

Miners Reply to Terror With Increased Militancy

(Continued from page 1)

bitter and bloody struggles. John L. Lewis, in cahoots with all the forces of reaction, was about to complete his life long ambition—the shackling of militant unionism in the coal mining industry. But the Illinois miners have hurled back in the teeth of the iron heel that they will take their union in their own hands and rebuild it nationally.

The twenty-nine demands that we presented to the coal operators as a basis for a new contract were flatly turned down by our officials. They answer our progressive demands by taking away from us the meager rights that we worked under prior to the beginning of the strike. We demanded the 6 hour day, our "leaders" sign a contract permitting the operators to work twelve. We demanded a 90c raise, our leaders cut our wages 18 to 35 per cent. Lewis says as consolation to the mine wage earners: "I am astounded that under the present conditions the coal operators can pay such high wages." Walker re-echoes: "One dollar now will buy more than any time since the war, and besides Illinois produces the best corn in the world. The best of foods are made from corn. The miners should not fear hunger."

This cynicism is almost openly telling the miners that they ought to take a greater wage cut than what the operators have agreed to. Walker's statement is as good as telling the miner of Illinois to build stalls. And even horses die from eating too much corn. These are the words of wisdom and consolation we get from our official staff, while they reap from \$15,000 to \$25,000 salaries per annum.

Fakery of the "Leaders"

The constitution of the United Mine Workers of America and the convention decisions call for a referendum vote on the part of the membership to decide the acceptance or rejection of the tentative proposals. This has never been carried out by the misleaders within our union. The first referendum rejected the wage cut and all the other inhuman impositions by an overwhelming majority of 15,000 votes. The returns of the second referendum were stolen by Hughes, vice-president of the district organization at the instigation of Walker and Lewis. Lewis and Walker then proclaimed a "state of emergency" and declared that a contract had been signed by them with the coal operators association. A copy of the contract has never been given to the membership for their consideration.

Reports leak out from the circle of the fakery and operators that the new contract calls for the operators to check off dues and assessments and to send them direct to Lewis at the International headquarters! A Pit Comintee member cannot be elected by the local union unless his candidacy is endorsed by John L. Lewis! Other enslaving clauses are contained in the contract, the membership is flatly refused the right to have a copy of the contract until they return to work!

These oppressive measures coupled with the many years of unemployment, part time work and a terrific speed up system, have left the miners of Illinois with but one thing to do and that is to FIGHT! And they are fighting now against the greatest combine that has ever openly come out against them. They have turned the battle from almost complete demoralization into victory that inspires the miners and workers of America to surge forward to militant action. The present rank and file opposition

movement of Illinois is a broad united front of all militant and progressive forces. Rank and File members of C. P., Communist League of America (Opposition), I. W. W., Socialist Labor Party, Socialist Party, C. P. L. A. and various independent groups have united with us for the common cause of fighting the immediate struggle before us. The official Communist party is the only organization that thus far has attacked our leadership and the movement. We appeal to the party members to change this false course and fall in line with this movement that will defeat the coal operators and their agents. We plead for their solidarity at a time when our men are being shot down, hounded and jailed.

Basis of the Battle

We have centered our struggle against the coal operators on this basis:

1. We demand the six hour day and five day week.
2. Equalization of all work.
3. No discrimination on account of age or youth.
4. No reduction in pay.
5. Abolition of the docking clause.
6. More air in the mines.
7. Unemployment insurance.
8. The operators are to deal with the rank and file leaders. The old leaders are no longer our representatives.
9. No victimization. All militant miners that have been fined for their Union activities to be reinstated to their jobs.

We have indicated our officials on five basic counts and repudiate them, barring them from office forever for:

1. Refusing to comply with the majority decision of the membership.
2. Discrimination against foreign born miners.
3. Use of gangsters and all agencies of the law against members of our union.
4. Robbing tally sheets of referendum vote.
5. Openly ally themselves with the coal operators and violating the oath of obligation and the constitution of the United Mine Workers of America.

Miners and workers of America! We ask for your solidarity in our fight. We ask you not to do the same thing as was done in the Mooney case, when Tom asked all progressive fighting labor organizations to close their ranks in the fight for his release. We are fighting a struggle for the entire American working class. Some of our comrades have already fallen, more will fall. But no prison bars, no terrorism, no gunman's bullets will stop the miners on their onward march to rehabilitation—to success—to victory.

With your solidarity, with your collective intelligence and understanding, with your undaunted determination we will inevitably march forward to the final victory that will place the control of production and distribution in the hands of the toilers of the world.

Come to our defense and aid quickly! —GERMINAL.

READ THE MILITANT

THE MILITANT will carry week by week a survey of the great struggle the Illinois miners are fighting against the terror and oppression of the coal operators and their agents.

From the front, the Left Oppositionists will write as they fight. Besides the events week by week, healthy analytical discussion and the correct Leninist course will be brought forcefully to all militants who read our official organ.

SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

The «Daily Worker» and the Miners' Strike

The official Communist party, due to the criminally false policies which its leadership has attempted to foist upon the Illinois miners over a period of time, today finds itself practically isolated from the strike movement. To make up for this, the incompetent bureaucrats resort to the vilest, insinuations and slander against such sterling militants heading this gigantic scrap as Gerry Allard, throwing in other leaders of this splendid movement for good measure. Example 1: The «Daily Worker» of August 19:

"There are about 5,000 working in the whole state, mainly in Taylorville, West Frankfort, Zeigler and Johnston City. West Frankfort, Zeigler and Johnston City are the home towns of Gerry Allard, the Trotskyite, and the Murray leaders, Ansbury and Jack Allen."—Yes, the citadel of world imperialism, Wall St. is located in Wall St., the home town of the Fosters and Bowders and all the other raving Amterls.

Example 2. The Daily Worker of Aug. 21. An account of the Bend mass meeting . . . "The Musteite Ansbury and the Trotskyite Gerry Allard were sharply criticized for their program . . . Heresy brought before the meeting instead the Rank and File Opposition program . . . Allard, an expelled Communist Party member then demagogically attacked Heresy as a Communist." These Stalinist scrievners know that they are brazen liars. They know only too well the fighting qualities, the abilities as a leader and the actual leadership of Allard in this as well as in previous battles which have earned for this young militant the deep respect and confidence of the thousands of Illinois coal miners. The miners of Illinois are already giving the proper answer to the Stalinist slanders in their splendid fight in their sterling solidarity with Allard and the others.

IN OUR NEXT ISSUE

Two New Articles by Leon Trotsky:
1. Alliance or Struggle Between Bourgeoisie and Proletariat?
2. Socialism, Petty Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.

Both highly actual, dealing with latest development in Germany.

My Fallen Comrade—Joe Colbert, by Gerry Allard, a tribute to a Fellow Fighter by one of the revolutionary leaders of the striking Illinois miners.
Lessons of the N. Y. Furriers' Strike.

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By N. Lenin

Containing Lenin's famous APRIL THESIS with which, in comrade Trotsky's phrase, the Bolshevik party was rearmed; the Thesis submitted by Lenin to the First Congress of the Comintern at Moscow, March 2-26, 1919, under the title, **BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT; A LESSON ON TACTICS;** and other short pieces. Paper cover—82 pages; Limited number on hand.

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«Hoover Cities» -- An American Idyll of 1932

Every industrial city in the United States today has its "Hooverville". Patriotic citizens consider them blights and attempt to disperse them or to cover them up. In each city, provided you look, you will find them . . . under bridges, on vacant dumps, near garbage plants. . . In St. Louis, for example, there are several under the great Mississippi span. In Chicago, they are scattered, usually on condemned city property; Akron and Cleveland have theirs on the outskirts; Minneapolis on the river "cliffs". And so on.

They are standing condemnations of the capitalist system, and it is not surprising that social workers and lackeys of big business studiously avoid this aspect of human degradation. For that reason serious students of American conditions should analyse this phenomenon from the standpoint of a deceased eruption on the surface of capitalist economy.

On last observation, they appear to be glorified "jungles", spots every town in the country has them—where migratory workers hide improvised cooking equipment. Closer inspection reveals a totally different purpose and mood. The jungle spirit is carefree, transient, on the go; here, however, you find the haggard, despairing psychology of men driven to the last extreme, their spirits at the breaking point.

What Capitalism Has In Store for Us If the readers of THE MILITANT would really like to see a typical American Hooverville, if they are not already in one—let them go down to Youngstown, in the heart of America's steel industry. There, on the 5 or 6 acres behind the municipal incinerator plant, they will see in brutal outline, the squalor and destitution resulting from the capitalist mode of production. Here is a picture of what capitalism has in store for us when we are no longer necessary for profit making.

Upward of 1900 shacks, huts or shelters hastily constructed from radio containers, boxes, crates, etc., some just large enough for a man to crawl into out of the weather, some buried in holes in the ground, on property that has for years been the dumping ground of filth, are the homes of several hundred men, who, having spent the best years of their lives in the steel mills and coal mines of Ohio and Pennsylvania, are now literally thrown on the garbage heap to starve, or—to claw over the miserable refuse collected each morning by the City Sanitary Department. You will not believe it till you see it. Restaurant cast-offs make the choicest morsels. The alternative is the notorious "soup line." The men prefer to mull over garbage than to expose themselves to the miserable soup. It is almost impossible to mis-gar food in Youngstown because of the large numbers of the hungry.

The writer personally interviewed a number of these men. It was easy to see that they are not of the hobo type. Their calloused hands and powerful frames are not characteristic of the lumpenproletariat. They are men who have spent 10, 20 and 30 years of their lives in the steel mills, in the coal mines, in the rubber mills of Akron and on the Great Lakes traffic. They are men who have learned the industry from the bottom. They know steel, how it is made, how coal is mined, all about rubber, railroads, shipping. Step by step the ruthless plutocracy of Steel has crushed them with the brutal club of starvation and exposure. Recently they built a

sign over the huts with this legend: **HOOVER CITY.** The local bourgeoisie considered this a dangerous affront to their rule. And rightly so. They swooped down on them with a threat that they would be driven off even this property, and they demonstratively destroyed the sign.

II.

The Steel industry is shot to hell. Never operating at more than 85% of capacity at the peak of prosperity, it now functions at 10% or less. In Youngstown, the Brier Hills Mills, subdivision of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube, consisting of two blast and 12 open hearth furnaces, closed down completely in April. Carnegie steel has been working two to four days a week since 1929 and closed down June 24th for good. Only the Republic Steel seems to be able to eke out one or two days a week, and that only in some departments. Others are closed down completely.

Less than 15% of the workers in the entire steel industry are now employed. Those still working part time have been cut 10% in October 1931 and again 15% on May 15 of this year. As if that were not enough, the vicious "deductions" system assails every pay envelope. These are taken out of the "workers" wages without his consent. First, Life Insurance (only for period of employment, on the "group" basis) then, Community Chest ("make the workers pay their own damn relief!") then, Unemployment Relief (which means nothing to those per- uncommonly laid off). It is therefore not uncommon to see pay envelopes of 50c and 75c for the week. This will serve to indicate how near to "Hoover City" even the employed workers are.

It would seem as though there is absolutely no way of housing these unemployed workers except in crates and filth. It would seem as though the housing problem is insoluble. Still there are more empty houses and buildings in Youngstown today than there have ever been in its entire history. Those that are occupied hardly yield rent. Large sections of the population have simply ceased paying rent. Landlords encourage the better class of tenants to remain or to move in on the prospect of future rent—or at least to protect the property from vandalism done to plumbing and fixtures. Most of the buildings have fallen into the hands of the bankers, who can't take care of their property themselves. Only under capitalism is the housing problem insoluble.

In the poorer sections, evictions go on apace. Gas and electricity are promptly shut off. City water was cut off 4,000 families in the middle of June. Of the 50,000 workers in the city of Youngstown, approximately 42,000 are on the relief list and these have been officially warned by the city fathers that there will be no more relief after July. Will these workers be cast into "Hoover City"? Can't the bankers, bloated with wealth, see the handwriting on the wall, the spectre of Communism embracing these destitute workers? Will they not understand that this misery marks the decay of capitalism at the end of their system?

The Creed of Capitalism

I think not. As a class they are too selfish, too stupid. Engels has magnificently described their attitude in his "Conditions of the Working Class in England in 1844." He says: "I have never seen a class so deeply demoralized, so inebriated by selfishness, so corroded within, so incapable of progress, as the English bourgeoisie . . . For it nothing exists in the world, except for the sake of money, itself not excluded. It knows no bliss save that of rapid gain, no pain save that of losing gold. In the presence of this avarice and lust of gain it is not possible for a single human sentiment or opinion to remain untainted . . . It is utterly indifferent to the bourgeoisie whether his workmen starve or not, if only he makes money. All the conditions of life are measured by money, and what brings no money is nonsense, unpractical, idealistic bosh. Hence, political Economy, the Science of Wealth, is the favorite study of these bartering Jews. The relation of the manufacturer to his operatives has nothing human in it . . . He could reach his highest perfection in a wholly unorganized anarchic society where each might exploit the other to his heart's content. Since, however, the bourgeoisie cannot dispense with government, but must have it to hold the equally indispensable proletariat in check, it turns the power of government against the proletariat and keeps out of its way as far as possible."

The class interests of the bourgeoisie are identical the world over, and this description is particularly applicable to the American ruling class. One can find no better characterization of the Capitalist attitude towards relief and charity than the following remarks of Engels in the same book:

"Philanthropic institutions, forsooth: As though you rendered the proletarians a service, first sucking out their very life blood, and then practising your self-complacent, Pharisaeic philanthropy upon them, placing yourselves before the world as mighty benefactors of humanity when you give back to the plundered victims the hundredth part of what belongs to them!"

—CARL COWL.

READ THE DECLARATION OF THE BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS (LEFT OPPOSITION OF THE COMINTERN) TO THE WORLD ANTI-WAR CONGRESS AT AMSTERDAM ON PAGE FOUR.

N.Y. PICNIC

Sunday, September 11th
at
Tibbets Brook Park, Plot 8
Take I. R. T. Woodlawn-Jerome
train to last stop. Street cars
or bus to park.
SPECIAL:
OPEN AIR BANQUET
(In case of rain we will hold
banquet at 84 East 10th St.)

Lovestonites Play Lackies in Doll Strike

The Doll and Toy Workers Union have called a strike. About one third of the workers in New York, the center of the industry, have answered the call. They are fighting for a 35% increase in pay a 44 hour week, recognition of the union and other important demands.

The success of the strike depends upon the extension of the strike, upon mass picketing. In order to close all the factories now when the busy season starts. Negotiations can only be effective upon this basis. To win the strike we must first obtain a shutdown in the decisive section of the industry and bring these workers into the union. At this stage of the struggle the members must see that the union spends less time negotiating and running after individual bosses, and more time to close all the factories with mass picketing.

Kowtow to A. F. L. Fakers—Prevent Left from Speaking

The Union is at present independent. The officials are negotiating with the A. F. L. Within the union there are many class conscious workers and some Lovestonites such as Rosen and Ravitch who have influence. On the picket lines, members of the Left Opposition have been fighting to extend the strike.

The strike meetings are well attended and have been addressed by Trezen from the anarchists, Thomas from the socialists, and Gitlow from the Lovestonites who was introduced as a "Labor Leader". Members of the picket committee and officials of the union were in favor of having Hugo Oehler from the Communist League of America speak to the strikers, but found Ravitch and other Lovestonites when this they objected and used their influence to prevent Oehler from getting the floor. The Lovestonites believe it is alright for socialists and anarchists to speak but not for the Left Opposition.

After we were refused the floor, Marks of the A. F. L. spoke for affiliation and practically took charge. He informed strikers that the sub-contractors carry A. F. L. cards and are members of the Communists. The Lovestonites did not take the floor and oppose his line. They were content to serve to keep Communist speakers off the platform when they knew that Marks of the A. F. L. was on hand. For this capitulation the Lovestonites were later rewarded by Marks with a curt "Shut Up"—the reward of lackeys.

Our Successful Anti-War Meet In New York

On August 17, the Communist League of America held an Anti-War meeting at the Stuyvesant Casino where the delegates from the New York Anti-War Congress spoke to a packed hall of over 200 workers. Many party members attended, to hear the suppressed speeches of the Left Opposition. The speakers presented the position of Leninism and contrasted it to the pacifist position and the pacifist resolution of the Stalinite apparatus supported at the New York Conference. An analysis of the world conditions, how the Communist must fight against war and how the workers can defend the Soviet Union was presented.

It can be said without fear of contradiction that this meeting has been the only Anti-War meeting held in New York in the present campaign organized around the World Anti War Congress that presented the Marxist position on Imperialist Wars and Civil Wars. The series of meetings held throughout District Two of the party, primarily by auxiliary organizations and the F. S. U. were a disgrace to the Communist movement. All of these Stalinite meetings, decorated with liberals presented, the line as outlined in the suppressed Stalinite document published in this issue of THE MILITANT. In contrast to this pacifist line our meeting held to the line of the Bolshevik-Leninist resolution.

A number of questions followed the meeting, enabling the speakers to elaborate on the Marxist position on War. One worker who was a delegate to the Anti-War Conference was allowed the floor to defend the Stalinite position. It is unfortunate that the meeting did not have more such workers to "defend" the Stalinite line, because this worker as well as the audience left the meeting with a new understanding of the position of the Left Opposition.

ATTENTION!!!

Entertainment and Dance
Given by the
SPARTACUS YOUTH CLUB
Saturday, September 3rd, at
84 East 10th Street, N. Y.
Refreshments — Admission 25c

A SUPPRESSED STALINIST DOCUMENT EXPOSED!

We publish below a suppressed Stalinist document, it is the resolution that was passed by the New York Anti-War Conference on August 8, 1932 at the Labor Temple. This is the resolution Ogin, Markoff, Brodsky and the other Stalinist leaders present counterposed to the Leninist resolution of the Left Opposition delegates, which they helped to defeat.

This shameful pacifist document, entirely imbued with the spirit of Holland, Barbusse, Arthur Garfield Hayes and the other petty bourgeois "friends of the Soviet Union" enjoyed the official support of representatives of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.:

Nowhere in the Stalinist resolution is the capitalist class character of imperialist war signified, nowhere is any distinction drawn between revolutionary wars of emancipation and the capitalist wars of oppression. The approach to the war question is thoroughly petty bourgeois humanitarian, has nothing whatever to do with the Marxist class struggle interpretation of war.

Nowhere is the approach to the war danger made from the angle of the class struggle, from the point of view of the revolutionary working class. Instead, the approach is to "all sincere anti-war forces"—the approach of the impotent pacifists, of The Nation, of the New Republic.

Nowhere does it take up the burning war danger of the moment—the threat of Fascism in Germany.

Nowhere is there a bold enunciation of our own concrete task—the fight against American imperialism.

Nowhere is the proletarian anti-war slogan of Lenin—"Turn Imperialist War into Civil War"—even given mention! Instead, the Stalinist resolution, "answering the call of Romain Rolland"—to "all peoples (sic) and all classes"—"declares its whole-hearted support" of the Rolland-Wholesale congress with all their vagueness, with all their pacifist illusions, with all their confusionist aims.

Yes, this is the view that was opposed by the Stalinist henchmen to the Leninist views of the Left Opposition. Our campaign for a Marxist struggle against war has struck the Stalinist regime to its petriod core. The bureaucracy has become frightened. That is why they are suppressing their own wretched, pacifist resolution, that is why they are initiating a campaign of physical terror against

the Left Opposition to cover up their own hideous, opportunist face.

The resolution printed below has never appeared in print before. The Daily Worker does not dare publish it! The Stalinist centrists do not dare defend their views before the onslaught of our Leninist criticism!

Communist workers! Read this document carefully. Judge between the pacifist

Resolution Submitted by the American Comm. for the World Congress against War

War is no longer merely a threat. Today war is raging in the far East. Japanese imperialism has invaded China, has slaughtered thousands of helpless women, children and old people and forced its government on Manchuria in order to make this a jumping-off place for a war against the S. U.—a war which cannot be confined to the Far East, that will inevitably lead to a world war.

In the last World War workers and farmers were sent to the battlefields to slaughter and be slaughtered. They were told they must fight to make the world safe for democracy. This war took twelve million lives and left 22 million wounded and permanently maimed.

The League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact, which are supposed to peacefully settle disputes between the nations, proved in practice to be the smoke screen behind which Japanese imperialism attacked on the Chinese people and was being carried on. This same "peace" body turned down the proposal of the Soviet Government for complete disarmament of nations, the only sincere peace proposal to be offered by any government. Not only this, but practically all the member nations of the League of Nations, as well as the U. S., are today shipping munitions, gas bombs, and chemicals to arm Japan in its war on China.

The great powers and their vassal

states are armed to the teeth. War budgets are mounting sky-high. While 40,000,000 workers are unemployed and starving in Europe and America while most other industries are at a standstill, munition factories are increasing their production schedules and rapidly reaching their full capacity. World imperialism, thru its statesmen, profiters and politicians, is offering another war as a way out of the present economic crisis.

In the next year the wholesale slaughter will not be confined to the men at the front. Entire civilian populations will be wiped out by poison gases and disease germs spread over whole cities by death-dealing planes.

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All this will be done under some new battery, as false as the least one. "To make the world safe for democracy"; again we will be called upon to produce, load and ship munitions, to fight in defense of the profits of the rich, to be slaughtered in order that a few profiteers and bankers may increase their ill-gotten gains.

Answering the call of Romain Rolland and the American Committee for the World Congress against war, be it

RESOLVED, that this Anti-War Conference, representing meeting in session at Labor Temple, N. Y., on August 8th, 1932, declares its whole-hearted support of the World Congress Against War. Be it further

RESOLVED, that we urge the World Congress to adopt a program of action that will unite all sincere anti-war forces in the struggle against the growing war threat on Soviet Russia. Be it further

RESOLVED, that we call upon the entire working class to halt the manufacture and transport of war munitions against the Chinese people and the Soviet Union. Be it further

RESOLVED, that we call upon all organizations to intensify their anti-war activities, to give full publicity to the work of the World Congress, and send resolutions of support and greetings thereto.