

Revolt of Illinois Miners

Miners on Strike against Lewis Machine and Wage-Cuts

(Continued from page 1)
tendance of 10,000 revolting miners, similar big meetings have been held in Springfield and elsewhere. At the time of this writing miners are marching upon Taylorville where the Peabody Coal Company is making desperate efforts to reopen its four mines. Though the miners march without arms this company has already succeeded in making a virtual armed camp out of their little community. One press dispatch says: "Businessmen and members of the American Legion were recruited into a hastily formed home guard to repel any invasion." This town was also the scene of military forces moving in rapidly during the ill-fated strike of the National Miners Union in 1929.

The rebel movement is feverishly organizing its forces knowing that quick and decisive action is imperative. It has entrusted the leadership to an elected policy committee. Petitions have been placed in circulation among the local unions calling for a special state convention to abrogate the put-over agreement, and, as inevitably must follow, to clean out the traitorous officials. Meanwhile John L. Lewis is doing his bit for the operators sending proclamations to the miners' locals that "picketing and mass meetings must cease," and that opposition leaders are to be penalized. In this he is in complete accord with the agencies of the capitalist forces, including the government. It is reported that the young militant leader Gerry Ahard was "quickly cut off the air by radio station WEBQ, when he launched into a vehement attack on union officers who supported the \$5.00 agreement."

This was under date line of Aug. 12th. The reports are that Gerry Ahard and his wife, Irene, have been arrested in West Frank. Such, of course, are the celebrated capitalist methods—to strike the heavy blows at the militant leaders. There need be no doubt that a powerful answer will be given by the rebel movement.

Illinois, Scene of Many Revolts

The history of the Illinois coal fields is replete with rank and file revolts dating back to the days of the Verdita battle and even farther. Here was often found the backbone of the fight to break the stranglehold of John L. Lewis upon the union. But this is yet an unfinished task because of the various ways in which the miners were time and again switched off the path by their resistance being insufficiently organized, by leadership which faltered in the decisive moments or by other groups of corrupt elements capitalizing on the situation leaving the miners to suffer new disillusionment.

In the above is contained a serious Howatt combination, ostensibly in opposition to Lewis, proved a disastrous deception and illusion. The revolt led by the Edmondson-Musteite combination, which lacked backbone and a clear progressive program, failed utterly. But the results in both of these instances is to be accounted for in large measure by the failure of the Left wing under the official party leadership to penetrate these movements and its subsequent complete isolation.

Now the Illinois miners are marching again. The disheartened discontent is again flaring into a mighty flame. Tenacious struggles against the lowering of the standard of living are in progress also in the Indiana coal fields and the Mahoning Valley, Ohio.

In the above is contained a serious lesson of what the revolutionary forces must not do. It is the policy pursued by the official party which led to isolation and impotence of the Left wing. Its mistakes in this respect began with the stupid boycott of the revolt movement which found its expression in the Walker-Fishwick-Howatt combination, and repeated toward the Edmondson-Musteite revolt. The serious consequences of these stupid tactics are not to be measured alone by the shortcomings and failures or betrayals of the revolt movements but more so by the isolation and final disappearance of an organized Left wing movement.

Duties of the Revolt Movement

It is yet time, however, to make good in a measure on the mistakes made and to regain the time and opportunities lost. The present revolt movement has a very serious duty to perform for the

success of which the Left Opposition supporters in the Illinois coal fields will bend all their efforts.

To make the present strike state-wide is, of course, imperative. That is the direction of the present movement. In this the Illinois miners are now carrying the brunt of the burden of leading the working class as a whole forward in resistance upon the attacks on their standard of living. Closely bound up with this must be the completion of the long overdue task of cleaning out the treacherous officials and saving the union from destruction.

Hillman «Leads» the New York Amalgamated in a Stoppage

(Continued from page 1)

Hillman and his assistants, the local officials of the New York organization, have been utilizing the situation created by the economic crisis to justify the policies of betrayal they have been pursuing in all these years. They have been throwing sand in the eyes of the members and the general public, covering up the fact that their present concessions to the employers are only a link in the long chain of betrayals which they began to practise several years before the crisis had set in. They want the tailors to forget all the crimes up till now and to allow themselves to be caught by the new swindle which the present stoppage constitutes.

What do the above-mentioned demands in the present stoppage (?) signify?

Hillman's Points

The point about stopping wage-cuts is highly deceptive. Hillman has not made it clear that this means the return of the last wage-cuts which he granted the manufacturers in recent weeks, since the last decision of the union to that effect. The tailors are deluding themselves that this is what the point means. They will be bitterly disappointed.

The other two points on stopping the exodus of bundles to sweat-shops and the re-establishment of union control over labor conditions in the shops, do not have the same significance to Hillman as they have for the general public. To him, union control means an agreement with the bosses to collect dues and assessments from the workers and not union conditions in the shops. Such agreements have been made by him with manufacturers and employers in numerous towns around New York. The conditions there are just as rotten as in the non-union shops. But for the tailors, he aims to create the impression that he seeks to keep the work inside genuine union shops. This is how he practises the swindle with success.

The true aim of Hillman's call for the present stoppage is the strengthening of the considerably weakened union machine. The financial situation is close to bankruptcy. For weeks and months, the officials have received no salaries. The bosses are seeking to evade the payment of unemployment (?) insurance. The work sent out of New York slips into new shops, out of town, not under Hillman's control, that is, from which Hillman draws no dues. By the present stoppage Hillman hopes to tighten up the machine, oil it and put it into faster operation, in order to squeeze out a little more sustenance for the impoverished bureaucrats. This is the aim of the present stoppage in so far as Hillman is concerned. The near future will clearly reveal this aim and the cause which led to the sudden stoppage after Hillman's declaration not so long ago that a strike or stoppage is impracticable.

As for the tailors, they have been drawn into this stoppage, first of all, as I mentioned before, because of their deplorable conditions, and second because of deceptive slogans. Were there a well-organized Left wing in the Amalgamated, it would be possible to convert the stoppage into a genuine strike struggle against wage-cuts and for the smashing of Hillman's plans.

A Vicious Combination

Hillman's machine supports itself upon the Clothiers' Exchange, the Contractors' Association and certain trucking express companies which carry the cut work and piece goods into the clothing shops. This combination brings in enormous profits,

however, as once more a situation exists of the miners battling separately in several territories with their several organizations struggling alone for their life preservation, the creation of a united front is more pressing than ever. There is now an opportunity for the Illinois revolt movement to perform a real duty by leaving no stone unturned to endeavor to unite their immediate aims and their immediate struggle with those of the National Miners Union, with the Miners Union of West Virginia with the battling miners in Indiana and Ohio.

But these are objectives the complete fulfillment of which can be conceived of alone on the basis of creating a strong Left wing, conscious of its task within this movement. This is the duty of the hour for all revolutionary miners.

—A. S.

when it is working harmoniously, for all the partners in question. They all live at the expense of the workers, tailors, who are gripped in their vise. The tailors can liberate themselves only by breaking this combination, smashing the Hillman bureaucratic machine and thus releasing their own organized forces in the struggle for better conditions.

In the present hour, the tactics of the Left wing must be turned in this direction.

The Left wing in the Amalgamated, under the control of the Communist Party (the Rank and File Committee) has up to now not made clear its tasks in the Amalgamated. It continues to swing between the tactic of isolation of the "Third Period" and the recently altered new tactic which is far from being clear and comprehensible to the broad masses.

Up to the present stoppage, the Rank and File Committee has adhered to the policy that there should be no participation in strikes and stoppages of the Amalgamated because it is a "company union". Although the old policy has been changed, the Left wing has stood on the side-lines, ridiculing and disparaging any real activity in the A. C. W. This attitude regard them as right-minded hatters. Their influence among the tailors has considerably diminished in recent years.

The Rank and File Committee

In the present stoppage, the Rank and File Committee has adopted a different position. It has made the decision to participate in the picket lines together with the other tailors and to seek to convert the stoppage into a genuine strike. This is the best means of unmasking the Hillman bureaucracy and smashing its plans in the stoppage, to strengthen the influence of the Left wing in the Amalgamated.

The "conference" called by the Unemployed Council of New York under the direction of the Communist party at the Manhattan Lyceum, August 15 "to work out a plan to further advance the fight for immediate relief and unemployment insurance" was a pure brew of opportunism. From beginning to end it was saturated with the spirit of reformism. Every speech was devoted to the fakery of the relief agencies, the collusion of the city government with the real estate sharks and landlords, etc., etc.

In themselves these exposures are in order—provided they are linked up correctly with the revolutionary goal of the working class and the Communists. This was nowhere apparent. In fact its absence made it impossible to distinguish the ideological approach of the conference from a Left wing socialist meeting.

Winters, the reporter by appointment, worked himself into a minor heat over the "insulting the city offered the unemployed by allowing the Board of Estimate to take a four month's vacation." He made an "analysis" of the failure of the unemployed movement to build organizationally, to build a stronger movement from which he deduced the necessity of building a movement strong enough to wring from them tens and hundreds of millions of dollars for relief.

Insurance Relegated

Even unemployment insurance was relegated to the background. It was mentioned only by way of obeisance to a discarded but still living god. Relief, any kind of relief, was the note of the conference. This is not a new development of the party's efforts to build a movement or relief from the crisis. It is only the latest phase of the opportunist turn initiated a little more than a year ago by Browder in the *Daily Worker* of March 6 and 12.

The difference lies in the fact that this conference, as the reporter's speech showed, had a programmatic character. The National Committee of the Unemployed Councils of the U. S. A. has issued a "Proposed Draft Program of Fighting Methods and Organization Forms of the Unemployed Councils." Whereas before the party pursued its opportunistic way by twists and turns in the party press it is now definitely committed to a program opportunistic through and through. We will return to this program in the next issue. Time is needed to plough through the swamp and reduce it to its opportunist elements.

The conference was a model of bureaucratic machine control. It ran smoothly on all six cylinders of mechanical control and ideological oil. The conference was opened by Winter who in the name of the arrangement committee nominated Wiseman, organizer of the Unemployed Council. Attempts to make other nominations were ignored and Wiseman rode into the chairmanship on a wave of "ayes". Wiseman introduced the main reporter, Winter, "who will speak for forty minutes". Winter consumed an hour and a half of one of the hottest nights in memory.

He outlined the fakery of the relief agencies, the collusion of the city government with the landlords in evicting workers; he spoke much of "our" failure to embrace masses of workers but failed to explain its causes in the incorrect policy of the party. He also subscribed to the Stalinist article of faith, that the line is correct, benedictum sit, but the execution poor.

Winter reached the pinnacle of Stalinist theory and logic in explaining that the arrangement committee some time prior to the convening of the conference had changed the name of the demonstration on September 10 which the conference was called to organize, from "Bread Parade" to "Relief March". The reason? Shades of Marx and Lenin! Said Winter: "This is not to be just another demonstration limited to our members and sympathizers shouting the same slogan for relief and unemployment insurance. It is to be a march of workers already struggling for relief. We are going to indicate that we are going to carry on concrete struggles in every fop house. . . . The words and music are only too familiar to our readers. Winter's little quirk did not make this sort of Stalinist pap any more palatable.

The tasks which Winter imposed on

Who Is Leading the Barbusse Congress

The window-front of the "World Congress Against War" organized by the Communist International, is composed of a number of shining lights from the literary and scientific world. The initiative for organizing an international gathering to mobilize the working class for a struggle against imperialist war has been handed by the Stalinists to a group of pacifists. Behind them, the Stalinist apparatus maneuvers with its opportunistic line of policy. The open Leninist fight against the war danger is replaced by a mélange of pacifism and confusion directed by individuals largely disconnected from the live stream of the class struggle who, moreover, in most

cases have in no way stood the test.

The Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky alone embodies the traditions of the revolutionary anti-war struggle. The pacifists of all shades embody the miserable tradition of treachery during the last war and optimum peddling to the people in between wars. A glance at the records and standpoints of some of the leading figures chosen by the Stalinist apparatus to lead and organize the struggle against war will indicate, first, what reliance can be placed by the proletariat in such a leadership, and second, what a sinister masquerade of opportunism the Stalinists themselves are engaged in.

The Case of H. G. Wells

Among the members of the "International Committee" of the Barbusse-Stalin-Rolland Committee, we find the name of H. G. Wells. Wells is a notorious petty bourgeois philistine who has covered himself with a thin socialistic veneer throughout his literary career. During the last World War, Wells was to be found on the side of British imperialism, adding his voice to the howl of the Jungoist mob that drove the proletariat into the trenches for the greater glory of the ruling class. An inkling of his position during those crucial days, an insight into the political and social outlook of this latter-day assistant of Stalinism, may be gained from the following excerpt from his article, "The Question At Issue", written at the height of the war:

"First let us deal with that postcard (on which, according to Wells, the gist of the war dispute could be written.—Ed.) and say what is the essential aim of the war, the aim to which all other aims are subsidiary. It is, we have heard repeated again and again by every statesman of importance in every allied country, to defeat and destroy military imperialism, to make the world safe forever against any such deliberate aggression as Germany prepared for forty years and brought to a climax when she crossed the Belgian frontier in 1914. We want to make anything of that kind on the part of Germany, or of any other power, henceforth impossible in this world. That is our great aim. Whatever other objects may be sought in this war, no responsible statesman dare claim them as anything but subsidiary to that aim; one can say in fact this is our sole aim, our other aims being but parts of it. Better that millions should die now, we declare, than that hundreds of millions still unborn should go on living, generation after generation, under the black tyranny of this imperialist threat.

Possibilities for Left Wing

The present stoppage contains tremendous possibilities for the Left wing, provided it develops into a serious strike. Will the party come to the aid of the Rank and File Committee with the support so essential at the moment?

The situation in the men's clothing industry is highly serious. The struggle there is no less important than it is elsewhere. Until now it has been the weakest point of the Left wing. The party, with its false tactics, bears a large measure of responsibility for the present situation. Will it apply the proper tactics to the very end, and help to build up a genuine Left wing movement in the A. C. W.? It now has the opportunity to do.

—ALBERT ORLAND.

The Opposition and N.Y. «United Front» Unemployment Confab

When Winter was through the floor was thrown open for discussion. The procedure was amazingly simple. The chairman announced that the first speaker would be comrade so and so from the Gold Dust Lodge. When the comrade was told the chairman informed us that the slip to get the floor was to hand a slip of paper bearing the name of the delegate and his organization—"the next speaker will be . . ."

It will help them nothing. From such bureaucratic stultification can come nothing but confusion. No serious worker can learn anything more about his problems from such spectacles, then he can from the Corpus Christi processions of the Roman Catholic Church. What the Stalinists must be made to realize is that the ideas of Marxian-Leninism cannot be stifled by bureaucratic machines in the Stalinist era any more than they were by the corrupt and degenerate social democratic bureaucracies in the days when the Leninist tactics of the Comintern under Lenin and Trotsky smashed their way through all obstacles.

We will yet throw down the wall that separates us from the party rank and file. We will, together with them, work out a genuine Leninist program for relief from the crisis. It will be a revolutionary program from which every vestige of opportunism will be rooted out.

Due to extreme technical difficulties of Young Spartacus, the youth organ of the Left Opposition, was compelled to omit its August issue. The next issue will of course appear in September. This will be the first issue of the 8-page *Young Spartacus*, and will appear with a new and more attractive mast head. Because of the doubling of the number of pages, new features and richer content, more and better articles are promised by its editorial committee. Bundle orders and subscriptions should be sent in immediately.

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T. S.

carrying out the plain implications of this war aim? Or are we to any extent muddling about with it in such a way as to confuse and disorganize our allies, weaken our internal will and strengthen the enemy?

"Now the plain meaning of this supreme declared war aim is that we are asking Germany to alter her ways. We are asking Germany to become a different Germany. Either Germany has to be utterly smashed up and destroyed or else Germany has to cease to be an aggressive military imperialism. . . .

"But do we as a nation stick closely to this clear and necessary, this only possible meaning of our declared war aim? That great, clear-minded leader among the Allies, that Englishman who more than any other single man speaks for the whole English-speaking and western-thinking community, President Wilson, has said definitely with this is his meaning. America, with him as her spokesman, is under no delusion; she is fighting consciously for a German revolution as the essential war aim." (New Republic, February 9, 1918.)

Isn't it quite clear that Wells is a logical choice for the leadership today in the struggle against war? Doesn't his whole record speak in his favor?

AY, to speak in favor of peace during times of peace—that costs nothing. Nobody is "in favor" of war during peace times. Even the most rabid militarist is usually to be found expressing his horror at war, his opposition to it. At the same time he systematically prepares the ground for imperialist war. The softest pacifist is always opposed to war in peace times. When it breaks out, his love for peace is so strong that he urges his fellow-countrymen to support the war of the fatherland in order that it may, under the leadership, be brought to a speedy conclusion at the end of which, isn't it logical?, peace may prevail again. Wells is one of these pacifists in "Reinkultur" as the Germans say—in a chemically pure state. He is the man to whom Stalin is sending the . . . the struggle against war.

The case of Rolland is somewhat different from that of most of the pacifist witch doctors who seek to exercise war by mystic incantations Rolland's sincerity and devotion to the cause of the undertakings is beyond question. His allegiance to the Soviet Union is not of that base metal whose counterfeit ring clanks from the speech of the fought-and-paid-for intellectual henchmen of Stalinism. During the World War, he opposed the hideous slaughter and fled chaurvinistic France to take refuge in Switzerland.

We have no reason to believe that Rolland, one of the really great intellectual spirits of our time, will ever be found fighting on the side of imperialism, or sink to the level of H. G. Wells and Upton Sinclair, his fellow-member on the "International Committee."

But Rolland is a pacifist, the most honest and sincere amongst them, but a pacifist nevertheless. His profound admiration for Lenin and the Bolshevik revolution is vitiated by his equally ardent admiration for Sun Yat Sen . . . Ghandi. Among these three contemporary figures Rolland gets himself hopelessly lost. He has a fatal inability to distinguish the yawning gap that divides the latter two from the great proletarian revolutionary tribunal. In a word, he is unable to distinguish between the treacherous morass of Ghandism and the eminence of Marxism. One cannot be a Ghandist or Sun Yat Sen for Asia and a Leninist for Europe. That impossible combination was attempted by Stalin and Bucharin all during the revolutionary upsurge in China in 1925-1927. The result is commonly known: the Chinese revolution was not only inundated in its own blood but in the war danger, particularly against the Soviet Union, was greatly accentuated. This dreadful experiment is a warning against itself.

"I say to the U. S. S. R. of Lenin!" writes Rolland, "and I say to the Asia of Sun Yat Sen and Ghandi: Brothers, count on me!" Lenin is a name which means the unrelenting revolutionary struggle of the exploited of the earth against the imperialist slavedrivers. Ghandi is a name which stands for the bartering of the interests of the oppressed masses to the imperialist overlord of the native colonial bourgeoisie. No man can stand for both Lenin and Ghandi.

Lenin means active, organized, militant resistance not only to war but to the whole bourgeoisie. Ghandi's non-resistance is the highest development of the practise of disarming the armies of the people in face of the imperialist forces armed to the teeth. The preaching of Leninism and Ghandism do not simply cancel each other; the latter includes the former.

The presentation of the leadership of a struggle against imperialist war to a man like Rolland, however eminent, is to build a movement on a slope at the end of which lies defeat.—S.

THE MILITANT
Entered as second class mail matter November 28, 1928, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the act of March 3, 1879.
Published weekly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 24 East 16th St., N. Y.
EDITORIAL BOARD
Martin Abern James P. Cannon
Max Shachtman Maurice Spector
Arno Swabeck
SATURDAY AUGUST 20, 1932
Vol. V, No. 34 (Whole No. 130)
Subscription rate: \$2.00 per year; for-
sign \$2.50. Five cents per copy.
Bundle rates, 3 cents per copy.

Pappas Appeals for a United Front Against Hitlerism in Germany

(Continued from page 1)

of restraining their followers from struggle and from unity with the Communists against the advances of the Brown Shirts.

Life itself has proved the best test of the policies. The Hitler party has continued to gain strength throughout Germany. From an insignificant group it has grown to the largest party in the country. The Communist party has also grown, but due to its mistakes, only very little in comparison with the possibilities offered by the situation. It has not been able to break the hold of the social democratic politicians over millions of socialist workers. And at the present moment of acute danger, our party offers no clear program of struggle that can unite the German masses, to sweep out of existence the Fascist gangs of petty bourgeois agents of German and world imperialism.

For a United Front

The situation cries aloud for action. What is imperative is that our German brother party adopt the policy of Lenin, the policy of the united front. Against the danger of Kornilov's putsch in 1917,

the Bolsheviks made a united front with the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries. By this means, Kornilov was crushed, the Mensheviks and S. R.s were weakened and the Bolsheviks enormously strengthened, and the door was opened directly for the revolutionary victory in October. The same problem confronts German Bolshevism today. The party there must make a radical and frank turn in its policy. It must make an open demand for a united front to the Social Democratic party, the socialist trade unions and the Reichsbanner—a united front to crush the Fascist monster, to stamp it out before it reaches power. A united proletarian front accomplishes this aim without great difficulty. The interests of the proletarian revolution, the fate of the Communist International, hang upon the achievement in the speediest possible time of this objective.

The defense of the Soviet Union depends directly upon the extermination of the Fascist hordes.

Comrades! Days count now where months counted before. We Communists in America have our part to play. We must help our German comrades tread the correct road. We must awaken the

American proletariat to their international duties just as we awakened them in the early days of the Russian Revolution. The party comrades here must raise the demand: an immediate discussion of the burning problems of the German situation in their units and in the trade unions. Civil war has broken out and we must act before it is too late!

Remember, comrades:
The victory of Fascism in Germany means a crushing defeat of the working class of the world and a direct threat to the life of the Soviet Union!

The victory of the proletariat of Germany over Fascism means opening of a new era of revolutionary struggles and triumphs throughout the entire world!

We still have time left to choose. The decision lies in the hands of our German brother party! We must help it make the correct decision. We must show our genuine solidarity with it in its hour of need—right now.

Fraternally,
(Signed) SEBASTIAN PAPPAS
690 Allerton Ave.,
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August 1, 1932.