### Rank and File Illinois Miners Ready for a $I_n$ the $N_{ew}$ $Y_{ork}$ I.L.D. Sabotages New and Militant National Movement

Louis convention. Concrete cases where

scores of miners can be won to the Left

wing cause are plentiful, only to be

destroyed by the irresponsible function-

aries of the party who strut at large

with a self-satisfied attitude of "Oh well,

working class to our cause."

we have the support of the Russian

While at this time the Illinois miners

are still deliberating the issues before

them, the relations of other district to

Illinois, the present strikes throughout

the East, etc., are of special importance.

The movement in Linois suffers from

the lack of a solidly organized Left wing.

The group of former party and league

members that dropped out due to many

circumstances and cases, formed quite a

large number of the delegates. Fifty

percent of the delegates were former N.

M. U. members. A substantial majority

of the delegates would follow a Left wing

group. The Muste forces that controlled

the St. Louis convention were very much

weakened in the convention. A leastet

pointing out its policies and good fights

by several of its delegates was about all

that they did. A. J. Muste personally

appeared before the convention and spoke

in the name of the West Virginia Miners

Union that was calling a strike for the

same day the convention opened. The

line presented in the last issue of Labor

Age was the line pursued by Muste. One

fact that the Muste followers in many

proposed by the Musteites was very clear

and, being better "strategists" than the

average two-by-four Stalinist organizer,

the Musteites were able to form the only

definite group around them in this con-

With the West Virginia miners' pre-

gates was defeated.

Immediate Task of the Left Wing

take the immediate, necessary steps to

guide properly the rank and file move-

ment toward correct lines. Only through

an uncompromising struggle against the

two thieving wings of the United Mine

Workers of America, will unity be possi-

ble amongs the miners of Illinois. The

miners of Illinois must immediately close

their ranks against their common enemy,

the coal bosses. The strike of the

Franklin county miners, appearing at a

time when the Eastern miners are con-

ducting a sweeping strike, assumes tre-

mendous importance. The attack of the

Chicago, Wilmington and Franklin Coal

Company against the miners of the two

large Orient mines is an attack of the

Illinois Coal Operators Association

against the present rank and file move-

ment. The answer of the Illinois min-

ers must be a GENERAL STRIKE

throughout the state. The strike must

be launched against the intolerable star-

vation conditions existing in the indus-

try and as a step in solidifying the strike

of the Eastern miners and objectively

the issuance of a call for a NATIONAL

STRIKE throughout the land where coal

is dug. The Left wing has a great task

before it. The destiny of the Illinois

miners and the coal miners of the coun-

try falls upon their shoulders. The mis-

takes of the official Communist party

The Left wing miners of Illinois must

(Continued from page 1) foreign-born local and state leaders. This izers is best illustrated by the expulwill convince many of those who doubt sion from the party of Dan Winniger, the present sincerity of the rank and of Indiana, because he supported the file movement, for bitter opposition of line of the Left Opposition at the St this kind is not directed at rake movements. However, it must be pointed out that there is still a strong Lewis danger, caused by several leading individuals who have not aggressively attacked the Lewis gang and have been shielding it under the pretense of majority rule.

The appointive power was completely done away with. Every officer and every committee of the convention was elected from the floor. Ray Edmondson of Ziegier was elected president of the convention. Willian Keck of Believille was elected secretary. Committees on Rules and Order, Resolutions, Constitution, Appeals and Grievances, etc., were elected. The convention was thrown into hot debate over the question whether to invite Walker and Lewis to appear before the convention. The difference of opinion did not center on the question of supporting either of these two fakers, but rather deviated to the minor argument of: (1) not being afraid to face the wreckers and to put them on trial before the convention, or (2): the argument against, that this was a rank and file convention and that those that the miners were opposed to had no place within the miners affairs.

The question of supporting the Inter-

national union or not, came before the convention in a resolution form. This was the most important immediate matter to come up before the rank and file thing that is incomprehensible is the movement. Those in charge had launched a bitter fight against the district gang conferences and conventions refused to but they had failed to take a definite step against the international organization. The cry of unity was the unani- led the Muste St. Louis convention are mous opinion of the miners; since the "re-organized" U. M. W. A. vs "regular" U. M. W. A. fight, the miners of Illinois had been torn into two factions. These two factions never had any deep political disagreement, merely a personal fight. To see who was going to continue to rob the miners, was the real issue involved. However, the Illinois miners for a period of two years had foolishly let these misleaders split them into two hostile the West Va. Miners Union, the strike camps. Rows that ended in fierce fights of Pennsylvania and Ohio is greatly forand gunplay were often the case. Yet tifled. Never has the situation been as injunctions subsided and the notorlous compromise was enacted, leaving the miners of Illinois once more to bite the dust. The whole struggle has now curminsted in a powerful rank and file movement. By decision of the convention, the miners of Illinois recorded themselves solidly against the International and district unions, calling upon the miner: of Illinois to refrain from sending dues to these two branches of the organization, looking at the same time to the immediate possibility of calling a National Convention where the many different forces of the American coal miners may be amalgamated.

#### The Policies of the Stalinists The policy of the Stalinists relative

to the National Miners Union has been dealt with many times. In this conven- the nation. The Pennsylvania, Ohlo and ists and Left wingers of the labor movetion, after having officially and publicly West Virginia miners' strike were cor- ment in New York were present at this denounced the rank and file movement, rectly pointed out as of supreme impor- performance? Answer: Exactly one, the National Miners Union, entered as tance to the miners of Illinois at the and he a member of the Communist a faction within the convention. The present time. Due to the provocative League, not the Communist Party. Now first step of not wanting to win over measures of the Stalinists, a powerful why is it that the Communists are conthe miners was the circular they put Left wing that had firmly developed it- tent to leave an important body like the out attacking the convention and Ray self around a class struggle program at C. T. L. C., one holding sway over all Edmondson, the chairman. Many of the the beginning of the rank and file condelegates took affront at the position of vention was blown to smithereens. When the official party and demanded that these statements be withdrawn. After a refusal to withdraw the charges against the convention and its chairman the convention went, on record against the lational Miners Union and refused to give aid to the striking Pennsylvania and Ohio miners, although they did alow the floor to a striker of the National Aliners Union from the Allegany fields of Pennsylvania. The provocative, disrupting cocksure tactics of a group of self-styled "little Lenins" has driven scores of the best fighters of the Illinois miners temporarily away from the Left wing. A strong group of former league and party members that were ready to support the line of the party became dis rusted by the system used in dealing vith plain and simple trade unionist ind reformist followers. To give exact letail would require a special article. However, the strongest Stalinist supporter, Mike Rukavinia, a member of my local union told me and the entire No. 1 Orient delegation that he was not in agreement with these tactics. shultz, the signer of the official circular, said that he also was not in sympathy with the tone of the attack against the leaders of the rank and file convention The harshness of the party against workers who do not unhesitatingly carry out

### THE MILITANT

Vol. IV, July Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 84 East 10th Street, N. Y.

### Editorial Board

James P. Cannon Martin Abern Max Shachtman Maurice Spector Arne Swabeck

Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; for out the industry will the present strike ment of the American working class. eigh \$2.50. Five cents per copy. reach proportions where the coal indus-Bundle rates, 3 cents per copy

## A.F. of L. the decisions of crazy, sucidal disorgan

than the present Central Trades and employment crisis had come and con- sary. tinued unabated, yet raised not a ruffle in the cesspool of reaction in which float the vast majority of the delegates to this clearing house of labor action.

When, after months of delay, the question of unemployment was finally brought up on the floor, it was handled in the most shamelessly hypocritical manner. For example here is one of the resolutions drawn up and passed to meet the demands of the situation:

"Whereas, the present unemployment is due to overproduction, wages not having increased, nor working hours decreased, in harmony with mechanical progress, be it therefore

"Resolved, That the C. T. L. C. go on record in favor of increased wages and the shortening of the working day to keep pace with mechanical progress in production."

Just how wages are to be increased and the working day shortened, what means are to be used, remains a deep mystery. But, of course, all the delegates voted heartily in favor of the resolution.

Another sample: "The C. T. L. C. hereby goes on record against the company union."

Taking the past record of the A. F of L. in class collaboration into consideration, this resolution can only mean that the A. F. of L. fakers would like to maintain a monopoly in the collection of accept any kind of responsibility in any dues.

sort of work. The Illinois miners that "Whereas the 18th Amendment has closed numerous breweries and thereby away from the fight at the present time increased the unemployment army, we (Daech, Johnston, etc.). The program favor light wines and beer so that ali brewery workers may get back their had to obtain their legal aid from the ranks to change their despicable course, jobs."

The question of what is to become of the men engaged in soft drink manufacture, when the slump of trade is shifted to t....t industry, was evidently not of concern to the framers of the resolusent response to a strike call issued by tion.

One more gem:

record as leaving the question of unem favorable as now for a national strike. ployment insurance in the hands of the The party at present pursues an errone- A. F. of L. Executive Council." ous policy in an attempt to unite the

This resolution was the only one that American coal miners. The policy of the really roused the delegates to the point party is not one of convincing the min- of discussion on the general question of ers who follow various tendencies to unemployment, its causes and its cure. realize the ability of the party to lead But alas! after listening to the various them successfully, but rather is a policy lines of argument and proposals from that tends to impress the miners of the the floor, the writer was forced to comcountry that they will not participate in to the conclusion that the atom is not any movement of the sort unless it has the smallest unit of matter after allcomplete hegemony. Illinois and West the brains of most of the delegates must Virginia stand prepared through a cor- be smaller still. However, after a pro rect policy of united front to amalgam- per amount of crocodile tears had been ate the present forces throughout the shed and the sweat of intellectual toil nation under one centralized leadership. wiped off the fat faces of the delegates, Speaker after speaker at the Illinois the resolution was duly passed and the rank and file convention pointed out regular order of business resumed.

At this point we may ask ourselves the immediate need of forming national unity with the rank and file miners of pertinent question: How many Communthe labor unions of the metropolis, entirely in the hands of the labor fakers? the question came up of sending dele-The reason can only be: the idiotic polgates to the national conference of the | icy of the party leaders, the criminal National Miners Union July 15-16, many tactic of isolating Communists from the of the Left wingers voted against the the ranks of the conesavative unions. Ten proposal. The proposal to send dele- years of Communists activity in New York-and only one Communist in the C. T. L. C. to combat the fakers. Where are the 50-60 Communist delegates of a few years ago?

When one thinks of the possibilities of Left wing work in the C. T. L. C. and how they are being ignored by the Communist party leaders in the following out of a blind and stupid policy of isolation, one is forced to the conclusion that either they are traitors to the fundamental principles of Marx and Lenin, or they are just plain fools. In either case, the first duty of every sincere Communist in the party ought to be to seize a broom and do his part toward sweeping these misleaders of workers into the political rubbish can.

-GADFLY.

pacity. To fail to realize the necessity of rank and file unity at this time means the starving into defeat of the heroic efforts of the Pennsylvania miners. To continue an erroneous suicidal sectarian tion of the miners movement for years to come. Let us hope that events throughout the coal mining industry will soon weld the miners of America into a powerful force. To this end, the Left wing miners who support the policy of the Communist League of America (Opposition) in the mining industry pledge their whole-hearted support.

The miners of Illinois stand ready to must be immediately overcome. Let us be forged into a part of the national hope that the great struggles the min- struggle that is looming. Will the Left ers are at the present time engaged in wing forces be able to grasp this opwill force the official party away from portunity? To fail to grasp this opporthe sectarian policy. Only through the tunity would be for the revolutionist unity of the Left wing forces through- to commit a crime against the advance-

-GERRY ALLARD. try will be effected in its producing ca- Belleville, July 12, 1931

# Goodman and Morgenstern

Continued from page 1 It would be hard to conceive of a I. L. D. in that connection. Our Phila- inaugurated. The I. L. D. has consistmore stagnant and completely bankrupt delphia district was from the beginning ently rejected our proposals. body of so-called representatives of labor willing to handle the case, and were reminded of their responsibilities in the Labor Council of New York. The un- matter, even though that was not neces-

> "The facts as presented to us are that the two workers or their friends handled the case entirely apart from the I. L. D. and gave our organization no chance to take part in their defense. . . . "Fraternally yours,

"International Labor Defense "George Maurer "Assistant Secretary".

What happened between March 11 when Engdahl claimed that the I. L. D. had already "taken over the defense" and March 25, when it found out that it was given "no chance to take part in their defense"? Or even assuming the latter contention, which is absolutely absurd and false, did the I. L. D. stop its campaign for Sacco and Vanzetti because of the isolationist treachery of the de fendants' spurious "friends" of the Boston Committee? Did the I. L. D. an attorney-is this Engdahl's "protecstop its movement for Mooney at the tion"? time when the reaction-controlled committee denounced the I. L. D. and the Communists? Of course not! And, we repeat, assuming that the Left Opposition | that this black stain be erased from the would not give Engdahl and Maurer a "chance to take part" in the defense. can that explain or justify the treachery of the I. L. D. officials?

sought the aid of the I. L. D. They were its revolutionary movement. put off with evasive answers. They called upon the I. L. D. to initiate a movement for the defense. They were rebuffed. They appealed for legal aid. "Resolved, That the C. T. L. C. go on ited front movement in their defense and phia, Pa.

for a fight auginst the notorious act, be

If the Left Opposition gave the I. L. D. "no chance to take part in their defense", then at least let the I. L. D. bureaucrats answer:

Who has prevented the Labor Defender from mentioning a single word about the case in a single one of its issues up to now?

Who has prevented the Daily Worker and the Freiheit from printing a word about the arrests, the trials, or even about the conviction?

Why did Engdahl lie when he wrote to Gross that the I. L. D. "has taken over the defense of these two workers"? What did Engdahl mean by saying that

the I. L. D. is "giving them the same protection as all the other workers facing persecution"?

Is silence in the press, failure to let the defendants speak at Anti-Flynn Act meetings, violent ejection in the presence of Engdahl of the defendants from I. L. D. conferences, failure to provide even

Every Communist worker, every member of the party and the I. L. D., must saise his voice immediately to demand shield of the I. L. D. The Engdahls want to destroy the organization by adding to its slogan of "Defend the Victims of the Criminal Syndicalist Laws" the But this assumption is exactly 100 words"-Except the Victims belonging to percent unfounded. Immediately upon the Left Opposition". Such conduct is their arrest, Morgenstern and Goodman a crime against the working class and

We have proposed the initiation of a united front movement to defend all the victims of the Flynn Act-Lawrence, Ryder and others as well as the two But no I. L. D. attorney ever appeared at Oppositionists. Until the bureaucrats any stage in the case! The two workers are compelled by the militants in the Civil Liberties Union. The I. L. D. was a Morgenstern-Goodman Defense Comgiven every opportunity was urged to mittee has been set up in Philadelphia take over the defense. Our proposal with Leon Goodman as temporary chairwas, and still is, that the case of the two man and K. M. Whitten as secretary-Oppositionists be connected with those of treasurer. Funds are urgently needed to the other Communist workers in Penusy- help the defense movement and should lyania who have been and are being per- be forwarded immediately to comrade secuted under the Flynn Act, that a un | Whitten at 2041 Appletree St., Philadel-

## Organization

Now YORK -- With a new branch ex | by the local members. ecutive recently elected efforts are being made by the New York branch to systematize better its activities. One by mittee has been organized with several one, a check-up is made on the indivi- workers' representatives taking part. It dual member's work, such as each tak- is only the complete sabotage by the ing his place in a workers' mass organization and thus doing his part more take steps to organize such a committee effectively in the class struggle. Each independently. But of course all efmember is also being required to take a certain amount of literature to dispose of. With the Militant appearing weekly, newsstands are being solicited by the members to place the paper there for a period of time prior to them being enrolled in the regular list which is now supplied by the Militant branch agent. And, of course, on a whole this

ture distributed. netting a little financial surplus for fu- while the defense committee is preparture work. Many sympathizers came ing its appeal to all workers to support and joined the membership in greeting this case. the weekly Militant. Street meetings with large attendances have been held regularly by the branch, mostly a couple per week. Efforts are now being made to increase it to three weekly meetings on the basis of the branch membership being divided into three groups each taking care of a meeting. With the fall approaching preparations are under way for more effective conduct of the regular open forum and study classes.

branch holds the record of most litera-

CLEVELAND-Our two New York comrades who are working in Cleveland for the time being, report continued success ful meetings on the City Square. Efforts of the local Stalinists to create a hostile atmosphere came to nought and those attending the meetings are becoming more interested as some of the questions of dispute within the Communist move-

PHILADELPHIA.—George Saul has re-These meetings are still being continued pect of this program.

A Morgenstern-Goodman defense com I. L. D. of this case which forced us to forts will be continued to make it a fight against the Pennsylvania sedition act, of which this case is a part, and to press the I. L. D. to perform its duty to take this case up as a general united working class front against the Sedition Act and for the defense of all of its victims. The present defense attorneys furnished by the Civil Liberties Union, are now preparing the appeal for a new trial. The judge is on his vacation and Last Sunday a very successful picnic it is not yet known when the arguments was held bringing out attendance and for a new trial will be heard. Mean-

ST. LOUIS .- From this city we now have regular reports of active functioning of our small branch. A public meeting is being arranged at which comrade Oehler from Chicago will be the speaker. The branch started out by increasing its bundle sales of the weekly Milltant. Comments from there as well as elsewhere on the weekly in its new form have been unanimously favorable and should speak well for the future.

### \* \* \* THE EXPANSION PROGRAM CAMPAIGN

We are on the way to the realization of the third step in our Expansion Progrant-the second national conference of ent become clearer to them. This is the League. There has been no slackenbest expressed in the increasing distri- ing in support by the branches and by bution of our literature. Our comrades our supporters so far, and we do not have so far held two such meetings look for any even if there may be some variation from week to week. Several comrades in various parts of the country turned from a busy week in Philadel- have notified us that they will be prephia, helping in the first organization sent at the conference and we look forsteps for the defense of our two com- ward to a real gathering in addition to policy at this time means the disintegra- rades up for "sedition", among other the regular delegates. Of course, the things, he spoke at street meetings best way to make sure that it will be in the Negro district and in the work- so is to continue systematically step by ing class section of New Kensington. step in the support of the financial as

> THE MINNEAPOLIS BRANCH OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE (OPPOSITION) TO HOLD A PICNIC

FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE WEEKLY MILITANT SUNDAY, JULY 26th AT

ALL WORKERS URGED TO ATTEND AND PARTICIPATE IN THE

PROGRAMME OF GAMES AND ENTERTAINMENTS. REFRESH. MENTS WILL BE SERVED ON THE GROUNDS. THE SPEAKERS: C. R. HELLUND and V. R. DUNNE WILL DEAL WITH THE HOOVER DEBT PLAN AND THE WORLD CAPITALIST CRISES AND THE ROLL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PRESS.

COME EARLY AND BRING YOUR FRIENDS. GROUNDS OPEN 11 A. M.

That the interest and devotion is still as high as ever is best proven by the following report of funds received: New York 2,000-

Expan. Pro. \$21.35 New York 4.00 Cannon -1.750New York J. 13080 New York How.nan 10.00 New York 5.00 Berman 2.00 1,500-New York New York 1.00 Zarda -1,250New York 3.30 J. B. Cleveland 2.00 1,000-A. Brody Los Angeles 6.00 T. Boisnert, St. Louis H. Sohol, 1.00 Youngstown, Ohio H. E. M. 1.00 Boston Konikov 10.00 South Africa M. Lopez 2.86Kansas City br. 10.00 Toronto br. S. Green Toronto br. Maltman 1.00 Anonymous Toronto br. 1.50 O. Yolle Toronto br. Total \$114.01 R. Schwartz 1.00 Previously Toronto br. reported Joe Roth Toronto br. M. Popper Total to date \$1,103,41 Toronto br.

### Ban «Class Struggle»

Following the attacks by the Post Office authorities upon the Revolutionary Age, organ of the Lovestone group, the Spanish Communist paper, Vida Obrera, and the organ of the Young Communist League, Young Worker, in which they were barred from the second class mails, the most recent victim of the anti-Communist government attack has been the organ of the Weisbord group, the Class Struggle. In the last case, the authorities took refuge behind the petty pretext that the paper did not have a sufficient number of subscribers to warrant granting it second class mailing rights. The fact of the matter is, of course, that it was banned because it was a revolutionary working class paper and as a part of the general campaign-revived for the first time since the end of the waragainst all the Communist press. The selection of the Communist press for the first victims of a new wave of Burlestonism is not accidential but premediated. The bourgeoisie aims to gag the mouth of the militant section of the working class as part of its task of strangling the labor movement as a

Regardless of the fact that Weisbord's paper has since been suspended, it is imperative that the sharpest protest he raised everywhere against the high-handed despotism of the postal authroities who seek to re-establish in full bloom the regime of Burleston and Mitchell Palmer. The right of the labor movement to a free press, uncontrolled by the reactionary arbitrariness of the capitalist goevrnment, must be ardently defended. It is not the Communist press alone but the whole labor press which is involved --- as was shown during the repressions of the world war. This danger must be met by a compact united front movement of all the organizations directly or indirectly involved. The failure of the party to initiate and organize such a movement has not only reacted tothedisadvantage oft he struggle against suppression, but has given the Right wing liquidators the opportunity to establish a spurious unity with discredited and anti-Commnist elements for "freedom of the press".

## Books

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