WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

# EMILITANT

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Wall Street Cracks the Whip and MacDonald Jumps

departure will not be marked by the so menial and humiliating a task. It is slightest feeling of regret by any class conscious worker. For twenty-six months, supplied it by the sufferance of the Libin magnitude and acuteness. The work- imperialism in the world? ers' standard of living which it so nobly promised to preserve, has sunk to a lower level-no struggle of resistance to is done, perhaps never to return to that wage cuts met with anything but a frown and implicit sabotage from the statesmen of the Second International. If the Indian workers and peasants did not suffer more than they did under an imperialist regime of blood and iron, it was not for lack of willingness on the part of his majesty's most loyal socialists-Laborite bullets and police clubs were distributed just as freely among the Indians striving for freedom as they were in the wildest days of any Tory government

If anything, the second appearance of the MacDonald minstry surpassed the tish labor movement. Every rogue, evfirst only in the vileness of its servility ery former henchman of MacDonald, to imperialism. The kindest thing that every clever artificer of phrases will can be said about its record in power is that it was just one shade less revolting than the praises sung for it in the United away in the lead in this despicable game their judical serfs. This time it is to States by Norman Thomas, Oswald Villard, and the refined gentlemen of the the Maxtons and the Wheatleys and the mass scale so that there may be less same kidney.

### MacDonald and the Dole

unemployment has come to stricken Engthe number of jobless or figure out "good" way of solving the problem. Out of the \$600,000,000 deficit estimated for the next budget, some \$200,000,000 was calculated as the sum the government would have to advance, nominally as a fund-the dole-but actually as a sub- not to be found occupying the place sidy. The dole, which was originally conceived as a "self-sustaining" institution has been met for almost nine years by a permanent government contribu-Entirely unwilling and unable to cut the Gordian knot with a socialist sword, the idol of the social democracy proposed to solve the problem in as reactionary a manner as any "objective" Tory would endorse: Cut the wretchedly inadequate dole by ten percent. Cut the paltry wages of the civil service employees. Erect a reactionary tariff wall -ten percent-largely affecting foodstuffs which the worker pays for and consumes. That will balance the budget and cover the deficit.

And balanced it had to be, for the potentates of Wall Street had cracked the whip! Gone is Britannia's pride and power and glory. When Wall Street cracks the whip, the MacDonalds dance, even if the prouder and more aristocratic Chamberlains only shuffle around stiffly. Since July, the gold withdrawals from England to France and the United Staes have taken on serious proportions. To meet the pressure thus created upon it, the Bank of England was compelled to borrow a quarter of a billion dollars, equally divided between the Bank of France and the United States Federal Reserve Bank. But these credits advanced to sustain the price of sterling bills has been almost completely exhausted. More credits must be secured to maintain the fragile par quotation for sterling. And where are they to come from if not from the United States? But the New York Federal Reserve Bank, already deeply enough involved politely referred its humble client to "private bankers". Under this term is concealed the name of the House of Morgan, Britain's fiscal agent in the United States for decades. But before another penny is to be advanced to England, the American bankers demanded guarantees. Balance the budget! To make it plainer, if it were not plain enough, the British banks elucidated: Cut the dole, cut wages-cover the deficit with the strip-

### ped hide of the proletariat. The Collapse of the Cabinet

But the hide of the proletariat is not so lightly stripped. How strong the resentment of the British proletariat is against MacDonald's brutal "economy plans", proceeds clearly from the split in the Labor party's ranks. Labor cheapjacks of every description, from the "Left" wing leaders of the trade unions to the reactionary Henderson, cut loose from MacDonald only out of fear that the workers might cut loose from them so violently as to end in the camp of Bolshevism. Unable therefore, to stand pat with a united cabinet, the MacDonald ministry has fallen, cut to pieces by American imperialism. A new cabinet has been patchedup, composed of all the parties, from Baldwin to MacDonald. Why does the latter remain prime minister instead of turning the office over to the fo ner? Because the tenture of new cabinet is confined to office of scessary for executing the the period eremptor-

The second Labor party government of | garchs. Only the humble, plebian, christ too debasing a job for the high-born Sir Neville Chamberlains, aristocratic Lord it limped along on the unsteady crutch Irwins and Sir Samuel Hoares, or even country squires like Baldwin. A fine eral party votes. The unemployment role for the socialist statesman of the problem which it undertook to solve new order! Yet why not? If one must when it assumed office has not only been act as a footstool to imperialism, why left without solution, but has increased not crawl under the feet of the mightiest

position again. Feeling is running high against him in the ranks of his own party. The men whom only yesterday he threatened with expulsion from the Labor party are now joined with others to threaten him, MacDonald, and Snowden with the same measure. The mood of the working masses is unmistakable. Nothing but a high tide sweeping towards the Left could wash so inveterate a reactionary as Hendreson away from his moorings. From now on and for a long time, every day will be field day for his demagogues and windjammers in the Briseek to capitalize on the growing discontentment of the workers. Far and ned by the Kentucky barons of coal and Citrines who themselves crawled out of opportunity to arouse a powerful workthe MacDonald swamp only the day be-The Labor government was shivered on fore. A tragedy, too. For there is no prosecution is fully determined to send, the reef of a distinctly class issue. The doubt that these Left wing I. L. P. ex- the 34 coal miners to the electric chair. official register for unemployed on Aug- perts in radical talk and timid inaction ust 10 showed a figure more than double (to say nothing of ontright treason at that registered when "laber" came to the "proper time") will reap the rich power. Far from diminishing in bulk, harvest of proletarian dissatisfaction, of should reap, but which they appear to b still incapable of even approaching.

Over this whole vast canvas of events, which will still unroll before us in all which logically belongs to it. Its name is not even mentioned. It lies some where in an obscure corner-groggy crippled and bleeding from the thousand wounds which a cruelly irresponsible bureaucracy in the Comintern has inflicted upon it for six years. What a horrible price is being paid for the victories

of Stalinism. . . -MAX SHACHTMAN.

# The End of the Labor Cabinet 34 Kentucky Miners Framed; 18 On Trial In Pennsylvania

England has pased into limbo, and its ian MacDonald is low enough to execute Unity of Conflicting Defense Movements Needed to Strengthen the Struggle

Before the echoes of the big strikes in Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Kentucky have died out, and while the rumblings of new anti-starvation rebellions are being heard again in the coal fields, miners by the dozens are being dragged It will not be for long. Four weeks into coal operators' courts to be railor four months, and MacDonald's day roaded to the electric chair or to long terms of imprisonment. The coal barons thirst for vengeance upon the miners who dared to fight against the dreadful exploitation to which they were submitted. Their thirst will be slaked only when the corrupt judges have put through the frame-up charges and send the mine militants to death in the electric chair or to a living death in prison.

In Harlan, Kentucky, the grand jury is still in session and continues to turn out one indictment for murder after another. The thirty-four miners who are up for trial in connection with killings that occurred last May at Evarts with four fatalities, now have more than a hundred indictments issued against them. A new legal assassination is being plan--it is not difficult to foretell-will be be executed with dispatch and on a ers' protest movement in time. The CHICAGO .-

### 18 on Trial in Washingtion

In Washington, Pa., the trial of another 18 miners has begun. Were it working class antagonism to MacDonald not for the tragic implications of the lish economy to stay. Canute could cas- and his "new economy", of working class case, its farcical aspects would assert ier command the waves of the sea to desire and demand for militant action- themselves. In this principality of coal recede than MacDonald could decrease the rich harvest which the Communists and steel, the jury was selected secretly. The defense attorney was not even given the right to question prospective jurors. Defense representatives who merely attempted to copy the names of their enormous economic and political the jurors were run out of the courtroom. consequences for England and the rest Press representatives, at least of the murderers of the workers" and "arrest tes. "loan" to the unemployment insurance of the world, the Communist party is Daily Worker and the Federated Press, are refused admittance to the court sessions which are held in virtually star chamber style. The most despicable feature of the whole trial, which may end with five years terms for each of the defendants involved is the fact that looming directly behind the prosecution are the two principal officials of the Pittsburgh district of the United Mine Workers of America, Pat Fagan and Phil Murray, two men who have grown fat on

years gone by.

about a month ago that striking miners of smaller cases being fought in almost came to a Fagan meeting at which he was trying to act his role of scab herder as best he could under the circumend of the stick in a struggle that took to years of imprisonment. place. As a result of the fight, the eighteen defendants, led by Leo Thompson, one of the most active strike organizers, have been indicted for conspiracy, unlawful assembly and inciting to riot, not to speak of assault and tattery. They will have the "consolation" of knowing that besides the coal operators standing behind the prosecution, the official spokesmen of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy is giving all the aid and comfort it can to the state's forces.

Harlan and Washington-these are the two group cases of frame-up victims plans of the prosecution.

their betrayals of the coal miners for which stand out most prominently in the every section of the active mining territory. But they are the most dramatic examples of the determination of the coal

And unless the whole working class is immediately aroused to a comprehension of the imminency of the danger to these fighters, the records will contain another victory for capitalist class justice. Every minute lost now is a minute that cannot be regained. In both cases, the plan of the prosecution is a swift trial, swift execution of sentence, They are dominated by the fear of a rising protest movement. Such a movement must really swell to such proportions that it will destroy the malevolent

Bureaucrats Sabotage United Front

in Chicago Jobless Conference

campaign (murder of four unemployed) Opposition's unemployment proposals, as of the Chicago bosses and landlords to witness the United Front Unemployment crush the growing unemployment movement, two leaslets came out. One was from the Chicago district committee, the Communist party: the other issued by ary one, so to speak, having two purthe Chicago branch of the Communist poses: (1) to organize all possible forces League of America (Opposition).

to analyze a struggle correctly, and cor- from all possible working class organirectly to lead the workers in times of ztiaous in Cook County and (2) to elect tense situations, showed itself very clear- a delegation of 25 to present the de ly in their leaflet-their main demands mands of the Unemployed Councils to of the policeman and Lieutenant Hardy who shot the workers."

a muddle-headed person demanding that the capitalist policeman arrest themselves for carrying out their duties as bluecoats in upholding the rights of capitalist property. One can imagine an ignorant worker or a hypocritical politician de manding that the capitalist judges give the "death penalty" to those who are enforcing the bosses' laws and maintaining capitalist order. But certainly you would think that even a Pionecr would know better-let alone a Communist a party official, or the District

The Chicago branch of the Communist League (Opposition) immediately came out in leastets (quoted verbatim in Aug. 15th issue of the Militant) and open air meetings pointing out the urgency of immediately organizing a genuine united front movement of all Chicago working class organizations in order effectively to protest against the boss' murders, in order to resist the bosses terrorism, to expose the smoke-screen of the "Red scare" and in order to wage effectively unemployed for the six-hour day, immediate relief, etc.

The objective conditions have forced Immediately after the latest terroristic the party officials to accept certain of the Conference held August 16th at the People's auditorium in Chicago. This Unemployment Conference was a preliminin preparation for the September 13th The party bureaucrats' utter inability Conference so that delegates are present outcome of the defense!

This is what happened. Rybicki who had physically forced Hugo Ochler away ing funds for the Kentucky miners, has Verily, verily, verily. One can imagine from the hall entrance but a short time before, opened the United Front Unemployment Conference in the name of the that, act swiftly to forge a well-joined T. U. U. L. and assisted in electing the iron ring of solidarity around the framechairman, vice-chairman and secretary. up victims of Washington and Kenutcky.

(Continued on page 4)

The protest movement must have the class war in the coal fields. They are widest possible foundation and scope. It was at a meeting in Canonsburg not the only ones, for there are dozens Throughout the country, the Left wing must be in the fore to assemble all the workers' organizations on a united front basis so as to spike the game of the judical assassins. Anybody who places stances. Surrounded though he was by barons and their court to railroad fight- the separate interests of one group above his armed thugs, Fagan got the short ing workingmen to the electric chair or the interests of the united movement is playing directly in to the hands of the prosecution. Unfortunately, there is more than a tendency to pursue such a disastrous course, particularly in the case of the Harlan miners. The press of the I. W. W. on the one hand, and of the L. L. D. and the official party on the other, are filled with mutual denunciations. Each claims the exclusive "rights" to the defense of the Kentucky victims as though the case were a piece of private property. Each makes extravagant charges against the other's alleged endeavor to make sectarian capital out of the case. The anti-Communist phobia of the present leaders of the I. W. W. is no secret. Just as well-known is the sectarian policy which the I. I. D. has followed under its present leadership. But to allow such a scandalous situation to last for even another day is to compromise hopelessly the cause of the endangered miners and the movement for them that must be built forthwith No mass movement will be built upon the basis of petty bickerings between the rival defense organizations in the interests of a fantastic prestige. The urgent, unpostponable need of the hour is a joint defense movement of the I. W. W. Defense Committee and the I. L. D. We feel it our duty to say that those who stand in the way of this joining of forces, are imperilling the favorable

In the meantime, defense funds are desperately needed. Money for the I. L. D. should be sent to its headquarters at being "We demand death penalty for the Governor Emerson's fake Relief Commit- 80 East 11th St., Room 430, New York, N. Y. The General Defense Committee of the I. W. W., which is also collectits office at 555 W. Lake Street, Chicago, Ill. Give generously, and more than Slips of paper were passed around with Do not permit our fighters to burn in the chair or to rot in the masters' dun-

### Half-Hearted Stalinist About Face On Issue of Credits to Soviet Union

For the first time since the leader of whole Left wing movement must say so the Communist party, Earl Browder con- openly and loudly. We are not so much demned as "social fascism" the proposal concerned with having Mayor Walker and of the Left Opposition that the Com- | Co. "recommend to the Federal Governmunists demand long-term credits to the ment" the execution of this plan. What Soviet Union as an aid to the Five Year the Communists must do is to initiate Plan in Russia and to the unemployed the most extensive movement possible for here, we find an obscure, shame-faced the plan, throughout the ranks of the and devitalized adoption of the idea by the Stalinist bureaucracy. According to the Daily Worker of August 25, 1931, the last of 12 demands presented to the New York City administration by the Unemployed Councils of Greater New York for credits and machinery. There is a is the following: "The city administration shall recommend to the Federal Government establishment of more favorable trade relations with the Soviet Union.'

Such a pitiful attempt to smuggle third of the idea distorted at that, into the official movement, by the back door will never do. What do "more favorable trade relations" mean? They mean first of all the demand for Soviet re- for two reasons: first, it involves a rethan that, the immediate extension of hundreds of millions of dollars, in the form of long-term credits, to Russia, enabling it to purchase machinery badly needed at the present time, which will, in turn require the opening of numerous factories for work on the machinery and the Unemployed Councils and the right direction.

working class, in unions, among the unemployed. That is the way to make the demand powerful. There is an opportunity to connect the needs of the unemployed concretely with the Soviet need magnificent opportunity to have the workers demand that at least some of the hundreds of millions of dollars advanced by the U. S. to bolster up the collapsing capitalist systems of Germany, England, etc., shall be diverted as cred-

its to the workers' republic. The proposal of the Left Opposition has been sabotaged by Browder and Co cognition by the U. S., and even more futation of their fantastic theory of national socialism; secondly, it originated with the Opposition. No other argument has even been advanced against the idea and the need for a national (and international) campaign for it. The obscure, timid demand of the New York Unem-

### M. Payer Arrested in St. Louis Just as we go to press, a telegram from effort will be made to assure the Left comrade H. L. Goldberg of St. Louis an- Opposition and all other labor and rev-

the speaker, comrade Martin C. Payer. ference of the police. The meeting was held on the corner of

Broadway and Park under the auspices of the St Louis branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). During its course, the police set upon the meeting and broke it up. Comrade Payer, who was on the platform, was arrested and is now being held for trial in police court.

The local Opposition comrades intend the struggled of the employed and the to make a strong free speech fight to and strengthen a movement in St. Louis compel the St. Louis police to back down against the police hounding of militant from their high-handed methods. Every labor meettings and agitators,

nounces the break-up of an Opposition olutionary organizations the right to meeting in that city and the arrest of hold public meetings without the inter-

As one of the steps in the free speech fight, comrade John Edwards of Chicago is to speak on Sunday, September 13, in the Central Library of St. Louis at S P. M. On the same day, at 2 P. M., Edwards will speak in Staunton, Illinois, one of the rebel mining sections. Workers in both Stannton and St. Louis are urgently invited to attend the Edwards meetings and in particular to help build

# Anti-Communist Arrests in Canada

Communist Party Leaders Seized and Held by Dominion Authorities under Sedition Act

jected to its first major political trial. er the Communist party continues its Proceeding on the instructions of the semi-legal existence or is forced com-Attorney-General of Ontario under sec- pletely underground. tion 98 of the Criminal Code, federal, provincial and city police officials combined forces August 12, to raid the party headquarters and effect the arrest of several leading members of the Central Committee. Among the comrades for whom warrants had been issued were Tim Buck, secretary of the Party, M. governmental, industrial, or economic Bruce, editor of the Worker; T. Ewan, change within Canada by use of force secretary of the Workers Unity League | violence or physical injury, or which ordered. They can mean nothing else, ployed Councils is one small step in the John Boychunk, Tom Hill and Sam Carr. teaches, advocats, advises or defends

Communism in Canada is to be sub- September Assizes will determine wheth- physical injury to person or property, or

Originally enacted by order-in-council in 1919, the section in question was incorporated into the Criminal Code in 1927. It reads as follows: "Any association, organization, society or corporation whose professed purpose or one of whose professed purposes is to bring about any Bail has been set at \$15,000 each. The the use of force, violence, terrorism or

threats of such injury, in order to accomplish such change, or for any other purpose, or which shall by any means prosecute or pursue such purpose or professed purpose, or shall so teach, advocate, advise or defend shall be an unlawful organization." Anyone convicted of being a member of, or defending such an organization or having its literature in his possession may suffer a penalty of twenty years imprisonment.

### Canada in the Crisis

Governmental resort to section 98 marks the culminating point in a policy of sharpened police repression. Involved in the common crisis of world capitalism, economic conditions in the Dominion have grown progressively worse. Exports have suffered a catastrophic decline, multitudes of Western farmers are literally destitute, industrial unemployment has reached unprecedented dimensions. At the Federal elections that carried him into office, the millionaire leadeof the Conservative party promised to "take such measures as will provide for the giving of work to every man and woman in this country prepared to work". But in the nature of things, the Bennett Government could as little solve the problems of capitalist anarchy as the preceding Liberal regime. Higher customs tariffs in a world of capitalist

## Increase the Spanish Press Fund to 200 Dollars!

our last issue:

"The Executive Committee of the Spanish Communist Opposition, receiving the adherence of a group of comrades the same time the information that some sky in the last elections to the Constituent Cortes. The news reaches us after some delay, for up to this time we had no friends in Santander.

"Trotsky received 78 workers' votes. How did this happen? The C. P. had

Madrid, we have received the following these ballots were inscribed only four the lips of its minister for foreign affairs finally, to Stalinist irresponsibility and additional details on the "Trotsky vote" names, whereas the number of candidates that it would give Trotsky authorization calumny. We are anxious to send from in Santander about which we spoke in from the district should have been five. to live in Spain, has come out against the United States a minimum of two Astillero decided to write in the name rade and will have to listen to the voice of the founder of the Red Army in the Communist list. 78 workers who lead from Astillero (Santander), received at and guide the only labor union in Astillero, who voted for Trotsky, told the of the workers voted for comrade Trot- Stalinist bureaucrats that Trotsky is considered by them the soul and the guide of the world revoltuionary movement. Trotsky, the red soldier of the proletarian revolution, upon receipt of the news, hastened to send a friendly letter of greetings to these comrades.

The Communists and sympathizers of the request for a visa made for our comof the workers. . . . '

The Santander incident is highly symptomatic. It is a straw in the wind. The future is with the Left Opposition-but only if it can measure up to the tasks N. Y. of the present. Handicapped by lack of Additional contributions received since the necessary funds, our comrades have the last issue are as follows: appealed to the revolutionary militants (All New York): A. Gomez: .10-Un states all engaged in raising trade barthroughout the world to lend their aid Comunista: .50-D. B.: 1.00-A. Brand- riers, can only accentuate the general in the efforts to issue a weekly organ mark: .25-John Justin: .25-Sympath- chaos. The Imperial Conference which of the Spanish Left Opposition, an im- izer: 3.95--W. H. Hermann: 5.00. Pre- Mr. Bennett sought to instruct resulted recessary for executing the candidate in this district ands of the Yankee oli and the local Communists demanded bal-

From our comrade Henri Lacroix in lots from a neighboring locality but in ernment which, after having stated from | Maurinist confusion on the other, and hundred dollars, and we are confident can be raised. The need is great and must be met. Funds should be forwarded immediately to A. Gonzales, c-o The Militant, 84 East 10th Street New York that with a little extra effort the sum