

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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With the Embattled Miners

Massacre Striking Miners in Franklin County, Illinois

The Coal Diggers Regather Their Forces After the Slaughter

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., August 25: (Springfield)

Six thousand miners and families, in six thousand cars and trucks, forming an army eighty miles long, were ambushed and brutally attacked at the Franklin County border. The trek-worn miners were about to arrive at their destination, when hired killers of the coal operators opened at 8 P. M. Wednesday, August 24, 1932. From their ambush of bushes and weeds, the murderers permitted some five hundred cars to enter the county and without warning opened fire with machine guns, rifles, shot guns and pistols.

As the miners scattered, caught off guard, terror-stricken women and children wounded by their men sprawled on the hard roads and ditches amidst splattered glass off from automobiles. The killers, provided with torches, ignited gasoline, burning up cars, truck-loads of food and First Aid ambulances. The killers singled out lost miners, they pounced on them and never stopped beating them with pistol and rifle butts until the miners fell completely unconscious.

About one hundred and fifty men, women and children were shot down. The number of slain is undetermined as yet. The miners came peacefully and unarmed. They marched right into the jaws of death, only being able to resist with bare hands.

The caravan leading the huge army was stopped all along the road. The strategy of the state forces was to trap the armies' arrival in Southern Illinois by night-fall so they could lead them to slaughter.

At Pickneyville we were stopped for three hours, finally we were permitted to pass through. We were then seventeen miles from Darnell where all preparations were made for camp. Our board of strategy stopped at Du Quoin for a conference. This was five miles from our destination. Our army proceeded as per instructions to pitch camp at designated place. Arriving two miles from Darnell, our vanguard was forced by several hundred deputies, at the point of machine guns, to move on to Franklin County. Our vanguard hesitated, but a few slugs and cocked triggers forced our vanguard to move Eastward and there lay the killers in weeds and brush—only eight miles off. The state patrolmen and deputy sheriffs of Perry County brazenly forced our peaceful army into the slaughter.

We gave definite instructions to camp at Darnell in Jackson County for the night, then to walk in a body across the border to Franklin County. Two of the vanguard members who got away with minor injuries reported they were forced to traverse Franklin County at the point of machine guns and were even escorted almost to the nest of the murderers.

The army retreated to Coulterville and Pickneyville, twenty miles Northwest. To what extent the army has held its forces is unknown as yet. There are three camps, twenty thousand miners are camped in one woods.

We used airplanes this morning. The Hunter Brothers of Sparta, endurance flyer flew their planes for our cause. Our planes were spotted immediately by Scott Field Scouts but all the damage they did was to give dirty looks and circle us. We dropped thousands of leaflets on Franklin County miners early in the morning. The miners greeted our leaders with waving of hederchiefs and caps. The leaflets called on the Franklin miners to meet their brothers at the County line.

Several miners in this territory went down today. No reports from Franklin County today yet. Martial law by deputies. Miners' meetings barred by statement of Sheriff and Lewis headquarters.

Status of Strike

- Sub District No. 1.....100% out (Pekin-La Salle)
- Sub District No. 2.....100% out (Peoria)
- Sub District No. 3..... 75% out (Danville)
- Sub District No. 4.....100% out

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.)

The Stalinist Bureaucrats Back Out On Murder Frame-Up Hearing

To date, the Stalinist leadership of the official party has not yet replied to our challenge for an open hearing on the framed up murder charges they directed against us in the Daily Worker last week. They have contented themselves with exploiting the tragic deaths of the workers Semen and Krasniuk in a mouth to mouth campaign of incitement against the Left Opposition.

Bureaucrats Retreat
In their public press, the bureaucrats have been forced to retreat all along the line. The Daily Worker and the Freiheit, with venomous lynch propaganda against the Communist League, have since hushed up the affair entirely. Not a single statement has issued forth from the responsible organs of the official party, not one editorial comment stating publicly what the attitude of the central leadership itself is on the subject. The cowardly Stalinist benchmen have deemed it safer to hide behind surreptitious insinuations in the guise of "news articles".

Faced with the wide-spread disapproval of the Communist rank and file, the Central apparatus of the party is swallowing its words, covering up the traces of its disgraceful pogrom tactics against the Bolshevik-Leninists. In leaflets published since the provocative articles in the Daily, the Stalinists no longer refer to the "Trotskyists" as those responsible

for the deaths of the two workers, but more vaguely and—more safely, to "disruptive elements expelled from the Communist party". Replying to a press release issued by Gitlow for the Lovestone group on the affair in the question, the Freiheit restricts its editorial remarks exclusively to an attack against the Right whingers and does not even once make reference to the Left Opposition! The pressure of the outraged party ranks has made itself felt. The dastardly scheme of the bureaucrats has suffered shipwreck.

Must Be Brought to Account

But the spokesmen of Stalinism must not be allowed to retreat in silence. They have got to be made to face the working class openly for an accounting. Their wretched policy of disrupting working class meetings of employing violence in the dispute with the Leninist Opposition has already by their own admissions (see the Daily Worker of Saturday, August 27) led to a general attack by the city authorities upon all Communist meetings. The rude tactics of Stalinism play into the hands of the enemy.

Communist workers, demand that the leadership of the official party bring its shameful accusations against the Left Opposition before a public hearing! Demand that they face a working class tribunal.

(See Page Four for party members' reactions to the Frame-Up)

Fascists Waiting, Ready to Strike

Clara Zetkin Calls For International Solidarity Against Fascism

The bourgeois and the socialist press,

in commenting upon the breaking-up of the negotiations between the Hindenburg-Papen regime and Hitler, has generally spoken of a set-back for the latter. Nothing is further from the truth. What is actually evident from the turn events have taken in German politics of recent days, is the fact that a part of the big bourgeoisie, which generally fears the expenses and disturbances and instability of a Fascist regime, is content for the time being to play another card. It is their aim to see if it is not possible to exploit the deadlock between Fascism and the working class on the arena of popular sentiment for the purpose of entrenching a less expensive and more efficient dictatorship—the Junker government of Schleicher-Papen.

That the Nazis have not been defeated is evident from the extreme caution and cowardice with which the Reich's government is treating the Fascist assassins of the Communist worker Pietzuck, a case which has rocked the whole nation with its repercussions. In spite of its emergency decree covering "political excesses" with special "Schnellgerichte"—courts of extraordinary, speedy action—the murderers of the Communist worker still remain without a trial, government action is being delayed notwithstanding the popular indignation aroused by the incident.

Attitude of Hitlerism

Nor are the Hitlerites themselves unconscious of their position. Immediately after the rupture in the negotiations, the Fascist Goebbels wrote in the Berlin organ of National-Socialism, *Der Angriff*: "A dictatorship against the whole country is impossible in the long run, no matter how many bayonets one has at his disposal. We have no intention of burying out our plans. At any rate, we National Socialists would be least of all inclined to shed tears over the shipwreck of the negotiations. What has been denied us last Saturday, will perhaps in the very near future be laid before us peacefully. Then it will be up to us to post conditions."

The Fascists are quite conscious that they are the indispensable arm of big capital, that they control its only base of operations in the broad masses of the people for the purpose of the capitalist solution of the sharp economic and political crisis. They know that sooner or later, the big financiers will have to resort to their petty bourgeois battalions to stem the tide of working class resistance against their attempts to "solve" the crisis by the drastic reduction of the standards of living of the workers, by the strangulation of the proletarian vanguard. They know and they are aware that their masters know, that the regular army of 100,000 alone will not suffice for this purpose. The policy of the Fascist is—the policy of watchful waiting. The danger of the Fascist coup d'Etat has not been decreased by one iota.

Calls for International Solidarity

At the opening of the Reichstag, Clara Zetkin, speaking in the name of Communism, called for the formation of the extra-parliamentary united front of the working class "without distinctions of party, etc.", and for demonstrations of solidarity with the German proletariat on the part of the international working class. Yes, the formation of the extra-parliamentary united front is the only method of saving the German workers and workers' Russia from a fearful catastrophe. But it is not enough to talk about it, to veer around helplessly by successive turns at "united fronts from below" and "with the lower tops" as the Stalinist leadership of the C. P. G. has been doing.

International solidarity with the German workers in their bitter struggle—that is the utmost task of the hour. But for the present the foremost duty of this international solidarity is: to bring pressure upon the German party to adopt the Leninist united front, to establish the proletarian front by putting the lethargic and treacherous social democracy to the test. Workers, Communists, answer the call for international solidarity with the German proletariat by demanding within the party and the working class organizations the adoption of the Leninist line of the Left Opposition.

Youth Hold Anti-War Meeting

September marks the eighteenth anniversary of the celebration of the first International Youth Day as the day of struggle against capitalist war and militarism. When the Berne conference of the International Union of Socialist Youth organizations held in 1915, sent out the call to demonstrate on this day under the slogan of "war against war", it set aside, an international holiday of the working youth that has grown larger and stronger every year.

The year 1932 is no exception. The danger of war exists in reality. The world is an armed camp, while the burden of this huge militarization falls upon the shoulders of the working class, especially upon the broad mass of young workers. The demonstration this year must be larger than ever before.

As part of the general participation in International Youth Day, the Young Spartacus Club of New York is holding an open meeting. This meeting will discuss the various phases of the history of the International Youth Day and the struggles of the youth of the entire world. Comrades Joe Carter and Albert Glotzer will be the speakers, and Manny Garrett, the chairman. The meeting will be held at the Stuyvesant Casino, 2nd Ave., and 9th Street, on Sunday, September 4th, at 8 P. M. Admission is free.

The Political Programs of the Petty Bourgeoisie

by LEON TROTSKY

Any serious analysis of the political situation must take as its point of departure the relationship between the three classes: the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie (including the peasantry) and the proletariat.

The economically powerful big bourgeoisie, in itself, represents an infinitesimal minority of the nation. To enforce its domination, it must ensure a definite relationship with the petty bourgeoisie and through its mediation, with the proletariat.

To understand the dialectic of the relationship between the three classes, we must differentiate three historical stages: at the dawn of capitalist development, when the bourgeoisie required revolutionary methods to resolve its tasks; in the period of bloom and maturation of the capitalist regime, when the bourgeoisie endowed its domination with orderly, pacific, conservative, democratic forms; finally, at the decline of capitalism, when the bourgeoisie is forced to resort to methods of civil war against the proletariat to protect its right of exploitation.

THE POLITICAL PROGRAMS OF THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE
The political programs characteristic of these three stages: *Jacobinism*, *reformist democracy* (social democracy included) and *Fascism* are basically programs of petty bourgeois currents. This fact alone, more than anything else, shows of what tremendous—rather, of what decisive, importance the self-determination of the petty bourgeois masses of the people is for the whole fate of bourgeois society.

Nevertheless, the relationship between the bourgeoisie and its basic social support, the petty bourgeoisie, does not at all rest upon reciprocal confidence and pacific collaboration. In its mass, the petty bourgeoisie is an exploited and disfranchised class. It regards the bourgeoisie with envy and often with hatred. The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, while utilizing the support of the petty bourgeoisie, distrusts the latter, for it very correctly fears its tendency to break down the barriers set up for it from above.

While they were laying out and clearing the road for bourgeois development, the Jacobins engaged, at every step, in sharp clashes with the bourgeoisie. They served it in intransigent struggle against it. After they had culminated their limited historical rôle, the Jacobins fell, for the domination of capital was predestined.

For a whole series of stages, the bourgeoisie entrenched its power under the form of parliamentary democracy. Even then, not peacefully and not voluntarily. The bourgeoisie was mortally afraid of universal suffrage. But in the last instance, it succeeded, with the aid of a combination of violent measures and concessions, of privations and reforms, to subordinate within the framework of formal democracy, not only the petty bourgeoisie, but in considerable measure also the proletariat, by means of the new petty bourgeoisie—the labor aristocracy. In August 1914 the imperialist bourgeoisie was able, with the means of parliamentary democracy, to lead millions of workers and peasants into the war.

(Continued on page 4)

«Farmers Holiday» in Iowa

A New and Militant Type of Middle Class Revolt

The strike of the farmers in Sioux City has spread to other parts of the state, of Iowa and Indiana, and into nearby states. Truck gardeners and dairy farmers have joined the movement and threaten the law and order of the authorities. Minneapolis reports show the strike has reached the Northwest. This new strike action of this section of the petty bourgeois indicates the deep changes the agriculture of the United States is undergoing.

The reduction of wholesale food prices, the bosses' hold on the farms and the reduction of the purchasing power of the workers has upset the standards of the rich farm regions which were able to survive the constant agrarian crisis up to the present. In Sioux City and Council Bluffs, Iowa a higher plane of the struggle has been reached. Mass picketing, fights, and clashes with scabs and authorities are reported daily. In Council Bluffs the striking farmers marched upon the jail and forced the authorities to release 60 striking farmers. All reports indicate the strike is spreading.

Press reports from western papers show that in spite of minor ebbs and flows, the farmers revolt against conditions is growing. The striking workers are because now the striking farmers have joined them as allies in the struggle against the financiers and their henchman.

August 22, the striking farmers stopped two trains enroute to Sioux City with livestock and milk. 400 farmers

Significance of Farm Strike

What significance has the farmers strike? What is the relation the farmers strike has to the workers' struggles? A survey of this struggle is essential to prevent the vanguard from being shifted into opportunist channels by Stalinism

(Continued on page 2)

APPEAL FOR FUNDS!

Last week we informed you of the financial emergency. We told you how the Stalinists concocted the frame-up against us in an attempt to rebuild the crumbling walls between our comrades and the Communist workers in the party. Now the capitalist and socialist press have picked up the Stalinist frame-up against us and are using it against the whole Communist movement and particularly against the Left Opposition.

The emergency for the Militant is not over. The financial condition calls for renewed effort on the part of the Militant supporters.

In spite of the increase in members and sympathizers, the mass unemployed and the low wages reduce considerably the financial returns from our expanding activity. The Militant is the main organ in America that upholds the banner of the Bolshevik-Leninists in theory and action. The suspension of The Militant, its delay, like last week, when the press broke down, or the retreat to a semi-monthly would be a blow to the whole international Communist movement. Unless we are able to meet the present difficult situation our press and movement will suffer. Collect funds for the Militant from your fellow workers! Readers of The Militant, arrange affairs for The Militant, picnics, house parties, etc. Rush all funds to THE MILITANT, 84 East 10th Street, New York City.

Strike in Lancashire Mills

Big Wave of Struggle of British Workers Rising

The cotton and textile mills in Lancashire district, have come to a virtual standstill. More than 135,000 workingmen and women engaged in the British Textile industry have downed tools in response to a strike call and practically paralyzed one of the mainstays of the economic life of Great Britain. The capitalist press states that the scope of the strike will extend so far as to effect the existence of more than 10,000,000 people whose life depends upon the purchasing power of the textile operatives. British capitalism, astounded at the force of this general strike is moving all its power and influence to corral "public opinion", to discredit the strike and is prepared to move in with more decisive measures if necessary.

The purpose of the strike is ostensibly the re-instatement of 3,000 union members who struck while the misleaders of the British textile workers were conducting negotiations with the manufacturers who had abrogated the general agreement, concerning wages, hours and conditions. The parleys came to a standstill but nothing was done about the re-employment of these three thousand workers who placed no trust in their perfidious leaders. We learn, however, although it is but vaguely stated, that there is also the question of a 10% wage cut. The slick British labor fakers would never permit an official strike in sympathy with members that have flaunted their treacherous decisions.

In the recent period there has been more than one wage cut imposed upon the textile operatives, bringing their living conditions to the rock bottom level. The British capitalists are desperately trying to rationalize their industry—the expense of the workers—and they have brought all their trusties into action, the "labor government", the labor orders of the Hicks, Cline stripe, in order to prime themselves for an attack on the world market.

Only by dumping these fakers who the strike make any progress whatsoever. The British textile strike is one of the big battles that is shaking the capitalist world today. The opportunities for Communism are mounting by leaps and bounds. More power to the Lancashire!