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One Road for Miners!

Lay A Firm Class Foundation at the Gillespie Convention

wage-cut drive.

draw the conclusion of first of all secur- victory. recognition of the class struggle and the PROGRESSIVE MINERS OF AMERICA ing the class basis for your union by a initiation of the practical program of CAN SHOW THE WAY action which flows from this recognition. RANK AND FILE UNITY AND CONSCIOUS LEADERSHIP

now engaged in. Only the blind could to win, the spirit to fight to the last fail to see this. It is the bitter realities and the readiness to sacrifice for the of the class struggle which determine cause; given a courageous leadership, conevery step you are taking and upon which scious of its class position, you will be your future is conditioned. Hence the able to overcome the greatest obstacles. necessity of its bold recognition. But the realization of the program of action Progressive Miners of America has a demands the completest possible unity great duty to perform to the Illinois of all the forces within the union, supplemented by the widest working class States and to the American working democracy and freedom of expression of class. It is coming about as a serious minority opinion. Given such unity the revolt against the murderous employers' first steps are secured. Others will follow from them, which demand that this tunity of taking the first steps toward unity be extended to a national scale leading the working class forward to a embracing the other miners' rebel sec- serious resistance against this offensive tions, the National Miners Union, the and to support the forces charting the West Virginia Miners Union and similar road toward working class freedom from groups. First, in the form of unity of capitalist oppression. action in ways and means to obtain better wages and working conditions and to smash the Lewis machine. Secondly, in ways and means toward complete unification in one national militant union. The road to its accomplishment is through rank and file control plus leadership conscious of its tasks.

WHO RAISE THE BOGEY OF THE "REDS"

The bogey of the "Red" issue is raised lows who fall subject to this propagandal why we fight them to the finish. ators. But a serious struggle cannot be the starvation level.

munist Left Opposition proposes. We do not forget the fact that the character of the Peabodys and their -the working masses. Can the worker of the rank and file miners will continue Lewis machine many blunders and false policies of the flunkies, Lewis and Walker. With them place any confidence in these lickspittles the onward march against the coal operofficial Communist party Stalinist lead- there can be no peace. But the troop- decorated with the badge of authority, ators and their flunkeys. ership has helped to make it possible for ers, the militia, the deputies—isn't their and can he hope to win his fight against such propaganda to appear. But beware duty merely the prevention of speeding on worsening conditions by merely a union of those in your own ranks who use it. the highways, apprehending thieves, and battle? He cannot. He must transform We are not unmindful of the fact that

these blundering mistakes have temporarily served to turn the miners away from the Communist party in disgust. But it should be remembered that it was the party of Lenin and Trotsky which secured the first serious working class victory-the establishment of the Soviet Republic. Under the Stalin regime the party has departed from the basis of Lenin. But that gives us only so much

more cause to strive to restore it to its rightful position. WHICH IS THE POLITICAL

PARTY OF LABOR? In your deliberations at the convention and in your future course, you will likely meet the sleek office seeking careerist. You know how to deal with him. You will meet the kind of "labor" politician who tells you to cater to the capitalist party in power in order to gain favors; or to support the democrats, in order to realize its "opportunities". It is an side of the operators. Remember that below the level of the plan. the Socialist party has not only failed to The slowing up of the tempo has its support your struggle, but some of their deep causes in the increase of dispro- have been occuring with insuperable uals may become weak-sisters and fall leading spokesmen like John Hindmarsh, portionate relationships. Every sphere force especially in this last year. The by the wayside, but the rank and file Richard Glover, Jack Reed and Adolph of industry, no matter how great the lack of something, sometimes of only an will never go back on itself. Efforts Germer are right in the midst of the efforts made, restricts itself to its mini- insignificant single part holds up the should be made at the convention to bring ance to this decision. The peace of the distinction from the Nazis, a distinction Lewis camp working hand in glove with mum element. Great construction enter- work in an entire enterprise. Dozens of about the unity of all the existing indethese traitors. The path of the miners prises are often held up out of secondary tractors, for instance, arrive without pendent unions, such as: West Virginia is not through the labor party but causes, or cannot be set going after their radiators. Statistically, every tractor is Mine Workers Union, National Miners through the revolutionary party, that is completion because of one obstacle and 95 or 99 percent completed. Practically, Union, Amalgamated Miners of Nova the Communist party. Its mistaken pol- shortcoming or another. A factory that it is not at all completed. The lack of Scotia, etc., into one fighting miners' Helmets, the arministration reforms, etc. bourgeoisle in the not very distant fuides today we must correct. And it is has not been completed or does not work radiators, in turn, also is not simply ac- union. because of these mistakes that the Left at full capacity—cometimes at only 20 cidental: another factory has not deliv- The Progressive Miners Union must continue unswervingly with its program: ler. That is why, for example, the semi-Opposition assumes the duty of pointing to 30 per cent of its capacity-sinks the ered the necessary metal. And this, in make the experiences of the past, funda- the program of constitution changing, the official Deutsche Allgemeine Zeifung does the revolutionary road.

The Progressive Miners' constitutional | When given the prerequisites of miliconvention, which meets at Gillespie, Ill., tant unionism, resting on a class founda-Oct. 3, has a mighty job in hand and a tion, your best guarantee for victory in great duty to perform. Its actions will this present strike struggle is at hand. undoubtedly have far reaching consequ- Even in the Southern part of the state ences for the future working class move- the terror will be forced to relinquish its hold. The present added oppression First on the agenda, if not in numerical is now so much more surely preparing order, then at least in importance, is the the rank and file revolt there. It is your task of solidifying the union foundation task to send in there your best organizers in a working class sense, to secure its to perform their quiet function in preprogressive direction and clinch the ob- paration for another mass picket line. jective which establishes its militant Stand fast for the basic \$6.10 wage scale character. Translated into the language and division of work. Continue your of its practical problems that means to fight for the six-hour day and for tolerdefeat the corrupting influence of the re- able working conditions. In that you actionary Lewis-Walker clique and to will be sure to have the full and unstintstrengthen the fight against the operators' ed support of the rank and file everywhere. Militant unionism accepts com-Your way to victory is the one of mili- promise only when it is weak and will tant struggle. That is your one main never trade off the mere favor of union weapon and a powerful one. Of this the recognition as a substitute for these espast has furnished ample proof to you. sential conditions because without them It is therefore logical that you should the mere recognition would be an empty

Your future tasks are enormous and there are great difficulties in your way. But given a class foundation, a rank It is the class struggle that you are and file membership imbued with the will

The constitutional convention of the miners, to the miners of the United wage cutting offensive. It has the oppor-

Down with Lewisism:



Two More Expelled for «Trotskyism»

Following the arbitrary expulsion of comrade Sebastien Pappas for "Trotskyism", the Stalinist bureaucracy in New York has summarily expelled from the party two more of the active militants for their refusal to denounce the Left Opposition and comrade Trotsky as "counter-revolutionists". The latest victims of the bureaucrats are comrades James Gordon and Sylvia. Weiner. Called before the Control Commission on September 13, 1932, they were presented with the customary questions and demands for a "statement", which they refused to sign. They were thereupon expelled from the party.

Comrade Gordon is a charter member of the Communist movement in this country, a foundation member of the Communist Labor Party in 1919. His activity in Chlcago, Detroit, Rochester and New York is well knon in wide circles of the party. For some time he has been an active functionary in the Food Workers' Industrial Union, a militant strike leader, as is attested by the numerous arrests in which he has been involved. Comrade Weiner, who has also been a Communist party fighter for several years, and a militant in the F. W. I. U., is | Monday. At this meeting they tried to of 100 to see that the arrests were made. equally well known for her devotion to the revolutionary movement in strike lines and jail cells. The expulsion of both these comrades is at once a sign of the degeneration of the Stalinist officials and of the growing popularity of the Left Opposition's views in the ranks of the party. As for comrade Pappas, who was expelled a few weeks ago, the Militant will pubish next week a statement by him announcing his reasons for adherence to the Communist League of America (0.). by Peabody-Lewis gunmen, with deadly miners jeered them on the way.

Lewis Gangsters Fail to Cow Miners

Springfield Miners Resist Strike-Breaker Mobilization

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—

purpose of organizing strike-breakers to through his chest. open up mines in Sangamon County. The The miners, still displaying that marmeeting ended in a riot created by Lewis velous courage that has characterized provocateurs. Sangamon County is one them throughout the entire struggle, rehundred percent for the Progressive fused to be intimidated by the blood-Miners of America and Sneed could only thirsty savages employed by Peabody and get 15 strikebreaking miners to attend Lewis. The firmness of the miners in

Williams, a police detective. They have latter-who shot Detective Porter Wilcharged Garnett Smith, another of the liams while aiming a miner. They also Lewis gunmen with the murder of Wil- wounded Dan McGill, a local leader of liams, although several eye-witnesses the P. M. A. In the ensuing fight, the saw Bill Sneed shoot down Williams. gunmen got a deserved trimming.

The meeting ended at 5:30 with another would arrest all the gunmen. The mincomplete arrangements for the extension. The police, in their usual role of of the strike breaking offensive to San- bosses' lackeys, carried the gunmen to gamon County.

the K. of C. building and were followed the National Guardsmen. Hundreds of

weapons flaunted in their hands, incens-William Sneed, generalissimo of the ing the strikers by threatening to shoot Lewis gunmen in this state, called a if a word was uttered. Dominic Digmeeting at Knights of Columbus build- erolamo shouted, "Long live the P. M. ing on Sunday, September 25, for the A.!" and immediately had a bullet shot

their insistence that the gunmen be run The riot resulted in the death of Porter out of town created a frenzy among the

United States Deputy Marshal J. O. The miners, carrying out their decision Baules, who was assisting the police, to run the thugs out of town, pursued states in a report appearing in the St. them to the Leland Hotel. Here they Louis Globe Democrat, "I plainly saw were met by State Cossacks, sheriffs, Sneed shoot Williams." Garnett Smith deputies and the entire detective and is at the point of death, so they are man- police force of Springfield, with macheuvering to cover up Sneed by accusing ine guns, tear gas bombs and the para-Smith of the murder. Some others of phernalia of modern warfare. Despite Lewis' gunmen were also injured in the this, the miners milled around the hotel. Then, to subdue the rising tide that was When news of the meeting appeared beginning to surge through the ranks in the local press the P. M. A. decided to Buck Roberts, characterized in these picket the K. of C. building and 1,500 columns last week, addressed the miners, P. M. A. members were on the picket line. telling them to disperse, that the police one decided on for the Leland Hotel on er's called for a rank and file committee

safety in the police station, while the The local strike-breakers came first from street leading to the jail was guarded by

The miners are learning lessons in this struggle, lessons they cannot easily forget. The role of the state as an instrument of the bosses is being keenly brought home to them. The state, Peabody and Lewis, feeling secure in keeping the mines in Franklin, Williamson and Saline Counties operating, have now moved the offensive to Christian County. Here the militancy of the P. M. A. is at a high level. The state, realizing that this is no ordinary struggle, has sent two battalions of machine gunners to reinforce the artillery already stationed here. Martial law, while not officially proclaimed, virtually exists. Tear gas is used to disperse women and children, as assemblage of more than three is not allowed, while the bosses' thugs and gunmen make a pretense of operating the Taylorville

The duty of the leadership of the P. M. A. is to call for mass picketing at Taylorville right away. In this respect, eting will shut down Taylorville!

-- JACK CARMODY.

In spite of open terror and semi-legality, the Communist party won a great with delegates from West Virginia, Iowa, victory in the municipal election at Sofia, The Progressive Miners Union is meet- Penn., Indiana and Illinois. At this con- the capital of Bulgaria, giving evidence to ing in convention at a time when the ference the delegate members of the Left the constantly growing sympathies for whole system of capitalism is in a stage Opposition correctly proposed the forma- Communism among the oppressed and the union struggle into a political strug- of decay, with a crisis in the coal indus- tion of a new militant rank and file min- enslaved masses. However, according to to be nullified!

Support in the Coming Elections

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—

The coal diggers of Illinois are fight- about the troopers and the militia, even ing a great battle. It is a battle against though we were quite mature individuals. many foes, which promises no easy vic- Then came the march on Franklin Counin order to swerve the miners from their tory. Yet every day is rich in lessons ty. All we wanted to do was to help our be a very important event in the history It put forth a militant program and the progressive path. "Stay clear of the for every miner that wants to learn. brothers down south maintain the \$6.10 of the miners of America. With the move was correct. But because of the 'red'," says the operators' propaganda Let us take an accounting of our enem- wage scale. What did we get? Bullets brutal opposition of the coal operators, hesitancy on the part of certain prodesigned to catch the weak-kneed fel- ies, why they are arrayed against us and clubs and machine guns-from treopers state and government forces from with- gressives and due to the blunders of the

by appearing as "good boys" to the oper- would redude our living conditions to

won that way. The Lewises, the Walkers | 2. There are Lewis-Walker and henchand their henchmen are much better boys, men who steal ballots and club and shoot to the operators and a thousand times miners who protest against their corpreferred by them. Your road to victory ruption and fakery. Their only service is the radical road, the road of the to the miners has been a Judas kiss.

power of your class forces in militant prisons, the armed deputies, the state array. That is the road which the Com- troopers and the militia.

helping old ladies across the streets?

Santa Claus. Before the strike many of

us entertained equally ridiculous notions

It is clear now that Lewis and Walker barons. The whole governmental machworkers at the mere crook of the capi-"Reds" which is forged through the 3. And then there are the courts, the There can be no doubt about the real the overwhelming majority of the people chine and the detrmination and militancy spoils and finally making peace with the When we were children we believed in gle; the scrap against wage reduction

(Continued on page 4)

MOSCOW LETTER

Crisis in Soviet Economy

Stalinism Endangers Alliance Between Town and Village

The following document arrived from Russia in a foreign language, into which it had been translated for conspirative reasons. The first page was missing. Editorial revision was provided for by the Editorial Board of the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition.

There is a great and constantly widenelection year, and some of you will per- ing gap between the facts of the econhaps think your path should be toward omic life of the Soviet Union and their time as there is an accumulation of sec- Miners union that went on the march to a labor party, while others may lend an reflection in the press or even in the poor, insufficient and ir- West Frankfort and Taylorville should know. The Weimar democracy is at an that Papen's "main strength" is the inear to the plea for support from the ficial reports. The truth about the real regular maintenance of the workers and henceforth be under no illusion as to the end. On this score even Papen leaves decisive relationship of forces between Socialist party. But it is well to remem- situation in the various enterprises does the nervous instability resulting from nature of the State which everywhere no room for doubt in his radio broadcast. the proletariat and Fascism, which may ber that the parties in power, whether not penetrate into the outside world. [this. Republican or Democrat, have always The attacks on innumerable supervisors been the bosses' tools willing to call out serves only one purpose-to find the police and the military forces on the guilty ones. Production everywhere is

general coefficient of growth weighs

down like a millstone on the actual prolarities are heaping up and reaching an miners. ever higher level, the sinking of the general figures of growth becomes the inevitable result.

Cause For Decline

The most important cause of the decline in the productivity of labor, of the increase in the costs of production and struggle. Since the present struggle be- "The bridges are burned. We are under disastrous to develop a perspective out the deteriorization of quality at the same gan, the members of the Progressive the dictatorship", says the Deutsche of the appearances of the present events.

talk of the fulfillment of the Five Year operators. The power in the new union concrete to be heard. Neither the old like a Bismarck, yes, as a Cromwell, Plan in four years (actually-in 4 years must always rest with the rank and file. and 3 months-Ed.). Shortcomings and No individual must be made supreme in breakdowns occur in various spheres and the Progressive Miners Union, individ-

(Continued on page 4)

Which Political Party Shall the Miners | Problems Before the Gillespie Convention of the Progressive Miners of America

SPRINGFIELD,—

gigantic tasks to overcome in order to ian group. are not the only agency of the coal re-establish once more a real rank and file militant mines' union capable of Walker-Howat "Re-organized U. M. W. gles with the coal operators. But in germ of its own destruction because it

try that is world wide and is made more acute by (a) world shrinkage of consumption; (b) increased industrial development in other countries, thereby destroying markets and creating new com- BERLIN LETTER petitors; (c) developments of other sources of power, such as: oil, hydroelectric, etc.—this has created a general anarchy in produdction and contradictions in the capitalist system. The coal operators, through their flunkeys, the Lewises and Walkers propose to solve this problem and save their hides by a vigorous policy of wage-cutting and deduction achieved. But since the irregu- stroying every semblance of unity of the

For Class Struggle Program

To meet this general capitalist attack, the Progressive Miners union must free troduced this decision. The tactic of the Papen-Schleicher, behind whom stands itself from the illusions of capitalist dem- only government party, the German Na- the will of German finance capital to reocracy and unite on a program of class tionals, contributed to them enormously. main independent; it would however be revealed itself as an instrument of the Elections are indeed to take place. But shift one way or another at any time. There is not now, naturally, any more Peabody Coal Co., and the other coal

Illinois miners since 1928 made quite a The first constittional convention of the few efforts to form a clean militant un-Progressive Miners of America which will ion. The National Miners Union was the convene in Gillespie, Ill., on Oct. 3, will first atempt to form a new miners union. and deputies. In Taylorville the militia out and the treacherous sell-out policies Communist party, through its Stalinist in the delusive hope of gaining favors 1. There are the coal operators who breaks up miners' meetings with tear gas of the Lewis-Walker machine within, the leadership and their conception of mech-Progressive Miners Union will have a anical control, it became a small sectar-

The second break was the Fishwickinery is brought into action against the helping the miners in their daily strug- A. This attempt carried within itself the talists' finger. It is a state with its of- spite of the obstables that are against was capitalized by the Fishwick-Walker ficials, thugs, police, deputies and mili- them, the miners have marched ahead combine, who, with their whole clique they have already lost time. Mass picktia whose purpose it is to insure the with tremendous speed; both against the of petty officials, succeeded in turning rule of the parasitic, exploiting few over coal operators and the Lewis-Walker ma- this movement into one for personal Then came the St. Louis conference,

ers union and the amalgamation of all the Communists, the election victory is (Continued on page 4)

New Step Toward Fascism

Struggle for Democratic Rights Now on Agenda in Germany At the very moment when the Reich-| talists, the program of breaches in wage

president. Hindenburg dissolved the turaly stands in the foreground. Reichstag. The Communists skillfily in- It would be ridiculous to underrate Allegemeine Zeitung, which ought to It should not be forgotten for a momnt how and when-on that there is nothing Let Papen feel towards the parliament defenders of the grail of democracy, the whose paths proceed through dissolved social edmocratic party, nor the Nazis, parliaments. In reality, he is lacking in who seek to come to power under the everything for this role: the progressive cloak of democracy were able to prevent aim, the outlook for a conjuncture, and this outcome. Not one of them found the primarily and over and over again, the strength of courage to offer real resist- mass movement. In the latter lies the tomb prevails.

Papen government showed similar signs; Bruening, Wels and Hitler Fascists in one of "strength": the parade of the Steel breath. That is what will compel the It proclaimd that in a short time it would ture to employ Papen together with Hitmental object lessons for the future. The program of millions in gifts to the capi-

stag put the imprint of the most trem- scales, the program of armaments. The endous vote of lack of confidence upon the struggle against the "dirty swine at Papen government, the social democratic home" proclaimed by von Schleicher na-

which must eternally remain a book with Already in the preceding days, the seven seals to those who call Papen. (Continued on page 4.