

New Coal Miners' Union Organized

(Continued from page 1)

file will preserve the last basis of unionism in the bituminous fields.

In our district no agitation is necessary to convey to the membership the savagery, the terrorism and murder that have prevailed, as the methods of our high salaried officials in the attempt to force a wage cut, and sacrifice every important condition ever derived thru long years of bitter struggle.

Our international and district officials stand indicted on the following counts in direct violation of the oath of obligation, and the constitution of the U. M. W. of A.:

1. Refusal to adhere to the majority decision of the membership.
2. Refusal to carry out the mandates of the district convention.
3. Discrimination against foreign born members of our Union.
4. The outright robbery of the referendum vote on the Wage Scale.
5. Use of gangsters, police, sheriffs, state highway patrolmen, and all agencies of force and oppression, in murdering and terrorizing loyal members of U. M. W. of A.

Every method of discussion and persuasion has been exhausted in our honorable struggle to present our grievances within the organization.

We have petitioned for a special district convention, we have used every constitutional method to eradicate the destructive forces within our union. The answer of our officials has been more terror-fallings-clubbings-intimidation and wholesale expulsions of the true fighters that were the backbone of our organization. Having exhausted every method of constitutionality we have come to the conclusion that an energetic program of struggle must be formulated for the preservation of Unionism in the mining industry of Illinois and for the best interests of all dependent on the mining industry for existence.

Realizing the responsibility that history had placed upon us, we your POLICY COMMITTEE elected by state wide conference held in Gillespie, Ill., Sept. 1, 1932 to which was delegated the task of presenting a program herewith wish to submit the following report for your consideration.

I. We propose that a definite break with the officers of the U. M. W. of A. be immediately carried out and we proceed at once to set up an apparatus for the formation of a new union.

II. We recommend to the conference that the name of our new industrial Union shall be the PROGRESSIVE MINERS OF AMERICA.

III. We recommend that a temporary Executive Committee be selected by the conference consisting of one member from each sub-district. Also that one temporary Pres., one Temp. Vice Pres. and one temporary Secy. Treasurer be selected by the conference. These officials to act until such time that a referendum vote of our whole membership be held. These officers to serve for actual expense until such time that a constitutional convention be held, or that work is resumed. In the event that one of the officers' mine resumes operation he will be paid the basic scale and expenses until constitutional convention decides otherwise. Referendum for permanent officers to be held within sixty days after constitutional convention is held.

IV. We recommend that the check-off system be temporarily abolished until constitutional convention for further consideration of this matter and that dues and assessments be paid by individual members to Local Union Secretary who in turn will give the member a badge and card which will be furnished to every member joining the PROGRESSIVE MINERS UNION.

V. We recommend that one scale committee member be elected by this conference from each sub-district to work in conjunction with temporary executive officers and Temp. Officials in order to invite mine operators to a joint conference for the purpose of consummating a contract. Representatives from the solid shooting and strip mines be elected by general caucuses of these miners working in this particular class of work. We suggest that no less than two from each classification be chosen as representatives.

We recommend that an official organ, named the "PROGRESSIVE MINER" be established and to be published weekly. The supervision of our Official organ, shall be left up to the executive Officials.

VII. We recommend that pending the securing of a wage agreement with the Illinois coal operators, by association or associations, that individual operators desiring to operate mines will be given a contract signed by the officials, as representatives of the "PROGRESSIVE MINERS OF AMERICA". This agreement to be temporary at the wage scale and conditions that existed up until March 31, 1932. It is understood that any operator must include all the mines owned and controlled by him and that all coal operators shall grant an equal division of work in all classifications of labor.

VIII. We recommend, that an attempt be made to get the attorneys of the "AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION" to render legal talent for the purpose of collecting death funds due our deceased brothers and also to supply all legal support necessary in the course of our struggle, against the coal operators and all enemies of our movement.

IX. We recommend that we have our state headquarters at Gillespie temporarily, until such time, that the executive offi-

cers of our Union decide otherwise.

X. We recommend that Pit Committees and Local unions settle all disputes on the basis of the contract. In the event, that it is agreed by both sides to refer the matter to higher tribunal; that two members of the district board of our union and two members of the coal operators association meet to decide any controversial matters.

The Salting Up of an Apparatus

The conference proceeded then to complete its task in setting up of an apparatus of provisional officers to take care of the new union until a constitutional convention be held. The date set for the convention will be October 3, at Gillespie. There the complete program of the PROGRESSIVE MINERS OF AMERICA will be set up. In the meantime a program of severing all relations with the United Mine Workers of America is to be carried out. Injunctions, legal tangles and law suits make it imperative that certain preliminary steps be taken for the establishment of the new order.

Claud Pearcey, of Gillespie, Tim Jones of Taylorville and William Keck, of Belleville were elected by acclamation for the positions of President, Vice-President and Secretary-Treasurer respectively. These officers are to serve provisionally until such time that a referendum vote can be held throughout the whole jurisdiction of the Progressive Miners Union.

Joe Perona, H. V. Machlin, Edward Pope, W. J. Roberts, Thomas Cowell, Burney Flaherty, S. L. Jones, George McClelland and Gerry Allard were elected Executive Board Members, also to serve provisionally.

Gerry Allard, Pat Ansbury and I. O. Dudley were selected to attend the conference of the Canadian rank and file miners that is to be held in Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, September 19th. The Nova Scotia miners pledged their whole hearted support, to the new movement.

Joe Goett, Dan Magill, Andrew Steed, Gerry Allard and Albert O'Brien were elected on a committee to present the cause of the Illinois miners and demanding that all rights of picketing meetings, riding on the highways be guaranteed. The committee will also demand from the state authorities an investigation of conditions in Franklin County where two members of the opposition faction were murdered and hundreds wounded.

The conference was in session for three days and deliberated on all phases of the mining situation. The ladies auxiliary were busy engaged in preparing meals for over 500 miners. The spirit prevailing at the conference was perfect. Never had a conference been held in the history of the Illinois coal miners where men, women and the whole populace were so harmonious in cooperating to the end of overcoming the horrible conditions that prevail throughout the mining fields of Illinois.

Some Necessary Criticisms

The main weakness developed in the conference was the fact that the more capable leaders of the movement would not accept positions. Everyone serving as delegates were so deeply imbued over the bureaucracy that has existed in the miners union for years, that they believe to accept positions would make them out as office seekers. This was a wrong tendency. It is not too late however and it is hoped that a stronger leadership will be elected into the leading offices after the constitutional convention is held. "Rank and fileism" was prevalent in the minds of the best of leaders. Everyone wanted to fight and make the greatest sacrifices possible to build the new union but they wanted to serve as buck privates and on the firing lines.

This was especially the attitudes of Pat Ansbury, Joe Pick, Joe Burrell, Joe Battuello, Joe Goett and other outstand-

ing leaders of the struggle.

The Communist Party, issued a statement attacking the conference and the leaders of the movement. Especially leveling their attacks of Gerry Allard, Pat Ansbury and Joe Goett. These three miners have been in the forefront of the struggle, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the brothers under terrific strain. Joe Goett was former provincial president of the Illinois miners appointed by John L. Lewis. His record is not of the best character. Yet he severed his relations in the Lewis administration and has been instrumental in solidifying the strike in the Peoria district which is now 100% on strike. He unhesitatingly endorsed the idea of a new union. Goett was in a position to center the most conservative elements around him and split the conference, but he refused to do this. What his future policies may be is difficult to determine at this time. However, it must be recognized that he was elected by his membership to attend this convention, and for over two years now he has been in the mines loading coal. He can only be classed as a rank and file.

Party Leaders Negotiate Secretly But Denounce Publicly

Pat Ansbury is unquestionably one of the most popular leaders in the Illinois

struggle. He is a militant trade unionist with a clean cut record. He enjoys the confidence of the broad section of the rank and file. He has for over a year cooperated with the Party in fighting the Criminal Syndicalist cases in Franklin County. The Communist Party has expressed confidence in him personally on more than one occasion. Several times leaders of the Party have conferred with him on the Illinois miners struggle. The main attack of the Party against him is the fact that he is a close personal and political associate of Gerry Allard. The Party has asked him to sever relations with Allard, but he has steadfastly refused to do so claiming that the Party was wrong in its policy in the mine struggle and that the policy of Allard's group were more applicable to the situation. At the present time a great price has been placed on his head by the enemies of the Illinois coal miners. He is resolute, resourceful and a dynamic figure, but his main weaknesses lie in the lack of theoretical understanding having only been active in the labor movement for two years. During the rank and file movement of a year ago he was a victim, losing his job at the mines and faced courageously deportation charges of the Federal government at the instigation of John L. Lewis' brother who is an agent of the department of justice. All through the convention he pursued a correct line of struggle against the operators and the Lewis-Walker forces.

—GERMINAL.

C.L.A. Hails New Union

(Continued from page 1)

If the new movement is not to sink into a state of paralysis and finally be rendered impotent like so many rebel movements before it.

This was the direction clearly indicated by the Left Opposition and by its members and supporters actively engaged in the Illinois movement over a period of time. At the convention in St. Louis of last year our members recommended the building of a new union and a program of unity of action. It was rejected then by the Mustetes in control of the convention, as well as by the Communist Party leadership who boycotted the convention. Our members continued their fight within the movement. And the correctness of the direction which we recommended then has now, in its first step, become vindicated not only by theoretical conclusion but also by the realities of the class struggle.

THE FUTURE PATH OF THE ILLINOIS MINERS

The sterling fighters of the Illinois coal fields, the thousands of miners who have proven themselves as worthy upholders of the early splendid traditions of the miners' union, have accepted this as their direction of travel. The road is already emblazoned with struggles of gigantic proportions, miners fighting tenaciously against the imposition of starvation wages, against the capitalist lackeys who attempted to sell them out and against the open and brutal terror of the henchmen in governmental positions. These miners have organized their fight with picketing on a mass scale never witnessed before thus giving a militant birth to their new union.

There is now a stronger basis available than a year ago. The miners have gained additional experiences which will fortify them against encroachments of new faker combinations who will inevitably attempt to fight on the new movement. They will have learned to discard such false illusions of the past as the confidence given to the Fishwick-Walker-Hovatt combination, or to the leadership of self-styled progressives of the Edmondson type. In this sense the Illinois miners must watch the leaders who are thrown forward today and who have not been tested in the fire of struggle.

For the Illinois miners the destiny now lies in their own hands. But their union is still to face its test. The serious struggle with the rapacious operators is still ahead. So is also the case with the fight to a finish with the Lewis machine and above all the serious matter of future policy.

The Illinois miners have also learned some valuable lessons from their experience with policy pursued by the official party Stalinist leadership. It pursued the opposite course from ours. It rejected the policy of a genuine united front of approaching the existing independent miners' unions as bona fide bodies and of recognizing the Illinois miners' revolts as a genuine mass movement even though infested in the past with misleaders. It refused to recognize any other union than the one over which it itself held mechanical control, the National Miners Union. It failed, as a logical conclusion from this course, entirely in the essential task of developing and organizing the Left wing within the U. M. W. It boycotted and attacked revolt movements which were not ready to accept its mechanical domination and its wrong course. As a result of this the party is today isolated from the Illinois mine fields.

THE COMMUNIST DUTY IN COMING DEVELOPMENTS

The organization of the "Progressive Miners of America" and the objective possibilities for unity in the mine fields imperatively demand a change in this false course pursued by the party leadership. It is becoming more pressing than ever. The Communists must be in the vanguard of the working class struggle; but they have the additional serious obligation of leading in the correct direction. In this sense the party leadership faces a new test when the hands for unity of action is extended to the National Miners Union. That hand it must grasp and strive honestly for such unity.

Enormous tasks lie ahead in the mine fields. Great struggles are pending. However, this is but one of the focusing points at the moment. The workers elsewhere are not exempted. The capitalist rulers of the country still cherishing the hope of issuing out of the crisis by shifting the whole burden on to the shoulders of the working class are increasing their attacks. The American workers have suffered serious setbacks but they have not been defeated. A new stage of more intense struggles all along the line is in the making. To prepare for this the experiences in the Illinois mine fields furnish a valuable lesson. That is a lesson particularly for the Communist party.

Preparation for these future struggles, which will surely as day and night involve the present existing unions, demands that the Communists penetrate deeper into these unions. Every Communist must find his place there. Away with the policy of self-isolation and with all the rubbish of the "Third Period". In its place must be posed the question of a genuine united front policy and of trade union unity.

National Committee
Communist League of America
(Opposition)

Hitler & Von Papen

New Betrayals of Social Democracy Opportunity for Communists

The new betrayals of the social democracy and the temporary conflict among the bourgeoisie offer the Communists another excellent opportunity to rally the whole working class of Germany for united action, to prepare the proletariat for the deathblow against capitalism. Will the German Communist Party take advantage of the situation? That depends.

In the first place, the whole Stalinist confusionism of "national and social liberation" must be thrown overboard. Instead of Thaelmann's dangerously nationalistic "People's Revolution Against Versailles", the German Communists must use the military formula of the conscious bourgeoisie — Schliecher's phrase about "first settling accounts with the internal Schweinehund"—against the capitalist foe. Now, more than ever "the main enemy is in one's own country."

Secondly, the German Communists must realize that it is high time to return to the Leninist united front tactic and to give up the bureaucratic ultimatum of the Stalinists.

Thirdly, international solidarity must be aroused in the widest possible forms, the Comintern must be brought into action. The need of the moment is a world congress of the Communist International with the participation of the Leninist Left Opposition.

—SAM GORDON.

Allard Answers Party Bureaucrats

Christopher, Ill. August 31, 1932

Dear Comrades:

I was approached the other day for the purpose of trying to come to an understanding with the party. John Shaw, organizer of the party, had a lawyer of the I. L. D. from St. Louis, Irving Spencer, bring a message advising me that all could be thrashed out so that the party and I would come to an understanding. I am willing to strengthen Communism, but have become firmly convinced that the way to build Communism is not through the bureaucrats of the party. The Daily Worker continues to conduct a campaign of lying, vilification and the sliemist sort of publicity ever experienced by coal miners in the labor movement.

The rank and file miners are swarming to the Socialist party and believe me, it hurts my heart to see this gang of reformists taking in the best fighters of the labor movement here. Yet, when I speak of the Communist party, they point out the numerous articles attacking me and wonder how I have the gall to defend them in the face of the barrage of lies that have been leveled at my head.

I have made up my mind that the farther away the Party bureaucrats keep their noses out of our affairs, the better it will be for the labor movement. We will demonstrate to the labor movement how a real miners union will be built in the United States. And the pride of this achievement will be the fact that the rank and file coal diggers built it.

We appreciate cooperation from real working class organizations. The Left Opposition is continuously an inspiration. But the professional liars make personal issues out of our best fighters, while our comrades are being murdered, jailed and beaten. Well, that is too much for me ever to forget. I could not be honest with myself and with the labor movement to ever forgive such crimes.

Facts About Allard

A recent issue of the Daily Worker says that Allard and the Mustetes are very conspicuously absent from the picket lines and it is only the pressure of the rank and file under the leadership of the party that forces the fakery to move forward. The facts are that Allard and his wife were the first ones arrested in the Illinois miners struggle

Herewith we are publishing a letter from comrade Allard which deals with the important question of our attitude to the official party. Its contents reflect comrade Allard's personal reaction in the present situation which require an answer and clarification. The answer we will publish in our next issue—Ed.

and participated in the first picket lines where they were picked off by the sheriffs.

A few more facts:

Allard was in the vanguard of the state marchers.

Allard worked three days and nights organizing the state march.

Allard is being hounded by killers of the underworld, called by the state forces the "brains" of the present movement.

Allard is now doing work in Franklin County where no organizer dares set foot at the present time.

Allard is getting delegates from working mines to go to the state-wide conference at Gillespie tomorrow. Quite a task, by the way, in the face of two thousand deputies guarding Franklin County.

I will leave 't up to the miners to decide on who is more devoted to the present cause. But as far as helping a Communist party of that kind goes, well, I believe that I am through. I know that this does not conform exactly to your attitude but I am caught in a movement that makes it necessary for me to come to this point. The party and Communism loses ground while a bunch of fakery and misleaders like the S. P. makes headway.

I have only one course to pursue in this fight and that is for me and the other sympathizers to fight for a militant revolutionary union program and for independent working class action.

Fraternally yours,
GERRY ALLARD.

Stalinist Bureaucrat Expelled in N. Y.

Some time ago, The Militant, in dealing with the situation in the Food Workers Industrial Union, gave some sketches of the Stalinist bureaucrats in its leadership. Among these sketches there was one of a certain Joe Newman, a racketeer type sheltered by the bureaucracy in the cooperative camps under the control of the party. Months after The Militant exposed this heinous flunky, the District Secretariat of Dis. 2, New York, now, at last, announces the expulsion of Newman—nevertheless—only for the period of one year.

Newman will be remembered by Militant readers as the abominable Stalinist functionary, who in the summer of 1931, considered it proper and fit to settle a dispute with a worker employed at camp Kinderland—which the notorious Newman was "running"—by calling the State Troopers!

Upon the pressure of the Left Opposition and the rank and file of the F. W. I. U., Newman was suspended by the bureaucracy for six months last winter. For six months—so as to enable him to resume his abominable practices and obedient service to the top bosses when summer came around again. This time he is being expelled for one year! One year in which to rehabilitate himself for his regular job with the bureaucracy once more, next summer.

But the foodworkers will remain attentive and vigilant—let the Stalinist leadership rest assured that Newman was expelled for an allegedly wretched piece of bureaucratic impudence and headlessness. It is charged that, suspicious that some workers were absconding with property of the enterprise, he went ahead and in the most arbitrary fashion cut up the tires of an auto which these workers took him to account, a little scandal caused, the workers were cleared of the bureaucrat's unfounded suspicion and M. Newman was hauled on the carpet. His Stalinist protector found the situation altogether too embarrassing and had to "double-cross" him; the expulsion followed, with the typical bureaucratic proviso: for one year!

The expulsion of Bureaucrat Newman is undoubtedly a victory of the rank and

file foodworkers. It is only one instance in which their pressure upon the bureaucracy is making itself felt. But they must not rest contented with this. They must push on until final triumph over the bureaucrats, until their union and their Communist party are returned to the Leninist path, until workers' democracy once more becomes a fact in the Left wing organizations, until the line of Lenin is firmly reestablished. In this fight, the Left Opposition will work tirelessly side by side with them.

FOODWORKERS.

Sept. Young Spartacus Out

The Special September International Youth Day issue of Young Spartacus is now off the press. This issue is an 8-pager. Featured is a reprint of the call for the first International Youth Day addressed to the working youth of the world by the Berne Conference of the International Union of Socialist Youth. There are also extracts from Lenin's article on the "Causes of the World War", and Trotsky's "Pacifism in the Service of Imperialism."

The September issue also contains an article on the original of International Youth Day by Albert Glotzer, a call to demonstrate with the Young Communist League, a review of the resolution by the Y. C. I. to the American League by Joe Carter, and a report on the convention of the Young Peoples Socialist League by comrade Gould. Cartoons and a snappy make-up help to make the issue an appealing one.

All comrades are asked to send in their orders immediately to Young Spartacus. There are only a limited edition on hand. Order your copies and see that they reach your acquaintances and connections.

VOTE COMMUNIST!

LEON TROTSKY

WHAT NEXT?

Vital Questions for the German Proletariat

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