Bedachts continue to ruin the Partys' trade union work, there are good grounds to add that they will not be in it. The M.O.S.W.I.U. was formed bureaucratically. No agitation for it among the workers was carried on; there was no preliminary preparation for it among them; there was no official announcement that the N.M.U. was dissolved, or the reasons for it given.

None of this however interests the collective Browders in the slightest. They organize and disorganize unions with the magician's wand of the "third period". What they bring to a tenuous life one day, they kill off the very next. That they discredit the Communist movement, and the movement for organizing the unorganized into new unions, in the process, is of even less concern to them.

There was no good reason for the debacle of the N.M.U. It started off with excellent prospects of growth and authority among the American coal miners. It was strangled by Stalinist arbitrariness and bluff. Capable Left wing and Communist workers who dared to disagree with the crudely false policies of the Stalinist clique running the Party and the N.M.U., were immediately removed from office and expelled from the union. The narrowest, most sectarian policy of isolation was foisted upon the union without ever asking the membership.

No serious attempt was made to organize the unorganized miners: talk and headlines in the *Daily Worker* were substituted for genuine activity. No serious attempt was made to approach and win over the workers in the Lewis or in the Fishwick-Howat unions; the former were simply labelled "fascist" and the latter "social-fascist", which was taken to mean that the N.M.U. was absolved from the need of working to win them over.

### Bluff and Adventurism

In place of competent workers, incompetent and factional hacks were appointed from above—never selected by the miners. The official organ of the union was allowed to die, although the *Daily Worker* continued to speak without cease about the steady advances being made. Unprecedented bluff was made the order of the day, interspersed with light-hearted adventures like the ill-fated Illinois "mass strike"

A creeping paralysis seized the organization. A movement like the one that broke out in Pittston, with thousands of miners involved, passed by without the N.M.U. influencing it in the slightest (which

## The big-hearted boss....



"oh boys, I'm ruined."



"Business is something fierce."



"This year I've made only \$100,000."



"What in God's name can I do?"



"You see for yourselves I've got to cut down your wages!"

did not prevent the *Daily Worker* from publishing the most monstrous falsehoods about the "N.M.U. leading the miners in a strike against unemployment"). The policies of the Party entirely demoralized the already weakened trade union center at Pittsburgh, so that the whole last period passed by without a single union official working in the national office. While the bluff campaign about "advances" was going on in the official press, a young stenographer was the sole and single director of the fate of the N.M.U. in Pittsburgh!

The "convention" assembled with the hand of death already heavy on it. There was not a single Left wing miners' leader present even to make the report to the delegates: a new precedent was set by having W.F.Dunne, of the T.U.U.L., make the official report on the situation and the tasks of the union! The W.I.R. was more prominently in the fore in every phase of the work there than the N.M.U. as such.

### Our Policy and Browder's Tested

When the Communist League (Opposition), in its statement on the problems of the Left wing in the mining industry, pro-

posed a serious, and not a fake, campaign of organizing the unorganized miners, and at the same time building a Left wing inside the Fishwick-Howat union in Illinois and the Lewis union in the anthracite, the Party leadership shouted themselves blue in the face with their dreary vilification of our group and its program. We warned the Communist and Left wing workers against the Stalinist policy in the miners' movement. The Stalinists confidently boasted of the correctness of their "line".

The latter has had its test. The test has cost the Left wing miners' movement many harsh blows. It has already killed the N.M.U.—nothing less. The wreck cannot be made whole again by the cheap, mechanical artifices of forming chemically pure "new" unions on paper for the edification of Moscow archivists. The evil must be cut down at the root. And at the root lies the malicious religion of "social fascism" and the "third period". The future will be replete with debacles similar to the one that just culminated in Pittsburgh until the Communist workers throw overboard these concepts and those who conceived them. —MARSH

## Wherein Lies the Difference between Them?

The *Daily Worker* has been publishing a number of urgent calls to unemployed workers to resist evictions from their homes by landlords for non-payment of rent. What it says in this connection is entirely correct, and the calls should be heeded. The *Daily Worker* will probably be interested in a case of threatened eviction which is particularly flagrant. It can do a lot to remedy the situation for the workers involved. The landlord of one of the big apartment houses in the Bronx has sent a number of his tenants the following communication which we reproduce in full:

"You are hereby notified that unless you pay your rent on time, i. e., on the first of every month in advance and at least a part of your arrears every month, we shall be obliged to take legal action against you, i. e., to dispossess you.

"This is the last warning. Come to the office and make necessary payments. Phil. Amron, Manager"

The worthy landlord who signs this communication and is so ready to resort to legal action in capitalist courts is manager of the "famous" Bronx Cooperative Apartment Houses, controlled by the same

Stalinist clique that was recently so busy—on paper—eradicating petty bourgeois deviations in the cooperative movement! Most if not all of the tenants to whom this brutal communication is addressed are unemployed workers who have already contributed enormous sums towards the maintenance of a thoroughly corrupted group of bureaucratic Business-Communists.

We never had very much enthusiasm for these high pressure, high finance adventures sailing under the flag of "cooperative Bolshevism"; we have much less today. We despise the bloated landlords of the East side who evict their unemployed tenants who cannot pay their rent "on the first of every month in advance" and we heartily endorse the *Daily Worker* for urging these workers to resist evictions with every means at their command. We haven't much more use for the smug landlords who conceal their appeals to the bosses' courts behind a red Party card. Their unemployed tenants who cannot pay rent at the present moment, we also urge to resist evictions.

Do not the *Daily Worker* and the *Fredheit*, which have so much influence with the manager of the Cooperative Apartments, think likewise? —J.

## The Real Results of August First

The August First demonstrations this year were not only marked by a sobering-up of the official Party policy, but by a sharp decline in participation that indicated more than anything else that the class struggle cannot be arranged to fit the bureaucratic calendar markings of the official Stalinist clique.

### No "General Strike"

There was nothing said this year, as it was last year, about "appropriating the political and military-technical experience of the struggle of the Berlin workers". Unlike last year, there was this time no irresponsible call issued for a "general political mass strike" on August First. Under pressure of hard facts and the relentless criticism of the Opposition, the bureaucracy in the Party was compelled to modify its adventurous course and drop some of its mystic "Third Period" jargon.

But changes made in a bureaucratic manner, without explanation, and over night, are not so lightly and quickly followed by the workers. The constant swinging between extremes in Party policy do not bring the workers along with it. And when in addition to this, there prevails a sectarian, isolationist course which steadily narrows the Party's base among the masses, results such as August First must be expected as natural.

All the shouting and beating of tom-toms cannot conceal the chagrin felt even by the Party leaders at the meagerness of the response to this year's demonstration. The reports from the principal cities in the country were significantly vague. The "hundreds of thousands" who, we were assured by the *Daily Worker*, took possession of the streets on March 6th, seemed to have dwindled amazingly to a few thousands five months later. This in spite of the fact that the objective conditions for the strengthening of the movement have improved rather than otherwise; in spite of the "fact" that the Party has again been "internally and externally consolidated". The cold truth of the matter is that the demonstrations were an almost universal failure. The *Daily Worker* which on August 4th, promised an "analysis" of the demonstrations by the C.E.C., of the "insufficiencies" and "shortcomings" (of the membership, of course, never of the leadership), has not presented the analysis yet. And for cause. Any serious analysis would have to reveal not only the incompetency of the Party leadership, capable only of producing defeats, but the falsity of its policies.

This holds not only for the United States, but for Europe as well, for the demonstrations there were small and resembled more a series of ordinary mass meetings than demonstrations in a "period of incessant and stormy upsurge".

### The N. Y. Demonstration

New York was one of the cities where a clash between the demonstrators and the police occurred. The demonstration itself, with its 9-10,000 attendants, was a scandalous affair about which the Party comrades are still talking. It had the air of being nothing so much as a picnic on the streets. No attention was paid to the speakers. Everywhere here were little knots of comrades, conversing blithely and munching ice-cream sandwiches. Only a shooting gallery and side-show were lacking to complete the picture.

When the meeting had been adjourned, the police maneuvered a section of the crowd down a side street, and without warning, streamed down from a hall where a squad had been concealed and let loose their bestial fury upon the workers. The "good" police commissioner, Mulrooney, correctly says that the police had no clubs. But for that, every one of them carried a prominently "concealed" blackjack, which they were soon swinging brutally at the workers. The courageous cops even beat up a 16-year old girl.

An official "investigation", which tickles every good liberal, is now being conducted. Of course, it will change nothing in the attitude of the police. Their savage attacks on the workers will continue until the latter win the fight for freedom of speech and assembly, and learn to give these blue-coated thugs the proper reply.