

**WORKERS
OF THE
WORLD.
UNITE**

THE MILITANT



Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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Stop Making a Faction Football Out Of Arne Swabeck Injured in Accident the Mooney Case!

The case of Tom Mooney, which for almost fifteen years, has been kicked around like a football, not only in the legal institutions of capitalism, but in the labor movement, is again threatened with the same fate. The danger to the movement for Mooney's release arises in spite of the clear, unmistakable and thoroughly correct provisions outlined for it in the recent appeal issued from San Quentin penitentiary by the world renowned prisoner No. 31,921. For years, false "friends" of Mooney deceived and frustrated the workers by promises that if they would only remain "respectable" and not "create disturbances" or organize demonstrations, Mooney would be released by the labor fakers in high places who would see this or that capitalist politician in the behalf. Tom Mooney himself put an end to this rubbish and worse when he wrote in his appeal last month: "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 . . . 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." This is the only sound basis upon which a movement can be built.

The Stalinist Plan

We have already commented upon and attacked the course taken by the official Communist party and the International Labor Defense which it controls. They are evading the concrete proposals made by Mooney, whispering around in small circles that Mooney would adopt their course if he were not in prison "where he cannot know the situation". Instead of striking out on the right path, the I. L. D. and the Stalinist machine have adopted a narrow, sectarian policy which seeks to limit the Mooney movement within the stifling confines of the Communists, the Communist organizations and those under its immediate influence and control. Mooney, and we with him, proposed a genuine united front of all the organizations he mentioned in his appeal—Communist, socialist, A. F. of L. unions, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, I. W. W., etc., etc. This is the only way to put the issue in the labor movement and to divide the real friends of Mooney from the false. But the Stalinists are so contemptibly fearful of matching their program and deeds in an open movement with those of other tendencies in the working class, that they prefer sectarian isolation thinly and unsuccessfully veiled under the name of "united front from below" to the broad and genuine united front movement of all groups. That this course means the strangling of the movement when it is hardly born, does not appear to concern these light-hearted and small-minded bureaucrats at all. They are more interested in their self-preservation as a clique imposed upon the movement from above than in the advancement of the genuine and the best interests of the movement itself.

We said last week that the I. L. D. and the Left wing "cannot labor under the illusion that the leadership of the magnificent movement which is about to be started will fall to it automatically. A false, a stupid policy may cause it to forfeit not only leadership in the movement but even prestige and influence. What the Left wing allows to slip through its hands will be picked up by conservative and reactionary groups which will only lead the movement into a ditch of futility as they have done so often in the past." What we forecast only a few days ago has already signal to it, reflect upon its significance, upon the extent of its own responsibility for it, and upon the measures that must be adopted immediately to deal with it.

A Novel Committee

As if in reply to the initial blunder of the I. L. D. and the party (which even the Stalinist shallow-pates might have guessed would meet with a joyful reception in the conservative camp and give it the sought opportunity to act morally indignant), a call has been issued for a conference which is to organize "a massive labor protest in behalf of Tom Mooney". Who has issued the call? Whom do the committee members represent? When and where did they get together to form their committee? Who took the initiative and who was responsible for the committee's selection? We learn nothing about these cogent questions in the call. To all intents and purposes it is a self-appointed clique which, somewhere in the dark of the moon, suddenly arrogated to themselves the authority to act for the Mooney movement. Its caliber may be judged from its composition and from some additional facts.

On the committee we find an admixture of snuffing liberals, of outright and notorious reactionaries and racketeers in the labor movement, like Hillman of the Amalgamated, Fania M. Cohen, loyal servitor to every reactionary administration in the I. L. G. W. U.; Socialist party skates like Norman Thomas and Frank Crosswathie; the inevitable sprinkling of rose-tinted "progressives" like Muste, Lefkowitz, A. J. Kennedy, Burkhardt and other pastors of the C. P. U. A flock; and, trailing hopefully at the heels of the fakers, Connors, of the I. W. W. On this whole committee one cannot find a single Left wing representative, not a single Communist. In fact, we learn from a walling complaint made against the same people who are allied with him elsewhere in Paterson, for instance, that Gitlow was run out of the clandestine "conference" at which this committee constituted itself because it would have "nothing to do with Communists" at all. A more malicious caricature of the spirit and letter of Mooney's appeal for a united movement can hardly be imagined.

It would be naive to imagine that this "committee" is anything but a united front . . . against the Communists. That the official party policy has facilitated their task, does not change the fact that the anti-Communist crusade interests these people infinitely more than the incarceration of Mooney and the other class war prisoners. (That the field is (Continued on Page 4))

Comrade Arne Swabeck, national secretary of the Communist League of America (Opposition), was seriously injured last Monday by a fall from a painter's scaffold on which he had been working in Hackensack, N. J. The accident occurred while he was at work at a height of nine feet, and in falling off, his head struck the concrete floor below. He was immediately rushed to the Hackensack Hospital, where emergency treatment was given to him. A number of stitches were made in his scalp, and an X-ray examination made Tuesday to discover if a skull fracture or a concussion had been sustained by him. The medical reports indicate, fortunately, that the injury will not incapacitate comrade Swabeck to any great extent. When he was visited Tuesday morning by comrade Ingrid Swabeck and their son Edgar, together with a few other comrades who had received the news of his accident, he was in good spirits, resting well, and the hospital authorities indicate that he would be in a position to leave for home in a few days.

I. L. D. Threatens Expulsion

Hacker Announces that All Oppositionists Will Be Expelled

The bureaucracy foisted upon the International Labor Defense is making preparations to add another heavy blow to those it has already delivered to the organization: all those who are known or believed to be Left Oppositionists in the I. L. D. are to be summarily expelled. This is the announcement made at the second Scottsboro "united front" conference last week by Carl Hacker, the New York district organizer of the I. L. D., following upon a sharp discussion at the conference which was precipitated by the arbitrary and rude acts committed during the sessions by its Stalinist managers.

Testifying eloquently to the concrete results which the incompetent I. L. D. disorganizers and their policies produce, the conference this time had only some 80 delegates present, in contrast to the first Scottsboro meeting. With the short road to the electric chair in Alabama being cut down every day to bring the nine Negro victims of lynch justice to their legal assassination, the I. L. D. officialdom,

'COMUNISMO' BARRED FROM CANADA

After having banned the entry into Canada of Leon Trotsky's work, "The Permanent Revolution", the government authorities of that country are continuing with their arbitrary campaign of suppression of radical and revolutionary literature, conducted now for some time, and capping it with their latest decree, this time directed against the sending into Canada of **Comunismo**, monthly theoretical organ of our Communist Opposition in Spain. A package of **Comunismo**, addressed to a Canadian comrade, has been held up by the authorities and the comrade has received the following letter, which we reproduce in full:

NATIONAL REVENUE, CANADA
(Customs and Excise Divisions)
Port of Toronto, Sept. 8, 1931.
(Name of our comrade and address.)
Re: Parcel No. 108424.

Dear Sir:
We wish to advise that the books contained in the above parcel have been refused entry into this country. You may, however, return same to the sender by payment of the postage in the amount of fourteen cents.

Failure to do this within ten days from the date thereof a seizure will be made in accordance with the Customs Tariff.
Yours very truly,
J. H. BERTRAM,
Collector of National Revenue.

The Canadian bourgeoisie and its agents do not seem to have read—as we once remarked—the announcement in the Stalinist press that opposition literature is "counter revolutionary" . . .

entrusted with the organization of a mass movement of protest and defense, have so light-heartedly narrowed down the basis for the movement, so deliberately closed the doors to anybody not definitely under the control of the ruling faction of the Communist party, that the stamp of bankruptcy is being burned more deeply every day into the body of the defense movement which rallied around the Scottsboro boys.

Opposition's Proposals

To fall to warn against this dangerous turn in the movement would have been unworthy of a class conscious militant. This is why, following the stereotyped report to the conference by Hacker, which said nothing and found nothing wrong, comrade H. Stone, one of the delegates from the New York branch of the Communist League (Opposition), rose to repeat what we have said so many times before—that we stand ready to give the most loyal and energetic assistance to the defense movement, that we have written in our press and spoken in public meetings for the defendants, and that we are anxious to collaborate in strengthening the defense movement by broadening its basis from the narrow one to which the prevailing policy in the I. L. D. has reduced it. In his concluding remarks, comrade Stone emphasized the need of taking up the appeal by Mooney and organizing a genuinely broad united front movement for his release. Despite interruptions, and attempts by the chairman to cut him off, Stone's remarks were well received, as were those of our other delegate, George Clarke. The latter moved for a united front conference in the letter and spirit of Mooney's letter, and condemned the sectarian anti-Communist policy of the self-appointed "liberal" conference which has recently made its appearance on the scene. But this motion was arbitrarily tabled.

Then, despite the provisions for a discussion, the chairman attempted to exclude a number of non-Stalinist delegates from the floor. H. Capells, delegate from the Yorkville branch of the I. L. D., and chairman of the recent Amnesty Conference of the I. L. D., was also refused the right to speak. The mildest protest was howled down by organized bands of Stalinist supporters. It was then that Hacker announced that the district bureau of the I. L. D. would hand down "for discussion" its decision to expel all "Trotskyists" from the organization.

To our knowledge, this is the first formally adopted decision to expel workers from the I. L. D., for nothing but their political views. The I. L. D. was founded and had its best period of growth on the basis of defending all workers arrested for their views or activities in the class struggle. Its membership was specifically opened to workers of all or no political or economic views and affiliations. In its ranks, as well as on its leading committee, could be found not only Communists, but socialists, anarchists I. W. W. members, A. F. of L. men, progressives, etc., etc. Since the removal (Continued on Page 2)

the attack of the bourgeois press has produced a great perturbation among the socialists; we do not know if this is why they tell the truth or rather because they have lost the friendship of the bourgeoisie after having lost the confidence of the working class. We already have **El Socialiste**, the central organ of the Spanish social democracy, making Marxian declarations of faith and proclaiming with a great deal of emphasis that they defend the principle and the inescapable necessity of the class struggle. In the same editorial article they declare that the Spanish social democracy is eminently "revolutionary" and they direct an attack filled with rancor against the minister of the interior, M. Maura, and pronounce themselves for the separation of church and state. It is certain that all this is a dead letter for the social democratic organ. It may appear inconceivable that **El Socialiste** attacks the government so openly and that, on the other hand, the socialist ministers continue to remain in power with the approbation of their party. The proof is sure that all this is due to an ill-contained frenzy of the socialists. We see it from the declarations made by M. Largo Caballero a few days after the publication of the notice on which we are commenting. Caballero declared to the journalists that "the strikes are anti-productive because they create economic difficulties and all with obstacles the proper functioning and the progress of production".

THE CATALANIAN STATUTE

We have already said that the Catalan statute was the proof of the treason of Macla, of the Catalanian separatists, and we have showed that it was only a comedy. Macla has drawn up a far too soft and far too moderate statute. The national government itself has adopted it and presented it as a proposal to the Constituent Cortes.

There will be no discussion; parliament will approve the statute. Macla has come to Madrid to present the document himself. One part of the press has made a semblance of approval, another of approbation, rather feeble, by commenting favorably or unfavorably

on the statute. This same press has applauded the gesture of the government and has flattered "the noble figure of the illustrious president of the Catalanian Generalidad".

The Latest Events in Spain

Turmoil Among the Socialists, Splits Among the Communists

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY FRENZY

We have already said in our previous notes that the bourgeois press has begun the attack against the social democratic ministers, principally against Prieto, Largo Caballero, the two "deficient ministers".

The attack of the bourgeois press has produced a great perturbation among the socialists; we do not know if this is why they tell the truth or rather because they have lost the friendship of the bourgeoisie after having lost the confidence of the working class. We already have **El Socialiste**, the central organ of the Spanish social democracy, making Marxian declarations of faith and proclaiming with a great deal of emphasis that they defend the principle and the inescapable necessity of the class struggle. In the same editorial article they declare that the Spanish social democracy is eminently "revolutionary" and they direct an attack filled with rancor against the minister of the interior, M. Maura, and pronounce themselves for the separation of church and state. It is certain that all this is a dead letter for the social democratic organ. It may appear inconceivable that **El Socialiste** attacks the government so openly and that, on the other hand, the socialist ministers continue to remain in power with the approbation of their party. The proof is sure that all this is due to an ill-contained frenzy of the socialists. We see it from the declarations made by M. Largo Caballero a few days after the publication of the notice on which we are commenting. Caballero declared to the journalists that "the strikes are anti-productive because they create economic difficulties and all with obstacles the proper functioning and the progress of production".

Perhaps **El Socialiste** wanted to try to demonstrate to the masses that the Spanish social democracy is "profoundly and essentially revolutionary", but facts are much more convincing than words and the deeds of Caballero and Co. are far too concrete and refute all that **El Socialiste** can say.

The Spanish working class is already accustomed and knows very well what the declarations of faith of our social democrats signify.

Delegates and visitors to the conference should report immediately upon their arrival to the national office of the League, at 84 East 10th St., New York, so that all arrangements can be made in good shape.

British Seamen Revolt

Against Wage Cuts

For the first time since the famous Nore mutiny of British seamen, some 12,000 sailors of the Atlantic fleet of the largest navy in the world have been drawn into a mutinous action only little less sensational than the uprising of the Chilean navy men a few days ago. From one of the strongest traditional arms of British imperialism, the navy, has unexpectedly come one of the sharpest rebukes to the new "National Government" and a rejection of its reactionary "economy plan".

Right on the eve of the regular Atlantic maneuvers of the British fleet, the sailors not only refused to weigh anchor, but threatened the officers that if the latter raised one anchor, the mer would drop the other. The officers of the fleet found themselves helpless before this outspoken and courageous insubordination which was cheered by the thousands of sailors who then launched their strike against the government's wage cut, with cheering and singing. The magnitude and resolution of the sailors' action is breathtaking. So much so, apparently, that the bourgeoisie is at a loss for what to do. What under "normal" conditions would mean the summary execution of the ringleaders, and the punishment of all participants, is today met with the greatest caution. *The Times* dispatch says that "there has not been the remotest hint of a court martial. Instead, Sir Austen Chamberlain, First Lord of the Admiralty, announced today in the House of Commons: 'His Majesty's Government have authorized the Board of Admiralty to make proposals for alleviating hardships.' And, it continues with full justification, "as startling as was the incipient mutiny in the British fleet, without precedent in modern times, the action of the government in making terms with those who have broken discipline is regarded as even more startling."

That the first organized sign of revolt against the new reactionary administration of MacDonald, Baldwin and Chamberlain should come from the conservative British navy, is full of good omen and significance for the greater resistance which it is bound to encounter in the immediate future. Just as the Cronstadt sailors were in the front ranks of the Russian revolution, and the seamen of Kiel sounded the death knell of German Kaiserism, so the action of the British sailors is unmistakably a harbinger of powerful rumblings and clashes in the economic structure of the country, in which the working class of England will be afforded the opportunity of rising to the heights of the General Strike days of 1926, and, under favorable circumstances, even to a higher plane of revolutionary activity.

NAT'L CONFERENCE TO OPEN THURSDAY

The second National Conference of the Communist League of America (Opposition) will open in New York the coming week, its sessions beginning Thursday morning, September 24, and running through to Sunday evening, September 27. The branches of the League throughout the country are already choosing their delegates and it is expected that more than thirty delegates and visitors will attend from out of town, in addition to those present from New York.

The New York branch, which is making all the arrangements for housing the delegates while they are here, has also arranged a "Spaghetti Dinner" as a reception to the delegates. It will take place on Saturday evening, September 26, at 8 P. M., in the Stuyvesant Casino, 9th Street and Second Avenue, to which all New York militants are being invited. Admission to the hall, which includes the dinner, has been set at fifty cents. There will be short speeches by the delegates from all parts of the country, and comrade James P. Cannon will act as toastmaster.

The reports, which are being prepared for the conference, will include one on the political situation and the tasks of the tasks of the Opposition, on the Communist International, and the International Left Opposition, on the situation in the U. S. S. R., on the trade union work, on the organizational work, problems and development of the Communist League, on the work among the Youth, and so forth. The four days' sessions of the conference will be open to all members of the League.

Delegates and visitors to the conference should report immediately upon their arrival to the national office of the League, at 84 East 10th St., New York, so that all arrangements can be made in good shape.

WE NEED ANOTHER \$600.00 FOR THE FUND

Almost three-fourths of the goal set for the Expansion Program Fund of the League has already been achieved by the organization. Little more than six hundred dollars must still be raised in order that we reach the total we placed before ourselves at the outset. In the last week, it appears that the contributions have slackened somewhat because of the funds required for the sending of delegates to the National Conference and other expenditures in connection with it. But this should be considered as an extra effort, aside from the campaign to complete the Expansion Program Fund. We do not want to leave it hanging in the air, unended, particularly because we feel that with only a little more effort, the full amount can be collected.

In turn, we aim to carry out all the provisions of the Program itself. Many of them have already been executed. *The Militant* has been launched again as a weekly paper, and all our efforts must be bent to maintain it and to strengthen it, to increase its circulation, to insure its growth. After the conference, furthermore we hope to be in a position to launch our theoretical organ which has been talked about so much, which many comrades are looking forward to with expectancy, and which is entirely realizable if we go over the top in the

Fund contributions.

The "summer slump" is over, and everybody has the opportunity to buckle down to the work. If our comrades and friends will respond generously to the appeal, our aim can be realized quickly. The slight returns that we have to report this week must be jacked up considerably so that the campaign can be brought to a swift and successful termination.

Since the contributions listed in our last issue, we have received the following sums:

NEW YORK: N. Berman—10.00; M. Sterling—10.00; J. Marsh—1.00; LOS ANGELES: J. Lipschitz—2.00. Total: \$25.00.

Total reported previously: \$1,369.14. GRAND TOTAL TO DATE: \$1,392.14.

A SPAGHETTI DINNER

To greet the delegates to our Second National Conference.
Stuyvesant Casino—2nd Ave., and 9th St.
Saturday Evening, September 26 1931
Admission Fifty Cents
New York branch: Communist League of America (Opposition)