

Hitherto Unpublished Facts in the Mooney-Billings Case

By SAM DARCY.

(Continued)

In California the socialist party was doing its utmost to undermine Mooney's case. They joined the frame up by preparing his expulsion from the socialist party. They warned their membership against participating in Mooney's defense because they declared Mooney and Billings were "dangerous anarchists."

The growing betrayal was carried through by a member of Mooney's own local of the Molders Union who was part of the reactionary A. F. of L. clique. This worthy was also a member of the grand jury which sat on the case. When McDonald, escorted by Jack Johnstone, arrived in San Francisco, a committee of five was sent by the grand jury to discuss the new turn the case had taken.

This committee at first insisted upon talking with McDonald alone. Knowing the weak char-

were multiplied and intensified to an unheard of degree. Accompanying all this, wage cuts were initiated and are now rapidly becoming the general policy all along the line. Worsening of the working conditions takes place at a rapid pace.

Radicalizing the Masses.

These effects of the crisis radicalize the working masses. The masses see how the offensive of the bosses is undermining their working conditions and is pushing them farther and further on to the edge of starvation.

But the economic crisis will not automatically bring the workers to building barricades. The bourgeois ideology still dominates them. Reliance by our Party on the spontaneous reaction of the workers is therefore dangerous.

First: It hinders the development of an organized and conscious movement against capitalism among the workers. Second: It leads inevitably into the swamp of opportunism because, instead of leading the workers, instead of raising class struggle issues before them, instead of raising the workers' understanding nearer and nearer to revolutionary conceptions, it accepts and follows the issues which the bourgeois ideology of the workers is capable of developing and understanding.

The Conscious Force.

Our Party supplies the conscious force which must develop the dissatisfaction and radicalization of the masses into a systematic counter offensive against the offensive of capitalism and which must, in the course of this counter offensive, develop the radicalization of the masses into a revolutionary force. To do this successfully our Party must make a decisive turn in its work. The Party must turn very definitely from the dominating tendency of a propaganda sect to that of a revolutionary Party of action.

If our Party does not succeed in making this decisive turn, the present favorable situation cannot lead to a strengthening of the revolutionary movement of the workers but will lead to a defeat of the Party.

(To be continued)

acter of McDonald, Johnstone refused to leave the room. After some dickering, the committee yielded and made its proposal: It would grant McDonald immunity from perjury charges for what McDonald may have said under oath in his previous hearings, but it would grant no immunity for his testimony in the hearing which was about to take place. The threat was too obvious. It was in substance a warning to McDonald that the grand jury intended to arrest him as having perjured himself, not the first time when he gave the frame-up testimony, but now when he was telling the truth! McDonald under these circumstances would not testify. Representatives of the Mooney defense stormed and scolded but the grand jury would not hudge from its position. The most outspoken in defense of the position of the grand jury was the reactionary member of the San Francisco Molders Local. He held out to the end and succeeded in preventing a change of the grand jury's attitude. McDonald then left and was not heard from until this very recent period.

One now sees in the obliging boss and "socialist" press that they dug out Nockels, at this moment a bitter reactionary, in order to give him credit for the confession which was obtained by the member of the Communist Party, Jack Johnstone, and the member of the International Labor Defense, Leon Josephson.

During the past few years the Mooney Molders Defense Committee of San Francisco has been carrying on back door negotiations with crooked California capitalist politicians for the release of the prisoners. The International Labor Defense bitterly opposed this method of work. It proposed the organization of demonstrations and other forms of mass pressure to obtain freedom for our martyred class comrades. About a month ago, the San Francisco Committee was apparently convinced, despite the warnings of the I.L.D. that their activities had born fruit. The writer was informed by a leading bourgeois news agency that "Mooney and Billings would be released within a month." The social reformists and fascists who always followed the policy of quieting the protest of the masses also spread word everywhere that freedom was assured. The "socialist" party immediately sent Clarence Senior, its national secretary, to San Quentin to get permission from Mooney to organize demonstrations for his release. They set the time for their demonstrations after the decision by Governor Young, obviously intending not to demonstrate for release but to capitalize on a release which they thought would surely take place. This is the typical opportunist shrewdness of pawnbrokers. It cares only for cashing in.

The decision of Governor Young was denounced by Mooney as a double cross. Mooney is right. But the responsible parties in the treachery are not only the greasy boss politicians, but also those false friends of Mooney who deal with them.

Before this, however, the Mooney Molders Defense Committee in California thought to get in a "lick" of its own. Assured by the crooked politicians they were dealing with that

American workers will demonstrate their international solidarity, their unity in struggle, against the imperialist war preparations of American and Canadian capitalism.

Sixteen years ago the World War broke out, plunging millions of workers into the capitalist armies and death, bringing untold misery to the working class of the world.

The struggle for markets, for "spheres of influence," which brought about the last war, is today taking place on a greater scale between the rival imperialist powers, and is leading to a greater, more bloody world war than is now being prepared, through the militarists, League of Nations "peace" conferences, pacifists, social fascists and the churches.

But an additional, greater force is operating today in the preparation for war, and that is the hatred of the capitalist world for the Soviet Union, the only Workers' Fatherland, the land of socialist construction in industry and agriculture, the land of the successful Five Year Plan, the land of continually improving wages, hours, and workers' living standards.

In all the capitalist world, factories are shutting down, millions are unemployed or working part time. New attacks are being made upon the workers' wages and working conditions; speed-up, rationalizations are draining the vitality of the workers; thousands of poor

the prisoners would be freed they thought the opportunity ripe for a wild attack on the International Labor Defense. However, they did not dare attack the I. L. D. on questions of principle and so they resorted to spreading lying petty rumors about alleged mishandling of funds sent to the I. L. D. for Mooney defense but used for other purposes. Some letters which this committee sent out were turned over to the writer. One of them dated June, 1930, charges that the I. L. D. has been collecting funds for Mooney and Billings defense but turned over "only \$5.00 since October, 1928." It appears that the members of this committee have learned to handle facts from the methods of Mooney's persecutors. The I. L. D. has not received one cent in donations for the Mooney case since January, 1929. The only funds it has collected in this connection were from two or three branches of the I. L. D. who are asked for \$5.00 monthly donations to send to Mooney and Billings for prison comfort. On the other hand \$50 monthly has been sent by the I.L.D. to Mooney, Billings and dependents for several years. Only a few months were missed, when these prisoners' comfort and dependents' allowance were not sent to anyone due to the extreme lack of funds. In any case, the amount sent out on this account is several times the amount received.

The International Labor Defense can confidently declare that were it not for the tactics of the socialists and A. F. of L. fascists a mass movement for the release of Mooney and Billings would have developed on a much greater scale and would have freed these innocent workers.

Mooney and Billings can yet be freed. Only a mighty working class protest, however, such as is now developing, which must sweep aside the traitors and the confidence men now dabbling in the case can do the job. McDonald is going to California to repeat the repudiation of his perjured testimony. His repudiation will mean nothing unless the working class forces Governor Young and his coterie of courts and pardon boards to pay heed. All militants must raise the question in their organizations and add strength to the cry for freedom.