

LEAGUE ACTIVITIES

Opposition and Unemployed in Los Angeles

Los Angeles—Part of the machinery set into motion by the United Front anti-Fascist letter of the C. I. was an anti-Hitler united front conference in Los Angeles on April 28.

This conference was not called by the Communist party but by a united front provisional organization of German groups.

Proof that the "united front from below" under revolutionary leadership has gone the way of the "third period" and the "struggle for the streets" was had by the fact that neither the Communist League nor the Young Communist League were represented officially.

We presume, their assumption was that their presence there would frighten from the "broad united front" the three branches of the L. L. D., the IWO, the FSU, the friends of the Polish Political Prisoners, the LSU, the Icar, and the Unemployed Council as well as two or three German speaking organizations: Workingmen's Benefit, Maennerchor, etc. And by no means shall we forget the Cremation Society who were present, too.

The only Communist organization openly participating was the Left Opposition.

A delegate of the Left Opposition was placed on the resolutions committee. In this committee he proposed three resolutions, in addition to the two already proposed. One of the resolutions, on the struggle against Fascism, stood for a united front with all labor organizations against the Fascist attacks, particularly with the socialist party. The socialist party was condemned for refusing to participate in this conference.

Other resolutions, on anti-Semitism pointed out that the struggle against Fascism and anti-Semitism by the Jews could only be waged by the lower social strata allying themselves with the proletariat, and demonstrated that only a new social order could abolish religious and racial prejudices.

The third resolution on the Defense of the Soviet Union showed that Hitler represented the spearhead of the attacks on Russia, and the labor movement particularly in the countries intervening between Russia and Germany must join the anti-Fascist bloc. (The party voted against the resolutions of the L. O.) The party seems determined to make of the anti-Hitler struggle an affair of fraternal German and Jewish groups instead of a labor affair. The local branch of the Opposition took a determined position against this. The consensus of opinion of revolutionaries here is that Stalinism is ready for a nice sanitary disposal.

Call the Cremation Society! Activity of the Left Opposition

The comrades in the Los Angeles branch of the League are very active in the class struggle particularly in the mass unemployment movement, the Unemployed Cooperative Relief Association in which they are very influential. The organization is slowly progressing. We are developing a group of erstwhile scissor bills into class conscious battlers, although in this as well as in other activities we suffer acutely from lack of forces.

The organization has demanded \$50,000 monthly from the city. This morning's newspapers state that Mayor Porter has appropriated \$20,000. The cause for this "liberality" is a dual one, a combination of pre-election political activity, and the forestalling of our movement by a political concession.

The movement has also gone on record for the freedom of Mooney, has elected a delegate by proxy to the Free Mooney Congress in Chicago.

Some time ago, when the U. C. R. A. placed an evicted family's furniture back into the home, the man, Tibbe, was arrested. After a nine day trial, costing the authorities at least \$1,000, the verdict was "not guilty." This was a victory for the unemployed.

The unemployed are turning on their disconnected gas, light and water in the tens of thousands. A number of half-hearted arrests have taken place on this account, too.

Friday, April 27, a member of the organization was placed on the streets. The unemployed determined to make a demonstration in the form of a continual meeting 24 hours daily at a pitched tent before the workers' former home. This tactic had won shelter for the family before.

In the small hours of the night, when the members keeping vigil had dwindled to 35 warning themselves before bonfires, the police and "red squad" swooped down and brutally beat the unemployed. It was not that horror of horrors, a "red", that was clubbed but one of themselves. The unemployed are aroused.

So the lessons of the class struggle, of private property, of the role of the state are being beaten home. We are busy drawing conclusions, organizing the instinctive rebellion into revolutionary Marxist paths.

-C. CURTISS

Organization Notes

New York City

The affairs held recently by the New York Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) have helped greatly to alleviate the financial situation of the Militant, as well as to take care of other financial obligations. A movie showing on "Germany in 1923 and the Congresses of the Comintern" brought \$30.00. The first showing of the movie of the Russian Revolution at the Labor Temple netted an excellent return. The gala affair at Town Hall, held through the medium of the International Workers School, at which Diego Rivera gave his talk on the controversy over his murals at Rockefeller Center, brought in a handsome profit, which will relieve the pressure considerably.

Now, a second showing of the movie on the Russian Revolution will be held at the Labor Temple on Saturday, May 27, and a third showing will very likely be arranged.

The branch has about completed its quota of \$75.00 for the Left Opposition in Germany. In a few weeks the first picnic of the season will be given under the auspices of the Branch. Other affairs are being planned.

Philadelphia Dress Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

more lessons and warnings. One is very important—it proves absolutely the correctness of the trade union policy of the Communist League. The strike marks a victory of the Right wing union; a defeat for the false Stalinist policies which dominated politically and organizationally the Left wing union. How and why?

The strike call was issued after months and months of negotiations between the ILGWU manager Reiberg and the clothing bosses; after months of "restraining." A general call for "union conditions" took the place of definite demands. The NTWU, weakened by years of a sectarian "third period" policy, was ignorant of the strike date. It just managed to limp along with an issuance of its prepared, and dateless strike leaflet, calling for a strike at the same time. Two big halls, the socialist Labor Institute and the Grand Fraternity, were rented by the ILGWU. The thousands of workers who responded to the strike call packed them. The Garrick Hall on Eighth Street rented by the Industrial Union, was desolate. Scores, instead of thousands.

Here is the latest fruit of incorrect policy. The shibboleth "United Front Committee" tacked on to the signature of the NTWU could not replace an isolationist strategy of years. The very mechanics of the struggle forced militant NTW and CP members into work with the masses from the shops—into the Right wing union. Many times the Left Opposition comrades, in the strike halls and on the line, heard the woeful story: "It's not my fault, they all went to the International." Shops brought down by the Industrial Union voted in the Left wing hall to go to the ILGWU. Not even in such a situation could the NTW union officers throw overboard their precious "line." As long as possible they expected a miracle, they clung to instructing comrades to go, though alone, to the Left wing hall. But of course it couldn't last long. It is no longer possible to ignore the hundreds of dressmakers in Reiberg's union.

After it saw the response and its own weakness, the NTW issued a call "for one strike"—"one united strike." Not yet one union but one strike! To this end it elected a committee of 50 to negotiate with the ILGWU before the eyes of the strikers. The Dubinsky-Reiberg-Tubin clique refused to give the committees so much as a hearing or even to take a note of the strike meetings. This is how the fakers responded to an offer by recognized militants for unity and aid in a strike struggle. The fact that in several big shops the employers obliged the ILG by shutting off the power to aid the ILG walk-out also is not accidental.

Does this mean that industrial unionism and class struggle policy is dead? Most certainly not. It does mean that Stalinism on the trade union field (they were supposed to be our teachers in practical work) has here succeeded in dispersing a heritage of militancy, in dividing Left and Right workers, and in discrediting the Left wing, not to speak of the Communist movement. The Left wing can and it will be resurrected. But again, only on the basis of a correct policy. Now the comrades must recover

from the shock, take stock of forces and policy and leadership, and so be prepared to go forward.

Boston Also On Strike

After we received the article from Philadelphia printed below, we also heard from Boston comrades that a dress strike had been declared there on May 16. As in Philadelphia, so in Boston too, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union has taken the lead; the turnout shows a very good response and the Industrial Union (under Stalinist leadership) is all the more surprising, since it is known that the NTWU only recently held a "Plenum" in New York which was supposed to deal with fundamental problems. An account of proceedings at this "plenum" and an analysis of the present strike movement and the various forces participating will appear in a forthcoming issue of the Militant.

The policy to be adopted must be on the recognition that the dressmakers are now in the ILGWU—a union, whose bureaucrats, as the NTW correctly maintains, are not to be trusted. The demand for one united strike is good. It does not go far enough. What now, that it has been rejected? The Left wing must demand ONE UNION. One union in the industry! We must insist on entry of the Needle Trades Union as a bloc into the International; without discrimination and without loss of privileges. This demand, which frankly recognizes the superior strength of the Rights, cannot be refused by the fakers. It will undermine completely their splitting tactics. Let the Reibergs dare refuse—ways will be found of entering. Shall we enter to "expose" the fakers? The building of a militant union on the policies of the class struggle is what brings the union members into conflict with class collaboration officials. That aim, correctly pursued, will in itself serve to expose them.

Can the left wing develop and function within the ILG? What a question! The class struggle itself makes such an alignment inevitable. The NTW will, because of its militant past and its foresight and courage, act as a haven. Already, with the strike not yet completely settled, voices of protest are raised. Reiberg's dues agreement will not satisfy the dressmakers, nor fill their tables. Piece-work and home bundles, some of the sorest spots, are ignored in the settlement. In many shops workers are asking: "What did we get? Our piece work rates are not increased; last Saturday we worked till six o'clock. Is this our union?" The terms of the settlement in the hands of the class collaborationists will prove a sell-out. A 10 percent raise in wages for the lowest paid, means, after 35 cents dues are paid, a 25 cent raise per week for a dress worker getting \$8 per week. A 40 hour week is promised after Jan. 1, 1934. At present, 44 hours. In actuality, even at this early stage the dress bosses laugh at it.

The Stalinist policies which left the workers in the reformist unions to the unrestrained mercy of the reformists are dismally bankrupt.

Fight Against Evictions!

(Continued from Page 1)

"Organized labor now has the chance of a generation to fix wages into the general scheme of production costs and to promote collective bargaining. Labor leaders do not seem to see it, however. You as employers seem safe in assuming continuing stupidity of labor."

This cynical but clear-sighted statement applies with equal force to the movement of the unemployed. But the failure to organize powerful unemployed organizations falls squarely upon the sectarian policy of the Stalinists which resulted in the division of the employed and unemployed. Yet, great opportunities still stand before the movement today. With hundreds of thousands of jobless about to be forcefully thrown out of their lodgings, with relief checks drastically slashed by the city, great masses of the jobless can be set into motion to frustrate the starvation orders of Tammany Hall. The Unemployed Councils of Greater New York have called upon all workers, for all are directly or indirectly affected, irrespective of color, nationality or political creed to come in huge numbers to a city-wide demonstration against the attacks of the bankers and landlords—to raise their voices and their fists against the mass evictions and the reduction of relief.

The Left Opposition stands solidly behind this movement and calls upon all workers to lend their fighting support to stay the hand of the Tammany evictor. All out on Thursday, May 25th!

The program included Maria Theresa, of the old Isadora Duncan group, and Maria Winetzkaja, soprano, as well as a chalk talk by comrade Rivera on his Radio City mural paintings.

Introduced by comrade B. J. Field, who also acted as translator, comrade Rivera declared that the art of the proletarian, representing a class which is historically on the upswing, was necessarily superior in vitality and artistic value to the art of the bourgeoisie.

He illustrated his talk by drawing in colored chalks, first, the plan of Radio City as a whole, then the structural lines of his main panel finally the principal features of the painting, including the portrait of Lenin which was the immediate occasion for the Rockefeller attack.

The affair was not only financially successful, but added politically to the prestige of the Left Opposition. —L. J. F.

Two Expelled from YCL

(Continued from Page 1)

hours, 2 hours on the banking crisis, 1 hour on the role of "Trotskyists" in general and the rest of his speech he devoted to the German Situation. The meeting, one could see, was carefully planned in advance.

Herman, district organizer of the YCL, informed one of our comrades, in reply to their inquiry, that there will not be any discussion at this meeting. Lerner, a section organizer, threatened one of the comrades in the hall, two minutes before the meeting started: "You get up and ASK for a discussion and you'll get carried out of here," and "I pity you when we get you outside."

This was the meeting for clarification, and this was the discussion. Hathaway, however, did see the necessity for a question period. So there was a question period in which the members were told to hand in their questions on paper. The comrades objected to such un-Communist tactics and Hathaway thundered that "all YCLers with Trotskyist ideas must be driven from the league."

At their units the expelled members hardly were given the chance to defend themselves, interruptions taking place whenever they would attempt to speak.

(Continued from Page 1)

Next came the choice morsel of the meeting, if we may call it that. The Lovestonite from the Association of the Unemployed, Rubenstein, took the floor to make the most reactionary proposal yet heard from the Right wing camp. He demanded that the conference be restricted to unemployed organizations only. (This would mean that the only organizations eligible would be the Unemployed Councils and the Association of Unemployed, the S.P. unemployed organization having sabotaged the conference.) Rubenstein further stated that his organization was unanimously opposed to the participation of any political groups (!) This Right wing proposal, which one would expect from an A. P. I. Red baiter, could only succeed in ousting all trade union bodies which have a huge unemployed membership, (dividing the employed from the jobless) and all political bodies which are directly interested in the relief question as a political struggle. Rubenstein's attempt to take refuge behind the backwardness of the members of the Association of the Unemployed was futile as he directly implicated the Lovestone group by saying that this stand represented the unanimous opinion of his organization. The conference opposed this proposal as a man. Rubenstein withdrew from the conference, adding insult to injury and splitting the conference.

The conference then discussed and accepted a draft call for action and for the June 4th conference. It elected an Ex. Comm. from which they succeeded in barring the Left Opposition. As its part in this struggle the Left Opposition had pledged all its forces, the use of its headquarters for information and congregation to the jobless in the fight against evictions and relief cuts. —GEO. CLARKE

N. Y. Conference Against Evictions and Relief Cuts

On May 18, in answer to a call of the Unemployed Councils of Greater New York, a provisional conference took place to organize the struggle against evictions, relief cuts and to prepare a larger united front which is to take place on June 4th.

Represented at this conference were the Communist Party, the T.U.U.L., the Unemployed Councils, the IWO, the C.P.A., the Association of the Unemployed (controlled by the Lovestonites), the IWW, and the N. Y. Branch of the Left Opposition which, although uninvited, sent three delegates, comrades Milton, Lewitt and Clarke.

The conference began by an attempt of the Stalinists to exclude the Left Opposition from the provisional gathering through a motion by Benjamin to exclude all organizations not invited in the call for the conference. They, the Stalinists benevolently granted,

and accepted a draft call for action and for the June 4th conference. It elected an Ex. Comm. from which they succeeded in barring the Left Opposition. As its part in this struggle the Left Opposition had pledged all its forces, the use of its headquarters for information and congregation to the jobless in the fight against evictions and relief cuts. —GEO. CLARKE

Kameney Capitulates Again

From the capitalist press we learn of Leon Kameney's new, "abject" capitulation. If this is true, Kameney merely preferred political extinction to physical extermination. A miserable alternative, true, but a miserable choice.

Advertisement for 'EXTRAORDINARY MOVING PICTURE On the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION' showing at Labor Temple, Sat., May 27, 1933, at 8 p. m.

MAIN RESOLUTION OUTLINES BROAD PROGRAM OF ACTION IN FIGHT TO FREE TOM MOONEY

Adopted at the "Free Tom Mooney Congress" Held in Chicago, April 30-May 2

The Free Tom Mooney Congress, assembled at Chicago, April 30 to May 2, 1933, to decide on ways and means to obtain the liberty of that militant champion of the workers' rights, Tom Mooney, 32 years a member in good standing of the International Molders Union, No. 164, and to combat the increasing wave of similar persecution of workers, farmers, and the oppressed Negro masses, adopts the following declaration:

The brazen frame-up and condemnation of Tom Mooney to death, and later to life imprisonment, and of Warren Billings to life imprisonment in California in 1916, was nominally for a crime with which they had no connection; and this frame-up had to do wholly with the fierce economic struggles between capital and labor.

Framed up by private corporation detectives solely because of fearless leadership in the struggle for the improvement of the standards of living for the workers, the continued imprisonment of Mooney and Billings for seventeen years is an insult, a challenge—a declaration of ruthless class war against the workers of this country.

In the course of his long martyrdom, courageously endured in San Quentin Prison, Tom Mooney has become the foremost living symbol of the American working class. As such, he is hated by all of the enemies of labor; and, as such, we fight for him, determined at all costs, in the interests of the working class, to secure his liberation.

The imprisonment of Tom Mooney has become the keystone of a whole arch of criminal frame-ups, ruthless attacks and denials of the rights of workers, farmers, and the oppressed Negro masses. In the midst of the present economic crisis, which brings hunger and starvation to millions of American workers, the imprisonment of Tom Mooney by

the ruling powers of California is continued by those sinister forces as part of the tactics of the American capitalist class to throw the whole burden of the depression upon the workers and farmers in lowered standards of living and denial of relief and to enforce the acceptance of this through a ruthless reign of terror.

These persecutions are connected with violent breaking of strikes, the cutting of wages, the fall of the membership of the trade unions from one million in 1920 to two millions in 1932, a fall of total payrolls to 38 percent of what it was in 1929, the suffering of millions left to starve without social insurance, with women and children dying of hunger in the cities, with tens of thousands of farmers dispossessed of their land and driven to the cities to join the unemployed in fruitless search for work or framed up and tried before military courts.

Just at the frame-up and imprisonment of Tom Mooney was connected with the preparations for the entry of this country into the world war, so now the continued imprisonment of Mooney, and other victims of capitalist class justice, with the increasing sharp attacks upon all rights of the workers, are connected with the militarization of the jobless workers in forced labor camps on wages standardized at \$1 per day while thousands of millions of dollars squeezed from small taxpayers are diverted to the treasuries of private bankers, and the spending of hundreds of millions of millions in the preparation of a second imperialist war by the capitalist nations and against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Just as Mooney was first saved from the gallows by international action and solidarity of labor on the part of the Russian workers, just so the struggle for the libera-

tion of Mooney and other victims of capitalist class justice becomes more than ever an international cause in which the workers of all countries of the world must be enlisted to fight.

In this situation, the world-wide demand for the liberation of labor's martyr, Tom Mooney, is taking on gigantic proportions.

The power of labor to release its imprisoned martyrs is increased in proportion to the successful strikes which are now beginning to demonstrate that the working class will not tolerate the lowering of the standard of living to a starvation level. The power of the laboring masses successfully to demand the liberation of Mooney is greatly increased at a time when hundreds of thousands of American workers in hunger marches are a living proof that the American people of all exploited classes have reached a turning point at which they intend to resist aggression.

The joining of white and Negro workers together in defense against their common misery brings a vast increase in the strength of labor to compel the release of victims of

class and race persecution. The organization and struggle of Negro share-croppers and farmers in the South, no less than the joining of great masses of white and Negro workers together in struggles against unemployment in the cities, testifies to a growing solidarity which makes now for a greater strength in the struggle for the rights of the exploited. The joining of the two mighty currents of protest and demand for the freedom of Tom Mooney and for the freedom of the nine Negro boys framed up at Scottsboro, is the historic mark of the developing strength of the exploited masses against oppression.

Brother Tom Mooney for 17 years the symbol of working class martyrdom, must now become the living symbol of the unity of the working class.

The need of unity is a life and death question of the American workers today.

Disunity in the Past

In 1916 the frame-up of Mooney was not answered by a united front of the workers. The labor movement

remained divided and the corrupt use of the name of "Organized Labor" who conspired to hang this labor organizer.

The frame-up and sentence to death or imprisonment of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings would not have been possible if labor had been united for their defense.

Their 17 years of imprisonment would not have been possible if at any time the whole of labor had been united in one firm demand for their release.

For such disunity the trade unions and the working class have paid and are paying a terrible price. The legal murder of the innocent Sacco and Vanzetti was a part of the price of disunity of the workers. It could not have occurred if, prior to that time, the unity of the workers in defense of Tom Mooney had been established. Countless other acts of savage violence, frame up, smashing picket lines, attacks on unemployed gatherings, such acts of violence as have become epidemic since the World War, were made easier for the reactionary forces because the workers had

Motions Presented by Left Opposition at Chicago

1. This congress is conceived not shall be concentrated on the Mooney

as the culmination but rather as the starting point of a new movement to rally a powerful united front of the working class in the struggle for the liberation of Mooney and Billings.

2. The next steps along this line shall be a series of local and district united front conferences which have the aim of broadening the movement in setting ever-wider masses of the working class into motion, drawing in new forces not yet in the united front and cementing the solidarity of those already participating.

3. This work shall lead in the next stage of the struggle to a national and international Mooney Day, at which the attention of the working class of the entire world

participate in the movement up to now, and their persistent attempts to sabotage the struggle, must not in any case lead to an abandonment of the united front policy with respect to their organizations. On the contrary, the leading organs of the Mooney movements must make it clear at every turn that all organizations and their leaders are invited to participate in the movement and that the door is left open to them even if they have previously refused. Only in this way will it be possible to really rally the masses of workers within the various organizations and give them proper ground upon which to fight every attempt of the leadership to sabotage unity.

4. All the agitation and activity in the next period shall be connected with the perspective of a second National Mooney Congress with a goal of at least 10,000 delegates.

5. The policy for all this work shall govern the activity of the leading committee on a national scale and all the local organizations is the policy of the united front of workers' organizations. Only in this way is it possible to unite the masses of workers of varying political opinions and tendencies into a single fighting unity in the interests of Tom Mooney and the cause which he symbolizes. The failure of the leaders of some working class organizations to par-

Calls for "Council of Representatives of Various Organizations with Different Views"

not successfully been united to resist this attack expressed in the frame-up of Mooney in 1916. Through this breach of unity has flowed a torrent of tyranny in the form of injunctions and deprivation of legal rights.

A Call for Unity

This Congress calls upon trade unions and all workers' organizations, on the exploited farmers, and on all intellectuals and professional people to form an agreement of cooperation for those objects on which it is possible to obtain united action for the release of Tom Mooney and checking the persecutions of the working class.

Difficulties stand in the way of securing united action which arise out of divisions in the ranks of the working class. Yet, at the present time, regardless of these differences, the needs of the working class call imperatively for united action to halt the encroachments on the rights and interests of the workers.

Therefore, even while sharp differences will continue to exist on many questions, between the various workers' organizations, it is necessary to bring about concerted action of all workers and of their organizations for certain immediate objectives equally urgent for all workers and workers' bodies. We proclaim the first of these to be united action of all for the freedom of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. In order that such unity of action be made possible under present difficult circumstances of division between workers' organizations, it is the opinion of this Congress that to obtain such united action, those organizations which enter into such a united front shall refrain from attacks on other participating organizations on the issues and problems which have at times served as an instrument in the hands of those

posals of the united front during the period of common action and while such organizations are loyally carrying out this agreement. Differences of opinion on policies and tactics, of course, can and must be discussed in the course of working out the proposals for common action in order to clarify the issues. Criticism of even the sharpest sort should be directed against any opposed to united action.

National Council of Action

This Congress hereby establishes a National Tom Mooney Council of Action—a United Front for Workers' Rights and the Rights of the Negro People. In doing this we declare our purpose not to form a body which will supersede any organization, but to bring about cooperation and united action of all existing organizations. We propose a council of representatives of various organizations with different views, but having the common desire to fight for the liberation of Tom Mooney and other victims of capitalist "justice" and for the democratic rights of the working class and exploited masses.

Such a council, particularly, should not supersede the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W., the International Labor Defense, or other workers' defense bodies, but should strive to eliminate friction between these two bodies and to unite support of the fight for workers' rights. The Tom Mooney's Molders' Defense Committee should continue to function as at present, assuming special charge of Tom Mooney's defense under his personal direction. The Council of Action will support the Molders' Defense Committee through financial assistance and by developing the widest possible mass movement for the release of Mooney and Billings.

(Continued in next issue)