

WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Consolidate the Weekly!

New York Gives New Impetus to Expansion Program Fund

The last meeting of the National Committee decided to appeal to the members and friends of the Communist League to make up the balance of the two thousand dollar fund needed to finish the expansion program which was laid out for the year. This decision of the National Committee is a timely reminder that we should not forget the practical tasks we have undertaken nor leave them uncompleted. Approximately two-thirds of the total fund has been subscribed and a corresponding proportion of the objectives of the program have already been attained. These results bear convincing testimony to the practical feasibility of the plan, to the accuracy with which the National Committee estimated the resources and responsive spirit of the membership and its own ability to fulfill the obligations.

As matters stand now our planned method of work stands vindicated, but the program remains uncompleted. The thing now is to finish the job. This will signify another step forward for our movement. Not the least of the positive results of a triumphant completion of the whole program will be its influence in convincing ourselves and others that we mean what we say and accomplish what we undertake. There has been more than enough of bluff and bluster in the Communist movement of America, a practical demonstration of a different method will have a wholesome effect all the way around.

The central task of the moment, upon which the appeal of the National Committee is primarily based, is the stabilization of the Weekly Militant. The launching of this enterprise in the face of the traditional "summer slump" was a bold step, but it was necessary and therefore correct. This is the tenth issue of the resurrected Weekly. It was undertaken without adequate reserves, and all summer the financial resources of the organization have been strained almost to the breaking point. We confidently believe that the worst is behind us in this respect.

However, it must be said frankly that a new push is needed all along the line to secure the Weekly. If all the supporters of the Militant see the situation

as it is, there can be no doubt that they will pull the belt a little tighter and make the necessary sacrifices to guarantee the uninterrupted weekly publication of our beloved paper. Their past performance speaks in favor of this assumption, and the confident appeal of the National Committee is predicated upon it.

Although the problem presents itself at the moment as a practical question of finances the campaign will derive its scope and power, and its certainty of success, from the broader aspects of the issue. It was a great day for the Communist vanguard of America when our Militant recovered from its first defeat and raised its head again as a weekly publication. And not only for America; the embattled sections of the unconquerable Opposition throughout the world, who are united with us in a single fighting fraternity, have drawn a new strength and inspiration from the triumphant resurgence of our militant paper. It is these considerations which will animate our whole organization as one man when we say that the re-establishment of the weekly Militant was no trifling experiment, but a deliberate action. We meant to carry it through at all cost and we will do so.

—J. P. C.

FIRST RESULTS

Following an appeal to the last meeting of the New York branch by comrade Arne Swabek, national secretary, close to ninety dollars was contributed or pledged for immediate contribution by the comrades assembled. This action should serve to give a new impetus to the completion of the Expansion Program Fund, not only in New York, but throughout the country. The following comrades contributed: J. P. Cannon, \$5.00; Sylvia Bleeker, \$5.00; Marty Abern, \$5.00; M. Lewit, \$10.00; Al Glotzer, \$2.00. Pledges in addition were made as follows: J. P. Cannon, \$5.00; M. Lewit, \$5.00; Al Glotzer, \$5.00; Harry Milton, \$5.00; Max Engel, \$10.00; George Clarke, \$5.00 E. Field, \$10.00; Louis Basky, \$5.00; Jerry Marsh, \$1.00; H. Capella, \$10.00. Grand total, \$88.00. What do the comrades in the other cities say?

I. Y. D. AllOut!

Amidst the fires and flames of World War, at a time when international socialism had collapsed, the national socialist parties had (with few brilliant exceptions) turned social-imperialist, the socialist youth assembled at Berne, Switzerland, unfurled the banner of proletarian internationalism. It was there, in April 1915, that the first Sunday of every September was set aside for the mobilization of the working youth against capitalist militarism and war.

The kindled sparks served as torches to light up the path towards proletarian revolution. The socialist youth, actively aided by the Bolsheviks, inspired by Lenin, Liebknecht, and Luxemburg, courageously led the struggle against opportunism and social patriotism. Hand in hand with the revolutionary socialists of the social democratic parties it forged ahead, organized Left wings, held demonstrations, defended the principles of revolutionary Marxism.

The victorious October gave unprecedented impetus to this development. In November 1919, in Berlin, a few months after the Comintern had been formed, amidst tumult and uncertainty, victories and defeats, the Young Communist International was born. Continuing the best traditions of the Socialist Youth International, it made International Youth Day a living expression of its anti-militarist work. The traditions of I. Y. D. were enriched, made more glorious, enshrined in the heart of every young revolutionist. Growing thousands of youth rallied to the call of the Y. C. I. against militarism, armaments, war. The fight against militarism was intimately connected with the struggle against wage slavery, with the winning of the youth for Communism. The Y. C. I. was becoming the acknowledged leader of the international proletarian youth.

Today more than ever since the last war, the need for systematic anti-militarist work exists. The present worldwide economic crisis compels the imperialist powers to intensify their search for new markets. The increased armaments, the numerous peace conferences, the wide spread militarization of the youth, the offensive of the capitalist governments against the Communists, the divers campaign against the Soviet Union are a few of the outstanding signs of the day.

Are the Leagues prepared to play the same role that the socialist youth did in the last war? Can they mobilize the youth for the defense of the Soviet Union? Will they be able to carry on a revolutionary struggle against their own capitalist class?

The absence of systematic and effective anti-militarist activity, and the virtual sterility of the Leagues caused by the revisionist theories, false strategy and tactics and bureaucratic regime predominating in the International Communist movement, spell a serious danger. Just as in 1915, the revolutionary socialist youth, who were in the forefront in the struggle against militarism, led the fight against opportunism in the revolutionary ranks, so today the Communist youth should rally around the Left Opposition in its struggle for revolutionary Marxism, against opportunism, for the regeneration of the Communist movement.

We should greet the seventeenth International Youth Day—resolved to emulate the young comrades who came before us; to carry on their work until final victory.

Young Communists! Struggle for the unity of the Communist youth movement! For the unity of the world Communist movement!

Against opportunism! For revolutionary Marxism!

Young Communists, young workers, young students! Demonstrate on September 8th against capitalist militarism and war!
—JOS. C.

Our Spanish Fund

We are anxious to sum up our campaign for the support of the Spanish Left Opposition press in ship-shape style. The aim we have set ourselves, and it is a modest one, is to raise the sum of two hundred dollars to help our militant Spanish comrades in their efforts to issue a popular weekly organ. Our assistance will not end there, but for this campaign, at least, we want to get the money raised as quickly as possible.

Since our last list, we have received the following contributions: Chicago branch, \$8.00; Toronto branch, \$1.00; D. Dreyer, N. Y. C., \$1.00; M. Morris, Loch Sheldrake, N. Y., \$1.00; Previous total: \$155.81. Grand total to date: \$166.81.

Not much more is required to fill the sum completely. Let us do it generously and speedily!

Mooney Appeals!

All Efforts Now for a Broad and Genuine United Front Move

A Call from Prison

California State Prison,
San Quentin, California,
August 20, 1931.

To All Militant and Revolutionary
Labor Organizations and Groups

Dear Comrades and Fellow Unionists:

The time for action has come. Too long have we been deceived with slick promises—away with them! From the cell where I have been buried alive for fifteen long years I appeal to every working class organization with a spark of militancy or revolutionary purpose—I appeal for united action.

The most flagrant "frame-up" this country has ever seen is dragging into its sixteenth year, and not even a glimpse of freedom is in sight. In fact, I am more securely imprisoned today than when first arrested. The dictatorship of capital knows the economic conditions are so ominous that to issue a pardon at this time would be as though a lighted match were thrown into a powder keg. We must prove that neither will my continued imprisonment serve their purposes. Let this appeal be the spark which will start an unparalleled conflagration—agitation that will arouse the masses to demand my unconditional pardon and the release of all class war prisoners.

I ask for a genuine united front. Every working class organization should elect delegates and be represented on Pardon Mooney Committee that will direct the activities of the workers in this fight. The task of such committees will be to call mass meetings, distribute literature, carry on monster public demonstrations, and engage in an energetic campaign that will make the ground tremble under the feet of the arrogant rulers of California.

One of the immediate tasks of these committees will be to force through the pressure of an awakened public opinion, the publication of the Wickersham Commission of the suppressed report on the Mooney case, prepared by its experts. This Report, I am given to understand, is a factual record and, when published, will definitely prove that the California authorities combined to organize the frame-up.

Too many working class groups divide and weaken their forces. The effect they quite naturally should have in combined numbers is lost when they quarrel among themselves. This case ought to serve as a common rallying ground for all revolutionary and militant groups which should unite for effective work in the face of a common enemy.

I call upon the following groups, listed alphabetically, and other similar groups I may overlook or forget in my haste to unite and organize Pardon Mooney Committees in every city and state in this nation for immediate action:

All the militant units and individuals within the A. F. of L.
The Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The Communist Party, and all of its subdivisions including the Trade Union Unity League, the International Labor Defense, and other similar organizations.
All of the groups who have split away from the Communist Party, such as the Majority Group, the Communist League Opposition, the Communist League of Struggle.

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

The Farmer Labor Party.
The Industrial Workers of the World
The Proletarian Party.
The Socialist Labor Party.
The Socialist Labor Party, etc.

I know it will not be easy for some of these groups to cooperate, one with the other. But this is a basic issue, and every sincere man and woman willing to join in a united effort should and shall, be welcome.

I have spent fifteen of the best years of my life in a California dungeon for the ideals and purposes all these groups represent and my fate is in their hands. When they fight for my freedom, they fight for their cause—the cause of labor. My continued imprisonment is the very best evidence of the futility and weakness of their divided efforts. Only by their combined strength can they defeat the common foe.

I hail each and every one of my fellow workers and comrades in this struggle. Let us all work in common for the Social Revolution that will bring to an end this barbarous dog-eat-dog, profit-mad, capitalist system.

To each and every one of you I send fraternal revolutionary greetings.

TOM MOONEY
31,921

In an adjoining column, we print Tom Mooney's clarion call to all revolutionary and militant labor organizations and groups.

We agree with Tom Mooney that the "time for action has come," and unreservedly endorse the call. To the Communist movement, to all revolutionary and militant workers it becomes a golden opportunity and an imperative duty to close the ranks and act unswervingly and unitedly in a struggle which will reverberate from coast to coast, for the unconditional pardon of Tom Mooney and the release of all class war prisoners. The Communist League of America (Opposition) adds its voice to that of Tom Mooney's from his prison cell, where he has been buried for fifteen long years. We say: Yes, this issue can serve as a common rallying ground for all revolutionary and militant groups!

The Need for Action

With the capitalist offensive forging its way ruthlessly, with its dungeons filled with miners from Harlan, Kentucky, and from the Pennsylvania fields, with Negro workers from Chicago and Scottsborough, with the Centralia prisoners still languishing in jail and the continued increase of class war victims, this issue of freedom for Tom Mooney and release of all class war prisoners has become an ever more potent one, action upon which brooks no delay. With the deepening of the crisis and more acute working class misery, it is to be expected that the rulers of Wall Street, in order to extricate themselves from their economic difficulties, will attempt to feed the greedy maws of class oppression with many more victims—sterling champions of the proletariat. But it is not yet too late for the working class to rally and to build a gigantic movement which will prevent it.

From his prison cell Tom Mooney says: "I ask for a genuine united front." This is entirely correct and will meet with the approval of every red-blooded worker. Only a genuine united front can produce a movement sufficiently strong in numbers, sufficiently strong in purpose and in conviction to batter open the prison doors and to advance the American working class toward the social revolution. Only an international solidarity, steeled by a revolutionary

purpose, can liberate the working class from capitalist oppression and forever destroy the capitalist dungeons.

Tom Mooney names specific organizations upon which he calls to build a genuine united front, to create Pardon Mooney Committees throughout the country. He does not call upon the imperialist agents within labor's ranks, the reactionary trade union bureaucrats, nor upon those who have deceived with slick promises. Their role as deceivers and betrayers he has already unmasked by his burning denunciations. A genuine united front must mean an effort to include all of these organizations and others willing to participate. In this there need be no fear of the deceivers and betrayers within some of these organizations. The Illiquits, the Illimans and the other little Mustes hate more than anything else to work in common with us in any genuine struggle, or even for the release of all class war prisoners. They prefer the ranks of reaction to the camp of revolution and they prove it daily at every serious test. But it is our task to make them stand up in front of the workers on every concrete question and affirm this by their refusal to participate in a real struggle. Such leader types will oppose the united front with the Communists because they aim to maintain capitalism. But without the Communists, there can be no united front and the workers will thus, by one more experience, learn that to heed the clarion call of Tom Mooney they will have to fight all such leaders standing in the way.

The Communist Duty

Upon the Communists devolves, therefore, the duty to bring this genuine united front into life. Their guiding line can only be the one of the dearest interests of the working class and of following the glowing spirit of Tom Mooney and the other class war prisoners. To weld together various workers organizations, with varying programs, into one solid fighting front around this one common purpose will bring about a mighty echo of approval from every militant worker.

It is therefore pertinent to ask, in view of the statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party published in the Daily Worker of August 28 (Continued on page 2)

Gordon Arrested at Boston Meeting

BOSTON.—

Sam Gordon, organizer for the Communist League of America (Opposition) was arrested at a street meeting in Malden here for "speaking without a permit". The meeting, one of a series at which Gordon had been speaking to ever-increasing groups of workers, was held in connection with the anti-deportation campaign, and had attracted a large number of Malden workers. After having spoken for about half an hour, a police patrol arrived in an auto and comrade Gordon was asked by the police sergeant to stop speaking. Gordon refused. A bit nonplussed the police stood around for another ten minutes and then, at a signal from the sergeant, when Gordon once more refused to leave the platform, he was pulled down by a couple of burly cops and into the police auto. There were loud and noisy protests from the crowd which had by that time swelled to more than three hundred workers. While in the auto, flanked by the gentlemen of Law and Order, the order was given to the cops to "stay and break it up". At the police station, Gordon's tie and belt were removed so that, according to the sneering remark of the sergeant, he would not "hang himself" (1). The International Labor Defense, upon

being informed, sent a representative down to court next morning who requested that the I. L. D. be given charge of the case, a gratifying change of course on its part as compared with the sabotaging action it pursued in the demands for defense made upon it in the Philadelphia Morgenstern-Goodman case. Bail was set at \$200.00 which upon being furnished, enabled the release of comrade Gordon. Trial was set for September 11 on the charge of speaking without a permit, although—as is the Massachusetts custom—it is possible that the prosecution may change the charge when it sees how weak its case is.

Representatives of the Left Opposition have conversed with Harry Cantor, head of the I. L. D. locally, and arrangements are being made for the defense, although comrade Cantor emphasized that in such cases it is not the I. L. D. policy at present to provide attorneys or pay fines. However, it appears that there is a good likelihood that satisfactory arrangements can be made with the I. L. D. or cooperative in the case. Mr. David K. Niles, of the Civil Liberties Union, has informed the Left Opposition comrades in Boston that he wants to make a test case out of the arrest and is willing to cooperate with the I. L. D.

Credits for Soviet Union

Stalinists Change their Stand but Evade Most Essential Points

The Communist party has finally incorporated into its unemployment program a part of the demand put forward by the Left Opposition for a campaign in favor of large, long-term credits to the Soviet Union. In the new unemployment program published in the Daily Worker of August 29, 1931, we find that the last point which the party "declares that the masses must demand" reads as follows:

"10. Development of trade relations with the Soviet Union (including the demand for recognition of the Soviet Union not only as a fundamental requirement of international working class solidarity, but also as a vital immediate economic need of the starving masses) in order that the idle factories may work, fill the constantly growing demands of the successful construction of the workers' government and its five year plan."

Following upon the insertion of a similar point in the demands of the Unemployed Councils of New York, upon which we commented last week, it is

clear that, on this question, the Stalinists have made a turn about face in the direction of the Opposition—not their customary hysterical turns of 180 degrees, nor even a complete turn to the correct position, but at any rate, a turn in the right direction. The cool and off-hand manner in which the change is made cannot conceal the fact that for more than a year now the Stalinist hierarchy in the party—and throughout the Comintern—has systematically and bitterly sabotaged the promulgation of this vitally necessary slogan of economic collaboration with the Soviet Union.

What We Demanded

As far back as April 5 1930, the Militant wrote: "We regard it necessary for the Communists to conduct a campaign for and to make demands upon the Hoover government for the establishment of broad and long-time credits to the Soviet Union by the United States. This should, in fact, be a central slogan of the Communists in all countries. It is possible to demonstrate to the American

(Continued on page 3)

Offer Aid in Party Election Fight

In view of the coming municipal elections in New York, the local branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) in an effort to do all in its power to cooperate in the furtherance of the Communist campaign, has addressed the following letter to the official party:

New York District Executive Com.
Communist Party of the U. S. A.
50 E. 13th St.,
New York, N. Y.
Comrades:

The New York Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) offers its services in the coming election campaign. We are ready to supply speakers, press space, literature, and aid in any other manner assigned to us.

In order to have as successful a campaign as possible, it is essential that a prompt and energetic effort be made for the collection of signatures for the placing of Communist candidates on the ballot.

We are prepared to participate in this collection campaign.

We await an early response.
Comradely
H. STONE,
Secretary.

No reply has yet been received from the party, but the New York branch of the League is laying plans for the maximum participation in the campaign in spite of the obvious desire of the Stalinist officials to prevent our cooperation.

The Anarchists in Spain

The «Turn» of the Syndicalists and Macia's Nationalism

In recent days, the Catalonian question has occupied the foreground of Spain's political life. The Catalonian Statute is to be discussed by the Cortes at Madrid: will it be adopted? The jubilation in the Catalonian nationalist circles was great this week, but it has swiftly abated. From the latest information, Macia himself went to Madrid to defend the Statute. The telegrams add that, following a conversation between Macia and Zamora, Barcelona is sure that the Statute will be adopted by the Cortes, without great difficulties. What lies behind all this agitation around the Catalonian Statute?

The Catalonian nationalist movement is led entirely by the Catalonian petty bourgeoisie. It is in this movement that the great popular mass of Catalonia has put all its economic and social hopes aroused by the April revolution. The Communist party being too weak in Catalonia and the Catalonian Federation, led by the confusionist Maurin, having favored the policy of Macia by its false "separatist" policy, has enabled Macia to canalize into the zone of his influence, by an "evangelical-social" agitation of the most vulgar demagoguery, the sympathies of the great majority of the popular masses of Catalonia, primarily those of

the petty bourgeoisie of the cities and the country. This fact gives the Catalonian movement a conciliatory and opportunistic character. Macia, Compagnys and the other leaders of this movement have adopted the only policy adapted to the spirit and the social nature of the petty bourgeoisie, that is, the policy of those "seated between two chairs". It is only eight days ago that complaints were made against Macia in the Spanish press and even from the tribune of the Cortes for having conspired with the National Confederation of Labor against the central power of Madrid and for having supported the strike movement of the N. C. of L. against the bourgeoisie. Compagnys delivered a flamboyant speech in the Cortes in favor of the anarchist-syndicalist N. C. of L. In reality, Macia assured himself, on the eve of the plebiscite for the Catalonian Statute, of the aid of the "a-political" anarcho-syndicalist N. C. of L. Macia cannot rule tranquilly without the aid or at least the benevolent neutrality of the organized Catalonian workers. The syndicalist leaders of the N. C. of L. who undividedly rule the Catalonian working class have lent this necessary accord to Macia, in the hope of having "social peace".

(Continued on page 2)