

The Massacre in St. Louis

Left Opposition Calls Upon Party to Form a Workers' United Front

(Continued from page 1)
 ing on July 8th, "scared" the city officials and the result was: \$1.00 grocery orders were immediately given out after the hunger march. That was Friday. On Monday, yesterday, the Unemployed Council sent in their committee of 12 to the Alderman's Chambers demanding that immediate legislation be passed to raise funds so that the unemployed will receive a minimum of \$7.00 a week for family of two and \$2.00 additional for each dependent.

Police Bomb Workers

But the committee never came out. After waiting, listening and speaking for three hours, a committee of 50 women and 100 ex-servicemen volunteered to enter the City Hall to learn what was detaining the original committee of 12. The police immediately tossed a tear-gas bomb at the crowd, and someone in the crowd caught it and tossed it back in the midst of the police. The detectives and cops scurried back into the building, emerging a minute later with two machine-guns, tear-gas guns and several dozen tear-gas bombs. A couple of police began shooting point blank at the mass of people. Four workers falling down, one of them a Negro, who is seriously wounded and expected to die.

The unemployed, in defense of their lives, fought back heroically. With only bricks picked up from the street and some soda bottles and apples and oranges necessarily expropriated from a fruit dealer in their midst, the workers withstood the police tear gas and bullet fire for fully a quarter of an hour before the streets were cleared and capitalist "law and order" established.

In the event the Communist party does not immediately act against the police repression, the St. Louis branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition), despite its numerical smallness, will institute the elementary united front campaign for the workers' right to free speech and public assembly, against the police terrorism, and for immediate unemployment relief.

ST. LOUIS.—

To protest against last Monday's police massacre, the "united front" of the Unemployed Council, the International Labor Defense and the Communist party, issued circulars calling upon the workers to attend a public protest demonstration at Alce Plaza, 18th and Market Streets on Wednesday at 5:30 P. M. But the protest demonstration failed to materialize. In compliance with the blue-coats' orders of "no congregating", the party members kept walking and waiting and waiting. For a miracle, I suppose. The several hundreds workers who had come to join in the protest against the police terrorism waited an hour and some two hours trying to figure out why the party members were waiting, and then left, some in disgust, while party members continued looking at the sky, and tying and re-tying their shoelaces. I went up to one of the typical Stalinists (Schwartz) and offered (in line with our letter offering our support) to help start the meeting but was met with the parrot retort of "counter-revolutionists—we wouldn't do anything with you."

"Self-Criticism"

Now in "explaining" the reasons for the failure of the mass protest the party members give the following Leninist self-

criticism: "The police wouldn't allow any congregating and if anyone would have started speaking he would have been arrested. Besides some of our best speakers were in jail." BUT ALL OF THIS WAS KNOWN BEFORE THE MEETING WAS ARRANGED!

The City administration, seeing that their edict of no Alce Plaza protest meeting was a success changed their ruling of "no Communist assemblies anywhere in the city for any purpose" and stated the next morning that indoor meetings could be held, "if they were orderly", and that Foster would be allowed to speak at the Turner Hall in the evening.

The election campaign meeting which had been prominently advertised by all of the capitalist newspapers, was well attended. The hall was jammed—with 700 or 800 in attendance. Many of the party members and sympathizers who had failed to show up at the proposed demonstration came down to hear Foster. Vote Communist undoubtedly is their slogan.

In addition to his talk on the national situation, Foster, the great Steel Strike Strategist, gave out the "general line" for the unemployment fight in St. Louis. Despite the non-materialization of the previous night's protest demonstration and despite the fact that almost every worker present was commenting on it, Foster did not even mention a word about it. He evidently figured the less said about it the better.

"The General Line"

Foster's "general line" was: The workers must answer "the bullets" and "the concessions". (The "concessions" were \$200,000 that the city administration gave to the charity associations following Monday's massacre). The workers must answer "the bullets" with a fighting spirit of steel. And "the concessions" by registering and organizing every unemployed worker in the Unemployed Council. Lastly, "what about the workers who are in jail?" "A Defense Council" must be organized even with delegates from the A. F. L. unions, fraternal organizations, etc., "for the purpose of" raising money for their defense! Especially property owners are needed, the chairman explained, for bail purposes. There were more cheers, but some of the workers went home asking themselves the question: "Was that Foster, the great Steel Strike Strategist?"

About the immediate necessity of organizing a mass movement to force the administration to permit the workers to publicly assemble, to protest against the police repression, and to gain our unemployment demands, Foster's silence was golden.

At the conference of the Defense Council (if and when called) the Communist League of America (Opposition) will fight for the adoption of our proposed line of action—the immediate necessity of a broad united front of all working-class organizations to fight for the workers' right to free speech and to public assembly, against the police terrorism, for the freeing of the arrested unemployed and for a political, religious or economic affiliations.

—MARTIN PAYER.

READ AND SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT

Belgian Diggers Resist Wage-cut

The article below by comrade Lesoil, leader of the Belgian Opposition and active militant of the miners in the Charleroi coal fields, serves as a background of information through which the more recent strike wave which upset Belgium and required the intervention of the king and the government, may be more clearly understood.

Right after the trade union congress, Delattre wrote an article recommending to the miners not to allow themselves to be maneuvered by the Communists.

We are going to prove that the extraordinary congress of the Central was nothing but a maneuver of the leaders in order to subject the miners to the employers.

We will prove this by irrefutable facts. If the official index of May 15 fell so as to justify the bosses' demand for a general 5 per cent cut of the miners in the country, they would immediately have called together the Mixed Commission and demanded the 5 per cent.

They didn't do it... because officially they had no right to a contractual reduction.

The fall in the index was invented after the fact! Why? Because the bosses having posted a cut of from 2 to 10 percent in the Borinage district, the Borinese miners decided unanimously to quit in a strike against this reduction.

Faced by the threat of a general strike in the Borinage, strike which might by its scope and vigor have unleashed a general movement of resistance to the wage cuts, the employees, the government retreated.

They accepted and followed the advice of the Central trade union leaders who proposed to them to table the 5 percent reduction for all the miners in the country. The result is that the bosses who wanted to cut the wages of 40,000 miners by 4 percent on the average, receive a general cut of 5 percent for 150,000 miners.

Instead of saving 960,000 francs (almost \$40,000) per month from the wages of the Borinese, the employers will save 4,500,000 francs out of the totality of the miners.

Furthermore, with the help of the trade union leaders, they avoid the Borinage strike and obtain a decision of the congress ordering the miners to accept the contractual reduction manufactured at the last minute to deceive the miners and force them into this decision: to leave work in strike against their central organization so as to be able to defend their wages.

What did the speeches of the delegates still working in the mines demonstrate?

1. The will of the Borinese miners to fight in defense of their wages;
2. The great dissatisfaction existing among the miners in all the fields;
3. And this assertion, undisputed by the leaders of the union, that nowhere, in no field, is the contract respected by the bosses.

At the same time the delegates declare that the wages are below schedule, that the employers do not respect them, that the trade union leaders impose the acceptance of the new reduction upon the miners because the workers must respect the contract.

Defenders of the employers' interests, spokesmen of the employers at the head

New York Painters out on Strike

Drastic Wage Cuts Meets Resistance of Building Trades Workers

(Continued from page 1)
 and for class unity against the capitalist class. The action of the District Council was against unity. The Alteration Painters want the unity of the painters. The District Council also divided the trades by refusing to organize the alteration painters.

A rejection of the United Front is the desire of the A. F. L. officials. If they accept a united front proposal, it is not because they have a change of heart, but because the pressure from the rank and file has forced them into a united front. We want a united front to expose the A. F. L. fakery, to protect the workers from the sell-out and to build and advance the workers industrial labor organizations and movement.

Will the Alteration Painters Union succeed in preventing a sellout, succeed in winning the strike. To find out if this is possible we must investigate the action of the Alteration Painters officials in their United Front proposal. The united front of the Alteration Painters was only a half step, just like the half step taken by the T. U. U. L. in the "new turn". A paper proposal for a united front without proper organizational preliminary steps and follow-up steps is as hopeless in results as the former united front from below.

The proposal of the Alteration Painters Union for equal representation on the strike committee when the District Council counts its members by the thousands and the Alteration painters count theirs by the hundreds, plays into the hands of the A. F. L. officials, for good excuse, to reject the class struggle united front. Neither union is an industrial union. The A. F. L. unions stand on the basis of class collaboration and the Alteration Painters Union stands on that of the class struggle. The failure of the Alteration Painters Union officials to pose the question of uniting the two unions after proper preparations and with organizational safeguards for the class struggle wing of the unity, also gives the fakery weapons against the unity proposal.

In calling for a united front, the Alteration Painters officials failed to carry on the preliminary preparation work within the A. F. L. When the unity committee appeared before the District Council the rank and file, through written word and verbal, should have been well prepared for the negotiations, should know our proposals, should be pushed into a position to support unity, to bring pressure upon their bureaucratic leadership for un-

accepting the wage reductions by the congress without consulting the miners and without permitting them to express themselves on it.

The congress was a maneuver of the reformist leaders to subject the mass of the miners to the conditions of the employers.

It is not with impunity that this policy of complicity and direct aid by the leaders of the trade union Central to the coal bosses is to be practised, for the dissatisfaction is growing and anger is beginning to rise among the miners; and when it explodes their blows will be directed not only against their starvation—bosses but also against their accomplices, the reformist leaders.

Because he knows that to organize a referendum would be to permit the miners to express their combativity and that the reply of all the mine fields would be: "We want to fight unitedly and defend our wages together."

The holding of the extraordinary congress, the efforts of the leaders substituted for the will to struggle revealed against the reduction, the illusory demand for the nationalization of the mines, have but one aim; to put the miners before an accomplished fact of

ity. Before the committee called on the District Council, no leaflets of such a nature were issued. After the rejection of the unity proposal a leaflet was issued presenting the program for unity. This is a swing from the united front "from below" to the united front from above.

The leaflet issued after the rejection of the united front explained the rejection with one sentence. "The District Council rejects our proposal." The rank and file of the A. F. L. who are not let in on the "secrets" of the program knew nothing about the proposals before the committee of 15 called on the District Council and have no information to expose the fakery for the rejection of the proposal, or about the plans for other proposals suitable for both unions. Such an explanation does not educate or bring the rank and file over to the side of class struggle. Such an explanation helps the fakery rally workers to class collaboration.

The first leaflet of the Alteration Painters calling the mass meeting of July 13th, to elect the united front committee said nothing about a strike of the Alteration Painters in support of the A. F. L. strikers. Only after the rejection by the District Council was a leaflet issued calling their members on strike. This shows correct class support in spite of the District Council knifing of unity but it also shows poor tactics.

The Alteration Painters Officials are confused on the question of rank and file leadership and rank and file control within their own union. This is fostered by their present "leaders". The leaders parade as though they were representing rank and file leadership but in reality there is need of more rank and file control and less of rank and file "leadership". If the membership had helped select the program for unity and if the leadership moved forward from their half turn, that is, follow the paper turn with proper organizational measures, the Alteration Painters would not have missed the favorable chance to expose the A. F. L. leaders and to win rank and file from the A. F. L. to the class struggle, as a Left wing within the painters craft union. The organizing of the unorganized into Industrial Unions, the Communists' task in America, would be strengthened by the tactical line pointed out here in the relations between the class collaboration A. F. L. craft union and the class struggle Alteration Painters' craft union.

—L. LESOIL.

CAMPFIRE POSTPONED
 Due to other arrangements that intervened, the campfire announced for Saturday, July 23, by the Spartacus Youth Club, has been postponed until further notice. Watch the Militant for further information.

MILITANT BUILDERS

Who is a Militant Builder? A Militant builder is a comrade or sympathizer who is seriously interested in building the circulation of the Militant because he realizes that our point of view, the ideas for which we are fighting, our fight must be carried to an ever widening circle of Communist and Left wing workers and to the working class generally.

A Militant builder understands that to build the circulation of the Militant a group of people is necessary—a group of people who conceive it to be one of their main tasks to see workers, talk of workers, to get subs. He understands that it is not enough to do this every now and then. He understands that it is necessary to do this steadily over a long period of time. He understands that in the present period it is his revolutionary duty to get subs. It is the task in hand at the moment.

It is by this steady plugging in this period that we are firmly sinking our roots into the minds and thinking of the working class. Through the work of our staff of Militant builders we are making the name of the Militant known, and we are making known what it stands for and fights for.

Right now we need recruits. We want every comrade to join up. It is really a fairly simple matter to get subs. All that is needed is a little energy. Comrades, we must get subs. We must build the circulation of the Militant. It is our chief propaganda instrument. It is the voice in this country of revolutionary internationalism. Its message—our message—must be carried to the Communist and Left wing workers, to the whole working class.

To work! Get subs!

Pioneer Publishers Notes

JUST ARRIVED FROM ENGLAND!

We are in receipt of 30 copies of *Whither England* by comrade Trotsky. To our readers and comrades this book needs no introduction. It is a brilliant Marxist analysis of the class forces at work in old England. The predictions it makes have been confirmed by time and are being confirmed by the onward sweep of the class war.

The book is paper bound and runs to 180 pages. It sells for 75 cents. Orders will be filled strictly in the order in which they are received.

WHAT NEXT?

On July 31 the elections to the Reichstag will take place in the midst of what is virtually civil war. On August 1, we will issue comrade Trotsky's latest work dealing with the present situation in Germany. Its great timeliness inclines us to believe that its sale will be quick. What we want now is in advance sale. Comrades, readers and sympathizers! Order your copies now! Make the sale of the book a success! Get orders for it!

Comrades who are unemployed and cannot afford to buy their own copies can earn a copy by getting orders for four copies and remitting for them. Upon receipt of the order we will send free to the comrade a copy of the book.

PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

"Problems of the Chinese Revolution" is moving but not fast enough. Once more we ask: How many copies have you sold? To unemployed comrades we make the same offer we made in the paragraph above in connection with *What Next?* What we want is to place this book in the hands of as many workers as we can. To workers already infected with Stalinism this book will be a sort of ideological antidote. To workers immune from the ideological degeneration of Stalinism this book will be a sort of immunization. That is our job—to combat and destroy the poison of Stalinism. This book by comrade Trotsky is a potent weapon in our hands—provided we apply it. If every comrade were to sell three copies a good part of our task would be accomplished.

Publications in Foreign Languages

A number of the works which we advertise in England are also obtainable from us in Jewish, Russian, Italian and Spanish. Comrades who read English with difficulty or feel more at home in their native languages should apply to us for information about these publications. We may not be able to fill every order but we will try.

BOUND VOLUMES OF TROTSKY'S PAMPHLETS

Do you want a copy of these bound volumes? There are still a few left. Do you know a worker who wants to make a serious study of the principle questions in dispute between Stalinism and the International Left? Do you know a worker unclear on the basic question of Socialism in One Country? Do you know a worker who believes in the idiotic theory of social-Fascism? Do you know a worker who thinks we are counter-revolutionists?

If you know such a worker persuade him to buy a bound volume of these pamphlets by comrade Trotsky and study these questions for himself. Explain to him that while he can buy them singly, if he does this he will be unable to get three of the pamphlets which are out of print and unobtainable except in these bound volumes. These pamphlets are the all-important and basic document. The Draft Program of the Comintern; The Turn in the C. I. and the Situation in Germany; and World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan.

The Dollar Versus the Pound

Wall St. and Lombard St. Fight for World Financial Supremacy

For years the American imperialists have been fighting their British competitors, struggling to obtain Dollar supremacy over the Pound, and now the capitalists of the United States can boast that they have accomplished this task. Step by step, since the world war, the Dollar has fought the Pound in every corner of the globe, taking advantage of the decay of the British Empire in order to gain world domination. The Pound ruled when capitalism was expanding, and was able to draw the best of the capitalist profits and plunder toward London, but America has this dollar supremacy in the decay of capitalism, and with the post war reparation tangle, the present deepening crisis, the American capitalists have only been able to reap a whirlwind of entangling world political problems that their Washington office boys are not capable of untangling.

The tremendous productive forces, the over abundance of capital and of means of production laid the base for the present Dollar domination. This enables the American imperialists to stand on the top of the heap of the exploiting capitalist nations. But it is not an expanding and growing world economic structure, that is pouring tribute into the Wall Street. The tribute paid is the tribute of dying "victims" to a master who will give them a little longer lease on life. This forces the American capitalists to face problems unparalleled hitherto in the world of capitalism. Problems that will cut short the fruits of the victory of Dollar domination.

In an attempt to extract itself from the crisis, American imperialism has been forced to give more immediate attention to problems in South America, Asia and Europe than to internal developments. The capitalists, however, have neglected the problems within the country. On the contrary, they have handled them remarkably well in the interest of the financiers. Every measure of importance taken has been by and for and of the financiers at the expense of the workers, the farmers, the middle class, and the small industrialist. The financiers the monopolist and the big in-

dustrialists are being cared for satisfactorily. The class nature of the drastic measures taken by the government within the country stand out with distinct prominence but the increasing international problems have required even more drastic steps.

In Germany the class struggle is at a higher level and threatening revolution or imperialist war needs measures equal to the task of insuring the position of the American capitalist. When the American workers will begin to press harder upon the exploiting classes, when the revolutionary movement here will surge upward, the more drastic measures, as well as demagogic steps, will be taken internally. In this case it is up to the Communists to be equal the task.

Several months ago when England was forced off the gold standard, the American Dollar won a signal victory in replacing the Pound. New York supplanted London as the gold center. But the present reparations "settlement" throws light upon the manner in which New York replaced London in the period of decay of capitalism. England has no choice in retreating from the gold standard. This was a move to reorganize the British economic structure. Now England is trying to make a come-back. America is trying somewhat different steps. But the purpose of each is the same—to reorganize in order to be in a position to defeat the other imperialist in the struggle for the redivision of the world. By economic war as long as possible—and by imperialist war when necessary. The lowering of wages, and the reduction of the standard of living in America are necessary capitalist steps in this direction. Our class tasks lie in the opposite direction.

After America obtained Dollar domination, other capitalist nations led by France made drastic attacks on the dollar, hoping to dislodge it from the key position. They were successful for a time in badly shaking the American financial structure. It can now be said that the first victory over the Pound has been followed up by a second victory over the other imperialists in retaining

the dominating position after the attacks. The question confronting American capitalism now is—can the American imperialists follow this up and transform the events into their favor? The American capitalists are not yet sufficiently reorganized to give a positive answer to this question. They are busy with measures to strengthen their position to enable them to carry through the next step. It will not be the other imperialists who will prevent the fulfillment; it can only be the world imperialist under Communist leadership.

If the developing German civil war or an imperialist war does not alter the course, the American capitalists have a favorable chance. At home the financiers have forced the other exploiters to follow their lead. The measures prior to the Two Billion Credit Pool were preliminary steps. The Credit Pool had its positive side for the bankers as well as its negative side for the other classes. The Glass \$1,000,000,000 inflation bill is another step to peg up the Dollar in an attempt to enable it to hold its dominating position. The inflation bill will force through another indirect wage cut upon the American workers and enable the bosses to garner a huge profit even though the rate of profit has fallen.

It is only a temporary measure but such measures are necessary in these trying days. Any measure the capitalists take today will only intensify the contradictions tomorrow. But they cannot wait. The life of dying capitalism is at stake and measures must be taken today.

The capitalist remedy for deflation is inflation, yet neither can touch the core of the problem. The financiers are pressing hard for the Branch Banking Law. And since they started the public campaign many months ago for Branch Banking they have gained considerable headway. This measure will be a worthwhile breathing spell for them if they are able to push it through.

The dollar stands, but the crisis deepens. The financiers have been able to deal some blows through their imperialist agents but the main test is still ahead. The moratorium, the reparations, and the German situation holds much in store for the fate of Dollar supremacy.

—H. O.

PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

BY LEON TROTSKY

These 450 pages of analysis and record of the revolution and counter-revolution in China since 1925, offer the first integral Marxist presentation of one of the greatest movements in modern times. The views of the Left Opposition are given here for the first time in systematic, elaborated form, side-by-side with a stinging criticism of the catastrophic course pursued by Stalin and Bucharin. The suppressed writings of Trotsky are found here for the first time in English, together with appendices by Zinoviev, Vuyovitch, Nassunov and others.

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