

WORKERS  
OF THE  
WORLD.  
UNITE

# THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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## New Wage-Cuts Start

### Accentuated Attacks on Workers Prelude to 4th Crisis Year

The fourth winter of the crisis is at hand. The fourth winter of hunger and starvation for millions of unemployed workers in the United States. Many of these workers are eager to know just when a revival will bring back prosperity so they can obtain employment. Many of these workers are looking to the Wall Street boom with hope that it is the first sign of the revival.

Regardless of a brief upturn or a prolonged protracted crisis the fact remains that neither condition holds in store any promise for the workers in their present unorganized condition. While the press speaks of an upturn the bosses are giving the workers an introduction to the fourth winter by a new wave of wage cuts in the basic industries. The defensive struggles of the workers have not yet been transformed into offensive struggles. Much preliminary activity will have to be carried on before we can accomplish this, even with a brief upturn. The capitalists are still on the offensive.

The last three years of the crisis have witnessed drastic inroads into the standard of living of the workers. Mass unemployment, wage cuts, speed-up and worse conditions are the general while victorious defensive struggles to retain part of the gains of the past has been the exceptional. Now the fourth winter is to be baptized with a wage cut in the basic industries. This will be followed by wage cuts in all the other industries, with a worsening of the conditions of the workers unless we follow the heroic example of the Illinois miners and fight back.

If one really wants to look for more fundamental conditions paving the way for revival, one must look deeper than the stock market, or the price movement and look to more basic factors. One of these factors is the reorganization of labor power to industry at a much lower wage scale. The American capitalists have been successful in reducing the cost of necessary labor in production. All signs indicate that they are preparing the fourth winter for further reductions of the cost of necessary labor in order to increase the surplus labor to counteract the falling rate of profits and enable the capitalists to retain more production in the form of surplus value.

The soft coal miners were slated for a drastic wage cut primarily in the remaining organized fields. They intended to smash the last stronghold of the U. M. W. A. The officials of the U. M. W. A. have already given their consent but they forgot to take into consideration the workers who rebelled against the bosses and their agents in the ranks of the union. The establishment of a new union and the mobilizing of the workers against the wage cuts have strengthened the workers' struggles. Much will depend upon how the workers in the other basic industries act to the pending wage cuts.

The operators and "union leaders" of the Anthracite region met in New York to discuss a 20 to 25% wage cut. The union committee headed by John L. Lewis, "gave no inkling as to its attitude but it is understood a strong protest would be made against the operators' proposals," says the New York Times. Nothing but betrayal can be expected from Lewis and Company. The only road for the anthracite miners, is to follow the lead of the Illinois miners and join hands with them.

The second meeting of the Operators and the Labor Fakery resulted in a "frank discussion" and was a "constructive meeting," according to the New York Times. The Labor Fakery did not oppose the "wage modification" but instead proposed a CUT IN TAXES FOR THE BOSSES TO AVOID WAGE REDUCTIONS.

In the Railroad section of the American Industries the railroad executives propose a second wage cut. The railroads were so successful in their "United Front" in the last 10 per cent wage cut that they want to increase it by another 20 per cent cut. The leaders of 21 unions are "amazed" by the idea of another cut. But it is their own sell out in the last negotiations which helps make the present demand possible. The railroads have laid off an increasing number of workers, at least 100,000 since last February, rather than reduce hours and employ more workers as desired by the Unions.

On Monday, September the 5th the Longshoremen and Ship Owners held a conference in New York. The Ship Owners insisted that a big wage cut is necessary if they are to compete with other shipping lines. Joseph T. Ryan, president of the Longshoremen's Association and Tammany boss says the men will be "reasonably" but it is well to remember that Ryan like Lewis is an agent of the bosses and nothing but betrayal can be expected from him.

In New York, Mayor McKee's economy drive has made drastic inroads on the workers' standards. He demands wage reductions all around: the 36,000 teachers, however, have announced they will resist pay cut.

The Stock market had its boom and in a few days ran up a paper profit of over 7 billion dollars but at the same time unemployment has increased, wages are going down, retail trade has fallen off over 30% from a year ago and carloads for the week ending August 13th were down more than 30% from a year ago.

The wage cuts announced in these basic industries are the opening guns of a wage cutting campaign that will sweep the whole nation, down to the lowest paid sections of our class. Twice before in the present crisis such organized wage cutting campaigns have run their course throughout the country. Each time they have been started by talk of a return to prosperity and each time the first guns were fired at the steel, railroad or coal mine workers.

American imperialism is reorganizing industry. They are reorganizing industry at the expense of the workers. If they succeed and thereby become enabled to compete on the international market with other imperialists there will be some "prosperity" for the capitalists. This does not include the workers. The capitalist prosperity will mean a new form of greater exploitation, mass unemployment and misery for the workers.

## SIX VOTES AGAINST 2 THOUSAND

### Stalino-pacifism Wins in Amsterdam

Six delegates, those of the International Left Opposition, voted to reject the pacifist manifesto of the notorious Amsterdam Barbusse Congress. Not because they reject the struggle against war but because they remain true to the Leninist position against any shoddy compromise with pacifism. Even if these two thousand delegates had not been, for the most part, doctor's widows, sopranos, bureaucratic clerks and the like, the relationship of numbers would have been no reason for a Communist surrender of principle. It is precisely in the question of war that revolutionary Marxism had to base itself upon meager forces. In spite of that, it arrived at victory. In this case, it was a question of two points primarily: to advocate clearly the revolutionary standpoint towards the war question and further, to sound the alarm before this international forum about the fact that the best fighters of the civil war against imperialist war are today languishing in exile and imprisonment.

This aim was attained. The sidewalk walk held in Amsterdam, were inscribed with our slogans. Not a step could be taken without encountering the slogans like "Bring Trotsky back to the U. S. S. R.!", "Long live Trotsky and Rakovsky!", etc. Our material was in everybody's hands, in spite of every attempt to terrorize our comrades. The speech of our Indo-Chinese comrade, Ra, delivered on Sat. amidst the greatest applause, was, significantly enough, omitted from the Congress bulletins. Our comrade Moliner of France, as representative of the Congress War Victims, was howled down in the Sunday discussion, and another French comrade was manhandled, so that even the President had to apologize, but all of this only with the result that the same evening everybody spoke only about Trotsky and Muenzenberg had to wheel into position his whole artillery of falsehood against Trotsky, the—"pacifist".

The Left Opposition was represented by Greek organizations like the Communist Workers' Union, the Iron Workers' Union, the War Victims, etc., and several French organizations. Because of police and material difficulties, our Greek comrades were compelled to transfer their credentials to proxy delegates abroad.

Our declaration to the Anti-War Congress, published in the Militant two weeks ago, was distributed in hundreds of copies to all the delegates, translated into the German, French, English and Russian languages. So also were a mass of other leaflets and pamphlet distributed. At the time of voting, our comrades presented a special declaration, advocating the Leninist struggle against pacifist confusion. On the basis of the Congress, we succeeded in convincing numerous Communist workers that the "Trotskyists" are the best representatives of Lenin's teachings. Two thousand to six-thousand to be proud of in these times of Stalinist degeneration and demoralization!

In coming numbers, we will present a detailed report of the Congress.

## VOTE COMMUNIST!

## Urgent Appeal

Last week we addressed the question to our readers and supporters: "Will The Militant continue to appear regularly?" We were compelled to address it to you. We had no other choice. We can record a few responses to our appeal; but entirely insufficient. We must say frankly that the continued regular appearance of The Militant is very seriously endangered.

Our obligations have increased and with them our expenses. Our opportunities for new gains are enhanced but we have not the means to take advantage of them. We are now printing enlarged editions and shipping bundles to the mine fields. That we must continue. We have a couple of young organizers there building up The Militant circulation and building our organization to help in this vital struggle. We had to get out additional material to fight back the Stalinist pogrom campaign. We are moving

forward on these opportunities available but the creditors are threatening to close down on us. As a matter of cold fact we cannot meet our expenses unless you come to our assistance.

You would not want to see The Militant discontinued on any enforced retrenchments upon its regular appearance. But that is what we face, and that we say to you openly and frankly. Unless our readers and supporters assist, there is no other way out. We know you can do something either in the way of a contribution yourself, or by enlisting some of your friends and comrades to help. But that much we absolutely depend upon you to do. We leave the decision in your hands. If you want to secure the continued appearance of The Militant you will do your utmost. If not we will be compelled to retrench. Your assistance is urgently needed!

## Trotsky Barred from Czechoslovakia

After reports that Leon Trotsky would be granted permission to spend a few weeks in Pstyan Spa, Czechoslovakia, purely for the purpose of improving his health, it is now announced that "Czech Nationalist propaganda against Leon Trotsky's proposed visit to the Pstyan Spa apparently has been successful. . . . At a Cabinet council today Minister of the Interior Sziavik, who is an Agrarian, declared he would be unable to take responsibility for M. Trotsky's safety at Pstyan. The Consular Service also states it is unable to grant M. Trotsky a visa as he does not possess a passport" (New York Times, September 15, 1932.)

So much for the counterfeit democracy of the Czech republic, vassal state to the country which "embodies" the traditions of democratic revolution, France. Nor was very much else to be expected from the puppet states of imperialism in view of the attitude of their masters. Comrade

Trotsky now has the distinction of having been refused, not merely the right of asylum, but even the opportunity to enter a capitalist country for a short period for his health—a refusal now undersigned by the British Labor government, the French republic, Holland, Germany of the social democracy and the Catholics, the "republic" of Spain—and the Soviet Union.

Upon the announcement that permission had been granted, the Stalinist press, of course, launched another of its old stink-bombs against the Opposition: "Trotsky has been invited to Czechoslovakia to help lead the imperialist struggle against the Soviet Union." Villification of this sort cannot conceal, try though it may, the crime committed by Stalin in sending comrade Trotsky into the midst of the Russian White Guards concentrated in Constantinople under the rule of Stalin's bosom friend, Kemal Pascha.

## An Open Letter to John Watt

### Standpoint of the Left Opposition in the Present Miners' Struggle

John J. Watt, Springfield, Ill.  
Dear Comrade Watt:

The purpose of this letter is to review the outburst that occurred on Friday, Sept. 8, at the local Socialist party branch at which you were the main speaker, and also to give you my opinion of what I think of the whole affair.

First a brief resume of your speech: 1. You began by saying that you were very glad to hear the message that was delivered on the previous night by the Socialist party candidate for Governor of Indiana (Powers Haggood) and the Socialist party organizer of West Virginia (Most), that the only reason the Socialist party got such a small audience was because the miners of Springfield did not know that such distinguished socialists were in Springfield and if the miners of Springfield really knew that they were in town that the largest hall in Springfield would have been filled.

2. That you were not affiliated to any political group. That there was some good in all groups together 3. Then you went on to a general expose of the general economic situation in the country and the mining situation in particular. Reading from a mass of documents—the Illinois Miner—United Mine Workers Journal—and the Congressional Record. 4. You answered the mis-statements that are being circulated against you. 5. You criticized the miners for the way they are carrying on the fight against Walker-Lewis coal operators.

(a) That instead of marching to West Frankfort, they should have marched on Lewis and Walker's homes. (b) Instead of signing up individual coal operators with the Progressive Miners Union, to strike until able to get a district contract. (c) And a number of other points. 6. You brought forth your proposals for winning the strike and building the P. M. U. of A. Such as:

1. Broad United Front
2. Mass Demonstrations
3. 8-hour day, 6-day week.
4. Re-instatement of expelled.
5. Etc.—etc.
7. You ended your speech with the reading of the United States Declaration of Independence.

Angelo's Reply  
In my reply to your speech, I tried to stress the following points:

1. That the present miners' struggle is part of the general political struggle against capitalism. That only with the living weapons that Marx, Lenin and Trotsky gave us through their teachings and their actions can we understand correctly the role which the working class as a whole must take part in.
2. The fight of the Left wingers in the new Miners' union must be class struggle i. class collaboration.
3. I asked the Socialist party lead-

ership as indirect agents of Lewis-Walker, who are the agents of the coal operators.

(a) The National Committee's (of the Socialist party) decision on the Illinois miners' struggle which is: "Hands off the internal struggle between the miners and union officials."

(b) The part played by Jack Hindmarsh, Richard Glover and Jack Reed, all leading Socialists, in trying to defeat the miners in their fight against the coal operators and their hunkies, the Lewises and Walkers.

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## «Pacifism» at Work in Gran Chaco

Some figures which have leaked out of the League of Nations give away the whole capitalist ballyhoo about disarmament. The same time is raging in the Gran Chaco is only the latest form of the struggle between Bolivia and Paraguay, which they began in 1923, and which is a reflection of the greater and profounder struggle of the world-wide imperialism, British and American. Since 1928 this dispute has been pending before the League Council, of which Britain is a member. In the same year the dispute was submitted for settlement to the Pan-American Commission in which the United States is the dominating member.

Both of these "peace" bodies have made desultory plays at "settling" the dispute. At the same time they have been shipping munitions in increased quantities to both countries. With charming impartiality the United States sold, between the years 1928 and 1930, \$49,000 worth of powder to Bolivia; and \$24,000 in machine guns to Paraguay.

The two countries were a futile market for munitions shipments for Belgium, Chile, Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, and the United States. Yet all of these countries did not fail to place themselves on record as opposed to the forcible settlement of disputes and some of them signed by the Kellogg Peace Pact. But business is business and a treaty is only a scrap of paper. Capitalist pacifism and morality are intended for the workers to keep them faithful slaves of the capitalist juggernaut. As for the rest it is a question of cold calculation around profits and the political, diplomatic, and military positions and maneuvers necessary to maintain the profit.

Preparations are now being completed for the launching of the Workers' School of the Communist League of America (Opposition), which will open its classes in approximately one month. Further announcements on the School will be made in an early issue so that all those interested in it may obtain full details.

## Unity Is Urgent Need of Illinois Miners

### National Class Struggle Union Will Win!

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

A great many of the present leaders of the new Progressive Miners Union expect to solve the present coal problem in Illinois within the limits of capitalism in Illinois, that if the "Reds" keep their feet and hands out, they will be able to settle their differences with the Lewis machine and the coal operators. Then again, efforts are made to push the political struggle into the background, as for instance the attempt by Buck Roberts who was acting as chairman at the Taylorville meeting, to gag comrade Mayer who attempted to speak about the conditions of the miners in the S. U. Buck was prevented because of the militancy of the miners. Then again, the attack against the International Labor Defense at the Gillespie convention because it was a Communist organization. And again, the statement issued by Gillespie headquarters with reference to Foster speaking in Gillespie which declares as follows:

"We, the U. M. W. of A. of Illinois,

## WHERE IS 7th WORLD CONGRESS?

### What Is Happening to the C. I. ?

The Communist International was founded in March 1919 as the General Staff of the World Revolution. In the days preceding the death of Lenin and the removal of Trotsky and the Left Opposition from effective participation in the councils of the International, it lived up to this proud title. From the Communist International and its Congress emanated words of inspiration and guidance to the international revolutionary vanguard. No situation was allowed to pass without the energetic and timely intervention of the world Communist leadership.

Such an intervention, along the lines set out by Lenin and the other great founders of the Comintern, is perhaps more imperative at the present time than at any other period in the past several years. The convulsions shaking the structure of world capitalism in the present crisis demand a clear line of revolutionary action, expressed by those who have the authority and the responsibility that goes with it. The threat of war in Manchuria, connected as it is with all the problems of the Chinese revolution, add greater weight to the demand for international direction. On top of these and other acute questions, is the problem of Germany, the key to the international situation.

The Silence of the Executive

Yet the Executive Committee of the Communist International remains entirely silent. Not a single pronouncement has appeared in its name in the eventful month after month that have passed in recent times. The individual national parties, a "secretariat" here and there, express or half-express an opinion on the burning problems of the international proletarian movement, but the "General Staff" maintains its frigid, ominous silence.

Why? Because the Stalinist clique which has usurped the leadership of the Comintern hopes thereby to escape the responsibility for the catastrophes which its present course is preparing with inexorable certainty. Stalin is as silent as the tomb into which he has converted the Comintern—the movement of which he is today the "acknowledged leader." The Comintern itself is silent. Its silence is not merely in violation of its own statutes, but it is a political crime of far-reaching historical consequences.

Left without guidance, or the possibility of coming together in order to take counsel, judge the situation and subject the preceding course to a minute, critical examination with the aim of changing it, the international Communist movement is foundering about in the storm of events without chart, sails, rudder or helmsman.

The absolutely imperative initial step that must be taken in order to emerge from this blindness and impotence is the

Convocation of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern!

The First Congress was held on March 2, 1919. The Second World Congress was held on July 19, 1920. The Third Congress opened on June 22, 1921. The Fourth Congress was held on November 5, 1922. As we see, in Lenin's time the World Congresses of the Communist International were held at intervals of one year. (Continued on page 4)

are fighting against the illegal contract forced on us by our officials and will not allow any outsiders to interfere with our policy adopted at our la. state-wide conference held in Bend.

The plain brutal truth is that if the miners of Illinois mean to build a new militant miners' union and secure better conditions they must not only put up an intense struggle against the coal operators and the Lewis machine; not only be prepared to endure hardships; but the Illinois miners must broaden out on a more comprehensive scale. In other words, the Progressive Miners Union in building and leading the miners of Illinois must find allies, sympathizers and supporters from the working-class. Not only unity with miners in other states, but a united front with all working-class organizations. Further it is necessary to set before the miners the class struggle in sharp and simple terms, so that they may be able to understand the true nature of the capitalist system. Finally they must endeavor to bring about a fighting combination with the railroad and other workers.

Who Is Leading?

This is a brief characterization of the miners who are taking a leading part in directing the affairs of the Progressive Miners Union.

Dan McGill, the leader of the Springfield group. Democrat. While President of the Springfield Central Labor Body (A. F. L.) ran for senator from this district on the Democratic ticket. Was removed by President Green as president of the Central body because he supported Walker-Fishwick and was against Lewis.

Ed. Mabis, was one of Lewis' leaders in Springfield until this present struggle. Delegate to the last convention of Lewis' at Indianapolis. Joined Socialist Party in the last two weeks.

Bryon Humphries. Lived in Springfield for many years—never took any part in any struggle against any officials until the rank and file convention that nominated him for Vice-President. Always against all "Reds". As is apparent, an opportunist of the worst type.

Buck Roberts. Formerly a mine boss. 100% American. Springfield.

Wm. Keck, Belleville, Socialist. Secretary of the Rank and File Union and now Secretary of the Progressive Miners Union. Known to be sincere and honest.

Alex Fraser & Andy Steed. The two always go together. Product of the British Minority Movement. Leaders of the Gillespie sub-district in the present struggle. Good timber in any movement.

Joe Goett, Peoria, formerly sub-district president of the Peoria sub-district, and then vice-president of Lewis' provincial officials in Illinois.

Pat Ansbury, formerly a Lewis supporter against Fishwick-Walker fight. Took an active part in the rank and file Union that was organized at Belleville and when the Rank and File Union merged with Walker's clique, Pat was elected Board Member from the Franklin county sub-district. Aggressive fighter and has guts. Got his experience in the British Labor movement. In my opinion, it was Ansbury that started the present struggle against Walker and Lewis when Ansbury organized the Franklin county march on Springfield of 3,000 miners, a few days after the miners found out that Walker had signed the first contract. It was that march which aroused the miners of Illinois. I don't know his present status politically. But in all of his speeches that I have heard he already brought in the class issue and called for a broad united front with all working class organizations. At the Gillespie convention where the Progressive Miners Union was formed, the International Labor Defense offered defense and the services of their lawyers and it was Ansbury that made the attack against the I. L. D. because it was a Communist organization. Of course, much of the bitterness against Communism is due to the past mistakes of the Stalinists and due to its present mistake of creating a condition in which the party drives all its would-be allies, and close supporters and sympathizers away from Communism.

Role of the Socialist Party  
True to its historic role as capitalist agents in the ranks of the workers, the Socialist Party, in the present struggle in the Illinois coal fields is giving support to Walker and Lewis who are the agents of the coal-operators. The National Committee of the Socialist party has made a decision that the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party will take no sides in the struggle between the miners of Illinois who are fighting coal-operators, and their agents, the Walkers and Lewises, but leaves it open

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