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The End of the Labor Cabinet

Wall Street Cracks the Whip and MacDonald Jumps

The second Labor party government of England has passed into limbo, and its departure will not be marked by the slightest feeling of regret by any class-conscious worker. For twenty-six months, it limped along on the unsteady crutch supplied it by the suffrage of the Liberal party votes. The unemployment problem which it undertook to solve when it assumed office has not only been left without solution, but has increased in magnitude and acuteness. The workers' standard of living which it so nobly promised to preserve, has sunk to a lower level—no struggle of resistance to 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 ministry surpassed the first only in the viciousness of its servility to imperialism. The kindest thing that 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 States by Norman Thomas, Oswald Villard, and the refined gentlemen of the same kind.

MacDonald and the Dole

The Labor government was shivered on the reef of a distinctly class issue. The official register for unemployed on August 10 showed a figure more than double that registered when "labor" came to power. Far from diminishing in bulk, unemployment has come to stricken English economy to stay. Canute could scarcely command the waves of the sea to recede than MacDonald could decrease the number of jobless or figure out a "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 "loan" to the unemployment insurance fund—but actually as a subsidy. The dole, which was originally conceived as a "self-sustaining" institution has been met for almost nine years by a permanent government contribution. 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 potentes 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 States 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 politically 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 guarantee. 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 striped 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 cheap-jacks 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 patched up, composed of all the parties, from Baldwin to MacDonald. Why does the latter remain prime minister instead of turning the office over to the Tories? Because the tenure of office of new cabinet is confined to the period necessary for executing the

garchs. Only the humble, plebeian, christ-ian MacDonald is low enough to execute so menial and humiliating a task. It is too debasing a job for the high-born Sir Neville Chamberlain, aristocratic Lord Irwins and Sir Samuel Hoares, or even country squires like Baldwin. A fine role for the socialist statesman of the new order! Yet why not? If one must act as a footstool to imperialism, why not crawl under the feet of the mightiest imperialism in the world?

It will not be for long. Four weeks or four months, and MacDonald's day is done, perhaps never to return to that 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 Henderson 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 British labor movement. Every rogue, every former henchman of MacDonald, every clever artificer of phrases will seek to capitalize on the growing discontentment of the workers. Far and away in the lead in this despicable game—it is not difficult to foretell—will be the Maxtons and the Wheatleys and the Citrines who themselves crawled out of the MacDonald swamp only the day before. A tragedy, too. For there is no doubt that these Left wing L. L. P. experts in radical talk and timid inaction (to say nothing of outright treason at the "proper time") will reap the rich harvest of proletarian dissatisfaction, of working class antagonism to MacDonald and his "new economy", of working class desire and demand for militant action—the rich harvest which the Communists should reap, but which they appear to be still incapable of even approaching.

Over this whole vast canvas of events, which will still unroll before us in all their enormous economic and political consequences for England and the rest of the world, the Communist party is not to be found occupying the place which logically belongs to it. Its name is not even mentioned. It lies somewhere 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 SHACHITMAN.

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

For the first time since the leader of the Communist party, Earl Browder, condemned as "social fascism" the proposal of the Left Opposition that the Communists demand long-term credits to the Soviet Union as an aid to the Five Year Plan in Russia and to the unemployed here, we find an obscure, shame-faced and devalued 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 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 a 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 recognition by the U. S., and even more than 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 ordered. They can mean nothing else, and the Unemployed Councils and the

Increase the Spanish Press Fund to 200 Dollars!

From our comrade Henri Lacroix in Madrid, we have received the following additional details on the "Trotsky vote" in Santander about which we spoke in our last issue:
The Executive Committee of the Spanish Communist Opposition, receiving the adherence of a group of comrades from Astillero (Santander), received at the same time the information that some of the workers voted for comrade Trotsky 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 presented no candidate in this district and the local Communists demanded bal-

34 Kentucky Miners Framed; 18 On Trial In Pennsylvania

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 into coal operators' courts to be railroaded 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 subjected. 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 Everts with four fatalities, now have more than a hundred indictments issued against them. A new legal assassination is being planned by the Kentucky barons of coal and their judicial serfs. This time it is to be executed with dispatch and on a mass scale so that there may be less opportunity to arouse a powerful workers' protest movement in time. The prosecution is fully determined to send the 34 coal miners to the electric chair.

18 on Trial in Washington

In Washington, Pa., the trial of another 18 miners has begun. Were it not for the tragic implications of the case, its farcical aspects would assert themselves. In this principality of coal 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 the jurors were run out of the courtroom. Press representatives, at least of the 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

their betrayals of the coal miners for years gone by.

It was at a meeting in Canonsburg about a month ago that striking miners came to a Fagan meeting at which he was trying to act his role of scab herder as best he could under the circumstances. Surrounded though he was by his armed thugs, Fagan got the short end of the stick in a struggle that took 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 battery. 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

which stand out most prominently in the class war in the coal fields. They are not the only ones, for there are dozens of smaller cases being fought in almost every section of the active mining territory. But they are the most dramatic examples of the determination of the coal barons and their court to railroad fighting workmen to the electric chair or to years of imprisonment.

And unless the whole working class is immediately aroused to a comprehension of the imminence 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 plans of the prosecution.

The protest movement must have the widest possible foundation and scope. 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 judicial assassins. Anybody who places the separate interests of one group above 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. U. on the one hand, and of the I. 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. U. is no secret. Just as well-known is the sectarian policy which the I. L. 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. U. 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 imperiling the favorable outcome of the defense!

In the meantime, defense funds are desperately needed. Money for the I. L. D. should be sent to its headquarters at 80 East 11th St., Room 430, New York, N. Y. The General Defense Committee of the I. W. U., which is also collecting funds for the Kentucky miners, has its office at 555 W. Lake Street, Chicago, Ill. Give generously, and more than that, act swiftly to forge a well-joined ring of solidarity around the frame-up victims of Washington and Kentucky. Do not permit our fighters to burn in the chair or to rot in the masters' dungeons.

(Continued on page 4)

M. Payer Arrested in St. Louis

Just as we go to press, a telegram from comrade H. L. Goldberg of St. Louis announces the break-up of an Opposition meeting in that city and the arrest of the speaker, comrade Martin C. Payer.

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 to make a strong free speech fight to compel the St. Louis police to back down from their high-handed methods. Every

effort will be made to assure the Left Opposition and all other labor and revolutionary organizations the right to hold public meetings without the interference of the police.

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 2 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 Staunton and St. Louis are urgently invited to attend the Edwards meetings and in particular to help build and strengthen a movement in St. Louis against the police hounding of militant labor meetings and agitators.

Anti-Communist Arrests in Canada

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

Communism in Canada is to be subjected to its first major political trial. Proceeding on the instructions of the Attorney-General of Ontario under section 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. Bruce, editor of the Worker; T. Ewan, secretary of the Workers Unity League; John Boychuk, Tom Hill and Sam Carr. Bail has been set at \$15,000 each. The

September Assizes will determine whether the Communist party continues its semi-legal existence or is forced completely underground.

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 governmental, industrial, or economic change within Canada by use of force, violence or physical injury, or which teaches, advocates, advises or defends the use of force, violence, terrorism or

physical injury to person or property, 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 leader of 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 custom tariffs in a world of capitalist states all engaged in raising trade barriers, can only accentuate the general chaos. The Imperial Conference which Mr. Bennett sought to instruct resulted in mutual insults. The masterly stroke

Additional contributions received since the last issue are as follows:
(All New York): A. Gomez: .10—In Communista: .50—D. B.: 1.00—A. Brandmark: .25—John Justin: .25—Sympathizer: 3.95—W. H. Hermann: 5.00. Previous total: \$144.76. Grand total to date: \$189.01