

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT

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In the Illinois Minefields

Prospects of Development of the Progressive Miners

The Progressive Miners of America, which took shape in mass strikes against the Operators, their state and the Lewis machine, and which attained a certain stabilization of the union, is now running into a new period of class storms that will determine its life or death, or its crystallization either as a union of class struggle or a union of class collaboration.

The operators, the Peabody Company, the state and the Lewis machine have planned a new drive against the Progressive Miners. The first blows in this new campaign have already been struck. The union was not prepared to meet them and, therefore, they have weakened the union's position. This does not mean that the position of the Progressive Miners Union is hopeless. On the contrary, a systematic campaign and correct left wing policy, the same policy of struggle that was so successful in the birth stage of the union can bring it by the Fall of the year, the period when production will start again on the winter basis, in a powerful position to fight the Operators.

Tendencies in P. M. A.

The Peabody Coal Company, the Operators, the State Forces (State, County and City) and Lewis machine, represent the combined force attempting to crush the Progressive Miners of America. The Progressive Miners of America, like all unions of the working class, is composed of different tendencies, groups and factions with different policies. The struggle against the bosses and their agents cannot be separated from the struggle with the union, for a correct program. Within the union we have as definite groups: the Right wing element; the Mustelites; the Socialists; Right and Left wing; the Stalinists; the Left Opposition. The Right wing is by no means a homogeneous group. A section would like to go back into the fold of the Lewis machine and another section would like to remain progressive, but "progressives" practicing class collaboration with the small operators against the Peabody Coal Company.

In most of the struggles that have taken place within the union up to the present, to determine its character and role, these seven tendencies in the main divided into two camps, the Right wing element uniting organizationally, but the left wing element remaining unorganized.

The line-up in the main was as follows: The Right wing consist of a section desiring to make amends to Lewis, of the confused class collaboration "progressives," and the Right wing socialists who work within the Progressive Miners. The Left wing in the main are: the militant, class-conscious progressives, the Left wing Socialists, and the Stalinist and Left Opposition wings of the Communist Party. The Mustelites usually straddle the fence between these two camps, always landing in the camp of the Right wing in the final analysis. It is necessary to prove the above statement.

The main thing necessary at this stage is to point out the road ahead and the necessary plans for the summer period; to unite the different political forces within the Left wing minimum program.

P. M. A. and Unemployment

The first attack of the Peabody forces in the recent period was the bitter suppression and reign of terror against the State Hunger March. The backbone and bulk of the Hunger March were the coal miners and to smash the Hunger March meant to deal a heavy blow against the coal miners. The coal miners receive, at the most 75 cents a head for families, while the workers in Chicago and other cities receive far more. With a majority of Progressive Miners facing the summer (Continued on Page 4)

SMASH the Circle of DEBT!

The financial situation is a little better but still serious. The circle of debt which was closing in on us so tightly as to almost choke us has been widened sufficiently to enable us to get out this issue in full size. That is due to the money sent in by some of the branches and a number of comrades.

For that funds are needed. They are needed badly and they are needed at once. To delay may mean the loss of another issue or the appearance of the next issue in half size.

We are confident that with the continuation of the response to our previous two appeals we will surmount the crisis in decisive fashion and be able to appear regularly in full size.

This perspective must be turned into reality. We appeal to all our friends and sympathizers to make another effort, another sacrifice — to SMASH THE CIRCLE OF DEBT.

Air Mail! Wire funds! to the MILITANT at 126 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

CHICAGO UNITED FRONT SYMPOSIUM

Following right on the heels of the first great practical demonstration of working class united front policy in recent years—the National

The Scottsboro March

«New Deal» President Ignores Protests of Marchers

The Scottsboro boys must be freed! The Scottsboro boys shall be freed!

With these demands echoed forth in unison by five thousand throats, the Scottsboro delegation, composed in the main of Negro workers, marched through the streets of Washington in militant protest against this particular brand of lynch justice meted out in the South to Negro workers.

The march which was arranged by the National Scottsboro Action Committee got under way Saturday, May 6, after some delay. The delay was caused by the Bus Company's backing down on its original contract to transfer the delegation to Washington. It was later learned that the state department had had a hand in the Bus Company's action.

All in all about 600 delegates, largely Negro workers from Harlem and South Brooklyn, comprised the delegation. By bus, truck and auto, other delegations came mainly from Eastern cities such as Buffalo, Boston, Newark, Schenectady, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk and Richmond. The largest delegation came from Baltimore—composed almost entirely of Negro members.

As the caravan proceeded on its way it was greeted in city after city by Negroes who lined the streets and showed their solidarity by applauding, cheering and with clenched and upraised fists. Particularly was this so when the caravan passed through the poverty stricken sections of Wilmington, Baltimore and Washington. What with the miserable weather and the

Free Mooney Congress—comes the news of a public demonstration on the subject of the united front which in itself marks a great step forward in the revolutionary movement.

The united front of workers organizations, systematically sabotaged by the socialist fakery and criminally distorted by the Stalinist bureaucracy, had within recent years become almost a utopian dream or many workers. The Mooney congress showed that it was a realistic possibility. It aroused the workers in the camps of all parties from their apathy and inspired in them a new interest in this central problem of working class action, a problem more acute than ever at the present time, when the onslaughts of world reaction and national capitalist reorganization are beginning to be felt in all their fury.

It is to this new-born spirit that the arrangement of a symposium on the united front in Chicago must be attributed. It is a symposium in which the Left Opposition will for the first time be able to put forward its policy publicly, side by side with the official party, the Lovestonite Right wing and the socialist party. The fact that representatives of the Stalinist faction and the S. P. have finally, after over so many unanswered challenges, consented to bring their views face to face with those of the Left

previous attempts of the state department to terrorize the laboring populace of these sections, it was truly an imposing spectacle of class and race solidarity.

Most heartening of all was the way the Negro delegation, got up mostly from various churches and lodges, took to the word COMRADE. By the time the delegation was ready to leave Washington, the revolutionary appellation "Comrade" had replaced the bourgeois Mister which had been the social designation before the march began.

The march was undertaken primarily to present a bill known as the "Bill of Civil Rights for the Negro People," to the President and to Congress. But the "new deal" president gave a deal to the black and white workers that they will not so soon forget. He refused to see the delegation. "He was too busy," so his secretary said, "convening with foreign diplomats." (Continued on Page 2)

National Mooney Meet Lays Basis for Broad Fight

First Genuine National United Front Gathering of American Workers in Recent Times Marks Progress

Three Tendencies in Communist Movement Clearly Revealed in Clash on Policy and Resolutions; Left Opposition Defends Marxist Position

Chicago, Ill.—

One thousand and forty-eight delegates, representative of all sections of the labor and working class political movements, met in response to the call issued by the Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee, at the Free Tom Mooney Congress in Masonic Auditorium in Chicago on April 30, May 1, and 2. The congress marked the first attempt, belated though it was, to organize a national

wide united front movement in behalf of Tom Mooney. As the first working class gathering of such a character it was accomplished with some success. But more than this is the fact that it indicated the potentialities for mobilizing the masses of workers in a struggle, through the wide, bold and constant utilization of the united front tactic.

The efforts to organize the congress met with resistance on the

part of the leaderships of the American Federation of Labor, the socialist party and the independent unions under the influence of the Socialists. In spite of the sabotage of the reformists the congress nevertheless did make considerable progress in comparison with the past period. The incomplete report of the credentials Committee revealed the following representation:

Organization	Delegates
Local and Central Bodies of the A. F. of L.	114
Independent Unions	28
T. U. U. L.	75
Communist Party	29
I. W. W.	2
Proletarian Party	3
Socialist Party	4
C. P. L. A.	1
Communist League of America (Left Opp.)	4
Communist Party (Opp.)	3
Labor Party	1
Local and National Defense Org. (I. L. D., G. D. C., etc.)	173
Fraternal Organizations	104
Unemployed Organizations	83
Women's Organizations (YCL, YPSL, SYC)	37
Veterans Organizations	6
Farmers Organizations	3
Negro Organizations	1
Shop Committees	2
Miscellaneous	11

Congress Side lights

Political Notes on Incidents at the Chicago Sessions

The Mooney Congress was a big step forward for the Communist Party and had many positive qualities, which we must acknowledge at the start, even though Communists do not stop to pat themselves on the back. It was, at the same time, top heavy with a whole series of the most elementary and fundamental mistakes and blunders that can always be expected from Stalinism. At least one can say, without fear of contradiction, it was a big step in the correct direction, even though only a start.

When the Stalinists opened the door for "all" workers' organizations in their turn on the united front they hoped to find a way to keep the Left Opposition out, contrary to their expectations, they find themselves in the awkward position of being forced to take the defensive under the hammer of the Communist League of America. In other words, as we have pointed out so often before, to close the door to the Left Opposition is to close the door to contact with the American workers. And likewise to open the door, not for us, but for the American workers, is to open the door for us. Ask Hathaway, Minor and the steering committee of their caucus in the Mooney Conference, or consider the conference and judge for yourselves.

The success and step forward is due primarily to the rejection of the "united front from below" by the Communist Party and the acceptance of the united front between organizations. In a few months this policy has been able to obtain greater results than the Stalinists, with the united front from below, could obtain in the whole past period. In fact, the last few months has demonstrated that the united front of organizations

has done more to expose the Socialist and A. F. of L. misleaders than all the slander of the Stalinists and their theory of social-Fascism, which is the motivation for the united front from below.

Capacity Crowd Hails Russian Movie; Second Showing Saturday, May 27

Surpassing all expectations, a most extraordinary film on the Russian Revolution was exhibited last Saturday evening before a packed audience at the Labor Temple, New York City. Before the intensely interested and enthusiastic audience, which burst into applause and song on many occasions, there were unrehearsed for the first time, the actual and authentic pictures of every important event and action before and after the Bolshevik October Revolution.

We had here the best portrayal of the causes and events that culminated in the Russian Revolution under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky; and moreover every inch of the film is a first hand picture taken by over one hundred camera men on the spot. It includes events taken by John Reed, the American Bolshevik. It is necessary to see this grand picture to realize what a magnificent history of and propaganda for the ideals of Bolshevism is revealed in the ten reels shown last Saturday. No falsified film versions of the Russian Revolution—as given by the bourgeois film men and by Stalin's hirelings in the Soviet film world—but real, truthful, first-hand versions are given in this extraordinary film. For the remarkable editing of this film, full-time praise must be given to Max Eastman for his brilliant job. A. Axelbank is his collaborator.

The audience was gripped to the deep when it saw Yudenitch's White Guards execute hundreds of Red soldiers in groups of threes. Here was the Civil War brought out in all its bitter meaning. All is shown: a record of events from the first decade in the 20th century, from early Russia in Czarist days; the events leading up to the July uprising; the July uprising; the Kornilov counter-revolutionary movement; Keresnky, Miliukov, Chernov, Rodzianko and numberless other too numerous to mention here—they

Rockefeller Vandals Threaten Rivera Frescoes

As we go to press, word arrives of the ousting of Diego Rivera, the great revolutionary artist, from his job in Radio City, and of the intentions of the Rockefeller interests, owners of the enterprise, to destroy the revolutionary paintings he has already completed there. Immediately as soon as the events got abroad, a crowd of revolutionary workers, many Left Oppositionists and sympathizers among them, gathered in protest before the Rockefeller building, carrying banners and shouting slogans such as "Save Rivera's Murals," "Down with capitalist vandalism," etc.

Company thugs in uniform were lined up provocatively in front of the entrances. Before long a detail of mounted police and cops on foot charged into the crowd and encircled the pickets, breaking up the demonstration.

his immediate dismissal, screening whatever work Rivera had already completed and preparing its destruction — an act of vandalism which, characteristically enough, comes at a time when the world's attention is occupied with that other outrage of capitalist barbarism—the auto de fe of Hitler in the public squares of Germany.

Immediately after the New York organization of the Left Opposition got wind of this, it mobilized a prompt and spontaneous protest action in front of the Radio City buildings. The demonstration was broken up by the boss police with that same brutality and beastliness which has characterized their interventions always in strike picketings and with which militant workers are well acquainted. Both against workers' revolutionary art, the decadent bourgeoisie has only one recourse—the clubs of the police.

30 Hour Bill Legalizes Stagger System and Furthers Plan for New Wage Cuts

On April 6th the Senate passed a bill introduced by Senator Black of Alabama forbidding, for two years, the shipment of interstate and foreign commerce of commodities made in industries which do not adopt the six-hour day and five-day week. The restricted scope of the measure, formally, is made necessary for the capitalist parliamentary cretins by the limited powers accorded the federal government

by the "founding fathers." Its negative formulation is imposed by the necessity of circumventing these limitations by legal language which does not violate the Constitution.

The provisions of the bill did not apply equally to all industries. The canning and printing industry were exempted as were several others. Nor were the thirty hours a week entirely binding. The bill provided for an extension of hours where business was seasonal.

As it stood the bill was a national legalization of the stagger system of Hoover and Teague. Its ostensible motivation was to put men back to work. The bill, in this sense, represents an attempt on the part of the more far sighted section of the capitalist class to anticipate the coming struggles of the working class for a shorter workday and, if possible, as they think, to take the wind out of the sails of this struggle.

The chairman of the first session was Alex Frazer. Benjamin Ellisberg reported for the California delegates on the work of the Mooney committee in that section of the country. He was then followed by Robert Minor who made a report on the Mooney case, its history and present status. The report, as a review of the whole case, was done well. It lacked, however, a concrete characterization of the present stage of the struggle and a report of what should be done. The discussion that followed the report also assumed a more or less agitational character without correctness.

Cannon Takes the Floor

It was only when comrade Cannon got the floor, that a different note was sounded. In the short period of five minutes allotted to the discussion, he stressed above all the question of policy and program of activity. Presenting the position of

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star of the operatic and
concert stage, in a program
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violin virtuoso, formerly of the
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And -- For the First Time in America!

Diego Rivera

in a chalk-talk, on his widely-discussed frescoes in Radio City

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He was followed by A. J. Muste, representing the Conference of Progressive Labor Action, who reported on behalf of the Arrangements Committee. Muste proposed the election of a presiding committee to be in charge of the congress work. Among those proposed and elected to the committee were: J. B. Matthews of the socialist party; Roger Baldwin to the Civil Liberties Union; John Werlick, B. Ellisberg, Alex Frazer of the P. M. A.; Wm. Leader of the Hosiery Union of Philadelphia; Chas. Bloom of the Molders Union of St. Louis; Selma Burrell, Women's Auxiliary of the P. M. A.; J. Farley, George Smirkin of the YPSL; Moore, NAACP; Ralph Chaplin, I.W.W.; Al Renner of the Proletarian Party; Louis Scott, Wm. Patterson, Secretary of the I.L.D. A. J. Muste; Jack Johnstone, C. A. Hathaway; Robert Minor, I. A. Muter and R. M. Lovett. Chas. Bloom, H. Newton and George Smirkin were elected secretaries of the Congress.

Opposition to the bill as a whole and in part developed from all sides. The New York Times of May 2 reports that: "Spokesmen of the sugar, anthracite coal, cannery and building materials industries appeared before the House Labor Committee (where hearings are being held on the bill following its passage by the Senate) and opposed the thirty hour week measure as being too inflexible."

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Diego Rivera is one of the foremost artistic geniuses of the present generation and has been linked in his work from the first with the revolutionary workers' movement, in his native Mexico and internationally. The high character of his ability, which is of world renown, has made his services desirable also for the capitalist class which is accustomed to judging art, like everything else, according to its market price. Rivera, who is by no means financially independent, has from time to time accepted assignments for work from various bourgeois enterprises. But he has invariably done so with an eye to the socialist future, filling his frescoes with a revolutionary content which will live long after they have ceased to be private property, with the establishment of the workers' rule.

The murals Rivera was doing at Radio City were of the same character. The special panel which the Rockefellerers and their agent particularly objected to depicted Lenin clasping with his hands, the hands of a soldier, a white and a Negro worker, with a background showing an unemployed demonstration carrying bright red banners and placards saying "We Want Work, Not Charity," "Free Tom Mooney" and "Workers, Unite."

The Radio City authorities demanded the removal of Lenin's likeness and other changes. The artist categorically refused. Thereupon the Rockefeller interests proceeded with